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THE SCREENING OF AMERICA: THE USE AND INFLUENCES OF AMERICAN FILMS AND TELEVISION PROGRAMS BY ADOLESCENTS IN A ROMANIAN COMMUNITY

The Ohio State University

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THE SCREENING OF AMERICA: THE USE AND INFLUENCES OF AMERICAN FILMS AND TELEVISION PROGRAMS BY ADOLESCENTS IN A ROMANIAN COMMUNITY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Rebekah Lee Jorgensen, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1980

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This dissertation is dedicated to two very different sources of information, who made the research one of the most wonderful learning experiences of my life. The first is Allen J. Karlin, chief confidant, who accompanied me to Romania and made the whole endeavor possible. Second are the people of the community of Bușteni, high in the Carpathian Mountains. For all my research endeavors, I realized that one of their Romanian authors succeeded in capturing their spirit far better than I ever could:

Having made the world, the Lord God put order among the nations and gave each a distinctive sign.

He taught the gypsy to play the fiddle and to the German he gave a screw.

From among the Jews he summoned Moses and unto him he said: 'Thou shalt write a law, and when the time comes shall let the Pharisees crucify my best beloved son Jesus; after which thy nation shall endure much suffering and persecution, though in compensation I shall let gold flow over you like abundant waters.'

He beckoned the Hungarian and chose a number of gewgaws for him from among those he had at hand: 'Here, I give thee Hessian boots and spurs, and resin to make the ends of thy moustache stand up stiff; thou shalt be full of conceit and be fond of revelry and women.'

The Turk then came forward: 'A rich share of wits thou shalt not have, but by the sword shalt thou prevail over others.'

To the Serb he gave a spade.

He invited the boyars and princes to coffee and the hookah: 'The lot of Your Excellencies shall be to live in dalliance and wickedness and sin; in atonement for which you will be pleased to raise churches and monasteries to my glory.'

Finally the mountain people came and knelt before the Seat Imperial. The Lord God looked at them in pity:
'And you, wretched folk,' he said, 'why are you so late?'

'We are late, most hallowed Lord, because we came at the pace of our sheep and donkeys. We walk slowly, climbing up steep paths and descending low into ravines. And in this way do we trudge along day and night, holding our peace, with the sheepbells alone making a clamour in the silent air. The dwelling places of our wives and children are in the narrow clefts of the rocks, and lightning, thunder, and torrents play havoc with us. We should like wide expanses, fields of corn, and smooth-flowing waters.'

'You are the last to come,' the Lord said regretfully, 'and dear though you are to me, I cannot help you. You will hold what you have, for I can give you nothing besides, except a light heart to rejoice at what is yours. Everything shall seem good to you; and always your door shall be open to the fiddler and the man with strong drinks; and your women shall be beautiful and full of love.'

---Excerpt from the novel The Hatchet by Mihail Sadoveanu
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Studies in Romanian Language and Culture. Rodica Botoman,
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INTRODUCTION

Late one summer evening, on my first trip alone to Romania, I sat in a miniscule railroad station, waiting for a train to the city of Cluj-Napoca, where I would study Romanian in a six-week language program. Around me stood numerous workers and peasants, dressed, for the most part, in the traditional Romanian country outfit of white tunic and dark pants, leather vests and boots, felt hats, and iron scythes hung jauntily across the shoulders. One young woman was also present, but her kerchiefed head, the baby in her arms, and her near-at-hand, overly protective husband, excluded her from being the subject of much conversation and the object of close scrutiny. I was not so fortunate, however, and as I desperately tried to think of appropriate topics for conversation, I began to feel more and more isolated and alien in the remote corner of Transylvania in which I sat.

Suddenly, in the other waiting room, an old familiar tune came over the ancient speakers of the television set in front of which several dozen men were glued. I would recognize that theme song anywhere, having faithfully watched Kojak for years, as had many other American teenagers. My excitement at the familiar coincided with the recognition that the people in that train station and I, for better or worse, did have some concrete experiences in common in our respective worlds, in the form of American films and television programs.
The recognition of our common experiences, in spite of our culturally-different backgrounds, led to an interest in knowing how the people of this culture used and related to American films and television programs. It was at that point that the ideas for the study presented on the following pages began to evolve.

Within virtually all contemporary societies, access to information represents one of the most carefully considered and evaluated forums for control. With the continuing technological advances in the media, the potential for regional and international networks of information has become a reality, increasing daily in magnitude. At the same time, certain issues which were widely unanticipated have arisen, and the increased awareness of their implications has cast shadows on the more beneficial capabilities of the media. We now live in an age when the "fairness doctrine" has become the driving focus of international discussion and debate, replacing the more traditional standards of "paternalistic deliverance" (and, in some cases, "benign neglect"). As Harlan Cleveland stated in a speech at the Ohio State University entitled "Technology is the answer, but what was the question?" most international affairs are essentially bargains about domestic internal affairs, and this, of course, includes the business of information by the media. In many cases where the flow of information is essentially one-way, "media exchange" has been relabeled "media invasion," with the implication that the invasion is unfair in its cultural, economic, and political impact.

Consequently, the nature of international broadcasting is a current issue in virtually every nation of the world, both in those
transmitting and those receiving, as well as in the well-known international marketplaces of ideas like the United Nations and UNESCO. The manner in which the exchange of ideas through the use of television and cinema affects the diversity and nature of the world's cultures is of increasing concern, especially as we enter a new period of technological growth, "the satellite age." Although much research is conducted on the intracultural effects of the media on the people of various nations, research on the cross-cultural impact and implications of media exchange is a more recent initiation, and substantial results are currently scarce.* It is evident that in one respect, the visual media may provide a beneficial source of world information and perhaps greater understanding among nations (which does not imply greater admiration). It is equally evident that other powerful influences and questions are involved which need exploration in greater detail.

The work presented on the following pages represents one six-month effort to study the impact of American media products on another culture. Conducted with the assistance of the International Research and Exchanges Board in New York and the cooperation of the Romanian Academy of Social and Political Sciences in Bucharest, it focused on the influences of American films and television programs on the young people of a small Romanian community. The research was comprised of several methodological components oriented toward a systemic perspective of the role of media in society. Over one month of research time was spent researching media-related decisions and the manner in which

---

*Throughout the dissertation, the terms "cross-cultural," "intercultural," and "transcultural" are used synonymously to refer to communication that passes cultural boundaries.
they are made in Bucharest. The remaining months were spent in the small town of Bușteni, in the Carpathian Mountains, learning how the young people there make use of the American images in their lives.

Ultimately, the chapters incorporate the systemic perspective, given the traditionally linear format of the written text. The first chapter is a brief history of the key cross-cultural media communication issues, an attempt to bring the reader to the nature of the present debate by incorporating current international concerns, like satellite conflict, national policy changes, UNESCO resolutions, and the World Administration Radio Conference.

Chapter 2 lays out the general research questions and the specific hypotheses and corollaries which the methodology tested. Also integrated in this chapter is the review of literature, which explores different perspectives of central importance to the research, including cross-cultural myths and stereotyping, adolescence and socialization, and media policy-making and management.

In Chapter 3, an examination of the organizational structure of Romanian media bureaucracy is combined with sub-sections on the selection and dissemination of American productions in Romania, information on American influences on Romanian productions and people, and attitudes held about Americans in general.

Chapter 4, an explanation of the methodology, is drawn largely from the writer's Masters thesis, which was the pilot study of the methodology and was conducted in France. Using the concept of multiple operationalism, the seven methodological components, which include
descriptive and quantitative approaches, are explained along with the manner in which they test the hypotheses.

The results of the research period in Bușteni are incorporated into Chapter 5. These are presented in the first person tense to give the reader a better conceptualization of how the researchers engaged in the participant observation interactions. In other words, rather than "read" the chapter, it is hoped that through this method the reader will "experience" what it was like to be an American researcher in the Romanian community.

Chapter 6 is a summary of results which assesses the research data in relation to each of the hypotheses and corollaries. Chapter 7 discusses the interpretations of the data, and the implications for media policy-making. The limitations and strengths of the study are also presented, and future research possibilities are discussed.

In the first appendix, a short glossary of Romanian vocabulary is provided to facilitate the reading of certain terms used in the text. The appendices which follow contain a wealth of supportive materials for those who wish to study the more detailed background information which complements the materials previously presented.
CHAPTER 1

THE ISSUE OF CROSS-CULTURAL MEDIA FLOW

Exchanges of information from one nation to another, from one region to another, from one culture to another, have been occurring between groups of human beings for millennia. In the electronic age in which we live, these exchanges have developed in specialized ways, in particular through film, through radio, and through television. In the future, with technological advances in these media, dreamers will see their fantasies about regional and international networks of information come increasingly true. It appeared to many that the hopes for global peace might be realized in the form of visual and sound images exchanged throughout the world; now the planners are not always so sure of themselves.

Certain unanticipated issues arose and cast shadows on the beneficial potentials of the media. In some cases, media exchange has become relabeled "media invasion," cultural and economic in nature, where the flow of films and programs is essentially in a one-way direction. Economically stronger nations are said to bombard the smaller ones with images about themselves; the "exchange" seems to operate in a unidirectional way; and the "bombarded" nations either attempt to coat themselves in protective layers of national policy and programming to combat the effects of the deluge, or find themselves ineffectual and inundated.
Along with this situation arose concerns for studying the impact of the media on cultural identities and for exploring the meaning and the effect of the types of images presented. The question is not a simple one; the factors involved are complex and touch on virtually every aspect of culture and society. The answers generated to date have not been adequate to meet the growing problems. Questions of broader scope on the nature of the media must be asked, and new, more effective research methods, which begin to deal with the extent of the perspective, must be developed and used in the field.

The History of Electronic Information Exchange

The beginning of international communications on information exchange systems occurred with the founding of the International Telegraph Union in Paris in 1865. The unique aspects of this Union were that, in light of the international problems of the times, the member nations could get together at all, let alone establish an international bureau under the authority of one of the members to deal with the administrative work of the union. Yet this same ability was reflected in the radio conferences which occurred in the early part of the 20th century, and it is still reflected today in the fact that the International Telecommunications Union continues to function effectively as a regulator in a world filled with conflicts of interests and means.

Two developments early in this century caused the importance of international communications and regulations to be more apparent. The rapid development of radio-communications and the feeling following World War II that the world should be provided with some sort of integrated organization which encompassed all areas of international
interaction helped create a new image in the ITU when the United Nations organization was formed. The ITU, with its international perspective, naturally fit in well with UN concepts, although it retained a certain autonomy.

The two major objectives for which the ITU was reorganized in 1947 were (1) to provide an independent organization, without political connections or implications, to handle the technical administration of the International Frequency Regulation Board, and (2) to construct an international organization that could be trusted to act fairly which would have a place on the international scene. Much was easily accomplished in the spirit of international cooperation, using the principle of majority voting in regard to technical and administrative matters. Despite some difficulties, the organization has been progressively strengthened since its conception with its basis of international cooperation. However, some new doubts about the nature of this "cooperation" are being raised and examined at the meetings. The latest World Administrative Radio Conference, held in 1979, became a sort of theoretical background between member nations trying to define what that cooperation was to mean.

The earliest cross-national television transmissions were illegal. In the United States during the 1940s the United States television stations bordering Mexico and Canada began to transmit programs across the borders to attract audiences in those areas. Later, Mexico and Canada also began to send programs of their own creation back to the United States. This system of transmitting programs across borders became more and more common throughout the world as nations
tried to gain audiences in other countries. Some stations, in particular Radio Luxembourg, Monte Carlo, and Andorra, existed solely to accomplish this type of exchange for radio. Luxembourg and Monte Carlo also accomplish it in television. Viewers in Greece and in African countries with no local system depended on Italian television, which could be readily received due to features of the geography. Other nations encountered signals from groups trying to alter the perceptions of their citizens toward the government or other cultural, social, and economic issues. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were examples of this type of endeavor. Television, as of yet, had not been financially or technically feasible for those specific purposes. However, Israeli citizens can readily receive televised signals from Cairo which could effectively have the same purpose. Another example occurred in 1963 when a Soviet station in the Arctic sent signals to northern Norway to attract an audience. Where spectators can easily see signals from neighboring countries these types of telecasting operations are not considered conducive to mutual tolerance or cooperation among the participating countries, and the infractions of national boundaries have also helped cause the recent attacks on program exchange as the situation currently exists.

The first official, mutually-acceptable exchange of television programming on an international basis involved France and Great Britain and occurred between Calais and Dover in 1950. Although the equipment of the two countries was technically incompatible due to the 819-line definition in the French system as opposed to the 625-line definition of the British, it did mark the first step of a television link that
now extends throughout Europe to the Urals and across the Atlantic as far as the Pacific Ocean. It was also the first case of formal dispute between television organizations, since other European organizations claimed that the broadcast had violated a previous agreement for a joint inaugural transmission. In spite of the dispute, Western Europe eventually established Eurovision and the socialist countries established Intervision, both of which have been extremely effective in expanding program exchanges across continents. Eurovision, established in 1950, is one of the proudest achievements of the European Broadcasting Union; since 1954 it has created a network of international unity throughout Western Europe and Yugoslavia.\(^7\) The technical statistics of the range of the EBU's endeavors are particularly impressive. All-in-all, the original example started by Eurovision has resulted in Intervision for the Eastern European world, CATVN for program communication throughout Latin America, and the examination of an "Asiavision" system to connect the Asiatic countries.\(^8\)

**Growth of the "Free Flow of Information" Debate**

As early as 1947, before most of the world's people had ever heard about television, a group of individuals called the Commission on Freedom of the Press compiled an extensive report on international mass communications.\(^9\) The Commission was created to consider the freedom, functions, and responsibilities of the major agencies of mass communication and to draw up some guidelines in light of those factors. Operating under a grant made by Time, Inc., which was administered by the University of Chicago, the Commission was a non-government, independent group containing no members of the radio, motion picture, and
press industries. The conclusions of the Commission were the basis of much support of the idea of the "free flow of information"; that is, the idealized system where each nation exchanges the best of its programming, representative of its culture, for the best of other nation's programming in an attempt to raise the global consciousnesses of its viewers. The Commission contended that the cure for distorted information was to provide more variety, not less, and that attempts to suppress the presentation of sources of conflict and differences among nations were ultimately self-defeating. Commission members felt that

The choice is between their [the media's] full, purposeful and responsible use to enlarge the mutual comprehension of peoples, on the one hand, and, on the other, their incomplete, undirected, and irresponsible use, with the risk of an increase in international hatred and suspicion as a consequence.  

In addition, the Commission outlined a series of actions which it felt required prompt action. These were,

A. The improvement of physical facilities and operating mechanisms so as to bring about the communication of words and images across national borders as abundantly, as cheaply, as quickly, as efficiently, and over as wide an area as possible.

B. The progressive removal of political barriers and the lessening of economic restrictions which impede the free flow of information across national borders.

C. The improvement of the accuracy, representative character, and quality of the words and images transmitted in international communication.

The role of the United States and its citizens was also carefully outlined by the Commission members in respect to the international communication among peoples. They felt, in compliance with the orientations of the American system of broadcasting, that the best method for the dissemination of American material abroad was the commercial market.
They also recognized the fact that in terms of market value there were certain considerations which controlled the industry's decisions. In these areas, where program dissemination did not serve the interests of the industry, the government of the United States would be called upon to provide for the dissemination of information. In other words, where the media could not operate profitably as private enterprise, the government would make sure that those parts of the world were provided adequate information on the United States. Much of the work of the former United States Information Agency (now the International Communications Agency) was carried out along these lines of reasoning.

Perhaps the most important guideline stated about the role of the United States was the following:

The government and people of the United States should recognize the importance of a mutual understanding, as between peoples, of each other's true character and purposes, and should be prepared not only to communicate to others truthful and comprehensive accounts of our own national life and purposes but to receive and to circulate in the same spirit reciprocal communications with regard to other nations and peoples.\footnote{12}

Finally, as early as 1947, the Commission offered a conclusion recommending that

the radio networks, radio stations, the National Association of Broadcasters, and the organizations of writers, directors, and commentators, jointly or severally establish the practice of separation of advertising from programs (this is not to prevent the selling and programming of unrelated advertising announcements preceding or following programs). If the industry or its agencies fail to assume this responsibility within a reasonable time, we recommend that the F.C.C. set up this separation as a regulation or standard of performance to be considered in the license or relicensure of stations.\footnote{13}

The world situation might seem somewhat optimistic in view of these developments, yet some major issues have emerged about the true nature of the "free flow" of information. Although the concept
potentially holds many beneficial aspects, it is in its present state of application, at the least, inadequate and, at the most, possibly harmful in creating cultural distortions. For example, American programming in the past has accounted for more than twice\textsuperscript{14} as many program exports than all other countries combined. Furthermore, this programming was not particularly diverse or representative in nature, but most frequently consisted of outdated serials that no longer held a prime-time place on American screens. Many of these programs were not geared for the foreign audience which eventually viewed them, but reflected a hierarchy of American tastes and values as interpreted for the screen. Programs such as \textit{I Love Lucy}, \textit{Mannix}, \textit{Gunsmoke}, \textit{Kojak}, \textit{Mission Impossible}, \textit{Bewitched}, and \textit{Bonanza} are indeed products of our culture, and are even popular representations of American culture abroad. Yet, numerous authors (Varis, Schiller, Wells, Lent, Tunstall) contend they are inadequate in reflecting a balanced perspective of our culture. In other words, within their tightly-constructed sets and formats, there is little that is truly indicative of the manner in which a majority of Americans live. Unfortunately, as will be explored in more depth later, these programs are \textit{frequently perceived as indicative of American life} by the residents of other nations.\textsuperscript{15} This is not to imply that they have not appealed to their cross-cultural viewers: an official from the former U.S.I.A. reported that the European viewing public voted two to one that American films left "good" impressions. Another foreign service officer involved with program exchange felt that
(we should be) represented on overseas television by something more than the standard formula of cowboy serials, detective films, pratfall comedies, and an occasional news documentary. An overseas viewer would be hard put to believe, from what he sees on his screen, that contemporary America is a leader in the lively arts such as drama, architecture, painting, and sculpture, or to understand the workings of our economic system, or our current struggle to build a truly democratic multi-racial society. These subjects are seldom raised in the bland products that make up most of the U.S. television export package.  

Likewise, authors (Schiller, Wells, Tunstall, Lent) feel these programs fail to represent the less successful, more problematic aspects of life in the United States which would help viewers in other nations have a more balanced perspective of the nature of American society.

The problem of imbalanced perspectives between cultures was explored by participants at a recent conference on French-American myths and mutual misunderstandings, sponsored by the New York University's Institute of French Studies. The conference members concluded that because of its limitations, television serves to reinforce the cultural clichés which French viewers hold about Americans and American viewers feel about the French, rather than educating public opinion in each country. In the past, according to the unpublished study, these clichés were the result of news broadcasters in each country who focused on pre-selected themes. Stereotypic in the case of the French perspective on U.S. society, these themes included violence, racism against Indians, unemployment, youth protest and drugs. In foreign policy, the U.S. was associated with imperialism, world power, Vietnam, and French-U.S. relations. Economic and technical developments were the only areas generally approached with more admiration.

The source of the clichés and stereotypes was by no means limited to the news broadcasts, however:
In tracing the sources of cliches, about the U.S., Mr. Kigin found that an important influence was the U.S. entertainment industry which supplied a major share of feature films and television serials shown on French networks. Their predominance is because of their low cost. Amortized on the U.S. market, they sell in France for less than one-tenth of the price of comparable French productions. They are also popular with French audiences accustomed to U.S. entertainment.18

Another major issue is the fact that as much as 80 percent of this American programming in some nations comes from the conglomerate entitled the "Motion Picture Export Association," composed of nine of the 150 companies in the United States which do any exporting and producing abroad.19 These nine companies, Paramount, Warner Brothers, United Artists, Columbia, Twentieth Century Fox, MGM, Universal, Allied Artists, and Avco Embassy, have over 700 foreign offices employing more than 1600 people. These foreign markets are extremely important for revenue. Not only does the MPEA control distribution of films and television packages, but it also has subsidiaries in the form of various companies which it actually controls. Many Italian, French, and British productions are so in name only;20 they represent just another method by which the MPEA can cut through national barriers. Indeed, the MPEA is so powerful that it is the only United States enterprise that negotiates on its own with foreign governments, outside of laws in effect for other industries. Another problem, according to Guback, is that millions of people are "subjected" to the MPEA's selections of films and television programs for distribution abroad (the average is upwards of 30 million viewers for the average American film), and these programs are generally formulaic in nature. Investors want a "sure thing" and "standardized spectaculars" fill the bill.
Many authors claim (Guback, Wells, Schiller) that when films and television programs are created with the idea of appealing to the largest world markets, instead of to the unique attributes that arise from numerous cultures, little space is left for the expression of those indigenous cultural characteristics: the cultural attributes become submerged and homogenized in the mixture of standard programs that will work financially in the large markets. This cultural "leveling" and the resulting cultural dependencies are visible even in countries like France and Great Britain which do a great deal of media exporting to other countries as well. Although only 9-30 percent of total program time in these nations may be devoted to foreign (primarily American) imports, the amount proportionally seen by the citizens is much greater because most imported programs are shown at prime viewing time, that is, between the hours of 7 and 11 at night and on the weekends.

The problem is equally important, if not more serious, in the developing countries which have little capital of their own to invest in media systems and programming, and yet have strong needs for communicating with their own and other populations. Frequently, their cultural and national identities are in the process of formation. It is they who can culturally and financially least afford the importation of all the different materials from the United States and other countries which do a great deal of exporting. Yet, it is they who are most dependent and susceptible to the foreign programming precisely because they have few technical facilities for developing their own national industries in film and television. Many large powers are willing to
help back them in their endeavors, generally in return for some controlling options. As a vice-president of Time-Life Broadcast expressed it,

The various underdeveloped countries are having to permit commercials because they can't afford a television system otherwise.

... A man setting up a commercial station abroad has to be pretty sure he knows how to compete—and we have more knowledge in this field than anyone else in the world.23

Advertisers and commercial media organizations are eager to build international markets, but they then demand that the programming content meet their needs in appealing to the widest spectrum of people. This, again, according to some authors (Tunstall, Gubner, Schiller, Wells), tends to create homogeneity and the lack of any truly effective and/or creative attempts to make each nation's broadcasting industry unique. As the Hutchins report indicated,

The directors of mass-communications media must recognize frankly that the need to know runs in almost reverse ratio to the ability to pay, and they must devise a means of reaching those who can pay little or nothing.24

A few developing nations have effectively refused external controls.25 Others have fought and lost their battles (although they still may win the war), while others are too attracted to the financial returns to consider, at this time, their opponents' claim of the ultimate ill-effects which those investments may have on the population and the culture of the country. Still other broadcasters feel that their efforts would be ineffectual against the massive conglomerates in any case. The understanding appears to be developing, however, that small countries cannot let go of the economic strings in film and television production and expect to retain control in the cultural, social or even political (Tunstall, Wells, Schiller) spheres.
These realizations have led to the development of numerous studies of media policy-making, planning, and management, and their effects.

The United States, of course, has not been alone in its media influence in developing countries. France, Great Britain, Mexico, the Soviet Union, and Canada have all established their spheres of influence in other areas, but U.S. expansion has been the most visibly predominant. In Wells' book, Picture-Tube Imperialism, which explores the impact of American television on the media systems in Latin America, the conclusion is made that

Economic development within the confines of a state is never completely autonomous. It is always influenced from outside either by emulation of the more developed countries and target setting based on this, or by direct intervention in the economy by foreign governments and enterprises.

Wells feels that the overseas television enterprise, which ironically began in 1939 with the sale of a transmitter from R.C.A. to the Soviet government, is dominated by the United States because of its own technically-advanced development of the medium and its need for expansion to support the various levels of involvement. The United States government, which forbids by law the granting of a license for a television or radio station to a corporation in which there is any foreign ownership, condones overseas expansion, although presumably for mercantilistic, not "free enterprise" reasons. The result is an international television and film field that is imbalanced in nature because of the laws that govern American broadcasting and the financial inequities which govern other nations in the development of their media resources. Naturally, many developing countries want to "catch up" with the other nations and this in turn induces them to look toward
wealthier neighbors for help. The wealthier neighbors obviously have interests in encouraging that other broadcast systems be created in their own images.

The complexity of the issues can readily be seen in the variety of perspectives and in the conflicts which evolved among them. For example, the imbalance in the situation led to the UNESCO-sponsored Symposium on the International Flow of Television Programs in Finland, 1973, attended by representatives from most United Nations countries. Their meeting resulted in the following resolution:

Efforts should be made to redress the imbalance of resources which presently characterize the international flow and direction of information among nations, especially in areas unable to determine their own cultural destiny, whether as nations or within nations. Those [countries] who have few opportunities presently may require special assistance, subsidies or protection to permit them an enlarged role in the communications process. All nations should have the possibility to produce their own cultural-communications materials.

Each nation has the right and duty to determine its own cultural destiny within this more balanced flow of information within and among nations. It is the responsibility of the world community and the obligation of media institutions to ensure that this right is respected. 30

Another important example of the international policy shift was UNESCO's gradual change over the past few years from endorsing a general policy of "laissez-faire" ideals in the international exchange of information to supporting the role of national planning, national culture policies, and national interventionism in canned images. 31 The trade in visual electronic images does imply the uneven trade of "culture-power" in the world and the representatives feel that they have "evolved" toward the position stated in the following description of policy:
The espousal of the idea of a national communication policy completes the process which, beginning with education planning twelve years ago, has progressively geared the various parts of the programme to the task of systematically directing national efforts in the field of UNESCO's competence in pursuit of specific objectives—in a word, a furtherance of a policy which is itself an integral part of comprehensive planning for total development. The present day Draft Program assuredly constitutes no more than a first step in this direction and progress will be slow and difficult. But the very fact that this first step has been taken deserves mention, because it represents an innovation which may have far-reaching consequences.

Yet not all UNESCO members support the move in the direction of more stringent national control. At a 1978 UNESCO conference on world news media, West Germany and Great Britain called for the shelving of a controversial declaration that urged all governments to oversee the media in their respective nations to make sure that they are put to good use (i.e., in combating racism and colonialism). In the eyes of several nations, this resolution amounted to a call for censorship and increased control over the media, which ran counter to the principles of press freedom basic to their governments.

The future clearly holds even greater potential for the confrontation of values as the nations continually meet to define and redefine international regulations. For example, the nature of the United States' position on the debate over "free flow" versus the "balanced flow" of information was summarized by Glen Robinson, head of the U.S. delegation to World Administrative Radio Conference:

The U.S. has resisted proposals on this subject which would compromise its commitment to freedom of expression here and abroad. The issue came to a head at the 20th UNESCO General Conference in Paris in the autumn of 1978, in the form of a proposal for a declaration of principles dealing with the mass media. Earlier drafts sanctioned the idea of government censorship and control over media activities, and, as such,
were unacceptable to the U.S. and many other countries. After considerable discussion, a revised proposal eliminating this particular sanction and other passages judged to be objectionable was approved by the Conference. However, the overall debate over 'balanced flow' of information between developed and developing countries continues. . . .

The complex nature of these perspectives requires researchers who can objectively comprehend the impact of the exchange of films and television programs abroad. Americans, in particular, need to examine the problems from both external and internal perspectives, in order to develop fair and balanced outlooks on themselves and on how others view their methods of exporting media materials abroad.

As Paulu explains:

It is more difficult for European broadcasters to sell television films to each other than for the United States to sell to any of them because:

1. the United States can undersell them, since it can recover basic costs from broadcasts at home, something much harder to do in smaller countries
2. American programs are shorter and are easier to fit into schedules
3. more countries can broadcast English-language programs without problems.35

Tunstall adds an additional perspective, contending that American leadership is extended by

1. direct exports of media content (most common in the early stage
2. imitative competition in which American formulae are given local expression (i.e., borrowing of film plots on TV quiz shows
3. less specific imitation of American formulae via American orientation of local communicator organizations.36

These explanations illustrate the external understanding of the situation which Americans should develop in order to better understand the feelings of other nations. One such internationally-oriented perspective, expressed by Paulu, is that
For us the problem is whether a country dedicated to freedom of information can prohibit or limit the exportation of what it views at home on the grounds that its use abroad might be harmful to the national image. Probably not, except by persuasion. One practical recourse, however, is to encourage through both private and government channels, the greater use abroad of other kinds of programs . . . many Americans fear that money, rather than cultural values, international understanding, or the American image abroad, determines policy in international telefilm sales.37

Many of the extensive concerns and arguments occupying the preceding pages are largely dogmatic, frequently somewhat emotional in nature, and are not based on specific evidence on how the media of one culture actually interact with different social and cultural frameworks in other communities. In order to proceed in a more reflective manner, we need to break down the ambiguities of these arguments into clearer examinations of the perspectives involved.

One manner in which this may be accomplished is by using a hypothetical "what if" situation to examine, and making it concrete. First, we must respond to the "who, what, when, where, why, and how basis" of most research questions. The writer looked at the influences of American films and television programs on the young people of a Romanian community in order to gather evidence supportive of one argument over another, or perhaps even all of them. The reasons are as follows:

1. The high visibility and extensive use of American productions transculturally makes them an obvious source for scrutiny, particularly since both the beneficial and harmful aspects attributed to them have caused them to be identified as "universal remedies" as well as "universal scapegoats."
2. One of every culture's greatest occupations is the socialization of the children in order to continue the dreams and the hopes of the society, and to make sense of each generation's attempt to transcend human mortality through the convenience of its cultural heritage. Children are seen as the most vulnerable of people and yet will be the mainstream of the future, hence the focus of the research.

3. Finally, although the research methods could be applied to almost any country, developed or developing, the Socialist Republic of Romania is in a rather unique and interesting position. Following its own course of political development and self-determination, the government is extremely careful about screening out certain influences and ideas which it feels are not useful or constructive for the people of the nation. The dependency of many other nations on Western ideas for economic and/or political reasons is an obvious factor in those nations' programming decisions. Yet the opportunity to explore the influences of the American media in a country which actively makes ostensibly protective decisions according to its concerns has important implications.

The following chapter magnifies each of these perspectives with references from available literature in order to provide a solid basis for the research. It is important to remember that these perspectives are arbitrarily defined, and other normal circumstances twist and wind around each other in complex ways. The potential oversimplification in this work is not necessarily indicative of the way things are "out in the real world," but the endeavor, at least, is attempted from a well-rounded perspective.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1 See UNESCO Publications in bibliography.


3 Ibid.


5 Codding, International Telecommunications Union.

6 Ibid.

7 EBU Review through 1972.


10 Ibid., p. v.

11 Ibid., p. vi.

12 Ibid.


22. See UNESCO publications.


26. See books and articles by Guback, Tunstall, Wells.


29. Tunstall, Guback, Schiller and others have discussed this.


31. See UNESCO Publications.

32. Schiller, "Freedom from the 'Free Flow'."

33. UPI report in *The International Herald Tribune*, n.d.


CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Intercommunication among nations and cultures is almost as vast and complex a research spectrum as the study of human communication itself. Studies of the nature of communications and conflict, of identification and integration, of leadership, of the cultural and social changes which occur, and of the role of the mass media, are even more complex when the intercultural implications are added to the dimension. As one cross-cultural enthusiast expressed it,

In no sub-discipline of the study of communications is it easier or more tempting to hide in mommy's arms or pull the blanket over one's head than where matters of intercultural relations are concerned . . . a realistic reader cannot indulge for long in pleasant, positive, and uplifting comforts.¹

In spite of, or perhaps due to, the difficulties, the media are particularly fruitful sources for the study of intercultural communication because (1) they are so prevalent that the researcher can hardly fail to notice their presence, and (2) they are lasting, recorded forms of cultural information which can be evaluated in depth. In effect,

Almost all, if not every commonly held belief and value in American culture can be clearly understood through structural analysis of the themes of media. The necessary, but perhaps not sufficient, steps are: (1) the treatment of media as cultural documents and artifacts, (2) the recognition that all themes contain a mythological or partially true component and a social reality that are probably in conflict, and (3) that each of the components link together in such a manner as to form an ever-expanding nebulae of mass-consciousness.²
The levels of assessment which have been frequently adopted since Aristotelian times and which remain useful in examining different aspects of the media from the micro to the macro level are (1) their content, (2) their technique, (3) their form and function, and (4) their purpose and value.

**Content**

Of particular importance in the content of the media communications are the stereotypes and myths which are generated. According to Webster, a "stereotype" in the humanistic context is

a standardized mental picture held in common by members of a group and representing an oversimplified opinion, affective attitude, or uncritical judgment (as of a person, a race, an issue, or an event).³

According to Noble,

... we tend to overcategorize and have a stereotyped perception of people we know less well. Stereotypes, whether favorable or less favorable, are particularly relevant when applied to occupational or national roles. Television clearly can shade stereotyped perceptions of such groups, since for many viewers, their first contact with a policeman [or any other character type] may be via the television screen; consequently, when real-life policemen are encountered, they are expected to behave like television policemen.⁴

On the other hand, if the real-life character is too different from those depicted in the media, some confusion may develop over who truly typifies the nature of the character.

Webster defines a myth as

a belief given uncritical acceptance by the members of a group especially in support of existing or traditional practices and institutions

or

a belief or concept that embodies a visionary ideal.⁵
In more graphic terms, Markham explains that

mythology 'cooks' the 'raw' of reality. These 'cooked' conceptualizations are the shared symbolic 'glue' or shared modes of mass consciousness which holds our cultures, and increasingly our world, together and apart.6

Noble contends,

Nor, even if we search for one, shall we find a society exclusively concerned with reality. Each society has its myths which are usually expressed in story or fantasy form, and these myths have the very real function of being charters for social action, or put another way, metaphoric expressions of value. In the village we recognize myths in parable and story form; in industrial societies we must look elsewhere and it seems self-evident that television's fantasy programs may well express myths and consequently the charter for social action which the child may not learn in school.7

By their nature, films and television programs are composed to a large extent of myths and stereotypes. In the very process of casting parts for productions, each actor or actress is selected to represent a wide range of individuals by his/her sex, profession, religion, ethnic group, age, or other characteristics. The limitations of time, space, and audience make representations, or stereotypes, inevitable. The central concern is the extent to which these images may be varied on the screen. Certain images are more varied in the American media now than in the past (in particular, certain ethnic groups and women), yet any portrayal of a cultural or social group is likely to be seen as "distorted" or "misleading" by individuals who have in some way encountered real-life individuals in those roles.

The major concerns about the selection of those myths and stereotypes to be portrayed occur because, in spite of earlier audience naiveté, we are now more aware that television and film content are not "neutral" in nature. Furthermore, we suspect that, due to the economic
importance of content to those who make them, the products, ideas, and characters presented are used with some ulterior motives.

In the United States, there is little question that the media content functions in several capacities. First, it perpetuates certain product groups by legitimizing their use. As Noble explains,

it can be argued many TV programmes in fact advertise styles and ways of life. The urban child knows the sort of kitchen that represents high status, she has seen it in the Lucy Show. She knows how to demonstrate the status aspired for in the achieving society, alienation can only result from failure.8

Second, the media create and portray stereotypes which may be overly complimentary or uncomplimentary to certain kinds of people, consequently generating distorted notions and imitations of their life-styles. For example,:

There can be little doubt that children and adults do identify with stars of both cinema and popular music. Such ideas, moreover, lead to imitation, especially of dress and appearance, and in many cases, the viewer does attempt to match his behavior to that of the star, who one assumes is seen as something of a mythical hero.9

Third, the content creates, both advertently and inadvertently, misleading images of American society. A frequently-cited example of this tendency is the number of violent crimes portrayed on the screen which is many times greater than the number of violent crimes actually occurring in American society.10 One explanation of the manner in which acceptance of these images occurs is,

the child viewer becomes familiar with the range of relationships in the wider society by means of interaction with screen characters he has seen regularly, many of whom in these days of mobility are not likely to be represented in his extended kin grouping. . . . The child who has yet to experience many social relationships will probably use those with whom he is familiar as a basis for subsequent classification of new people.11
Fourth, the content often tends to sustain the American myths, implying that they are operating smoothly within American society. Among the more obvious examples being churned out in great numbers are notions of American "rugged individualism," the American "Work ethic," the "rags to riches" philosophy, and our belief in the triumph of justice, particularly through law and order. All around us we see contradictions and distortions of these concepts, yet until recently the media seldom dwelled on these shortcomings. Although the "happy ending" films where all is resolved along societal norms have diminished somewhat in number, the vast majority of television serials still carry the tradition.

Finally, the content indicates "what" is important and "how," through the agenda (which will be discussed under forms and functions) and language. The flexible nature of the language used, the symbolic images which become linked with certain terms, and the implications for how one should see/feel events may shape the manner in which a person conceptualizes. Salomon asks:

If children acquire particular symbolic modes by observational learning, can they also learn to represent the world to themselves in terms of these elements? Thus, can some of media's symbolic elements become internalized and used as tools of thought?12

Technique

The techniques by which the materials are transmitted vary as the media may pursue any of three strategies. A film or television program may

1. assume an unaware or unconcerned posture vis-a-vis the historical conflicts which the developmental process generates,
2. with a strongly partisan view on the issues at hand, try to induce social change,
3. try to understand as best it can the complex process of social change in its environment and attempt to soften and sometimes resolve the ensuing contradictions.13

The techniques used in the generation of American films and television, due to their commercial nature, tend to lean toward the first of these strategies.

Much media research attempts to establish psycholinguistic rules of film/television techniques, but the nature of the media is in a rapid state of change (i.e., Warner Cable Company's "Qube," and other two-way video communication systems), and the heuristic value of much of this type of research is obsolete before it is ever published. Yet Elihu Katz has outlined three norms effecting the techniques of television programming which typify American television activity:

1. the goal of non-stop broadcasting
2. orientation toward an 'everybody' audience
3. striving for 'up-to-the-minute' news

He particularly contends that the technique of continuous broadcasting has made television trivial.

In addition, "internal" techniques of media content may be problematic for viewers. Randomly-sequenced events, multiple plot lines, flashbacks, inverted time sequences, slow/fast motion camerawork, the use of icons, metonymics, and metaphors are prevalent techniques used in contemporary programming. The viewer's understanding of the meaning of these techniques within the context of the program is usually acquired over time. If an adult or child has not learned to "read" or interpret these techniques, the meaning is lost and the result may
be a decision that either the plot is ambiguous or confusing, or a "new" and reconstructed version of the story is needed.

Form and Function

The importance of the agenda, in implying what is relevant and how, is evident from the constraints placed on decision-making. The selection of the agenda for both film and television is dependent on time and monetary considerations. In addition, television is both aided and limited by its "spontaneous" status, the fact that its credibility and versatility are based on the visual spontaneity which is its chief asset. Although American films could be more profound and involved than television programs due to the differences in format, their tremendous costs guide the decision-makers in setting the agenda and nature of the content. As Grunig explains,

the decisions made by media gatekeepers essentially set the boundaries which determine those parts of the environment that media audiences will be able to understand.15

Furthermore,

If media by design or accident limit their content to certain areas, then people will not be able to adopt, or adapt to, those aspects of the environment which are not placed on the agenda.16

Viewers' recognition and response to media characters increases with familiarity, and the frequent repetition of certain formats may be largely responsible for the success of the American formulas. In other words, through experience, viewers know what will probably occur in detective stories, Westerns, and other well-established formats; consequently there exists a certain security in watching these programs because of their mimetic or imitative nature of established formulas.
At the same time, in the traditional formats, some kind of new content must be presented or the redundancy makes the programs uninteresting after a while. Kimball Young generated a list of "universal" interests in media content which appeal to the majority of viewers. These include:

1. interest in struggle and conflicts
2. interest in love and sex
3. interest for the unusual, the exciting, the extraordinary
4. interest for new inventions and other reflections of progress
5. interest in style and celebrities, things "in fashion"
6. interest in situations which provoke sympathy
7. interest in other general topics: animals, old people

Four "universal" uses of the media explicated by McQuail include (1) news and information about the world, (2) escape through vicarious excitement and identification with a hero, (3) help in social interaction by using media as a means of social contact, and (4) ritualistic functions connected with the need for personal security. From this perspective, it is possible to see how media-managers establish the formulaic functions by which underlying purposes and values of the media are transmitted.

**Purpose and Value**

According to McQuail, the purpose and the value of the media from the viewers' perspectives are incorporated into the following areas of gratification (which are not necessarily presented in order of importance). The first common purpose for the majority of American viewers is one of **Diversion**, allowing the viewer: (1) escape from the constraints of daily routine, (2) escape from the burden of other problems,
or (3) emotional release from the often confining nature of interpersonal interaction.

The second type of media gratification is the development of **Personal Relationships**—the media provide a kind of companionship as well as social utility in the understanding of human relationships.

Third, the media can aid in the establishment of **Personal Identity**, which may be in the form of (1) personal reference to a character, (2) the exploration of "reality" through media experience, or (3) value reinforcement.

The fourth area of McQuail's classification is **Surveillance**; the manner in which the media allow viewers to survey the community and society around them, keeping track of developments which will enable them to function more effectively.

According to Noble, these areas of gratifications are what keep the media (particularly television) so popular and socially useful:

> Television, by exposing disparate individuals to the same familiar content, which is remarkably repetitive, does in part restore a village type of community.20

Piepe provides strong support for the argument that a major, if not the major purpose of the media, is to present the values which support the status quo:

> Evidence is strong that the normative influence of TV is generally to reinforce dominant values (although it undoubtedly contains some elements of normative disensus and outright opposition).21

Furthermore, he contends,

> Television may be primarily an entertainment medium for all classes, but . . . there are socially and culturally significant differences in the salience of different sorts of use and content between classes which relate to structural position.22
In spite of the many arguments presented to the effect that the American media are "value-neutral," the fallacy of this line of reasoning becomes quickly apparent in Piepe's study of the deeper messages present in the content. For,

values in society are not neutral in relation to power and inequality, but operate either to legitimate or oppose an existing social structure with its political arrangements and distributions of class and status advantages.\textsuperscript{23}

Gerbner adds:

The most critical public consequences of mass communication are in defining, ordering, and presenting the issues of life and society and not just in influencing who will do what in the short run.\textsuperscript{24}

**Intercultural Implications**

The complex status of the four levels of intracultural media communication expounded in the preceding pages are the focus of much current research. But the implications for the influences of American media on an intercultural level are equally, if not more, serious in nature. There is ample evidence that cross-cultural communications (in particular the media as major sources of information) have cultural, linguistic, psychological, and political impact in certain contexts, given the combination of message content, the nature of the audience, the spectators' value judgments, and their societal orientations. (For further references, see *Cross-Cultural Broadcasting*, UNESCO, 1976.)

Taking the cross-cultural implications of content, technique, forms and function, and purpose and value into consideration, thirteen research hypotheses and several corollaries were generated which will be discussed in the following section.
Media as Cultural Transmitters

The importance of the media as intra-cultural transmitters within a community has been strongly supported by American researchers, including Elliott, Newcomb, Rubinstein, Reeves, Goldsen, and Comstock et al. Internationally these may have certain negative aspects.

Internationally, unfortunately, the media has created a media-culture of light and vapid entertainment programs. The world . . . is well on its way to becoming a 'global circus.' The media's role in creating the bonds of a world community may be subject to arguments, but its role in creating instant awareness of a dozen events and cultural symbols in the minds of millions throughout the world is beyond doubt.25

Since American media are affective within their own cultural setting, it is likely that they are affective in other cultural settings, given the international prominence of American symbols. This reasoning leads to the first research hypothesis to be tested:

I. Film and television productions are interculturally important verbal/visual materials in the establishment and maintenance of cultural stereotypes.

The acquisition of information about other cultures is subject to differences among recipient cultures. In the first place, as Margaret Mead noted, the information is taken out of context and re-assembled in different ways:

In most of the world, when we have a technologically more advanced society contacting a technologically less advanced one, pieces of the outside culture are acquired, but not necessarily the pieces that went together.26

Research completed in Sweden27 further indicates that certain pieces of information are particularly prone to being misunderstood by viewers. These include (1) information about geographically or psychologically distant events, (2) very unusual events, (3) those using difficult concepts or words or formulated in an unclear manner.
Furthermore, as a participant in the 1978 Franco-American conference on the intercultural stereotypes and myths exchanged between France and the United States explained,

\begin{quote}
It is always important to recall that the memory of peoples is forgetful and deforming. Forgetful of complex history, of contradictory history, each time a unique aspect is privileged, deforming of the reality of things if it does not correspond to a previously-held idea.
\end{quote}

(Il est toujours important de rappeler que la mémoire des peuples est oubliée et déformante. Oubliée de l'histoire complexe, de l'histoire contradictoire, chaque fois qu'un aspect unique est privilégié, déformante de la réalité des choses lorsqu'elle ne retient que ce qui correspond à une idée reçue.)

The use and the effects, therefore, of the media, regardless of the intentions of the maker, the purchaser, or the spectator, vary greatly with the multitude of factors concerning people involved in their use: their background, their purposes, their environment. A piece of communication becomes altered without its original context. Communication, the purpose of which is to bridge societal/cultural gaps, is particularly likely to be whipped around and buffeted in highly unexpected ways.

The evidence of the manner in which people's perspectives on information will vary with media as the cultural transmitter leads to the second research hypothesis:

II. The extent to which the media are important and the manner in which they are used cross-culturally vary with age, sex, environment, education, background, availability, and other considerations.

In *Television and the Working Class*, Piepe noted that the content of American television serials and plays tended to exhibit the following traits:
1. occupational and other groups with high status were over-represented in TV drama
2. the values of youth, achievement, and material success were consistently emphasized
3. there was an avoidance of themes involving natural deaths and exigencies like illness and unemployment. 29

If these values present in American media content are not identical to indigenous values in another nation where they are shown, they may persuade viewers that they reflect American values in general. Also, once they become associated with the "American way of life" in the minds of other people, they will most likely act to reinforce those opinions.

As previously discussed, since the local media tend to be supportive of the values of the cultural status quo, they tend to reinforce the existing society. These considerations lead to the third hypothesis:

III. Media of an intercultural nature will initially tend to be suasory, whereas intra-cultural media will tend to be mimetic.

However, if the intercultural media were totally suasory, they would not be comprehensible to the people of other cultures. At the same time, if the intra-cultural media were totally mimetic, the content would be monotonous and would not encourage a great deal of interest.

Therefore, the following corollary is proposed:

Corollary: In order to influence a culture, both intercultural and intra-cultural media should have both mimetic and suasory aspects.

**Intercultural Stereotypes**

Intra-cultural media stereotyping was discussed earlier in this chapter, but now we must examine peoples' motivations for making and maintaining intercultural stereotypes. The reasons seem to fall into two primary areas, one of which is related to identity purposes,
which may be political and national in scope, the other which is for purposes of diversion and entertainment.

In relation to identity, Cherry notes,

To the vast majority of people, those in other countries are abstracts. We may see foreign faces on our TV screens, but we see them as representatives, we can not know them. . . . This is no comment on human callousness, but only upon the inevitable results of our suddenly being confronted with news on a global scale, when we have minds and emotional capacities more suited to life on a village scale. The world can never be my village.30

Sometimes the types of abstractions generated are deliberate, sometimes sub-conscious and unintentional, but regardless of the nature of the abstractions, nations are consistently involved in making them about each other. The findings of one researcher at the intercultural conference in France illustrates this tendency:

French TV, in presenting U.S. society, dwells on selected themes: violence, racism, crime, unemployment, youth protest, and drugs. . . . Because of its limitations, TV serves to reinforce cultural clichés (in both countries) rather than educate public opinion in each country.31

Gurov, in an International Communications Agency paper,32 explored the attempts of Soviet film critics to find "American reality" in American films. For example, the critics tried to study films as indicators of race relations in the United States, but were unable to understand films, like Sounder and In the Heat of the Night, which did not fit into their expectations. Therefore, the stereotyping of nationalistic perspectives develops both from media from another culture and from media generated internally about another culture.

Jawaharlal Nehru suggested:

Recent events all over the world have demonstrated that the notion that nationalism is fading away before the impact of internationalism . . . has little truth. It is still one of
the most powerful urges that move a people, around it cluster sentiments and traditions and a sense of common living and common purpose.33

Along with our tendencies to support our own cultural roots, there is a tendency to romanticize about other cultures. A clear example is the somewhat polarized feeling about Americans maintained by the French. Tom Moore, editor of the Paris Metro, explains that each time that examples of American culture were presented . . . there were two reactions: one of a more or less romantic interest in all that is American, the other of avoidance in view of the cultural imperialism.

(. . . chaque fois que des examples de culture américaine étaient présentés . . . il y avait deux reactions: l' une d'intérêt plutôt romantique pour tout ce qui est américain, l'autre de méfiance vis-à-vis de l'imperialisme culturel.)34

Explanations for this tendency to romanticize the traits of other cultures emerge from two trains of thought. In the first, the popularity of foreign films and television programs may be analogous to the reasons Cherry gives for why people enjoy tourism to such a great extent:

First to have a change from their familiar lives and to see something different. They are therefore motivated to seek out aspects of life which are different from their own, and rarely do they search for elements held in common. . . . They go to confirm what they already believe. It may do as much to enhance our ideas of national difference as it does to help unite us.35

The second line of reasoning, which is equally provocative, contends that although the pull of one's cultural ties and background may be strong, each culture has its less popular characteristics which seem to invite change or modification, particularly from the young. As Tunstall notes,
It is precisely (these) unpopular characteristics of much authentic culture which makes the imported media culture so popular by contrast. . . . The real choice probably lies with hybrid forms. In many countries there are older cultural forms which continue in vigorous existence, although modified by Western influences.36

These tendencies lead to the fourth hypothesis:

IV. People utilize and maintain cultural stereotypes for identity purposes, for diversion, and for entertainment.

Results of the earlier research conducted by the writer in France indicate that a certain hierarchy in credibility tends to occur.37 In this study, the media were invariably identified as the most important sources of information about life in the United States unless (1) respondents had traveled to the United States or had close friends who had traveled there, or (2) respondents had personally encountered or known Americans on a face-to-face basis. However, if the "live" ("real") Americans were too different from images which respondents had previously acquired about Americans, their status as cultural stereotypes was lowered. There were also indications that certain media formats carry more credibility in their depictions than other formats. With these considerations, the following corollary was developed:

Corollary: Personal contact with members of other cultures will supersede most media in importance as a source for cultural information unless those members are too different from expectations, in which case they will be dismissed as "atypical."

According to Cherry,38 there is good reason to suspect that the net impact of the ordinary traveler (or television show) on another person is to increase the complexity and differentiation of the images held about another culture. Contending that the global like-dislike
dimension is characteristic only of naive, inexperienced persons, he claimed that differentiated attitudes usually develop with time. For years, the "U-shaped curve of changing attitudes" has been the widely accepted model for the nature of the cross-cultural modification of ideas over time. (See Figure 1.) The cross-cultural encounter was depicted as starting favorably, then dipping into a disillusioned period of problems and adjustments, from which the individual involved eventually evolved (if given enough time) to a more sophisticated, favorable understanding of the host culture. The underlying theory of the model (and many international attempts at communication) is that increased communication equals greater understanding and mutually cooperative perspectives. Both the theory and the model are too simplistic, given the complexities of getting to know members of other cultures, and even counter-theories to the benefits of cross-cultural communication have been proffered:

![Figure 1. "U-shaped Curve of Changing Attitudes"](image)
much historical evidence indicates that, as different cultures get to know one another, the greater the chances that hostilities will break out between them. It is obvious, however, that intercultural communication functions in manners which range from the positive to the negative and cannot be relegated merely to a positive or negative nature. To promote the idea that the nature of intercultural communication is negative is to overlook the history of beneficial outcomes and increased knowledge which have emanated from the mixing of cultural ideas. The ultimate acceptance of the negative viewpoint would lead to complete cultural isolationism, a situation which would eventually lead to a state of cultural entropy. The reason for this is that cultural and social systems are not closed systems, but have always operated, at some time or another in their existence, in contact with other cultural groups. The sharing of information has repeatedly resulted in new and more effective ways of coping with certain difficulties, although not always in the support of the existing ideologies.

On the other hand, the fallacies involved in assuming that all intercultural contacts are mutually beneficial have been illustrated in Chapter 1. Instead of conjecturing on the value statements of "bad" and "good," the fifth hypothesis explores the idea that some kind of developments will occur:

V. As more encounters occur with another culture, cultural images (e.g., stereotypes) will be modified and differentiated.

This hypothesis does not imply that the stereotypes will be more
realistic; merely that they will be more detailed in nature, based on more extensive experiences.

Content Acceptance

According to Noble,

One of the most striking characteristics of mass communication studies is the frequency with which viewers confuse the reality and fantasy of their favorite programmes.42

The inability to differentiate between reality and fantasy in the media is a common intracultural experience; therefore, it is hardly surprising that the confusion is even greater on an intercultural level. Cherry has clearly outlined the nature of the confusion when he explains:

... many Englishmen may think of America as made up of gangsters, millionaires and hillbillies, skyscrapers and frontier towns where every male carries a gun. Why? I can only conjecture that Hollywood has herself to blame.

Such mythology is not just something which we have inherited from the past; it is still continually being created. It may be created by films and T.V. programmes sent overseas, by radio broadcasts, by newspapers, not because the people who make and write these are liars, but because the listeners, viewers, and readers are already predisposed to interpret them in ways which support their existing beliefs. Adults are not so ready to have their familiar notions shattered for all comfort would be gone. The great bulk of human communication has nothing whatever to do with logic, reason, or semantics; people do not hear or see what you tell them or show them, but only what they are predisposed to hear or see. ... The message received is not that contained solely in the semantic context of the sentences uttered, but will depend upon who the receiver is, his past history, and present condition and situation. It depends on the future: that is, upon the consequences of his hearing the message aright, upon how it affects his feelings of security or self-confidence, or whether he wants to hear it.43

Jacques Ellul has added the outlook that "in order for the myth to be effective abroad, it must not be contradicted at home."44

This is true, for the most part, since otherwise what is generated
becomes a parody of the culture, instead of a credible piece of information. But if films and television programs are sent abroad which do not focus on the contradictions of the present, but illustrate the myths as occurring in or being part of the past, the myths may be slipped into the intercultural system where recipients will be less aware of the real relationships in existence. This process might explain, in part, the popularity of the American Western, for example, the content of which is attributable to "another time and place" and is not quite so bound up in the cultural, social, and political contradictions of the present. These considerations lead to the sixth hypothesis and its corollary:

VI. Those formulas frequently presented in other culture programming tend to be accepted as "reality" by those cultural members without direct experience with the other culture.

Corollary: In so doing, cultural members develop certain myths of their own about the other culture which are particular to factors within the environment in which the programs are viewed.

The implications of the media and their content, already important for their potential to take primarily local myths and make them national public ones, become even more pervasive in their signification on the international level. Matellart's quote on American industrial products has implications for American media products as well:

Behind the Coca Cola stands a whole structure of expectations and models of behavior, and with it, a particular kind of present and future society, and an interpretation of the past. As (dependent countries) import industrial products made abroad and sold for American profit, they also import the foreign cultural forms of that society but without their context: advanced capitalist social conditions.45

The manner in which humans consequently become "pigeon-holed" by the media into thinking in neat, but unrealistic, cultural formulas
is criticized by Cassirer:

It is impossible for man to deal effectively with rapid social change and conflict, with the impact of technology, and the crisis of human values without a global, comprehensive approach. But neither the mass media nor education generally prepare the citizen to see events, ideas, and values in their dynamic interdependence. . . . The mass media generally confirm the citizen in his pigeonhole way of thinking rather than help him to see beyond accepted formulas.46

Some evidence on the acceptance of cross-cultural myths, stereotypes, and formulas indicates that the more different those elements are from those of the people who are viewing them, the more likely the people will be to accept them as credible. For example,

There are numerous studies in which children are more imitative of adults than peers . . . and adults may be more inclined to match some behaviors of ethnically dissimilar models than those of similar ethnic and socioeconomic status.47

Greenberg and Reeves found that "adults ascribe greater veracity to the portrayals of people with whom they have less life contact."48 One reason for this is that as adults we acquire a certain expertise in accepting or rejecting the reality or the truthfulness of what occurs in our own cultures based on our own experiences. Cultures which appear similar would superficially be judged in similar manner. But those cultures which are considerably different (within certain bounds of believability) are beyond our direct experiences within our own culture. Adults are in a position to be "educated" about these other societies, and are more open to and accepting of the accounts presented by the media. These explanations lead to the seventh hypothesis:

VII. That which is culturally "distant" may be more believable and acceptable to cultural members than that which is "close," yet not identical.
Value Neutrality

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the evidence that the American media are not value neutral (in spite of some declarations to the contrary) has important cross-cultural significance. The reasons are obvious:

Studies in the United States have demonstrated that television programming conveys to the audience values reflecting and reinforcing certain aspects of the culture in which it was produced. When such programming is used in foreign settings, it presents alien values—particularly about the relationship between the sexes, parents and children, and authority and the people. In many countries, imported (mainly U.S.) programs constitute a majority of the programs on television. . . . In those countries in which imported programs are a minority, they nevertheless tend to be concentrated in the prime-time viewing hours.

Many nations have actively sought and welcomed Western mass culture as the end of traditional culture, which is seen as an impediment to development. Western programs have also been used because they are much cheaper and affordable than programs domestically produced. Critics, however, complain about the spread of homogenized, global mass culture. They say that much of the imported material is of low cultural quality, which is in turn often imitated by the local media.

The reputation for "value neutrality" acquired by the American media has been well-explained by Tunstall:

The Anglo-American media—operating in the fields of politics, entertainment, culture, and commerce on a world scale—cannot possibly be 'value neutral'; but these media do stick, or are widely believed to stick, to the convention of value neutrality. They operate on an 'as if' basis—as if it were possible to be value neutral. This contributes powerfully to the 'least-worst' reputation of the Anglo-American media. If you have to import news, entertainment, and advertising at all—as most nations in practice do—then your least unpleasant choice may be to use the Anglo-American material and styles.

Several different perspectives exist on why American media-makers insist on the "value neutrality" of the programs. One viewpoint is that the "fairness" of our supposedly "value-free" media constitutes a kind of intellectual myth which must continue to function in order
to support the "American way." Mattelart contends,

It is part of the metabolism of the system which reacts to the facts of a situation by trying to absorb and eliminate them. . . . The media minimize the matter and its implications, and reassures the public that nothing is really going on.51

Markham adds,

The American intellectual system does not readily recognize systems in opposition. Our culture has some seemingly obscure on first glance yet obvious tensions in our socio-political environment. These tensions produce many types of accommodations including conflict and social movement. In a rather strange way, popular media generally hide these tensions much like ancient Western mythology hid many fundamental problems from the culture at large.52

In Mattelart's Marxian perspective even our most superficially value-free and impartial symbols, like Walt Disney's internationally-known Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck, are considered to be permeated with ideas supporting the American way of doing things:

Disney hopes that by incorporating the weaknesses of the system as well as its strengths his magazines (and other media) will acquire an appearance of impartiality. They embody pluralism of motifs and criterias and liberty of expression, while promoting sales, creative freedom for writers and artists. Of course, Disney's challenge to the system is stereotyped and socially acceptable. Supposedly, it is composed of conventions shared by all; rich and poor, intelligent and ignorant, big and small. . . . This is the facade of democratic debate which, while it appears to open up the problems defined by the bourgeoisie as 'socially relevant,' really conceals the subtle censorship they impose. This 'democratic debate' prevents the unmasking of the fallacy of 'free thought and expression.'53

Even if one does not share the idea of malicious intent in the creation and dissemination of the Disney characters, the tendency of the American media to appear "neutral" before the great "neutralizing agent" called "democracy" is suspect. The following reflection by Pavel Cîmpeanu reveals the gravity of the thinking:
Democracy is most often reduced to mere equality before laws covering basic forms of inequality.54

While the majority of American programs have had a great deal of popularity abroad, this may be due in part to their deep-seated support of the status quo and their tendency to promote obedience to the values of the existing system. What the future holds in this direction is unsure, as Shayon has reflected:

No one knows how the TV systems of the world can be deflected from their present course of cultivating obedient citizens and pleasure-seeking customers, but until things change on the world's domestic scenes, they will hardly change on the international stage.55

These conceptualizations of the potential impact of the underlying cultural and belief systems of American media led to the generation of the eighth hypothesis:

VIII. As media are not value-neutral, the value systems which individuals generate about people of other cultural backgrounds and themselves will vary with age, sex, environment, background and the availability of information.

The research needs in this area have been clearly defined by Elihu Katz:

Recognition of the promise of the media in connection with the problem of cultural identity leads to the realization that entertainment is not neutral but an active force in the communication of values. The implication of all this—for planners, for broadcasters, for academics—is to take entertainment seriously. If broadcasting is to be harnessed to the goal of promoting indigenous values, it is important to understand how entertainment works. That means understanding what message is implicit in Hawaii 5-0, what people perceive in it, what they enjoy, what it 'gives' them, and then, by contrast, analyzing the experience with home-made broadcast entertainment and with entertainment in traditional culture.56
Intercultural Media Influences on the Young

The intercultural media influence on youth is a central concern of this study.

Children, like adults, strive to make sense of TV, both as medium and social world. They develop constructs and paradigms and apply them in interpreting their TV-based experiences. There may be a relatively regular course of development for these constructs and paradigms. Even if their developmental course isn't regular, it is clear that for many years they're not the same as those employed by adults. Different constructs and paradigms, when applied to TV, lead to different understandings of the medium and its content. Such differences in understanding naturally mean that TV viewing is a different experience for viewers of different ages. They may also mean that the effects of TV viewing, where they generally exist, will differ for those viewers and that effects will occur for some viewers and not others.57

These conclusions, presented by Dorr, are indicative of the particular concerns of those researching the nature of media influences on the young. For many years, the debate on whether children can be easily molded by sources (the idea with which most research on children is conducted) or whether children tend to construct their understanding of the world with bits and pieces of the adult world has continued. The latter concept is gaining consideration in many current research endeavors, as expounded by Reeves:

Very seldom has research concentrated on more general perceptions of TV people, especially the impressions that children hold of how people or groups of people are different. TV provides children with possibly the most complete presentation of different types of people they are likely to see during childhood. . . . Focusing on attributes that children use to differentiate TV portrayals may tell us more about media impact on how children categorize and relate to people than the study of any one group of people or type of person. The way in which children learn to differentiate people may be very important in determining which attributes of people are dominant in children's 'real' life perceptions and dealings with other people.58

Intracultural research on media impact on the young has shown that
1. different children will respond to the same message in different ways depending on several variables;

2. children's perceived reality of TV messages differs;

3. the effect of parents' attempts to control and interpret TV messages;

4. the nature of children's identification with primary TV characters; and

5. the various gratifications children derive from exposure to television.59

These influences may be compounded when coupled with cross-cultural differences and expectations.

Adolescent Socialization

Of particular interest to the adults in many cultures is the manner in which the young are integrated or socialized into the cultures. According to Brim, socialization is "the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that enable them to participate as more or less effective members of groups and the societies."60 The cultural importance of this process is underlined by Gerbner:

The distinctive characteristics of large groups of people are acquired in the process of growing up, learning, and living in one culture rather than another. . . . Individuals make their own selection of materials through which to cultivate personal images, tastes, views, and preferences, and seek to influence those available and chosen by children.61

The value systems encountered and acquired during childhood are influential, but acquire an even different texture and tension during the transitional stage which is called "adolescence," the "period of tension and peace-making between the dependency of the past and the independence of the future."62 Adolescents, those past puberty who have
not entered the traditional trials and tribulations of adulthood like marriage or full-time work, are in the middle of important cultural decision-making processes. The cultural expectations placed on adolescent behaviors and experiences are extensive, because adults are aware of the fundamental importance of adolescent acculturation in the continuance of the culture:

Cultural achievements, although sequentially ordered and hierarchically organized within specific domains of knowledge and performance, are neither universal nor spontaneous. The expectation within a culture is that every child who is a member of the cultural group should be able to reach a certain level of achievement.63

Given these perceived needs and understandings on the part of cultural members, Campbell contends adolescence should have the following functions for each individual:

1. Adolescents are supposed to broaden substantially their range of social contacts and dramatically increase the number of others who are emotionally and normatively relevant to them by becoming less dependent on parents and home and more oriented to peers and to the adult world.

2. They are supposed to experiment with what they are in relation to others in the sense of 'trying on' new behaviors and experiences, questioning themselves internally as to what they are and wish to be seen as, working toward integration of past experiences, present performances, and future expectations, attaining a somewhat coherent, somewhat permanent answer to the question 'Who am I?'

3. Adolescents are supposed to be learning to be adults in the sense of acquiring social skills, selecting internal standards of judgment and conduct, and acquiring through practice in 'make-believe' organizational settings (i.e., student activities) the skills of constraint and presentation needed for success in the adult settings of an industrial, bureaucratized society.

4. The adolescent is widely viewed as being simultaneously in a suspended state of supreme frustration and in the middle of the best years of life.64
Given the needs and considerations for this stage of life, the
ninth hypothesis and its corollary are generated:

IX. Adolescents, in important decision-making stages of their
lives, will be the community members most involved in
decisions concerning the maintenance or rejection of the
cultural status quo.

Corollary: Adolescents will also be seen by adults as being
the most vulnerable in the chain of cultural con­
tinuity.

During the growing-up process, the selection of role models by
the young is encouraged in a variety of ways. Teachers and parents ask
young children what they want to be when they grow up, whereas adoles­
cents start to acquire and exhibit the traits of their heroes or hero­
ines. The adolescent actively begins to shape his or her own environ­
ment in a more forcible way, acquiring greater negotiations skills in
certain areas as the process continues. In effect,

it may be hypothesized that children are more likely to
receive formal instruction with non-negotiable elements of
their roles and informal instruction from peers regarding the
negotiable aspects of roles.65

Vitanyi posits several "universal" changes which occur in youth
behavior:

1. Intensified activity
2. Creative abilities
3. Communal activity
4. Emphatic youthfulness
5. Higher aesthetic standards than before
6. Responsive to issues raised by our age in preferred types of acts
7. Adoration and contempt of technology live side by side, as
do love of novelties and discovery of the remote past.66

Brookenbrenner adds that

In some cultures, peers supercede parental figures as principle
models and agents of socialization.67

These considerations lead to the tenth hypothesis:
X. Peer pressure, media, and other outside influences will tend to be more important than traditional influences (e.g., parents, school) on most adolescents.

The exact sources of the influences and their nature are difficult to assess.

The problem of identifying the sources of emulated behavior, however, is complicated by the fact that children are repeatedly exposed to multiple models including teachers, other adults in the immediate neighborhood, peer companions, and a host of other prestigious models presented mainly through TV and films. The presence of external cultural role models has never been so prominent and available on such an extensive basis and they reflect a tendency to accommodate various world viewpoints, which differ from those we have known in the past. Mead encapsulates the idea perfectly when she acknowledges that

we have never before developed a society in which people were willing to bring up young people who were not going to be like their elders in any way.

In some people, this trend inspires fears of cultural domination, even (or perhaps especially) from the most seemingly innocent cross-cultural media products. For example, Mattelart charges that children are taught to support the (American) status quo by Walt Disney cartoons claiming that, although the young depicted are allowed to act, they are not allowed to

turn tyranny [of power structure] into spontaneity and freedom, nor to bring their creative imagination to bear on power, but in order to perpetuate the same order of adult domination . . . with their prudent take over, their mature criticism, the youngsters uphold the same value system. . . . Since the child identifies with his counterpart, he contributes to his own colonialization.

On the other hand, the Final Report of the Commission at the 1972 Helsinki Conference disagreed with Mattelart's perspective,
concluding:

... although young people might be assumed to be specially vulnerable to the assault of the audio-visual media, they seemed in fact to be more exacting and more selective than adults, possibly because they took electronic innovations as a matter of course and not as technological advances which exerted a strange fascination.71

These discussions, along with evidence on the intracultural capabilities of the young in learning media stereotypes and formulas leads to the generation of the eleventh hypothesis:

XI. Adolescents and children can form and reproduce clear and concise cross-cultural stereotypes and media formulas.

Cross-cultural Aspiration versus Reality

Another occurrence with the introduction of the cultural stereotypes, formulas, and values of the American media into another culture is explained by Lemer:

Mass communication has brought to developing nations a revolution of rising expectations, and more recently a revolution of rising frustrations as people seeing how better life is possible, were thwarted in their attempts to get it.72

Teheranian has added that the communication revolution is a double-edged sword, as it has mobilized the population, increased the level of national consciousness, and created conditions for possible national integration; but it has also generated demands for more 'modernity' than can be delivered and has resulted in a 'revolution of rising frustrations.'73

Youth, whom Abshire calls "a constantly replenished reservoir of challenge to any status quo,"74 is especially interested in quickly resolving problems with ready-made answers from other sources. In many Eastern European nations, the youth have indicated growing interest in Western ideas and cultures. The appeal of the American media to the youth, in particular, is in the presentation of "their characteristic
themes of status, success, personal qualities, sex roles, youth, and ethnicity" according to Tunstall, who also notes that the typical customers of imported media are young white-collar workers, factory workers, or students with personal histories of social and geographical mobility.

A further problem develops due to the American tradition of the separation of work and leisure. According to Matellart,

the segregation of the child's world between the everyday and the enchanted, begins in the comics themselves [and by implication, the media], which take the first steps in teaching children, from their tenderest years, to separate work from leisure and humdrum reality from the play of their imagination. Apparently their habitual world is that of unimaginative work, whereas the world of the comic is that of fantasy-filled leisure. Children are once again split between matter and spirit, and encouraged to eliminate the imaginary from the real surrounding world.

Given these issues, it is important to consider the implications of the twelfth hypothesis:

XII. Cross-cultural media in some cultures help generate and maintain an "aspirations versus reality" gap, particularly among the young.

Media Policy-Making

The intricacies of international media policy-making and the issues of media exchange versus domination have been minutely analyzed by Tunstall, Gerbner, Schiller, Guback, and others in far greater detail than could be accomplished in these short pages. Gerbner points out that in spite of cultural differences, certain main patterns and problem areas seem to be universal in media policy and planning. These include:

1. Definition of media: scope and role
2. Regulation, control, supervision
3. Centralized and decentralized patterns of organization
4. Access and participation

The responses of nations to these concerns have been wide-ranging in orientation. In UNESCO's Cross-Cultural Broadcasting, they are referred to as (1) cultural pluralism, (2) cultural self-reliance, (3) cultural isolationism, (4) cultural protectionism. In the first place, cultural pluralism in media policies is said to permit growth of the numerous ethnic, racial, or socially diverse groups and their use of the media to firmly establish their interests. In a state of cultural self-reliance, the media depend on the nation's own internal capabilities for media productions. Cultural isolationism, which is currently a strong trend among many of the nations, is reflected by abstention from alliances which would permit frequent exchanges of media material. Cultural protectionism, which advocates government economic protection for domestic media producers through restrictions on foreign competitors, is also frequently found in modern communication policies and strategies. The other extreme, the continued importation of large quantities of media materials from a few large distributors, remains a common practice in international media policies, although there are extensive differences in the amount and the nature of the imported material.

Although many authors (Schiller, Wells, Mattelart) have advocated the theory of the exchange as imperialistic cultural domination, Tunstall more accurately points out that these arguments are too frequently exaggerated in terms of overt attempts to dominate:

1. Since much media policy-making is comprised of

   endless muddles, confusions, indecisions, self-deception, conflicting goals, conflicting ministries—the general
chaos which seems to characterize the appearance of TV.79

2. Since much decision-making is guided by the fact that expensive products at low prices inevitably induce—among media entrepreneurs, relevant government officials, producers, and journalists—conflicting responses. Admiration, greed, envy, contempt, and fear put together in various combinations, and in various sectors of the media industry, do not always make for well-considered and realistic policies.80

3. Since many of the data used in the claims are inaccurate or dated, The high tide of American media exports, in their most obvious form, has passed. I Love Lucy, Peyton Place, and Mission Impossible no longer rule the global village quite so masterfully as in the 1960's. But Hollywood is always dying only to be reborn with renewed vigour. And the world, by adopting American media formats, has in practice become hooked on American-style media whether these are homemade or imported.81

In spite of these changes, it is erroneous to assume that the numbers have decreased significantly in many nations, and there are some cases where the amount of imported American media has increased in recent years (Romanian television is one example). Schiller proposes that the solution to the problem lies in

an awareness of current technico-material realities, a high level of informed selectivity, and a continuing effort toward popular mobilization of indigenous cultural and informational activity.82

While excellent in theory, Schiller's suggestion overlooks an important point made by Blumler. In spite of planning, modern media of communication do far more to people than even those who administer them mean to do, and, from drives in the surrounding social fabric, they acquire a momentum of their own. . . .83

The impact of intercultural media associations is more a result of timing and environment than the intentions of the policy-makers.
From an anthropological perspective, Mead contends,

As each human individual embodies the culture through which s/he lives, discrepancies, inconsistencies, different rates of change of parts of cultures, will have their expression in the personality organization of the individuals who live within changing cultures. \( ^{84} \)

In other words, no definitive media policy/effect formula will be able to accommodate all the variables, or reveal all the impact which the media will have. This argument leads to the final hypothesis:

XIII. In spite of pre-planned media policies established by the decision-makers, other circumstances will influence both the choices and the influences they have.

In other words, the best-laid plans may go astray.

**Synthesis**

The complexities of examining such broad-based perspectives are immense. For example, how is the intercultural relationship between the media and people to be viewed? Salomon points out that depending on how we choose to conceptualize television [and film], we are required to conceptualize different constructs for study:

1. TV may be viewed as a social-situational factor involving choice behavior between activities.
2. TV may be viewed as a transmission of a content repertoire, implying decision-making regarding messages.
3. TV may be viewed as a source of content-messages dealing with recall, comprehension, and attitude change.
4. TV may be viewed as a 'language' pertaining to the process of encoding messages in the service of extracting knowledge. \( ^{85} \)

Salomon's conceptualizations, to a large extent, may be considered from and incorporated into the systemic, holistic perspective outlined in the following chapter. In this manner, the many-faceted nature of the relationship between the media and the people may be more completely explored.
Gerbner suggested three types of analysis which could be combined, overlapped, and telescoped in different configurations. These included:

1. Institutional policy analysis: how mass media relate to other institutions, make decisions, compose message systems, and perform their functions in society.
2. Message system analysis: how large bodies of messages can be observed as dynamic systems with symbolic functions that have social consequences.
3. Cultivation analysis: what common assumptions, points of view, images, and associations do the message systems tend to cultivate in large and heterogeneous communities and with what public policy implications?

The research methodology presented in Chapter 4, in conjunction with the hypotheses presented in this chapter, constitutes a start in the direction of answering most of these questions. In summary, the research hypotheses which are tested by the methodology are as follows:

I. Film and television productions are interculturally important verbal/visual materials in the establishment and maintenance of cultural stereotypes.

II. The extent to which the media are important and the manner in which they are used cross-culturally varies with age, sex, environment, education, background, availability, and other considerations.

III. Media of an intercultural nature will initially tend to be suasory, whereas intra-cultural media will tend to be mimetic.

Corollary: In order to influence a culture, both intercultural and intra-cultural media should have both mimetic and suasory aspects.

IV. People utilize and maintain cultural stereotypes for identity purposes, for diversion, and for entertainment.

Corollary: Personal contact with members of other cultures will supersede media in importance as a source for cultural information unless those members are too different from expectations, in which case they will be dismissed as "atypical."

V. As more encounters occur with another culture, cultural images (i.e., stereotypes) will be modified and differentiated.
VI. Those formulas frequently presented in other-culture programming tend to be accepted as "reality" by those cultural members without direct experience with the other culture.

Corollary: In so doing, cultural members develop certain myths of their own about the other culture which are particular to factors within the environment in which the programs are viewed.

VII. That which is culturally "distant" may be more believable and acceptable to cultural members than that which is "close," yet not identical.

VIII. As media are not value-neutral, the value systems which individuals generate about people of other cultural backgrounds and themselves will vary with age, sex, environment, background, and availability of information.

IX. Adolescents, in important decision-making stages of their lives, will be the community members most involved in decisions concerning the maintenance or rejection of the cultural status quo.

Corollary: Adolescents will also be seen by adults as being the most vulnerable in the chain of cultural continuity.

X. Peer pressure, the media, and other outside influences will tend to be more important than traditional influences (parents, school) on most adolescents.

XII. Cross-cultural media in some cultures help generate and maintain an "aspiration-versus-reality" gap, particularly among the young.

XIII. In spite of pre-planned media policies established by the decision-makers, other circumstances will influence both the choices and the influences they have.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 2


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CHAPTER 3

THE ORGANIZATION OF DECISION-MAKING IN BUCHAREST

In terms of establishing one complete ethnographic study, the exploration of a community situation contains the seeds of a fruitful experience. From a systemic perspective, knowing the nature of the decision-making of the media managers enriches the study of how people use media and how different media formats function. Consequently, the initial part of the research involved assessing the how and why of decision-making; that is, how the media managers in Bucharest decided what would be seen and why they selected programs in the manner in which they did. This groundwork of theory and practice from the perspective of the Romanian government is essential to understanding the nature of the impact of American films and television programs on the lives of the young people.

The most straightforward and productive manner in which to obtain the decision-making information was simply to ask those directly and indirectly involved. For this purpose, open-ended interviews seemed the most mutually satisfactory way to proceed. In the first place, a list of specialists with whom interviews could be made was established. My advisor from the Academy of Social and Political Sciences in Bucharest, with which I was affiliated, helped me determine who the most useful and informative individuals might be. The most obvious specialists on my primary list included those who selected
the American films and programs for television, those who selected American films for the cinema, the principal researchers of the media, and the producers, directors, actors, and critics who could explain what influences, if any, American media had on the nature and style of Romanian media. Also of great interest were the film professors and students at the National Institute of Theater and Films and their concepts on the impact of American media. The students' films and professional films were to be viewed in order to observe the nature of socialist realism, as well as the portrayal of American characters, presented on the screens. Other contacts with individuals occurred by chance and also proved relevant to the study. Many of those interviewed directed me to archives, libraries, and other sources of information from which materials are included in the following pages. Readers will note that in many places names and sources are omitted from the text; this is because many individuals specifically requested the confidentiality of names and sources for personal reasons. The author may supply additional information, however, on request.

For each individual interviewee, a list of rather broad questions was prepared, of which five or six were central to the concerns of the study. The remainder were useful, although somewhat more peripheral, and were to be asked as time permitted. The nature of and style of the questions depended on the interviewee. These formal interviews were not taped, since the tape recorder would have been an intrusion under the circumstances. However, extensive notes were taken or information was recorded after departing the interview situation, depending on the nature of the interview. Over one month of research time was filled with these interviews. When more time proved to be necessary,
return trips were made to Bucharest from the research community.

Romania has long been the maverick nation among the Socialist East European nations, pursuing policies and goals which have not always paralleled those of other Bloc members, and which have even at times been in direct conflict with the interests of the Soviet Union. In the first place, over half of the nation's trade is with non-Socialist countries, basically in order to maintain a certain control over the Romanian right to its own foreign policy. This creative and occasionally courageous endeavor has resulted in a lower living standard for Romanians than for the neighboring Bulgarians, who receive large sums of aid in exchange for their pro-Soviet policies. On the other hand, the Romanians have been able to maintain more independence and flexibility in pursuing their national goals of international relationships. The key moves in this direction occurred in 1964 with the Romanian declaration of independence from Comecon, the Common Market, in a manner of speaking, of the Communist world in Europe. In 1967, Romania refused to break diplomatic relations with Israel, in spite of Soviet-directed oppositions to the nation, and in 1968, Romanians were the only Bloc-members who did not join in the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Nevertheless, the relatively open-minded, innovative foreign policy of this Bloc nation is not reflected in the more rigid, internal policy of the country, and in many respects, an increasingly regulated social and cultural life-style has evolved. In the early seventies, several moves were made to tighten internal security by a variety of
measures. These included the concept of "self-censorship" and stricter editorial regulations.  

According to Abshire, there are two official explanations for the increased internal regulations. The first is that rigid controls are a necessary part of the policy of independence from Moscow in foreign affairs. In other words, their purpose is to prevent the type of Brezhnev Doctrine intervention that put an end to Czechoslovakia's ideas of self-determination. The second reason is that the decision-makers want to build up the industrial sector of Romania, even at the expense of the consumer, to make the nation self-sustaining, free from dependency on other nations, with a certain international prestige. In order to accomplish these goals it is maintained that strict internal controls are necessary to insure the future and thus they will be continued.

The conflict resulting from the tight internal policy and the relaxed foreign policy has had its repercussions both within and without the nation, ranging from the Romanian bid for Most Favored Nation status from the United States, to the continued desire for emigration on the part of many of the people. This dilemma permeates many aspects of the society and media decision-making is no exception. The guidelines for these decisions are rather broad and ambiguous, strictly reinforced in one situation, and casually dropped in the next.

Romania is a nation of diversity, of strong regional affiliations and customs. At the same time, the promotion of feelings of national unity and identity is the main concern of the national government. The result of the encouragement of national identity and the respect for regional diversity is a decision-making apparatus with all
the highly important headquarters located in Bucharest, which responds to the requests of the smaller governing bodies which regulate each "judet," an area roughly equivalent to a large county in the United States.

In short, government policy and most decision-making on the selection, importation, and dissemination of American films and television programs in Romania is under the auspices of offices located in Bucharest. Therefore, the first stage of the research project was spent in Bucharest, learning about the various organizations involved in this process. An advisor was assigned to oversee the study and to give advice on the places to be investigated and the people to be met in order to facilitate the research. Fortunately, the advisor, Dr. Manuela Ghiorghi, was a talented, knowledgeable, and capable individual who planned a diverse agenda of activities and arranged for an introduction to many contacts who played key roles in various aspects of the Bucharest media world. The list of suggestions which she made was so extensive and fascinating that virtually the entire research time could easily have been passed in interviews with these individuals, who were, for the most part, very helpful and informative. As it was, the stay in Bucharest was extended several weeks; yet even with this extension and frequent trips to Bucharest from the research community, time did not permit a follow-up on all the sources.

The first part of this chapter examines the general organization of the media-making and media decision-making structure in Romania. Included are sub-sections on the import and production organizations,
professional support groups, affiliated academic institutions, research organizations, public forums, and external media influences.

Following the organizational analysis, the information obtained from the Bucharest research period which is relevant to the hypotheses and corollaries is explicated. This material is contained in four sub-sections. The first, on the criteria for the selection and dissemination of American media products in Romania, provides data for hypotheses I, II, III and Corollary, IV, XII, XIII. The second, on American influences on Romanian productions, is of use with hypotheses I, II, III and Corollary, XIII. The apparent influences and effects of the media on young Romanians uncovered by Romanian researchers, comprise the third section, which is of use to hypotheses I, II, IV, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, and XIII. The final sub-section on the feelings held by Bucharest decision-makers and others on American films and Americans in general supplies evidence for hypotheses I, II, III and Corollary, IV, VI and Corollary, VII, VIII, XII, and XIII.

**Import and Production Organizations**

Româniafilm is the central import-export agency of all foreign films coming into Romania for theater distribution, as well as for all Romanian films being distributed abroad. The agency works directly with regional decision-making councils for film selection and distribution to each "județ," or district, in the country. Although the entire activity of the professional cinema of Romania is coordinated by the National Film Center (C.N.C.), a specialized body subordinate to the State Committee for Culture and Art (C.S.C.A.), Româniafilm is charged
with overseeing the film productions made in the country, in addition to the other import-export duties. Since Romanian production amounts to approximately 25 feature films, 100 documentary shorts, and 35 animated cartoons per year, the workload is considerable. (See Figure 2.)

All film-making endeavors come under the Româniafilm agency, which acts as a clearing house for the productions. Four production houses, called "Case de Filmi," are responsible for all feature films made. AnimaFilm Studio is responsible for cartoons, and the Alexandru Sahia Studio is in charge of documentaries. The production houses may make use of the Buftea Center for Film Production, a large, lavish facility located about thirty miles northwest of Bucharest. The neatly laid-out facilities recall the appearance of Hollywood studios.

The Alexandru Sahia Studio, responsible for most of the documentary work produced in Romania, handles an incredibly diverse and large amount of productions per year. Industrial, economic, scientific, agricultural, didactic, tourist, publicity and educational films made for both the cinema circuit and Romanian television are all generated from this studio. Sixteen-millimeter productions predominate if the documentary films are to be sent primarily to small towns and villages; otherwise, for theater use, 35-mm productions are standard. The directors are salaried by the studio and have an obligation to complete approximately five films per year, depending on their schedules and the nature of productions. All technical equipment belongs to the studio.

Each year a thematic plan establishes which films will be made the following year. Writers collect ideas on the theme and generate
Figure 2. Romanian Organizational Hierarchy of Decision-Making Concerning Films
treatments which are distributed to the various directors. The directors may also have a hand in what productions they would like to do, and many specialize in certain types of productions (e.g., scientific, historical, publicity). The scenarios are then scrutinized and elaborated on by the specialists from the respective fields. Finally, a commission of nine people associated with the studio decides if the scenarios are acceptable, and the films are made.

Although fiction film-making positions have in the past been more highly valued by many film students, more and more filmmakers are interested in specializing in documentaries as interesting and important film forms. There is also increasing flexibility in România for the directors to try different formats and then return to their original idea. Ion Popesco Gopo, for example, one of the leading Romanian film animators, has recently been involved in the making of feature films.

Sources at the Sahia Studio claimed that films made only for export (i.e., in foreign languages) are also produced at the studio and then sent abroad. Although this is contradictory to Româniafilm's contention that all film productions are made for the Romanian people, the documentary films in question are basically travelogues and help increase tourism and interest in the country.

The Radioteleviziunea Româna, the nation's television industry, pays for the shorts it orders out of its programming budget. The ministries which order films (e.g., Education and Agriculture) also have budgets specifically for these purposes. Those shorts made to accompany the feature-length films in the theaters are usually paid for by Româniafilm, which also covers the foreign costs and those made for
uses abroad. The Buftea complex is used for more complicated films and serials. The Radioteleviziunea Româna (RTR) usually takes care of its own film reports and interviews. Since the number of domestically produced documentaries is considered sufficient for the people's needs, few are imported. Also, given the relative costs involved, it is more lucrative in the theaters to import American fiction films and program them with Romanian documentary shorts than the inverse.

The animated films produced in Romania have tended to take one of two directions: either they reflect a very unique and creative form which places many Romanians among the top animators in the world, or they have adopted the traditional cartoon recipes of Walt Disney and Hanna-Barbara in their generation of films for children. A third, rapidly-growing area is the use of puppets in films for young children.

Some feature-length animated films are made, but the majority follow the Western cartoon style of 7-10 minutes and are purchased for use by television systems outside the country. The rich Romanian folklore and traditions are major sources of ideas for the animated films, but American styles of cell production and design are also visible.

The studio employees are divided into teams of artists who work on the different projects which include sponsored films, children's stories, publicity films, training films, and historical films for the museums. A biennial animation film festival held at the Black Sea resort of Mamaia draws entries from all over the world.

Because of their high cost, feature films apparently go through a more elaborate screening process than the animated or documentary scenarios. Four to five collaborators discuss the feature film ideas
which may come through the mail, from writers, directors, or a wide variety of sources. With these suggestions and proposals in hand, the production houses evaluate the ideas in order to find those with the most promise. Each production house is obligated to produce one-fourth of the national feature film production: approximately six films per year. Româniafilm gives them a budget, and to the extent that they have good screenplays, the process starts.

The screenplay is approved or disapproved by the organization of filmmakers, ACIN, which is somewhat similar to a highly selective trade union made up of the most prestigious directors, actors, actresses, cinematographers, etc. A council from the production house, composed of a manager, a collaborator, two or three directors, one or two writers, a Româniafilm representative, and a representative of the Council of Cultural and Social Education, then examines the screenplay. The council makes any changes necessary to guarantee the artistic, dramatic, and literal importance of the work.

An economist, who acts as a director of productions, then makes approximate calculations of the film's cost. After the scenario is accepted, the studio picks the director, writer, and principal actors and actresses. A contract is made with the Buftea Center of Technical Production, which answers for the technical production needs of the film: editors, technicians, set designers, cameramen, and so on.

The Radioteleviziunea Româna is the central radio and television broadcasting agency which selects, programs, and disseminates all the television programs seen throughout the country. The executive bureau of the RTR is directed by a group of 15 to 20 members, of whom
some are employed in the industry and others are not. Included in this group, which participates in the decision-making process, are representatives from the Trade Union, the Women's Ministry, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from the youth groups (the Young Pioneers and the Young Communists' Union). This bureau oversees the work of the four central RTR departments: television, radio, foreign transmissions, and the administrative department.

The purpose of the Office of International Relations and Exchanges of the RTR is (1) to establish contracts and agreements with other nations on media exchange, and (2) to plan programming on Romanian concepts addressed to the people of other nations.

The Office for Economic and Financial Development at the RTR is occupied with economic decisions and planning, as well as researching the relationship between the media and the public. Most of the studies undertaken by this division are general in nature and will be discussed in more depth with other research sources.

Each radio or television program is given an in-house budget and the technical departments are at their disposition. Since everything is conducted under one umbrella organization, production costs at the television studios are relatively inexpensive. The comparable facilities available at the Studio Buftea for film productions are said to be from ten to twenty times more expensive, although the RTR occasionally orders program segments from the Studio Buftea.

Nine editorial departments have control over RTR programs:

1. The first department is responsible for the presentation and coordination of programs, including American films and serials which
are to be critiqued for television. The criteria for the decisions made by this department's staff will be discussed later.

2. The department in charge of Internal and External News is divided into four basic sub-sections: (a) internal affairs, (b) international affairs, (c) sports, and (d) foreign correspondence (i.e., the Romanian journalists who send in news from abroad). This department is extremely powerful and influential.

3. The Social Educative Department is concerned with the problems of the nation and initiates documentary film projects on the nature of the Romanian social order. These televised reports may last 20 to 30 minutes and cover numerous topics, with the exception of those related to economics.

4. The Department for Economic and Scientific Programs generates productions on the Romanian economy. Farmers' programs, programs for rural inhabitants, and programs which respond to questions asked by citizens are under the auspices of this department.

5. Cultural affairs programming is under the jurisdiction of a department which primarily generates interviews and other programs specifically oriented to the cultural enlightenment of the Romanian people.

6. Theatrical productions, which may either be filmed during actual performances or organized specifically for the television spectators, are shown twice a week on the screen. Since, for financial reasons, many theatrical productions cannot be sent throughout the country, these filmed or taped versions take their place.
7. All musical productions, including classical concerts, folk-dancing, popular music and singing, are coordinated in one department.

8. One department is exclusively dedicated to taping spectacles and variety shows of interest to viewers.

9. A radio department devoted to transmitting to foreign countries generates daily programs in several foreign languages. Other programs in a variety of other languages are also made to be sent abroad.

10. Finally, a separate department has been set up to make productions for the Magyar (Hungarian) and German minority groups which reside in Romania.

Five regional radio studios help disseminate programs addressed to regional needs and interests. They may program from three and one-half to eight hours daily, and are located in the provincial centers of Iași, Craiova, Timișoara, Cluj, and Tîrgu-Mureș.

The two television channels of the RTR are primarily supported by subscription costs charged from each family owning a set. Over 3.5 million subscribers pay 45 lei per trimester for both the radio and television licenses. The cost breakdown is 10 lei per month for each television set and five lei for each radio. In 1978 terms, the yearly subscription cost the average Romanian household, owning both a television set and a radio, the equivalent of $11.25 (U.S.).

The first channel is seen throughout the country and covers about 97 percent of Romanian territory. The second channel is limited to Bucharest and the surrounding area to a distance of 100 kilometers (60 miles). Even with its technical limitations, the second channel reaches 20 percent of the Romanian public, since the Bucharest area is
highly populated. The programming on this second channel is oriented primarily to programs on culture and topics of local interest.

The Romanians have established several television priorities to be achieved in the future. Of primary importance is the extension of the second channel throughout the country so that citizens will have more variety in programming. A second dream is to establish color television facilities in the country, but this development presents some technical and ideological problems. The cost of an imported set was quoted at 15,000 lei ($1,250), whereas the price of a color set made in Romania would be approximately 10,000 lei ($833). Even if color set production were to be set up in Romania, the decision would call for sizeable financial investments to be made by the government. The government may decide that other investments are worthier since the cost of even the locally-made color set could easily represent several months of a worker's salary.

Professional Support Groups

Three professional support groups for both Romanian productions and the importation of American films proved to be very informative. These were the Filmmakers' Association of the Socialist Republic of Romania ("ACIN"), the Critics' Club (Clubul Criticii), and the monthly cinematic magazine, the Revista Cinema.

ACIN, with 600 members and 400 candidates, is the prestigious organization of actors, directors, and cinematographers involved with studio management and important film-making decisions. In order to qualify as a member, a directorial candidate must have made three films,
a cinematographer must have shot five films, and an actor must have had three to five lead parts, or 15 to 20 secondary parts. The organization owns its own theater in Bucharest and regularly screens foreign films for those who belong. These films are critiqued, both by ACIN members and members of the important "Clubul Criticii," although both groups are primarily concerned with the nature of Romanian productions (e.g., their strengths and weaknesses). One important and popular source for the ideas of these individuals is in the Revista Cinema, a magazine with a monthly circulation of 200,000 copies. (See Appendix B.) Besides general information on films, including the American films being imported, the magazine contains articles on music, festivals, and popular culture at home and abroad which Romanians, especially the youth, find interesting. Included are numerous discussions of American films, stars, music, and life styles which are explained and critiqued for the primarily teenage readers.

Also devoted to the raising of the level of film culture in Romania is the National Film Archive, established in 1957. It contains extensive libraries of Romanian and American films (over 3,000 full-length features), texts (over 20,000 volumes), and other documents of cinematic value.

Affiliated Academic Institutions

In Romania it is stipulated that the number of students being trained in institutes must equal the number of jobs available when their training is finished. Therefore, the process of choosing a limited number of candidates for the I. L. Caragiale Institute of Theatrical
and Cinematographic Art (I.A.T.C.) in Bucharest, the only film school in the nation, is quite selective. The prospective applicants meet with professors and take a long exam which is said to determine their skills and orientation within the profession and which is the decisive factor in the selection process. The training period for actors, directors, cinematographers and those involved directly in making films and theatrical productions lasts four years. Those in training to become film critics study for five years.

A large number of foreign students attend, often being more numerous than the Romanian students and usually coming from "Third World" countries. As with many film schools, the students and the faculty do not always see eye-to-eye on the value of various aspects of the programs or the grading methods. Some students (and would-be students) claim that the initial decision-making is unfair and is inadequate for determining who is really capable of being a good director. Others feel that they don't have enough opportunities to practice making films, since the productions are limited to one film a year per student. Although students are supposed to come up with their own original subjects and adaptations for these yearly efforts, many claim that their decisions are guided too much by faculty members, occasionally with a certain amount of friction.

At the end of the training period, each student of directing makes a "Diploma Film" which is a very important part of the final grade. Several of these films were screened at a film festival I attended, and the technical excellence of much of the work was evident. A wide variety of themes, some humorous, others serious, were included.
Almost without exception, the films made some kind of social commentary about the pretentious nature of society, the pains of war and poverty. The only film that was overtly political among those viewed by the writer was made by a South American student who depicted the corruption of a South American military dictator. The preoccupation of many of the Romanian film students was apparently in selecting themes that would please their professors. The "Diploma Film" is the final student film each makes, and the high or low marks received on it are instrumental in determining how the student is employed upon graduation.

In order to determine which graduate will receive what job, placement is made according to the marks students earn in classes. In other words, the best student has the first choice of all the job vacancies available that year, and the poorest student basically has no choice. Students must stay where they are assigned for three years, but may then try to fill other job vacancies as they become available. New directors are received in the production center as second or assistant directors, and they are obligated to work in this capacity on at least three films. The area may be in documentary, television, feature films, or animation, but usually the directors will not change genres once established in a locale.

All actresses and actors at the I.A.T.C. are trained primarily as theatrical performers, and are usually hired by theatrical companies upon graduation. From there, they are "loaned" for television and cinema work. There is also an associated school which prepares the assistants in the film productions: the electricians, technicians, etc.
Students are required to take some theory classes, and American classics, particularly those from the Silent Era through the Second World War, are frequently screened for the students as examples of important cinematic traditions. In addition, a section for the study of film history, which collaborates closely with the researchers from the National Film Archive, is incorporated within the Institute of the History of Art.

Finally, lectures on film theory and history are also part of the courses offered at the people's universities. These are primarily scheduled in the evenings and are available to any one of any age who cares to subscribe.

Research Organizations

Research on the history, theory, and sociology of the media is carried out by a variety of organizations, centered for the most part in Bucharest.

Historical research is conducted at the National Film Archive and at the Institute of the History of Art, with which the Romanian advisor was associated. Sociological research on the impact of media on the Romanian public in general was conducted by three groups. A bureau for mass media audience research called the Office of Studies and Surveys, which was established in 1967, comes under the jurisdiction of the RTR. According to Paulu,

After a research plan is drawn up and approved by the broadcasting authorities, studies are made by teams of specialists in sociology, statistics, and psychology, most of whom have had broadcasting experience.10
The OSS has examined numerous topic areas, ranging from the leisure time activities of the young, to differences between urban and rural areas, to the effects of television on radio listening. Some of its research results will be discussed later in this chapter. Although this research is primarily oriented to understanding audience preferences, viewing habits, and tastes, members of the research teams have undertaken some very complex and extensive research on the relationship of media and aesthetics, the acculturation of rural people to an urban way of life, and the effects which the media had on the transition.

Several sources including the OSS revealed that the Center for Research on the Young, part of the Union of Young Communists (U.T.C.), conducted extensive and sophisticated research on the impact of the media on young Romanians. Yet, during a visit the writer was informed that this area was not one which they were extensively researching.

A final source were the Româniafilm surveys and questionnaires which were generally used on a region-by-region basis. (See Appendix C.) These will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

**Public Forums: Cine-clubs and Film Festivals**

An important means by which young people may see American productions and participate in making their own 8-mm projects are the nation's "Cine-clubs," which were organized in the mid-1950s. A major purpose of these clubs is to prepare spectators to understand films by scheduling screening and discussion sessions. Romania now has approximately 500 cine-clubs nationwide with between four and five thousand active members. Many of these members make their own fiction, animated,
documentary, or experimental films for which they may win amateur prizes in festivals around the country.

Late in the research period, the writer had the opportunity to attend the Festival of Films for Romanian Youth, sponsored by the U.T.C. for the many young vacationers staying in the student resort of Costin-ești on the Black Sea. The relaxed schedule included the screening of one or two feature films each evening, which were preceded by one documentary and one "Diploma Film." On the following day, the preceding night's films would be discussed in a casual, informal gathering at the beach. Ideally, this allowed for two hours of serious discussion/debate between those involved in the making and those involved in the watching of the films. The ideas expressed during this festival will be discussed subsequently.

External Media Influences

Although residents of other Eastern European countries can receive transmissions from non-Socialist countries (East Germany from West Germany; Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia from Austria), Romania is not in this position. Austrian TV commentator Hugo Portisch has noted that

We notice time and again that Poles, Bulgarians, or Russians who can not see Western TV, are far more surprised by the capitalistic scene when they come to Vienna than the Czechs or Hungarians who can. The visual impact of watching the ordinary day-by-day TV of another country is enormous--much more than listening, for example, to the Voice of America Radio, which everyone knows is propaganda (stress the writer's).12

Romanians do not have unrestricted access to outside visual media; however, they do receive Voice of America, Radio Free Europe,
and BBC broadcasts on the radio. Some studies conducted on RFE audi­
ences in Romania\(^1\) claim that 71 percent of Romanians listen to Western
radio, while 29 percent do not. According to one RFE report, 77 percent
of the men, 80 percent of the young, 81 percent of those with secondary
education, and 84 percent of the university students make up the audi­
ence. Only 65 percent of the women listen, as well as 65 percent of
those with only an elementary education. Farmers and farm-workers are
the least frequent listeners (only 54% of the time).

The presence of the foreign radio results in the need to counter
with other types of media programming, as explained by Tunstall:

National radio output is heavily domestic but has to compete
with foreign radios, notably the siren sound of the Western
pop-and-politics stations. One way of partly drowning out
foreign radio has been to boost TV and to make the bulk of
programming at home; for imports on TV, there has been a
tendency in the less strongly 'committed' central countries
to draw imports quite heavily from both East and West. Only
in feature films have these nations not tried to make the
bulk of their material at home—and here there is again a mix
of east and west; but Eastern Europe makes a fair portion of
its own films—once more stressing the powerful national self­
sufficiency drive even in this expensive medium.\(^2\)

The Selection and Dissemination of American Films

In a nation where the average price of the cinema ticket is
32 cents, and the basic film decisions are made by delegates from the
National Council of Culture and Education, it is quickly apparent that
the cinema is not primarily operated as a profit-making venture, but
is filling other needs. In Romanian Socialist philosophy, the function
of the cinema is to act as a cultural domain which the audience attends
in order to see what is beautiful and important in life. Romanian
films are hypothetically made with these ideals, and the films imported
from abroad function to keep Romanians aware of the "most valuable creations" in the world cinema.

Unlike the RTR, which receives funding from the government, Româniafilm officials say that their organization is entirely self-supporting from (1) cinema ticket sales in Romania, and (2) sales of Romanian films abroad. Româniafilm imports feature films from over thirty-six countries, which is not always easy to do. They attempt to bring as many films as possible from Third World countries, or Socialist countries with budding film industries. The occasional awkwardness and naiveté of these productions are not without their problems, since these films tend to draw smaller audiences, but the decision-makers in Bucharest feel that the presence of these films in Romanian theaters permits Romanians to have a direct knowledge of the mentality of the people in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and other areas. As such, the films are seen to be beneficial, as they make Romanians aware of the world of changing values in which they live.

Approximately 150-160 foreign films are imported each year. Slightly more than half are from Socialist nations, and the remainder are from non-Socialist countries. In making the selections, numerous press releases, distributors' catalogues, and film reviews are read about the productions. From these sources of information, Româniafilm makes a pre-selection. They ask to see the films in which they are interested, but as few are sent to Romania, small Romanian envoys go to see them at the international film festivals and fairs. The primary sources of films include the festivals at Cannes, St. Sebastian, West
Berlin, Teheran, Karlovy-Vary, Moscow, and Tashkent (the latter primarily for African and Asiatic films).

Screenings of American films (other than those presented at the festivals) are conducted twice a year in London. In the past, Romanian decision-makers, who unfortunately lacked access to the products of many small independent producers, relied heavily on the productions handled by the Motion Picture Export Association. Yet, as the independent producers join to organize markets for their films, Româniafilm anticipates spending more money on the independently-produced American films.

The Council of Cultural and Social Education established a 17-member commission involving film critics, directors, studio producers, representatives from ACIN, the Ministry of Education, the youth organizations, the Trade Union and Româniafilm to select the foreign films which are to be sent around the country. When the films come, they are shown to this commission which takes one day per week to view the productions, discuss their merits, and argue for those which should be purchased or leased. The key questions asked are (1) whether the artistic values of the film justify its acquisition, and (2) whether the content justifies the means.

There is no official censorship board, so the responsibility for making "good" decisions rests on the Commission members. Films which are considered to hurt the feelings of a people or contain "polluting" elements for the audience (i.e., pornography and excessive violence) are automatically dismissed. Also, historical renditions of events are to be "real," based on facts. Often the new productions of historical epics are said to be commercialized reproductions of the
original versions and are, for the most part, to be avoided. An often-cited example was the Romanians' preference for the "original" Tarzan films, starring Johnny Weismuller, as opposed to later, "less effective" Tarzans.

A small group (from two to three members) from the larger Commission are sent to the festivals and fairs with full power to decide on buying the films being exhibited. In order to avoid mistakes, however, films bought by the envoys are shown to the entire Commission before they are distributed throughout Romania.

The relationship between Româniafilm and the Radioteleviziunea Româna is relevant to the nature of decision-making in the two organizations. The RTR has its own conception of programming which differs from that of Româniafilm because the television programming is more diverse and meets different needs. News of the day, reports, entertainment, educational programs, and variety shows must all find their place in the limited daily television schedule, and such organizations' priorities differ.

Furthermore, Româniafilm cannot totally coordinate its imports with the RTR because the international societies distributing films for television use generally offer those films after their period of highest demand. This may mean a delay of several years for television use. Generally, foreign films make the rounds of the theater circuit first, and are eventually shown on television. If they are extremely popular, like the films of Chaplin, they may even pass through the theater circuit and/or on television again.
The small delegations sent to the festivals to purchase films represent both television and film interests. Româniafilm representatives, however, have the first option to buy films. From the 20 to 30 films offered, Romanian buyers will usually pick five or six. Although these are to be shown first in the theaters, the television screening rights for them are generally bought at the same time. With this agreement, the RTR has the right to broadcast the films after one and one-half years.

Other, less exciting films are also purchased to be shown after a delay. If the RTR expresses an interest in broadcasting at a later time a film which is first shown in the movie theaters, Româniafilm acquires provisional right to use the film for five years. If the RTR decides to use it within those five years, they make a contractual agreement with Româniafilm. The decision is conveyed to the American distribution company who then sells it to the RTR television programmers.

Although the cinema is supposed to be primarily a "cultural" and educational medium, the decision-makers do not exclude amusement and entertainment values from their selection criteria. They try to find subjects that are useful, both aesthetically and educationally, that is, films which will widen the knowledge and cultural scope of the Romanian people. Yet they must also deal pragmatically with the economic realities of what people will pay to see. For this reason, Westerns, adventure films, and comedies have become important theater staples.

The value systems expressed in the American Westerns are not considered to be "universal" in nature by the Romanians, but the appeal
and success of this genre with the primary film audience, young people from 12 to 25, is undeniable. The Romanians claim that it is difficult for the young to like a Bergman film over one starring John Wayne, as an important part of childhood and adolescence is identifying oneself with heroes or heroines. Consequently, the decision-makers do not want to "oppose" this natural psychological tendency of young people to seek heroes to imitate. At the same time, they want to support "helpful heroes," not the negative anti-hero heroes who, they feel, are becoming more and more prevalent in Western films.

Of the two long-time American film favorites of the Romanians, Spartacus and Sound of Music are said to have had unequaled success. Spartacus is particularly popular, partially because Romanians are so familiar with the historical portrayal of events, due to their former status as a Roman colony. The type of technical and physical beauty of the film, combined with universal human needs, is felt to satisfy the Romanian people by helping them to "put aside their day-to-day occupations and experience something of clear-cut beauty."

Feature-length American documentaries are said to not fare well because "the people need something to take their minds off every-day trials, not to add to them." Yet fiction films of social comment, like Sacco and Vanzetti, Guess Who's Coming to Dinner, and Born to Lose, have been successfully presented in Romania. Generally, though, for increased ticket sales, Româniafilm has to program more action films and less social commentary.

Using Armand Mattelart's argument about the "subtle imperialistic effects" of American children's films (particularly those of Walt
Disney), several decision-makers in Bucharest were asked whether or not they felt the "bourgeois" characters like Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck were instilling certain undesirable philosophies in Romanian young people. The decision-makers, for the most part, scoffed at the idea that the undesirable elements would cause any problem for the building of Socialist Romania, contending that any "bourgeois" influences were more than counteracted by the values children learned in schools, communities, and other social situations. Some said that even if there were negative effects, the entertainment value for the young people was important to consider. Other sources of children's programming were characterized as (1) too dry and humorless, (2) too few in number, or (3) not as aesthetically and technically well-made.

Radioteleviziunea Româna

Approximately 70 percent of the programs seen on Romanian television are internally made, according to programmers; 30 percent is filled with foreign productions. A primary function of television programming is to promote the social, educational, and cultural goals of general understanding of the world. Television programmers do not see television as a viable means for resolving all the problems of minority groups, however. Due to the nature of the television medium, they contend it must correspond to the tastes and needs of the majority, and the programming must be decided with that criterion in mind. Programmers say that the Romanian audience expects the programs they see on television to support what they've learned in school, and from their earliest years, Romanian youth are taught the essence of "good taste." Since the mass education system promotes the need for making "even the
smallest decisions" with good taste, Romanian television, which sup-
ports this endeavor, has very precise directions about the types of
programs that will or will not be shown on air.

In the years since Romanian television was introduced in 1956,
the decision-makers have been trying to establish a beneficial rapport
between the people and the medium. One programmer told me that in its
best and most useful form, television stops being merely a medium, and
becomes a means of expression of the customs and the psychological
character of the people it serves. He added that this tradition is
already established in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

According to another programmer, the presence of foreign films
and television series in Romania merely represents the different levels
of rapport which occur between different peoples. In the first place,
many of the criteria for deciding to make a particular film or series
may be similar. The form in which the films are presented (e.g., the
introduction to each one's values and purposes) is the second level of
rapport. Third are the universally-enjoyed genres which exist, although
their limitations, according to the Romanians, must be acknowledged.
Finally, national and international preferences for one style or another
are important. Obviously there are films which are felt to better ex-
plain Romanian conceptions and ideology, and decision-makers prefer to
select these for Romanian audiences.

As mentioned earlier, various sources, including broadcast
officials, programmers, and critics, stated that there is no state cen-
sorship of films which may be shown. Rather, the decisions are made by
the "moral censor" in each person: within each should rest the primary
prohibition against images expressing and condoning hate against other humans. Consequently, a primary devotion of the decision-makers is to present images which promote tolerance and understanding between people, and any film which supports racist or "dangerously nationalist" orientations is shunned. There are other guidelines which help in decision-making as well. In the first case, each film or series should maintain high moral standards, particularly in regard to sexual morals. Pornographic or "lewd" scenes are considered unacceptable to Romanian taste. Second, the production should attempt to advance Socialist ideals or, at the least, refrain from supporting the idea of bad influences winning over good (e.g., the capitalists winning over the socialists).

The areas of drama which are particularly sought rest primarily in three areas: the depiction of historical events, the eternal fight against Fascism, and the contemporary dedication on the part of the people to "the fair and just cause of socialism."

In spite of their ideological "imperfections," American films and television series remain particularly prominent and well-liked among the Romanian population. One programmer claimed that this popularity is the result of the large number of American films which have been imported through the years. Prior to World War II, American film distributors had offices in Romania, and American films were habitually seen by the populace. This commercial tradition was said to have "indelibly created images of the American way of life" in the minds of the spectators, which were orally passed on to the children. Tunstall argues:
When the Communist governments came to power in each of these countries, they inherited a heavily Western-influenced media pattern, which has been a fundamental problem in subsequent attempts to shut out foreign media influences. All Communist governments have adopted nationalist solutions, and most have had to contend with internal ethnic and regional problems. The Soviet Union has not only been unable to market or distribute its media on a world-wide basis; it has had difficulties in getting the East European governments to import more than token amounts.¹⁶

For example,

American and British pop music has long strongly appealed to young people in Eastern Europe . . . official anxiety in Eastern Europe has shifted towards the great popularity of rock music [author's note: which has now shifted to disco] —equally strong, some reports say, among schoolchildren as among young Communist Party officials.¹⁷

Another programmer suggested that if all American productions were canceled from the movie theaters and the television screen, interest in American productions would basically die out within a few years. Other sources disagreed strongly with this viewpoint, contending that American films and series represented the zenith of a certain style of story-telling, embodying straightforward, active narrative with technical excellence. One programmer argued that because Romanians are a very active people who do not want subtle themes and problem-solving, they want to see on screen active people who can quickly resolve their problems. Due to their unique combination of "American practicality" and an "individualistic, revolutionary spirit," American films offer this solution, albeit in a somewhat idealized manner.

Another frequently-cited reason for the success of American productions involved, in an indirect manner, the commerciality of the industry. The reasoning is that since Americans must make informative programs which must also please people who have many other viewing
possibilities, the American producers have come to excel at "winning formulas."

A key example of a "winning formula" and how it works is the American Western. Beyond the use of guns (which are banned in Romania) and a great deal of violence in problem-solving, the Western is said to depict a big area where people resolve their problems quickly and decisively. The "Law of the West," in spite of its harsher aspects, contains humanistic values of "right" and "wrong." In the majority of Hollywood renditions, "right" is traditionally triumphant, paralleling the universal experience of man's hope for mankind, according to the Romanians. In spite of the seemingly inherent need for violence projected in the Western (which itself has been the focus of much media research), some Romanian sources feel that the violence is a minor aspect and that the basically humanistic ideology present is the primary reason for their selection of so many Westerns. Furthermore, they claim that these values are most apparent in American Westerns, and that the so-called "spaghetti Westerns" are mere imitations which fail to capture the "national quality of the American way of life." These sources contend, however, that their choices are not made because of the Westerns' portrayal of the "American way," but for what they teach about mankind and values. Regardless of the reasons for selection, the popularity of the American Western is apparent.

In the first two months of 1971, NBC supplied more than five thousand photographs of the Cartwright Brothers to Bonanza addicts (in Poland), compared with a modest 2,000 in the U.S. And the third largest batch of 750 went to Romania, where the local cattle ranchers frequently write to the Cartwrights, care of NBC Burbank, for their advice on stock-breeding.18
The "universal morals" and the excellent technique, combined with the strong narrative tradition of American films, are said to be what makes them so unforgettable to the Romanian public. Whereas French films, for example, are considered to be "ballets of gestures and sentiments," the American film is superb at cementing the storyline with strong visual artifacts. In other words, viewers can easily reproduce the film in talking about it. Because of the clear-cut format, even those who haven't seen a production can discuss it and feel like they understood its central story and message. The mentality of the American films shows clearly where, what, and how people are, while films of many other nations may develop the characters in a more subtle manner. Modern society, however, demands very precise information and details, according to the theorists, and American films are popular, in part, because they deliver simple, straightforward, highly visible information. Romanian sources claim that more complex philosophical, spiritual, or ephemeral ideas have been traditionally avoided in the productions of the American media industries. While the American style helps account for their immense international success, the Romanians also feel that it represents a limitation on how deeply American films are capable of exploring beneath the surface of structures while retaining their popularity.

The older American film serials are still some of the most highly admired and frequently programmed American productions, as the newer productions are more and more frequently avoided for being too obviously commercial, or for having "special" problems. For example, the nudity which is increasingly present in the majority of American
productions for adults causes the decision-makers to reject many excellent films which might otherwise be acceptable. I asked several programmers about some American films which seemed to go beyond the philosophical "shortcomings" of the typical American productions (e.g., Cassavetes' *A Woman Under the Influence* and Loden's *Wanda*). The response from the programmers was that they were not familiar with these productions, which was a problem in their decision-making process.

Decision-makers at the RTR are quite involved in achieving a balance between information which they feel the people need to know and programming which will be entertaining and relaxing for the general population. They attempt to schedule a variety of evening programs which, although devoted to the adult audience, are always appropriate for any child who might be viewing. The programmers claim that it is increasingly difficult to find good American productions which merit their attention as the films and series are becoming more and more filled with sexuality, violence, and horrors.

The evening program is usually initiated by the *Telejurnal* which presents an informative review of the day's news at 7:30. Historical events, travel documentaries, comic shorts, and popular science programs fill the minutes before the evening's main program is featured.

Filmed theatrical performances and plays filled up much of the evening on Tuesdays and Thursdays, as the theater, supported by the State in Romania, is a healthy and popular art. Cultural programs of folk-dancing and singing, concerts and other musical programs were also featured. Wednesday and Friday evenings usually carried a film, whereas Monday evenings and late Sunday afternoons were often devoted to a
series for adult members of the community. Generally the grown-ups were said to prefer British and French serials like *The Pallisers, The Onedin Line, The Forsythe Saga*, and *Spendeur et Misère des Courtisans*. The reason given for the popularity of these historically-oriented serials is that the older adults enjoyed seeing on the screen what they knew from literature.

Saturday night's programming was the most popular among the teenagers and young adults. Sometimes film series were scheduled; at other times well-known serials were run. The programming during the period of the study was almost entirely American in origin.

Occasionally, one genre of programming starts to become too firmly established a tradition and is changed for several reasons. A frequently-cited example by programmers and critics was the Saturday evening detective serial which had become quite popular, particularly with teenage and young adult spectators. *Kojak, Mannix, Cannon, The Untouchables*, and *Colombo* had all made popular appearances over the years. Even Angie Dickinson as "Sergeant Pepper" had appeared on the Saturday night screen, although she was by no means as popular as the male heroes. The selection was occasionally difficult for the programmers—for example, only 50 of 200 episodes of the most popular series, *Kojak*, were taken because the others "did not come up to standards."

But the trend continued for some time. Then, rather abruptly, the Saturday night detective series was swapped for a series of old Westerns. Although these Westerns filled the time slots for which some programmers claimed there were no more adequate detective shows, they were less satisfying to viewers because, as many people reported, after the
exciting, contemporary tempo of the detective programs, the older
Westerns did not hold their attention and interest as well. A number
of people who indirectly heard of the writer's visits to the decision-
makers at the RTR asked me to tell those in charge how much they pre-
ferred the detective serials and wanted to see them returned to
television. Yet, according to the programmers, the decision to program
a series of Westerns was not political, but was made when they could
not find appropriate, untried detective series that were not too expli-
cit in their sex or violence. One programmer also confided that he did
not like police serials because they expressed little new information
to viewers in week after week of watching. Colombo, in his viewpoint,
was something of an exception because the lead figure was truly clever,
modest, non-violent, observant of the smallest details—and very infor-
mative. Other detective serials were said to be avoided because they
presented problems which supposedly do not exist in Romania. The gener-
al feeling behind their rejection was that it was pointless to cultivate
those types of problems in a nation where none currently existed. Yet
in spite of programmers' contention that no political motives were
involved, these types of abrupt policy changes in programming are not
uncommon in the nation, and the real motivations may be more complex.
For example,

Romania dropped The Untouchables rather sharply in the summer
of 1971 at the first rumblings of a political shake-up.
'Everyone has decided to play it safe and keep his head down,
so no American programs,' an Eastern European broadcaster
explained.19

The Rich Man Poor Man series eventually replaced the Westerns,
and after a somewhat slow start, the series grew in popularity among
the viewers. *Roots* was also scheduled to be shown in the autumn after the research period.

Programmers claim they are caught in the middle of two international trends. First, films and series made in the United States and other nations are increasingly unacceptable to Romanian standards on sexuality, violence, horror, and the triumph of good over evil, so good series meeting their criteria are hard to locate. At the same time, the Romanian audience, like those of most nations with television, is becoming increasingly sophisticated and more difficult to satisfy. One example cited by a programmer was a serial on an American teacher and the problems his students had (this was probably the series called *The Jimmy Stewart Show*). The series lasted only a few weeks because Romanian viewers thought the teenagers' problems were extremely superficial and mundane. In effect, the Romanian public was more educated than the series.

Consequently, some of the programs currently being selected show what many of the people want to see: action footage that shows contemporary life. These are more frequently accepted now by programmers because they claim that "the realistic approach to life experiences leads the Romanian people through this experience and is consequently of educational value." 

One area of American production that is still being largely avoided by Romanian decision-makers is that of science fiction or "futuristic productions." (There are some exceptions.) The rationale is that although both these types of productions and the Westerns essentially portray the "American myths," the programmers are more at ease in
showing the myths of history than the myths of the future, since their ideals on what this future is to be differ greatly with those of the Americans.

**Children's Programming**

A common feature throughout much of Europe is that Sunday daytime programming is devoted largely to children and young people, and Romania is no exception. This increasingly long-term tradition in Romania has featured such favorites as *Daktari* and *The Three Musketeers* in the morning (usually preceded by Young Pioneer films) and *The Flintstones* and the highly rated *Bewitched* in the afternoons. During our stay, *Woody Woodpecker* was a Sunday afternoon favorite, and the woodpecker graffiti and bloodcurdling woodpecker yells could be encountered in almost any city park in Bucharest.

Saturday afternoon was also devoted to a children's program, which generally included a film. *Tarzan* had been popular not long before our visit, and the number of superb Tarzan imitators was only rivaled by those who excelled as "Woody." The films of Laurel and Hardy, known in Romania as "Stan și Bran," had preceded our visit by a few months and remained indelibly etched on many young minds. Charlie Chaplin was the Saturday hero during much of our stay. Although he had his share of imitators, his gestures did not seem to inspire as much copying as Laurel's head-scratching and Hardy's "This is another fine mess..." Abbott and Costello films had been tried, but apparently had too much dialect and too many culturally-limited jokes to have widespread comic popularity in Romanian communities.
Children's programming was considered to be relatively easy to accomplish, in comparison with that for the adults. Since children are continually growing out of childhood, one programmer explained, a good children's series or film could be rescheduled every few years for the latest generation in that age range. The best-known stories and legends which had been filmed (e.g., Heidi, Treasure Island, Robinson Crusoe) were known to a majority of young children, and even the adults seemed to enjoy seeing them again and again.

**Translation**

When English-speaking productions are received, both by România-film and the RTR, translators set to work to generate sub-titles which are superimposed over productions (they are almost never dubbed). During the airing of the shows on television, the translator turns the roll by hand for the duration of the program. Occasionally they fall behind, wind too fast, or get lost altogether. Then the Romanian text accompanying the program makes little, if any, sense, and the nature of the show is very confusing to the spectators. During our stay, an English film was once screened during which the dialogue seemed to precede the text by about thirty seconds. The problem was eventually corrected when a new reel came on.

According to two translators interviewed, English is one of the most difficult languages to translate, not because the grammar poses many problems, but because the vocabulary is so extensive and there are so many slang and colloquial interpretations of the same words, that they are frequently unsure of the meaning. One example of this dilemma was in the film *Bound for Glory*, depicting the life and times of Woody
Guthrie. At the end of a long line of parked Okie farmers, Woody asked one man what was going on. The man replied that there was some kind of "hold-up" up ahead. Although to a native English speaker the man was obviously referring to some kind of delay, the Romanian translator had understood the term to mean its equally common, but more violent counterpart: a robbery. That decision added, consequently, one more robbery to the hundreds which Romanians see in American films. As more and more contemporary productions containing words that even the most extensive English-Romanian dictionaries do not describe are being sent to Romania, the confusing scenes will undoubtedly occur even more frequently.

The weaknesses of Romanian-American media exchange relationships were frequently outlined for me by Mihai Lazar of the RTR and Valerian Stan of Româniafilm by naming the strengths of the Romanian-European exchange system. The continental plan for exchange, particularly for television under the auspices of Eurovision in Western Europe and Intervision in Eastern Europe, was said to facilitate the inter-European exchange of programs and films. The ease of exchange was attributed to several factors: (1) the presence of "a common language" which facilitates mutual comprehension (although one is hard-pressed to figure out what this "common language" is), (2) the similar organizational structures of the radio and television industries throughout Europe (i.e., most are in some way directly tied to the government of their respective countries and do not have the commercial structure dominant in the United States), (3) the similar programming needs that relatively small countries share, (4) the proximity of the countries which allows media decision-makers to maintain close liaisons with
other nearby nations, and (5) similar rules and regulations for copy­
rights and exchanges which "insure" a fair system.

The difference in media orientation is also a philosophical
one, according to Lazar and Stan. European nations are more unified in
their understanding of the mutual good, the need for "give and take,"
and the establishment of common grounds for the discussion of ideas.
By comparison, "men born in a big territory" (i.e., the U.S.A.), far
away from tightly-packed, diverse communities, are said to be born with
a feeling of not being understood. On the one hand, the needs of these
isolated individuals promote a certain self-reliance; on the other hand,
these same individuals share a certain naivete of intercultural relation­
ships and a superficiality of philosophy, as their primary concerns are
how to take care of their huge populations. This self-preoccupation
consequently limits the nature of the understanding and respect between
these people and those of other nations.

A further complication facing the decision-makers is that they
do not always know what exists, because they do not always receive invi­
tations to participate in the viewing of the new series. Some claim
that since Romania is a relatively small country with limited means and
population, Romanian concerns and interests do not carry much weight in
the international marketplace. Films are easier to acquire than tele­
vision serials as they are often openly marketed in the large European
festivals (like Cannes) frequented by Romanian purchasing agents. Tele­
vision series are circulated differently and the Romanians do not
receive information on many of the productions. Generally, they are
familiar with certain countries' reputations for making excellent series
(particularly those made by the French and Great Britain's BBC) and rely more and more heavily on selections made from these sources.

Still another limitation, perhaps the most pervasive problem, is the nature of the economic limitations on what the Romanians can acquire. Many of the best-made and most exciting series sell for extremely high prices which the Romanians simply cannot afford. The amount of "hard" (non-Socialist) currency brought into the country by tourists and from Romanian sales abroad is needed to meet many needs, and the purchase of films and television programs is only one small area. The RTR subsists primarily on subscription fees and publicity fees for limited television advertising. Yet only one percent of the budget comes from advertising, and the subscription revenue for both radio and television needs is less than $40,000,000 annually. The government helps the RTR with some of the large investments which must be made (i.e., equipment acquisition and installation), but employees' salaries, maintenance costs, and programming budgets come from the organizations' own means.

The other side of the coin involves the prices demanded abroad for the acquisition of foreign, particularly American, productions. Romanians must frequently wait months or years for major features and series to come down to an affordable range. Even then the costs may be in the thousands of dollars (Love Story was a frequently noted example). Many unfavorable feelings were expressed about the Motion Picture Export Association and their business practices. The Romanians claim that the M.P.E.A. tries to promote a virtual film monopoly of American productions and fixes the lower limit of prices which buyers must pay for
productions. These prices are increased yearly, and the Romanians contend that the Association's commercial and materialistic orientation is destructive and prevents people from seeing good cultural products which should be exchanged. Lazar and Stan, who feel that each contract should be negotiated separately, also claim that the M.P.E.A. policy of "dictating prohibitive prices" which prevents them from buying good American productions, ultimately damages both sides. The number of Western productions obtained from the M.P.E.A. has decreased to less than half of the total acquired, the remainder being bought from independents with whom the Romanians can "talk and negotiate with full equality." If the M.P.E.A. has the same intransigence in the future, Bucharest decision-makers said they will have to rely on other sources altogether.

The M.P.E.A. position is considered somewhat illogical by several sources since its salesmen establish the prices based on what they feel each country should pay. One Romanian source claimed that the prices requested of the Romanians are based on pre-Socialist figures which are unfair and unreflective of the currency available in the socialist society that now exists. Frequently M.P.E.A. prices are said to be two to three times higher than prices asked by other distributors. This increasingly difficult situation, while reducing the number of quality American products seen in Romania, according to programmers, has not really reduced the overall quality of the American films released in Romania, since the majority of new, "refreshing points of view" in films are not usually produced by the big, classical, traditional super-production companies. In spite of the big productions' box office
gains, most sources claimed that the independents produce the best, most thought-provoking films. Top-grossing films in Western countries, like Star Wars and Jaws, were not selected for viewing in Romania as they were not considered relevant to Romanian decision-making criteria. Yet even those that were of interest were usually priced beyond the Romanian budget.

Most irritating are the prices charged for the distribution of the older film classics. Valerian Stan, of Româniafilm, told me that he would like to show Romanian young people some of the classic American films of world cinema history which the young have never seen. Yet these, basically, can only be afforded by the RTR which is charged substantially less than Româniafilm, the distributor of films to the theaters. According to Stan, one example was the problem involving rental of a Hollywood classic from the thirties. The RTR paid between $500 and $600 and was able to show it to between two and four million viewers. When Româniafilm wanted the same film to show in a limited theater engagement, the M.P.E.A. requested $4,500 for the rights. It is evident that the 4 lei (32 cents) price charged per theater ticket for the few thousand viewers who would have seen the film would have resulted in a substantial net loss for Româniafilm. Consequently, in this situation as well as in many other similar circumstances, the organization must pass up the possibility to show certain American films in the theater circuit.

It should be noted that American sources have countered some of these claims with charges of their own. Joel Levy, press attaché at the American Embassy, contended that the main reason why films and
serials have not always been sent to the Romanians is that there are suspicions by Western export companies that, without their knowledge, the films are occasionally being illegally copied and distributed for profit by the Romanians. Another American source at the Embassy claimed that the prices charged for the productions are reasonable and competitive on the world market and cannot be lowered to meet Romanian desires. Yet this claim was contested by other American sources, like Jeremy Tunstall, who, with the Romanians, shared suspicions about the monopolistic manner in which the M.P.E.A. determined the prices each country paid, without the intermediary scrutiny of the United States government. Officials at the RTR showed me many ledgers on which the costs for the American programs televised on the RTR ran $600 or more apiece. This, perhaps unknown to Americans, represents a sizeable annual investment of hard currency in media programming for a nation with limited resources.

In terms of finding alternate programming the Romanians are also in a bind. The three great producers of films outside the Socialist realm are the Indians, the Americans, and the Japanese. Yet Romanian decision-makers claim that many of the Indian and Japanese films are consistently incomprehensible to Romanian tastes. American films are "easier to understand," and should be available at a smaller cost. The general idea, eloquently expressed by Lazar, was that, for Americans, "making films is like making buttons": since production of many films is easy, prices should be lower and more competitive.

Romanian media-makers claim they have tried to resolve these problems, with little success. The Americans, while not hostile to
these efforts, are said to be indifferent and not particularly interested. Lazar said that the RTR had been in contact with CBS, NBC, and ABC studios to whom they had explained their needs. These contacts generally listened politely, and "then said goodbye." The Romanians feel that cooperation in forming direct liaisons with the broadcast companies, instead of the current situation of being tied to the distribution intermediaries, would result in more lucrative benefits for both groups: Romanians would be able to buy more programs, and Americans, in turn, would make more money.

Another idea that Romanian media managers suggested to American public broadcasters was the possibility of directly exchanging the programs to be used in both countries. Lazar said that they attempted to speak with a representative of PBS in 1978 and claimed to have given PBS five films. The representative was, in turn, supposed to return with five films, but as of the summer, 1978, the films never materialized.

One small way which the Romanians have found to alleviate the cost, is by working directly with distribution houses which set up "program circuits," eliminating some of the costs of distribution by sending the films directly from nation to nation. These "traveling" films can be shown twice, once as a première, and at one other time.

In conclusion, the Romanians find the economic system used by American distributors to be difficult and complex, and they feel that the simplest way to exchange information of mutual benefit would be by making direct program-for-program trades. They have also been interested in joint co-productions, offering to put Studio Buftea and the television facilities at the disposition of the production teams, but
have had few takers. Even the Flip Wilson special on Nadia Comaneci was not, in their eyes, done with a great deal of cooperation between the two nations. According to Lazar, a questionnaire on the programs indicated that some 30 million Americans saw this special, which the Romanians considered rather naive and silly. Why, they wonder, don't the Americans want productions about the beautiful Moldovean monasteries or the other fascinating aspects of the Romanian nation? These topics do not seem to interest the American importers, but the Romanians consider them a source of great aesthetic beauty and national pride.

The ultimate conclusion that many Romanian decision-makers make is that the Romanians (and other Europeans by inference) have had 2,000 years, or ten times the cultural history of the United States. Consequently, their great "prejudice" for culture is something about which American producers are unconcerned. It is felt that Americans' tastes, life styles, and problems apparently suffice for Americans, and they are evidently uninterested in encountering the tastes, life styles, and problems of different cultures in the manner that is "European tradition." Americans are perceived, however, to have a strong desire to promote the American way of thinking to other countries. Discussion of this attitude with Valerian Stan opened the topic of the Romanian position on the current debate of the "free flow of information" in Romania.

Stan reported that in international exchanges, each country wishes to offer its people contact with everything valuable created in the world, but also has the wish that its productions might enter into the international circuit of cultural values. He reasoned that,
Thus, in this manner, we could reach a democratization of international cultural relations and we don't say it because we want to impose on others. We think that by interaction we could better know what is representative for us, as well as we want to know what others create as beautiful. This is not only in entertainment, but in the artistic representation in respective cultures' cinema. What does 'free circulation' mean? As long as we have a limited number of theaters, we can only present a limited number of films. . . . It is only normal that the 170 to 200 films selected from the 4,000 produced wouldn't be imposed by anyone. We should propose what they are by our concept of beauty, humanness, togetherness, and struggle against evil. We produce our films for ourselves, but we are glad when what we consider to be useful is appreciated by others, too. We don't impose on anybody. If the 'free flow' means the wish of some people to make a film shown, the content/structure/texture of which isn't animated by such generous ideas and, instead of elevating man, mutilates his spirit, we are against the 'free circulation' of films.20

American Media Influences on Romanian Productions

The feature films made in Romania are usually directed toward several key themes.21

The first is to mirror the everyday preoccupations of the audience so that man can recognize and see himself on screen with an artistic solution to the social-conscience problems which all mankind faces. The films, therefore, are "films of contemporary debate." Aimed particularly toward the young, who comprise the largest cinema-going audience, the films encourage them to find acceptable solutions to the work process, the generation gap, and family problems. The films do not depict Romania as a society of saints, but try to establish the need for individuals to select the "right path," in spite of the fact that those values may be lacking in the majority of the people.

The second orientation of Romanian features is toward the making of historical epics (e.g., the illustration of key moments of
Romanian history). This history is treated according to the ideological positions of the contemporary society, combined with the historical facts, to remind the present generation of the sacrifices made by the forerunners in order for them to be what they are now.

The third important source for inspiration in Romanian films is the exploration of the theme of social injustice, particularly through World War II, prior to the installation of the present government.

These main themes, of course, can be achieved in a variety of different genres: social comment can be made in a thriller on pre-War espionage against the Fascists, contemporary preoccupations can be the subject of comedies, etc. Nonetheless, these three themes predominate.

Romanian film producers are also preoccupied with making quality films for children. Besides their animated films, which have won them worldwide recognition, they produce feature films often based on old Romanian legends. Elizabeta Bostan is particularly well-known internationally for her feature films Rock and Roll Wolf and Youth Without Age.

As mentioned earlier, Româniafilm acts as both producer and distributor of these films, and is therefore obliged to have a two-fold viewpoint on the productions. As producers, they must appreciate the artistic level and the importance of the themes expressed in the features, yet as distributors, they are continually hoping for box-office successes in the theaters. Directors of features make more or fewer films according to their film-making success, but it is recognized that artistic film successes and box-office film successes will not
necessarily be one and the same. Therefore, categories are set up to honor, encourage, and award prizes to those filmmakers who undertake more difficult film endeavors (e.g., those with heavy philosophical or psychological orientations). Nonetheless, given the limited number of features which can be made each year, scenarios with more general appeal and lighter content predominate, although these have some problems.

Because the Romanians have a visually and poetically rich culture, one would think that the Romanian film productions would be among the most aesthetically pleasing in the world. Yet numerous critics, directors, actors, and others connected with film production feel that an uncomfortable contradiction, an unfortunate paradox seems to exist in Romanian films. For some reason, the vast majority do not seem to capture the Romanian spirit. The Romanians are generally a gay, optimistic, rhythmic people, but their films seem to lack this force and rhythm.

There are many reasons given by many sources for this situation. Among the explanations were the following:

1. The Romanian cinema is still young and will mature with time.
2. Romanians by nature can't work well on screen, but excel on stage.
3. The method of selecting and training the filmmakers is inadequate.
4. The directors can't work well with actors.
5. Politics keep truly significant films from being generated.
6. The highly-organized production set-up is not conducive to artistic creation.

7. Although they may be what the public wants, the ideas for films which are accepted and developed are basically dull and banal.

8. The films suffer from too much artistic "style."

9. The films suffer from too little artistic "style."

10. The film budgets are too small.

11. The film budgets are too large.

12. The actors and actresses are too occupied with their salaried positions in the theater and cannot devote as much time to screen performances.

13. The conditions under which Romanian filmmakers work are not the same as for filmmakers from other countries.

14. The standards set up, by which Romanian pictures are judged by critics and spectators alike, are the standards of American films.

This latter idea was developed in great depth by many different sources in Romania. Again and again, from renowned film critics to six-year-old kindergartners, it was felt that American productions were technically better than Romanian productions, that the storylines and characters were more attractive, and that the formulas were better-established. In short, American films were frequently the yardstick by which Romanian productions were weighed. Unlike other nations with much longer periods of national film production, Romanian films entered the market in the midst of the post-war, all-American film boom discussed in Chapter 1. Given other inhibitions in film-making, the filmmakers tried different ways to create a "national" feeling in films,
but increasingly found that young Romanians, like the young in many other places, were very oriented to their own individual concerns of growing up. Since they constituted the primary movie-going audience, even superficial films that dealt with growing-up themes met with more success than some of the more thoughtful, thought-provoking productions.

Some of the newer directors contend that each generation has its specific problems and concerns and that films may be simultaneously thought-provoking and financially successful if the creator gives some thought to the situation and understands the self-obsession which many teens feel. These young directors are still idealists for social reform, wanting to use film as a vehicle to change the ideas of the young, but by being sensitive to the terms in which the young value things and make decisions. One of the most successful and popular films of 1978 was Timothei Ursu's film *Septembrie*, an account of a young black market trafficker, who after meeting and falling in love with a young girl, realizes the superficiality of his style just before they both meet a tragic end. Although the questions and concerns raised in the film make it uniquely responsive to the needs and concerns of Romanian youth, the film-maker avoided styles which "preached" social responsibility and its recognition by teenagers and young adults. In many respects, the production followed what might be called "Western" trends, including

1. an orientation to contemporary concerns of the young,
2. relatively new, or unknown, actors/actresses (even non-professionals),
3. less stylization (i.e., shooting on location),
4. more tender sexuality, even violence in the action,
5. more rapidly-made and less costly productions.

An even more striking example of a paralleling of Western trends was the production of the first Romanian Western, Profetul, Aurul, și Ardeleanii, whose release amazingly coincided with our arrival in Romania. Although essentially a satire on how three Romanians save the West from some selfish, dishonest, perverted Mormons, the film faithfully followed the action formula recognizable in American productions.

**Romanian Film Distribution Abroad**

There are two different systems by which Romanian films are distributed abroad. The first, used with other socialist countries, involves delegations which are invited twice a year to view new Romanian releases, including animation, documentaries, and feature films. The delegations stay a week, and then inform Româniafilm of the decisions made in the name of each country. The other socialist nations with sizeable film productions act identically, hosting the Romanians in a similar manner.

For non-socialist countries, the Romanians' task is harder, taking into account the difficulties of exporting films to other nations. According to Stan, up to 80 percent of the films shown in the movie theaters of non-socialist countries may be American products. Adding the national productions from those same countries, as well as productions from neighboring countries (estimated at about 15%), 5 percent of the spaces remain, for which Romanian films compete with the other 3,000 films produced yearly. A further difficulty lies in language differences
since these countries are more inclined to select films in their native language, whenever possible, to avoid the costs of sub-titles and dubbing. The Romanians, like the Dutch, find their competitive advantage further limited in this manner.

In order to increase sales, Romanian films are presented in international film fairs and markets, as well as to specialized distributors who will aid them in their efforts. In 1977, Romanian films were seen in the movie theaters of 70 countries, although they generally have more success selling to television systems rather than cinema circuits. Furthermore, Romanian animated films tend to be more popular abroad than the majority of Romanian feature-length films, although both types have won numerous awards at a variety of festivals.

The reasons for the smaller use made of Romanian features abroad, from the Romanian perspective, lies in the fact that they do not tailor their productions to Western commercial tastes; in other words, without the values, themes, styles, and nudity found in the average Western film, the Romanian films are not considered to be material for box-office hits. This handicap occurs because "cultural reasons," not commercial ones, guide Romanian film production, and the films are made primarily to meet Romanians' needs, not those commercial business needs of the world film marketplace.

The greater success of Romanian films with the television industries of other nations is often attributed to the nature of the system: most television systems, whether commercial or state-ruled, are obliged to conform to more stringent standards of decency than the theaters. Taking this into account, the strict standards of Romanian films have
their place. Another source of sales is found with non-commercial circuits, like schools or universities, which will acquire feature films, cartoons, and documentaries for academic purposes. *Encyclopaedia Britannica Films*, for example, has also acquired some features and documentaries, as well as several excellent animated films.

**Romanian Research on Romanian Viewing Habits**

The research organizations mentioned earlier in this chapter have been very observant in their studies of the Romanians' orientations to the media and other aspects of life. Each group, however, has more specific interests which provide its basic research orientations. The research questions of the Union of Young Communists, for example, are geared toward the explanation of the values, life outlooks, and the morals which the young have, the differences which they have with adults' perceptions, and the different receptions of cultural and social ideas among the urban and rural young. Studies are also made on the success of the structuring and integration of the young into the Romanian political and economic systems. The results of research has also been conducted on the aesthetic experiences of the young, and which shows a tendency to "wash" the aesthetic values from films and plays and "reproduce objects which they could control and explain," were presented at the Clubul Criticii during one meeting the author attended. Another study was made on what urbanization does to the cultural and social values of the young, as the last generation in Romania has made a massive change from rural to urban life styles.

Both the RTR and Româniafilm conduct various kinds of surveys, although these are primarily to determine the popularity of different
types of programming and viewing habits of the public. Although no direct studies on the influences of foreign films had been conducted at the time of the present research, some research which had been conducted in Romanian was relevant to my interests since it explored the viewing habits of the young, the preference which viewers have for films from certain nations and certain genres, and differences in media interest by age and sex groups. All research results incorporated in the following pages were conducted under the auspices of the research bureau of the RTR, and found in a house publication (for internal use only).

In the first place, there was evidence indicating that students in high school and college tended to watch more American films than older occupational groups like workers, functionaries, or farmers. Students also watched the greatest number of films on television and made up the principal spectators in general. The students indicated more heterogeneity in what they chose to watch: although they mostly sought out adventures, Westerns, detective stories, they also accepted and enjoyed other types of films such as melodramas and social-political films. They were the least discriminating when it came to ranking the value of the films, which may imply an enjoyment of the medium itself over the enjoyment of the specific content, according to researchers.

The types of films generally disliked by Romanians turned out to be a more homogeneous list than the genres linked by the different occupational groups. Films which were generally problematic in content tended to be problematic in terms of their success with the viewers. Films which were extremely serious or which involved major social-
political problems (e.g., Z, The Immigrants, The Conversation, and The Candidate) tended to be ranked low. Yet even some films from normally popular genres, such as individual Westerns like Black Gold of Oklahoma, Cheyenne Autumn, and Appaloosa, were occasionally given low rankings. Consequently, it was concluded that mere categorization in a certain genre did not insure success with the Romanian audience.

The primary difference between urban and rural audiences was that the rural audiences exhibited a slight preference for adventure films, while urban audiences seemed to prefer older films. The urban audiences also tended to be more critical and less appreciative of many films than were rural audiences.

The nature of film appreciation by sex also underlined some important differences. Social-political themes, which were more pleasing to many men, were often ranked low by women. Women, in turn, found melodramas more pleasing than did the men. In general, women were more enthusiastic about films, rating more in the "successful" category than men. Women also tended to include a wider variety of genres under the category of "Appreciated Films."

Young people shared no "Most Highly Appreciated" genre of film with the others. They tended to exclude Romanian films from their lists, as well as older films. Again, Western films were preferred by the young, who wanted to avoid overly problematical films. Action and adventure were the most important and sought-after features of films.

Comparisons were made of the differences between television and movie theater viewing. The most popular nights for watching television were Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, and increasingly, Saturday.
Television audiences also appeared to favor a wide variety of selections for greater audience attraction. The popularity of TV films was losing ground to a certain extent in favor of some of the television serials, but Sundays remained a favorite time for film viewing on television.

In 1971, cinema viewers numbered 191 million, while television film viewers were estimated at around 600 million. Cinemas in Romania were said to retain a strong popularity, particularly among the young, and researchers suggested that television film selections should be based more frequently on the successes of films in the cinema circuit. In 1977, 154 films were shown on television, whereas 1,446 were seen in the cinema theaters. Ten times more films, including documentaries, short subjects, animated films, and features, therefore, were offered in cinemas than on television. Of these, 600 were "effective titles" on screen, or, in other words, were successful attractions. The feature films shown in the movie theaters were four times more numerous than those offered annually on television. Since the number of television film viewers had dropped slightly in recent years, RTR researchers suggested that cinema successes might provide some good guidelines for film selections.

The respective percentages of films selected from different nations for both television and cinema are expressed in Table 1. Part of the difference between the number of films from the U.S. offered on TV and those in the theaters is the difference in bargaining powers and the costs between those buying for RTR and those purchasing for România-film. As mentioned earlier, the television market is more competitive
and can support slightly more per production-to-be-aired than can the buyers for Romanian theater screens. Although many older American features can be acquired cheaply, the blockbusters which draw people to the theater are apparently too expensive. This results in Româniafilm's purchasing fewer American films, or omitting some which are more costly. Also, it is apparently easier to meet the strict criteria on what is permissible with a fewer number of slots to fill (as in TV programming) than when hundreds of purchases need to be made to circulate throughout the country. In spite of costs, however, RTR and Româniafilm have drawn upon American films as a source more often than any other national market in recent years.

There are also differences in the genres which are most often used on television versus the cinema. In spite of their lower
popularity, for example, more social-political films are screened on television. (See Table 2 below.) Again, this type of programming would not be as feasible in the theaters which have to draw their audiences by providing more exciting programming. The one television channel available throughout most of Romania assures a more "captive" audience for the social and cultural goals of the programmers.

Table 2

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<th>Rank</th>
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<th>Percent</th>
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<th>Cinema Genre</th>
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<td>7.7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Melodrama</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Adventure</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>War</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>War</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Social-political</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Melodrama</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Children's</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Biographical</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Musicals</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: RTR

Biographical and historical epics are more frequently found on television, which musicals and children's films are more frequently shown in the theaters. Comedy currently plays a greater part in television programming than in the past.
The number of genres and their frequency of use is more balanced in the cinema than on the television screen. The reasons for this situation are varied. In the first place, drama occupies a disproportionately high percentage of television screen time. The programming criteria are more strictly enforced in what is chosen for television, and the number of people reached is greater, as well. Television is supposed to serve the cultural and social education of the Romanian people, and, consequently, more informative, educationally-valuable programs are favored (in a manner similar to the role of public television programming in the United States). The economics of the cinema circuit are different and must reflect more accurately what people will be willing to pay to see; the result is greater diversity in the nature of films purchased for the theater circuit. Româniafilm, as mentioned earlier, is able to buy films only from the money it makes in the circuit since it is not heavily subsidized, as is the RTR. Consequently, the criteria for selection are occasionally more relaxed in consideration of the huge programming needs which must be met.

Many of the 5 million telespectators (63.5%) do not go to the theaters; less than 3 million (36.5%) watch films in the older age groups. Of those individuals who do go to the cinema, 29.8 percent see one film a month, 29.1 percent see two per month, 18.2 percent see three per month, and 22.7 percent attend weekly. Therefore, the majority of those who attend do not go more often than twice a month, while two-fifths of the filmgoers attend more often than twice a month. The latter are primarily young adults. Rural and urban cinema attendance differs greatly: approximately 28.3 percent of the rural population
goes to the cinemas, whereas 41.4 percent of urban residents attend films. Men and women attend in approximately equal proportions (36.5%). The most dramatic differences in cinema attendance occur in different age groupings: 52 percent of cinema attendance is by young people in the 15-30 age range, and only 25.6 percent are over thirty years of age. Seventy percent of all students go to the cinema, compared to 17.7 percent of the farmers and 36 percent of the workers.

The rank ordering of theater attendance by film nationality points out the predominance of American programming:

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>Cinemas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: RTR

Over half the films seen in the cinemas are American, Romanian, and Italian productions.

Although some claim that the number offered corresponds with the number of viewers who will watch, other research does not confirm
this hypothesis. As the table which follows indicates, a nation's position in the rank order of numbers of films acquired does not necessarily indicate the general popularity of that nation's productions. India presents the most striking example. Although the number of Indian films shown in Romanian theaters only ranks twelfth, the audience attendance ranking of six is a clear indication of the confirmed popularity of Indian films (particularly the melodramas).

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank Order of Audience Attendance by Film Nationality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: RTR

From this, it is concluded that the dependence of the audience on the repertory is stronger in television than in cinema. (The correlation is .900 for television, versus .379 on screen.)

In spite of the predominance of American films, as well as the large numbers of people who attend them, it should not be assumed that
they head the list of most appreciated films. Specific films from other nations generally head the list of favorites, and in 1977, the most popular film presented in the theaters was the Soviet Satra, followed closely by two Romanian films, four Italian, one Indian, one Mexican, and a single American film (Rocky, which was ranked sixth). Of the next twelve favorites, however, six were American, three Romanian, one Greek, one Indian, and one Mexican. Of those American favorites, five were classified as American detective stories and one was a Western.

The range for the total number of viewers of each genre is also very informative:

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>Cinema</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>Cinema</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>War</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social-political</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Melodramas</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westerns</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Biographies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Youth/Children</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventure</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Musicals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: RTR

Also of interest in the research is that the recent increase in Westerns purchased for television (especially American and Italian Westerns)
paralleled a decrease in the number of Socialist films purchased (par­ticularly from the U.S.S.R.).

One final interesting observation of Romanian media researchers has been that with the increasing years of television programming, televiewers are becoming more demanding and critical in what they want to watch and that the viewers' interests are becoming more differentia­tated. This research supports findings from many different nations on the effects of increased exposure to the television medium. 23

Feelings Expressed about American Films and Americans

Among the best sources for the expression of attitudes about American films and American people (other than the research community of Busteni) were the meetings of the Clubul Criticii and the public discussions held at the Film Festival for Youth at Costinești.

The latter event, in particular, illustrated the feelings of many young Romanians toward the medium. In spite of the attempts of the film producers and critics to guide the discussion away from the limiting aspects of comments about likes and dislikes of the films' endings, there seemed to be a general reluctance on the part of the young spectators to get involved in serious debate on the value of the various Romanian films presented. This may have been due, in part, to the casual beachside nature of the discussions, or the greater interest of some of the participants in seeing as many actors and actresses as possible, than in spending time in more thought-provoking debate. Particularly surprising was the frequency with which American films
were used by the students to criticize and judge the Romanian productions screened at the festival.

Statements or questions were voiced again and again which inquired why Romanian films did not have the "quality" of American films. One young student asked why Romanian filmmakers couldn't produce "artistic" work like *Citizen Kane*. Another young person demanded to know why *Star Wars*, which was popular all over the world and had won an Oscar, was not being shown in Romania. A critic's explanation that the story and content of the film did not live up to Romanian standards of decision-making produced many murmurs of dissent from the audience. At that point, a member of Romaniafilm explained to the audience that the costs were unreasonable and the film was not worth the price being demanded at that time. This response was apparently accepted by those attending the discussion, although the attitudes of some, including the original inquirer, remained somewhat skeptical.

Another discussion involved a film made by Mircea Danieliuc which was the first attempt in a Romanian film to use on-location sound, as opposed to the traditional system of post-dubbing. Again, the quality of standards to which the Romanian work was compared was the level of perfection in American films; the work of no other country was cited as an example. The sound engineer's explanations of the differences, based on (1) the many years of experience backing American films, (2) the better quality equipment available to American filmmakers, and (3) the greater amount of money spent in the United States for quality control over film locations, did not seem to satisfy some members of the young, critical audience. Nevertheless, the discussion soon drifted
back to the "I liked" and "I didn't like . . ." which were the predom-
inant trends and feelings of the discussions.

One previously mentioned Romanian production which sparked a
great deal of enthusiasm and public discussion was the first Romanian
Western, Profetul, Aurul, și Ardelenii. Although the film was not
entered in the competition at the Festival, it came up several times in
beach discussions. A few of the students asked why a Romanian Western,
especially one with a dialogue written primarily in English, was needed
in Romania, "since the Americans made enough." The greater majority at
the beach gathering, however, seemed to have enjoyed the production
immensely, and expressed the hope that similar productions would be
forthcoming.

In voting for the festival's best film award, as well as for
best actor, best actress, best director, etc., the young people were
encouraged by the critics to think about other qualities than merely
what they did and did not "like" in selecting the winners. In particu-
lar, they were asked to consider the organizational qualities and
powerful scenario elements used in proposing and resolving each film's
central problem. The voting was strongly in favor of those themes with
which the young seemed most concerned: the previously discussed Septem-
brie (and lead actress Anda Onesa) took first places in their divisions.

From other discussions in Bucharest, other feelings about Ameri-
can film productions surfaced. One critic associated with the Revista
Cinema remarked that while American films are generally well-made, they
are often tinged with certain sentiments which are only superficially
important. Two examples cited were The Way We Were, starring Robert
Redford and Barbra Streisand, and The Godfather. In the first film, it was claimed that the film was embellished with a "political tinge" to make it more attractive and profound, but in essence, it boiled down to a rather trite love story with rather typical values. The Godfather was said to pretend to be anti-Mafia, whereas, in effect, it was rather accommodating of the Mafia, even secretly promoting the exciting, adventurous life-styles of its members. A film on the same topic made in Europe, it was said, would have been highly critical of the nature of those people and their activities. Several critics claimed that this example reflected a specific quality which American films have that others do not: in effect, American films never destroy the "original values" presented, they merely preserve them in different shapes and forms. In this manner, American filmmakers avoid "inconvenient truths" which might otherwise interfere in their story-telling. The Revista Cinema critic told me that although American films are not overtly state-controlled, they still function as propaganda as much as if they were government-made. Scarecrow, starring Gene Hackman and Al Pacino, was cited as an "atypical" example of what was socially true about the United States. As such, it was considered commendable in that it enabled spectators to develop a more accurate perception of the United States as the nation "truly" is.

Critics also said that an important attractive force behind American films is that they encourage a comparison by the spectator of his reality and that presented on the screen, which is usually based on rather simply-constructed observations. In the first place, American actors and actresses attract young people. Perhaps this is due to their
physical beauty, perhaps it is their sense of fun or adventure or youthful orientation to life. Regardless of the cause, in a film like *Rocky*, for example, the popularity is more a result of the actor, Sylvester Stallone, than the message of the story. Yet a buyer at Româniafilm said the film, although ranked sixth as a favorite film of the previous year, had not really been understood by the young viewers; in the first place, professional boxing of that nature doesn't exist in Romania, and secondly, Rocky's social and financial problems would not be experienced by young athletes in Romania. Consequently, the character of the young American athlete must have been what attracted young viewers.

Another anecdote used to illustrate the fascination of many young Romanians with the "know-how" of American characters involved a young boy, who, after seeing an American film about aviation, declared that he wanted to be an American pilot. Another nationality would not suffice for him; there was some characteristic or trait identified with being "an American pilot" that caught the child's attention. Consequently children seem to want to live the story, the job, or whatever, as it is embodied by American actors in American films. The problem is that many young people in Romania see Americans as they see the heroes of popular fairy tales: their conception of the American way of life is somewhat limited to the black-and-white nature of the Western and the common happy ending on the tale of American films.

An intriguing aspect related to the strong impact of American films is that people seem to have a tendency to love those cultures which are not too close, while at the same time are not beyond their
cultural understanding. This was found to be common in many European communities which the writer has visited. Often, there seems to be more criticism of situations and cultures which are nearby and readily observable, on or off the screen, than criticism of those cultures, particularly American, which reside in a dream world on the other side of the ocean. However, American culture is still more readily understandable to Romanians than the intricate cultures of the African or Asian countries which have the added visual difference of being racially diverse. Both Romanians and students from ethnic minorities studying in Romania have expressed the feeling that Romanians, in general, tend to be somewhat racist in their orientations to people of non-European origins. Consequently, their familiarity with the faces of American actors, as will be discussed in the next chapter, allows Romanian young people to identify with American stories and styles, while still maintaining a romantic view of them.

Many people expressed the belief that American filmmakers have greater chances of succeeding because of the richness of the American filmmaking tradition and the accessibility of good filmmaking equipment. In other words, "if you are born with a camera in hand, little by little a certain quality is formed." For this reason some Romanians contend that American films will maintain their dominance in the world, in spite of attempts in Romania to improve the technical quality and conditions of Romanian filmmaking.

A final theory given by a film critic as explanation for the persistent "lead" of American products over Romanian in the film world was "the different natures of the two cultures." In Romania, the
quality of intelligence and cultural appreciation was said to very "high," but this same cultural orientation "killed" the spirit of efficiency which has come to predominate in the modern era. Romanians, although philosophical and practical, "have no rapport with time and what they are doing." The Dutch culture, considered to lie at the opposite end of the spectrum, i.e., "completely dull in nature," epitomizes the success which reliance on efficiency over intelligence engendered in this day and age. It was suggested that if the Romanian gift of adaptability could be applied to the film world, the combination of its advantages and the richness of the Romanian cultural heritage could lead to the production of incredibly beautiful films. Yet, in a market dominated by American commercial values, the likelihood of success in this endeavor was considered to be remote.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Gary Walters, discussions and lecture notes from "Introduction to Eastern Europe," course offered at Ohio State University, 1978.


3. Walters, discussions and lecture notes from "Introduction to Eastern Europe," 1978.

4. This was mentioned by several different sources who asked to remain confidential.


6. From interviews at Româniafilm.

7. From interviews at Alexander Sahia Studio.

8. From interviews at Anima Film Studio.


10. B. Paulu, Broadcasting in Eastern Europe (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1974).

11. From interviews at the RTR.


13. Listening to Western Radio in Romania.


16 Tunstall, *The Media are American*, p. 184.

17 Ibid., p. 190.


19 Ibid., pp. 166-167.


21 From interviews with Valerian Stan and various film critics, and Clubul Criticii meetings.

22 From research findings presented at Clubul Criticii meetings.

23 From work done by Murray and Kippax on the impact of television on children in three Australian communities.
CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The manner in which people of different cultures interpret and integrate the information, the formats, and the content contained in the media from another society and culture is the theme of this research. The focal point of the methodology explained in this chapter was to clarify, specifically, how American films and television programs function in the lives of the members of a Romanian community, particularly the young.

Problems inherent in the nature of much cross-cultural field research lead to the development of the combination of methodological components explicated in the following pages. These are quite diverse in nature, and each attempts, as much as possible, to avoid imposing the researcher's presumptions and meanings on the members of a community. The basic assumption is that a society, in this case the Romanian community, is systemic and holistic in nature; its culture is like a multi-faceted jewel whose beauty radiates from the combination of its elements, and whose meaning and understanding come from the individuals who make up the community. Following the systems approach, a central concept of the research is that the media function as integral parts of the society. They are affected by, and in turn affect, the societal institutions which surround them. Therefore, the effects of the media in Romania cannot be
separated from the context in which they occur, nor adequately studied for all their implications in a laboratory environment; they are intricately bound to a certain cultural climate and context. The media in this natural environment may function in both a suasive and mimetic fashion: they may introduce new perspectives into the community while, to a great extent, reinforcing already existent perspectives. The degree to which this ebb and flow of functions occurs varies over time from society to society. The researcher should allow his/her understanding of these processes to develop naturally over time in order to better comprehend how one aspect (in this case, the introduction of the American media to adolescents in a Romanian community) is received and interpreted by community members.

**Participant Observation**

Participant observation refers to a characteristic blend or combination of methods and techniques . . . it involves some amount of genuinely social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observation of relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some collection of documents and artifacts, and open-endedness in the direction the study takes.¹

The development of the participant observation perspective is the result of dissatisfaction with the "purpose"-oriented, "objective" forms of research in which many social scientists engaged. Dr. Sevryn Bruyn's examination of the dualities in the two research orientations in *The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Methodology of Participant Observation* is a clear comparison of the underlying bases for both concepts:
As we have indicated, the mainstream of social research and theory has followed the path of the physical sciences, and as a consequence, the human orientation we call the inner perspective has been avoided, or at best, approached with considerable ambiance. When the subjective element did enter into social research or theory, it entered as a secondary source of knowledge (Verstehen), and never became very clearly defined methodologically. Where subjective realities of individual or collective life entered into theoretical formulations, they were treated as objects of the physical world rather than objects of the human world. Since social researchers initially drew their concepts from the physical sciences, they did not have the vocabulary to describe certain phases of human experience, such as those which occur in the subtle reality of crown feeling and are the result of the personal effect which political power has upon people living in different social systems. The symbolic meanings of terms such as faith and commitment in the sociology of religion, or the personal meaning of terms such as community, compassion, or tenderness in human culture could not be contained accurately under the rubric of 'emotion' or 'gratification' as though they all belonged to the order of animal behavior. The vocabulary that did develop to explain the sentiments and cultural capacities of man, such as superego, patterns of orientation, relational systems, cathetic attachment, and high-energy systems left unexamined (or distorted) much of what was true about the nature of man. In other words, these vocabularies which were formed to explain the inner perspective of man failed to discriminate among the symbolic meanings that actually exist in the rather complicated structure of man's sentiments; they failed to distinguish among the qualities of human experience and to explain the refinements, as well as the coarseness, of culture. In general, social scientists have insisted upon treating all phenomena as objects and knowing them only as such, rather than treating them as subjects also, and knowing them as subjects.

Bruyn continues the comparison by explaining that,

Partly by way of participant observation, scientific social research has been showing that it is possible to assume a human perspective of man and study his personal dimensions without violating the basic standards of research as conceived in the propositions of what we may call modern naturalism. That is, the social scientist can study man's purposes without identifying with them or normatively prescribing them. He can study the nature of freedom without judging it from some normative standard of his own, and can study the nature of man as a subject—i.e., from a subject's own viewpoint—as part of his research data. And so, a new order of study has been arising from the older scientific traditions, revealing a human orientation to the study of man in society.
Bruyn then reveals the strands of the participant observation methodology which weave throughout the social sciences to have a common "heritage" and a common methodology. Studies based on this methodology differ from other studies in the social studies in that (1) they are **systematic** in approach to the questions of human phenomena, and (2) they depend heavily on field experiments or studies where the researcher introduces certain controls on the methods of observation. The human event is the context in which information is gathered, and the human experience functions as the central point of inquiry.

Certain "participant observation" axioms and corollaries are essential in understanding its impact and application. The first of these is that the participant observer shares in the life activities and sentiments of people in face-to-face relationships. The corollary is that the role of the participant observer requires both detachment and personal involvement. The second axiom is that the participant observer must act as a "normal" part of the culture and the life of the individuals under observation. The corollary is that the scientific role of the participant observer is interdependent with his social role in the culture of the observed. Finally, the role of the participant observer reflects the social process of living in the society. This is necessary in the contention that the aim of the participant observer is to understand the people from their own frames of reference. Bruyn concludes that

Since the observer plays a natural, interdependent role in the culture he studies, sharing in the life and becoming involved in the activities of the people he observes, new methodological problems are necessarily set up to be solved which had not been previously encountered. Unlike the traditional empiricist, the participant observer must view a culture just as the people he is
studying view it, including reflecting on the social process in which he inwardly engaged. This means he sees goals and interests of people in the same way that the people see them, not as functions or experimental causes as would the traditional empiricist; it means that he sees people in the concrete reality in which they present themselves in daily experiences, not as abstractions as would the traditional empiricist; it means he senses that these people act freely within the scope of what they see as the possible, not as determined agents of social forces as the traditional empiricist would see them.\(^3\)

Verification of the procedures used in participant observation is difficult to achieve, since the findings of the observer can seldom be judged to be either totally valid or invalid. Meanings reported for one aspect of the culture may be adequate, whereas the meanings reported for other aspects may not be satisfactory. The verification of the study tends to rest on two factors: the reliability and validity of the work. According to Bruyn,

Reliability is based on two assumptions. The first is that the study can be repeated. Other investigators must be able to follow exactly the same steps of the original investigator. This means using the same categories of study, the same procedures, the same criteria of correctness, and the same perspective that was used originally. The second assumption is that it is possible for two or more people to perceive the same meanings by using these categories and procedures.

Validity is based upon human intent and reality. In order for the researcher's work to have validity, original meanings must be the same. What the researcher says is reality in the minds of those he studies must be reality in the same way that they conceive it.\(^4\)

Dependence on this type of verification is not overwhelmingly important, although it would strengthen the study if another researcher could re-experience the identical process by repeating it. This situation is unlikely to occur for two reasons. The first is that no two researchers come from the same backgrounds and the sets of expectations in which they frame their responses will differ. As "objective" as a researcher
would like to be about that which is subjective in another cultural context, the likelihood of complete escape from the total learning environment which s/he has experienced up to that point is minimal. Too many possible influences, both external and internal, affect one's absorption into a community. The nature of the personality (outgoing, ingoing, "reserved"), the sexuality (aggressive male, passive male, aggressive female, passive female, and all variations), the perceived importance (intellectual, academic, knowledgeable), the age, and the class of the researcher effect this absorption externally.

The internal variables, which are equally important, may range from massive studies which the researcher has done on the community, region, or country in which the study is taking place, to notions about the nature of the people which were instilled at a very early age and which may subtly color the "discovery," the "description," and the "explanation" of the elements within the study.

The other problem with Bruyn's method of verification is that it cannot accommodate the ideas of fluidity and fluctuation within a cultural context. Although a researcher can attempt to explain what is in the minds of the subjects, there are indications that this "reality" is by no means static. Continual alterations are going on throughout the entire cultural spectrum, based on the flow of information from internal sources and the flow of information from external sources, both of which are capable of initiating "change." A culture, with rare exceptions, is not a closed system, and a truly perceptive study in the participant observation methodology should recognize and
accommodate the change, allowing for return studies as a necessary
element in beginning to comprehend a community.

This element is particularly important in relation to the
communication that is going on within a community and from without,
because the nature of it is always in fluctuation with the aging and
deaths of important members within the community, and the introduction
of new media for the dissemination of outside information. The par­
ticipant observation method is only more relevant than traditional
empiricist models in dealing with the subjective if the researcher
recognizes the subjective for what it is: that is, relating to, or
being, experience or knowledge that is conditioned by personal mental
characteristics and/or states of mind.

Because of certain inherent problems which exist in the par­
ticipant observation methodology and because of the generally low status
of much subjective research, the methodology specifically set up and
utilized to explore the impact of American television and film on French
provincial society in a previous study was not limited to participant
observation. Instead, the concepts of "multiple operationism" were
incorporated into the development and use of the methodological compo­
nents. The concepts, as defined by Webb et al. in Unobtrusive Measures,
seem valuable in circumventing the problems of any one particular
methodological component. The principal idea is that all research ele­
ments have certain methodological weaknesses and flaws. This situation
results in the necessity for "multiple operationism": essentially a
collection of methods combined to reduce the various biases and distor­
tions which may occur with only one or two methodological elements.
According to Webb,

Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes. If a proposition can survive the onslaught of a series of imperfect measures, with all their irrelevant error, confidence should be placed in it. Of course, this confidence is increased by minimizing error in each instrument and by reasonable belief in the different and divergent effects of the sources of error.$^5$

While participation observation is the base of this study, other methodological elements are employed to verify and balance the material which ideally emerges in the daily observations. Although this makes one's research status in the community more obvious, the extension of the methodological components to include other means of synthesis and analysis of the community is useful in obtaining a more complete understanding of the nature of the media within the community. The problems involved in increasing the visibility of the researcher (by his/her use of other methods) are partially solved by pacing the research period so that secondary methods are not introduced during the first research period in the community during which the researcher is solely a participant-observer. As time passes, and as an understanding of the community forms and broadens in the researcher's mind, the other methods are introduced in a low-profile manner.

These research concepts, i.e., the combination of participant observation with multiple measures, seemed acceptable and intriguing to Romanian researchers. They were relieved at the relative lack of implied biases within the participant observation perspective, yet, at the same time, were reassured by the presence of more traditional social science methods.
In order to achieve the research goals, six elements were included in the methodology in addition to the participant observation. Each component of the methodology was designed to explore areas of information covered by other components, while providing its own perspective and unique information. The secondary methodological components were:

1. A perceptual index which indicated the important sources of information about the American way of life for community members,
2. Répertorial grids, which allowed expectations of relationships of different personality traits of American and Romanian actors and actresses to be explored,
3. Focused interviews about the differences between Romanian and American films and television programs, as well as in the life styles and people of the two countries,
4. Photographs made by community members about those aspects of their community which appeared to them to be most indigenous or most American-influenced,
5. Motion picture scenarios developed by the young people which they felt most typified the types of programs found appealing by American audiences,
6. Short, super8 color, sound cassette films which the young people produced, based on the ideas expressed in the scenarios. Discussions of these films were also included in the focused interviews.

The Perceptual Index

A perceptual index of the factors involved in the evolution of the interviewee's viewpoint regarding the "American way of life" was
the first part of the project given each participant after the initial observation period. The index consisted of very simple categories by which a list of factors pertaining to the individual's viewpoint of American life styles could be evaluated. (See Appendix D.) The purpose of the perceptual index was to see what categories the participants themselves designated as being the most relevant to their images of American society, without inducing researcher bias for or against the importance of the media. In essence, the index was designed to discover where respondents felt they obtained their ideas about the United States.

The initial set of categories and the design of the index was a result of a discussion with Dr. Robert Wagner of the Ohio State University Department of Photography and Cinema on the possible sources from which perceptions might be generated. The media categories (e.g., television programs, cinema, newspapers, magazines) were not placed in prominent positions, but were mixed with the other categories. The individual filling out the perceptual index had the opportunity to add categories not listed, ignore categories which were present, or decide that categories which were present were relevant. The manner in which each category was judged was simple: the choices were limited to "Very important," "Important," "Less Important," and "Unimportant." Simplicity was useful in the index since the purpose of the component was not to develop any extensive data, but to obtain indications from the students themselves as to each source and its relative importance to Romanian ideas of American life styles.
At the bottom of the index, space was left for the respondents to explain the reasons for their decisions, if they so desired. The purpose of this inclusion was to allow them the opportunity to go beyond the structured state of the index to give more personal explanations of their selection of each category's relative importance.

At one point it was suggested that the perceptual index be made more specific, either by asking for the specific sources of information (i.e., the BBC, VOA) or including them directly on the index. After some consideration and consultation with Romanian friends, it was decided that this information might be of a sensitive nature, possibly making parents suspicious and children disinclined to do the research. The index was left intact with its more general nonthreatening categories.

The Répertoriai Grids

The second element was a combination of two répertoriai grids designed to cover Romanian and American media figures and value systems. The répertoriai grid and its theory were developed by George Kelly who felt that human beings look at the world around them through transparent patterns or "constructs" created by the individual and applied to the elements which make up his or her world. His theory was that "a person's processes are psychologically channelized by the ways in which he anticipates events." The individual tends to think, act, and react according to what he thinks is going to happen. Dr. Robert Monaghan of the Ohio State University's Department of Communication offered an explanation of the underlying ideas and the use of the répertoriai grid in the Educational Broadcasting Review, Volume 6/1, in which he stressed the
Communication breakdowns often occur simply because one person is using a different set of categories for making sense of the world than another, or perhaps because neither has been sufficiently explicit about categories. It is possible to judge too hastily another person's messages through one's own filtering system before inquiring about the way things look to him. This happens in mass communication as well as in interpersonal, group, and organizational communication.

The Repertory Grid permits checking out the ways in which a person deals with the world without being judgmental about him. The fundamental postulate of Kelly's theory is elaborated in eleven categories:

1. Construction corollary: "A person anticipates events by construing their replications," or he notices what events tend to repeat themselves.

2. Individuality corollary: "Persons differ from each other in their constructions of events," or they see things differently.

3. Organization corollary: "Each person characteristically evolves, for his convenience in anticipating events, a construction system embracing ordinal relationships between constructs," or he ranks things.

4. Dichotomy corollary: "A person's construction system is composed of a finite number of dichotomous constructs," or he holds opposites to any meaning.

5. Choice corollary: "A person chooses for himself that alternative in a dichotomized construct through which he anticipates the greater possibility for extension and definition of his system," or he tries to relate to the world as fully as possible and know himself.

6. Range corollary: "A construct is convenient for the anticipation of a finite range of events only," or a particular way of dealing with the world must be relevant in application.

7. Experience corollary: "A person's construction system varies as he successively construes the replications of events," or he changes his ways of coping with the world depending upon what works.
8. **Modulation corollary:** "The variation in a person's construction system is limited by the permeability of the constructs within whose ranges of convenience the variants lie," or anyone who is open and flexible can deal with a variety of circumstances.

9. **Fragmentation corollary:** "A person may successively employ a variety of construction sub-systems which are inferentially incompatible with one another," or he may deal with different parts of the world in different ways, which to an outsider may appear unrelated.

10. **Commonality corollary:** "To the extent that one person employs a construction of experience which is similar to that employed by another, his psychological processes are similar to those of the other person," or the more similarly they interpret things the more they tend to think along the same lines.

11. **Sociality corollary:** "To the extent that one person construes the construction processes of another, he may play a role in a social process involving the other person," or the more he can see things from the other's viewpoint the better he can communicate with him.\(^7\)

Although there are some aspects of the theory with which the writer is not in complete agreement, the insights which social construct theory provides on an individual's own personal order of values within the world are intriguing, particularly in combination with the types of values held by the same individual which may be understood from other methods.

The répertorial grid is basically a matrix in which people ("elements") in the respondent's life are rank-ordered according to a number of values ("constructs") which the respondent feels are the most valuable. The researcher includes the constructs "Like I am" and "Like I would like to be" at the end of the grid. (See Appendix E.) The correlations between the constructs then serve as indicators of how the individual perceives himself and relationships among the values. Initially the respondent selects a certain number of personal values
which s/he considers important values for humans, in general, to possess. The number may vary, but in the case of this study, nine values ("constructs") were the maximum, and up to fifteen people ("elements") were employed. Normally, each respondent completes one grid and the people who are rank-ordered are friends and/or associates of the respondent.

Because of the investigation into the cross-cultural implications of media values, three minor changes were made in the use of the grid. First, each respondent completed two grids, one using Romanian individuals, the other using American. It was hypothesized that if the values which the Romanian young people held were universally applied, the correlations in each grid would be roughly parallel. If, however, their expectations (i.e., stereotypes) of Romanians and Americans differed, then the correlations among values would obviously be different for each grid.

The second change of importance was that well-known American and Romanian actors and actresses were substituted for work associates and friends. (See lists in Appendix E.) Respondents selected up to 15 media personalities in each category by identifying the photographs of the various actors and actresses. If the respondent knew less than fifteen, s/he completed the grid with the smaller number; if more were known, the lesser-known media figures were discarded. If respondents knew most relatively well, the others were discarded through a random selection process. Although it was impossible to find direct cross-cultural counterparts of Romanian and American screen figures, the two lists were relatively balanced to include men and women of different
ages, styles, and genres. Each group of 25 photos consisted of eleven men, eight women, and six comedians, who were well-known and popular, according to Romanian sources. The selection of actresses for the list was somewhat more difficult than the selection of actors since there appeared to be a distinct lack of readily recognizable actresses from the United States. The list could easily have been filled with more detective, adventure, and Western heroes, but it was not desirable to omit actresses completely from the sample. This provided an early clue to the nature and content of many of the American films and programs shown in Romania.

The third change, made in order to more clearly identify which values were considered "typical" or "atypical" for each cultural stereotype, was to include the constructs "Most typically Romanian" on the Romanian grid, and "Most typically American" on the American grid. This rank-ordering of the actors/actresses according to the respondent's viewpoint of a particular cultural identity helped clarify the cultural stereotyping which was occurring. Furthermore, if that construct was found to correlate with other values, the relationship which the respondent felt existed between a value and a national identity was established. Finally, if the relationships of the "most typical" construct with the "As I am" or "As I would like to be" constructs were examined, then the respondent's self-identification with a national identity, or lack thereof, emerged.

Although these were the principal reasons for employing reper- torial grid analysis, interesting results were also obtained by survey- ing the rank-ordering. In the first place, the number of respondents
selecting certain values gave an indication of those values which con-
sciously permeated the community. The comparative lists of actors
and actresses deemed "most" and "least" typical of their nationalities
also provided insights into cross-cultural media identification made
by individuals. Finally, the actors and actresses with whom a person
felt "most like," or with whom s/he would most "like to be," was simi-
larly indicative of personal identification. These rankings, signif-
icantly clustered throughout the sample, provided additional evidence
of the influences of the media.

Comparative Photos

The use of comparative photos was designed to move subjects
away from the written word to the visual symbol in the attempt to estab-
ish those elements which represent part of the "essence" of each cul-
ture. Each participant received a small, fixed-focus Kodak Instamatic
camera loaded with 35-millimeter black-and-white film and was asked to
take three photos of the most typically Romanian objects in the commun-
ity (i.e., those unique to the Romanian people) and three photos of the
most typically American objects to be found in the community. The young
people were given free reign in deciding what to photograph, although it
was suggested that they decide for themselves and not adopt the advice
of parents or friends. Upon returning with the cameras, they were asked
what they selected for each group and the reasons for their decisions.
The completed photographs were to be assembled in a scrapbook for further
discussions on those "icons" or symbols representing Romanian and Ameri-
can cultures.
The Focused Interview and Informal Discussions

Another methodological component was a focused interview on the interpretations of the Romanian respondents of the nature of American films and television programs seen on Romanian screens. The nature of the focused interviews, as opposed to standard interviews, was described in an article entitled "A Fast Look at the Focused Interview," by Menton et al.:

The focused interview differs in several respects from other types of research interviews which might appear similar at first glance. In broad outline, its distinguishing characteristics are as follows. First of all, the persons interviewed are known to have been involved in a particular situation: they have seen a film, heard a radio program, read a pamphlet, article, or book, taken part in a psychological experiment or in an uncontrolled, but observed social situation (for example, a political rally, a ritual, or a riot). Secondly, the hypothetically significant elements, patterns, processes, and total structure of this situation have been provisionally analyzed by the social scientist. Throughout this content or situational analysis, he had arrived at a set of hypotheses concerning the consequences of determinate aspects of the situation for those involved in it. On the basis of this analysis, he takes the third step of developing an interview guide, setting forth the major areas of inquiry and the hypotheses which provide criteria of relevance for the data to be obtained in the interview. Fourth and finally, the interview is focused on the subjective experiences of persons exposed to the pre-analyzed situation in an effort to ascertain their definitions of the situation. The array of reported responses to the situation helps test hypotheses and, to the extent that it includes unanticipated responses, gives rise to fresh hypotheses for more systematic and rigorous investigation.

From this synopsis it will be seen that a distinctive prerequisite of the focused interview is a prior analysis of the situation in which subjects have been involved. Such foreknowledge of the situation is clearly at an optimum in the case of experimentally contrived situations, although it can be acquired also in uncontrolled, but observed, situations.8

This type of interview, which was tape-recorded where possible after the young people made each film, was used to explore the ideas and feelings of those individuals who wrote, directed, and participated in the thirty
films made. Since the students shared that common experience, they were asked what they thought about making the film, why they selected the topic, and why they presented it in the manner in which they did. Additionally, they were asked what, if any, differences and similarities existed between (1) Romanian and American productions, (2) Romanian and American spectators, and (3) Romanian and American young people. The tape recording was then played back so they could confirm, reject, or revise their comments.

The informal discussions, which occurred at almost any time or place, were usually at the discretion of interested young people, and focused on a great variety of their interests. American life styles, films, teenagers, Kojak, politics, problems and whatever other subjects that came to mind were dealt with in a responsive manner.

The Program Scenario and Film

The final two methodological components were concepts which did not seem to have been utilized in this format in any previous cross-cultural media studies (although Sol Worth explored them in reference to the cinematic depiction Navajo Indians made of their culture). In their own way, the scenarios and films constituted the most unique and dynamic segments of the study. Interrelated in content, the scenario was basically the outline of a program or film which "Americans would normally expect or want to see on the screen." The film was the attempt to put those ideas into visual form.

The purpose of these creations was to see what media format, design, and content evolved when a Romanian adolescent was asked to express his or her own ideas about what American media must be like. In
effect, the respondents were asked to create "American shows" in scenario form. After reading through the responses to see which might be feasible, given environmental, budgetary, and time limitations, most of the students were asked to create a film on their ideas.

The original idea was that the films would be developed in the United States and returned to Busteni prior to the end of the research period. A community festival of the films was planned where the young directors would be invited to show their films to family and friends and to discuss the content of the films with other participants. Each director was to receive a copy of the film, plus a "certificate of achievement." Although these activities were not carried out during the research period, due to a lack of time and facilities, they may still take place in the future.

The use of a video Portapak system was originally under consideration, but comparisons of respective weight, ease of use, color and sound capacities, cost, and potential technical difficulties shifted the selection to the more efficient super-8 movie camera. The camera selected was the Kodak, sound-cassette "Ekta-sound" system with fixed-focus lens and film cassettes that could adapt to indoor, outdoor, daylight, nighttime conditions. The camera allowed the filmmakers to make their examples of American television and films according to what they had seen on television or in theaters with a minimum amount of difficulty and "gimmicks." Although not without operational problems, the camera facilitated filming by the students, while some technical assistance was provided by the researcher.
Ultimately, the material generated was a visual indication of the ideas about Americans which have developed or been enhanced by the presence of American television programs and films within the community studied.

After returning to the United States, the films were content-analyzed by the investigators and a group of eight graduate students in the Department of Communication at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and a class of thirty communication majors at the same university. The graduate students watched a majority of the films during an afternoon session at the researcher's home, while the undergraduates analyzed fewer films during a class period. All were unfamiliar with the specifics of the research prior to the content-analysis. Three simple, open-ended questions were used in making this analysis:

1. What, if any, were the positive elements of the film? ("Elements" referring to content, format, or whatever the viewer saw as such.)

2. What, if any, were the negative elements of the film? ("Elements" referring to the same as above.)

3. What was the most striking aspect of the film? ("Aspect" could also refer to content, format, or miscellaneous.)

The questions generated from the viewers a summation of the general trends perceived within the films.

Other elements had been initially considered and discarded as methodological components for a variety of reasons. Experience showed that those which required a great deal of writing caused problems in the pilot study, as respondents apparently did not share the inclination to record their ideas in the written format. Questionnaires seemed too investigative in nature, especially since the relevant information could
be understood from informal discussions and participant observation within the community. Managerial surveys seemed to question the authority of decision-makers, inappropriate in Romania, and the issues they explored were apparently not of great concern to the respondents. While taping interviews in some situations was decidedly inappropriate, the careful and open use of recorders, while maintaining a low profile, had its useful and beneficial aspects. This was especially true with children and teenagers who seemed to have a certain fascination with hearing themselves on tape.

The pilot study conducted in France indicated that, in general, research elements which were not extremely tedious or time-consuming were the most successful in this type of study. In particular, the interest of young people was more enthusiastic, and their responses more complete, with the "game-type" methodological components. For this reason, the methodology attempted to let the experience be interesting, enjoyable, and informative for both participant and researcher.

Solution of Language Difficulties

In each of the research elements, the assistance of native speakers was used in the translation of the terms and ideas from English into Romanian. The value of solving the language barrier in cross-cultural research by working with native speakers was learned during the pilot study conducted in France. The benefit of this type of language problem solution is that the native may perceive things which escape the outside observer, while the outside observer may also perceive things witnessed from the external perspective, of which the cultural resident is not aware. Although native speakers used in the
Romanian study did not need to reside in the community, their availability to collaborate at points before, during, and after the study was an important consideration.

The original expectation was that the research would be a cooperative effort with a Romanian researcher. Although this was suggested in the research proposal presented to the Romanian Academy, the joint research venture did not materialize. Nevertheless, several knowledgeable Romanian acquaintances carefully supervised the formation of the Romanian research materials. Their advice was particularly useful for aspects of the terminology in the repertorial grids, for the categories of the perceptual indices, and for the lists of appropriate Romanian and American actors and actresses. They were also helpful in generating the wording and phrasing of the questions asked in Romanian, since the researcher's knowledge of Romanian was incomplete in the beginning.

The multiple operative nature of this methodology calls for an integrative means of explicating the aspects of each component's testing of hypotheses and corollaries. Table 6 indicates how each hypothesis and each corollary was tested by a minimum of two, and occasionally as many as six or seven, of the methodological components. Read horizontally, the chart depicts which components provide data as a test of each hypothesis or corollary. Read vertically, the chart indicates the variety of information which each component was able to draw out in relation to the hypotheses and corollaries posited.

Following Table 6, data from each methodological component which were seen as possible "evidence" supporting or not supporting each
Table 6

The Integration of Methodological Components and Research Hypotheses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypotheses</th>
<th>Components</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I  Film and television productions are interculturally important verbal/visual materials in the establishment and maintenance of cultural stereotypes.</td>
<td>X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II The extent to which the media are important and the manner in which they are used cross-culturally vary with age, sex, environment, education, background, availability, and other considerations.</td>
<td>X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Media of an intercultural nature will initially tend to be sensory, whereas intracultural media will tend to be mimetic.</td>
<td>X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corollary: In order to influence a culture, both intercultural and intracultural media should have both mimetic and sensory aspects.</td>
<td>X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV People utilize and maintain cultural stereotypes for identity purposes, for diversion, and for entertainment.</td>
<td>X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corollary: Personal contact with members of other cultures will supersede media in importance as a source for cultural information unless those members are too different from expectations, in which case they will be dismissed as &quot;atypical.&quot;</td>
<td>X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V As more encounters occur with another culture, cultural images (i.e., stereotypes) will be modified and differentiated.</td>
<td>X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Those formulas frequently presented in other-culture programming tend to be accepted as &quot;reality&quot; by those cultural members without direct experience with the other culture.</td>
<td>X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corollary: In so doing, cultural members develop certain myths of their own about the other culture which are particular factors within the environment in which the programs are viewed.</td>
<td>X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII That which is culturally &quot;distant&quot; may be more believable and acceptable to cultural members than that which is &quot;close,&quot; yet not identical.</td>
<td>X X X</td>
</tr>
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PO = participant observation  PI = perceptual index  RG = repertorial grids
FI = focused interview  S/F = scenario/film  RB = research in Bucharest
P = photos
Table 6 (Cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>VIII</td>
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<td>Corollary:</td>
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<td>XII</td>
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<td>XIII</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

PO = participant observation  PI = perceptual index  RG = repertorial grids
PI = focused interview  S/F = scenario/film  RB = research in Bucharest
P = photos

hypothesis or corollary, are listed in Table 7. More detailed interpretations of these data are presented in Chapter 5 (on the research in Busteni) while Chapter 3 contains the relevant information acquired during the research in Bucharest.
Sources of Data Used as "Evidence" for Each Hypothesis and Corollary

I. Film and television productions are interculturally important verbal/visual materials in the establishment and maintenance of cultural stereotypes.

Participant Observation:
1. Games from American sources played by young people
2. Manner in which American programs and films used and discussed
3. Frequency of access or interest in American programs
4. American styles (i.e., dress, hair, behavior) adopted by teenagers and their sources of information
5. Collections and possessions of American objects

Perceptual Index:
1. Responses on the importance of different sources of information for ideas about life in the United States

Repertorial Grids:
1. Photo recognition of American actors and actresses (frequency, popularity, information known)
2. Relation of "most typically American" with values on grids
3. Rating of actors/actresses as "most typically American"

Focused Interviews:
1. Responses to
   a. why film was made
   b. differences in Romanian and American productions
   c. differences in Romanian and American spectators
   d. differences in Romanian and American young people

Scenarios/Films:
1. Scenarios depicting American characters and situations
2. Visual depictions of American characters and situations in films
3. Content analyses

Research in Bucharest:
1. Evidence from decision-makers' experiences and opinions

(continued)
Table 7 (Cont'd)

2. Changes made in programming of American media and public response
3. Nature of write-ups on American films by Romanian critics
4. Research results
5. Criteria for selection/dissemination of American media

Photos:

1. Portrayal of elements in community that are stereotyped as most typically American

II. The extent to which the media are important and the manner in which they are used cross-culturally varies with age, sex, environment, education, background, availability, and other considerations.

Participant Observation:

1. Differences in extent of imitative behaviors of individuals of different age/sexes
2. Different orientations to uses of media in cinema and homes
3. Differences in availability of American media in Busteni and Bucharest
4. Discussions with people of diverse demographic groups and their primary preoccupations
5. Differences in what people of Busteni want to see on television and theaters versus those of other areas
6. School promotion of certain films and ideas for different age groups
7. Differences in the demographics of theater attendance

Perceptual Index:

1. Responses indicating strong age/sex differences and their relationship to importance of sources
2. Comparison of children's and adolescents' indices

Repertorial Grids:

1. Demographic differences in photo recognition of American actors and actresses

Focused Interviews:

1. Reasons given for why films were made and reasons why American spectators should want to see them. (continued)
Table 7 (Cont'd)

2. Perceived differences in Romanian and American productions and value judgments made about them

Scenarios/Films:

1. Demographic differences in interest in participation in film projects

Research in Bucharest:

1. Romanian research on subject
2. Specific priorities of decision-makers (i.e., to youth)

III. Media of an intercultural nature will initially tend to be susorary, whereas intracultural media will tend to be mimetic.

Participant Observation:

1. Comments on positive and negative American traits and perceived influence in community
2. Extent to which young visibly/vocally reject Romanian characteristics for adoption of American ones, particularly those seen in American media
3. Community members' reactions to certain programs
4. Desires of young people in wanting "something different" in media (i.e., American films)

Repertorial Grids:

1. Extent to which "typically Romanian" or "typically American" construct correlates with "as I am" or "as I would like to be"
2. Differences in qualities associated with "typically Romanian" and "typically American" constructs

Focused Interviews:

1. Responses to
   a. why film was made
   b. differences in Romanian and American productions

Perceptual Index:

1. Comparison of importance of sources according to place of origin (internal or external)

(continued)
Table 7 (Cont'd)

Research in Bucharest:

1. Rationale for Bucharest decision-makers' criteria:
   a. screening out certain productions
   b. reasons for purchasing certain products over others

2. Desires of young people at Costinesti in wanting different kinds of American productions
3. Information on how American productions are changing Romanian productions
4. Comments and complaints about the film school situation by film students

Corollary: In order to influence a culture, both intercultural and intracultural media should have mimetic and suasory aspects.

Participant Observation:

1. Discussions on American credibility, values in media, and similarities

Répertorial Grids:

1. Similarities and dissimilarities perceived in correlation of qualities with "typically American" or "Romanian" constructs

Focused Interviews:

1. Similarities in responses to
   a. why film was made
   b. nature of Romanian and American audiences
   c. nature of Romanian and American productions

Research in Bucharest:

1. Decision-makers' criteria for selection of American films and productions (i.e., promotion of certain "universal" values)
2. Comments on films made in other culturally dissimilar countries
3. Romanian research indicating popularity of American productions over others and reasons why

(continued)
Table 7 (Cont'd)

IV. People utilize and maintain cultural stereotypes for identity purposes, for diversion, and for entertainment.

Participant Observation:
1. Games played by young in imitation of American figures; use of actors as heroes to imitate or villains to reject
2. Maintenance of stereotypes "to be different" from other Romanians, also for entertainment, diversion
3. Discussions among community members following programs
4. Remarks made on the nature of different ethnic groups
5. Discussions with young on Americans and life in the United States

Repertorial Grids:
1. Relationship between "typically Romanian" and "typically American" constructs with "As I am" and "As I would like to be"
2. Characteristics and values attributed to Romanian and American actors and actresses

Focused Interviews:
1. Responses to
   a. why film was made
   b. differences in Romanian and American productions
   c. differences in Romanian and American spectators
   d. differences in Romanian and American young people

Scenarios/Films:
1. Nature of films made
2. Content analyses

Research in Bucharest:
1. Discussion with decision-makers on rationales for bypassing Socialist orientations on occasion in selection of films

Corollary: Personal contact with members of other cultures will supersede media in importance as a source for cultural information unless those members are too different from expectations, in which case, they will be dismissed as "atypical."

(continued)
Table 7 (Cont'd)

Participant Observation:

1. Personal experiences in how people reacted
2. Comments about our perceived "typicality" or "atypicality"

Perceptual Index:

1. Relative importance attributed to "real-life" encounters in comparison with the media

V. As more encounters occur with another culture, cultural images (i.e., stereotypes) will be modified and differentiated.

Participant Observation:

1. Comparisons of ideas held by young and old about foreigners (particularly Americans)
2. Interest in certain types of programs over others

Perceptual Index:

1. Indications of shifts in importance of certain sources of information; increases in important sources

Répertorial Grids:

1. Extent to which correlations between nationalities and values correspond to age and media familiarity

Focused Interviews:

1. Responses to questions about differences between Romanians and Americans, in combination with evidence of media familiarity

Scenario/Films:

1. Content of films made according to ages and media familiarity
2. Content analyses

Photos:

1. Differences in photo content by age and media familiarity

(continued)
VI. Those formulas frequently presented in other culture programming tend to be accepted as "reality" by those cultural members without direct experience with the other culture.

Participant Observation:

1. Discussions with Romanians on Americans and the United States
2. "Proof" used in discussions, consisting of information from film and television sources

Perceptual Index:

1. Identification of media as primary sources of information on life in the United States

Repertorial Grids:

1. Relationship of actors and "typically American" construct with what typically American traits are

Focused Interviews:

1. Responses to
   a. nature of American productions
   b. nature of American spectators

Scenarios/Films:

1. Content of films representing American "reality"
2. Content analyses

Research in Bucharest:

1. Differences in acceptance of American media as "realistic" portrayals by critics, decision-makers with direct American experiences and those without

Corollary: In so doing, cultural members develop certain myths of their own about the other culture which are particular to the environment within which programs are viewed.

Participant Observation:

1. Discussions with community members
2. Variations on the games played by young
Table 7 (Cont'd)

3. Comments by workers, teens, housewives, teachers, students and their different perspectives

Repertorial Grids:

1. Differences in values attributed to Americans
2. Extent to which they would like to imitate or not imitate and why

Focused Interviews:

1. Ideas expressed in responses to questions on differences between Romanians and Americans

Scenarios/Films:

1. Myths expressed in the action of the films
2. Content analyses revealing underlying characteristics
3. Prevalent symbols (drugs, alcohol) and differences in their use

Research in Bucharest:

1. Myths expressed by decision-makers and how they differ from those discussed in Busteni

VII. That which is "culturally distant" may be more believable and acceptable to cultural members than that which is "close," yet not identical.

Participant Observation:

1. Discussions with community members on their ideas and perceived "credibility" of American ways
2. Depictions of how United States is visualized

Repertorial Grids:

1. Identification of values and certain actors/actresses as being "typically American"

Focused Interviews:

1. Responses to
   a. differences in Romanian and American productions

(continued)
b. differences in Romanian and American spectators
c. differences in Romanian and American young people

Scenarios/Films:
1. Nature of films generated: fantasy, social realism, etc.
2. Content analyses depicting noticeable differences in films

Research in Bucharest:
1. Research on media audiences

Photos:
1. Indications of selection of similar "typical" elements, or extremely different selections

VIII. As media are not value-neutral, the value systems which individuals generate about people of other cultural backgrounds and themselves will vary with age, sex, environment, background, and availability of information.

Participant Observation:
1. Different interest and orientations of community members in regard to American elements
2. Values expressed in discussions, particularly with young people

Repertorial Grids:
1. Variance of values selected according to age and sex
2. Relationship between values and "most typically American" and "most typically Romanian"
3. Relationship of values with "As I am" and "As I would like to be" on both grids

Focused Interviews:
1. Differences perceived in Romanian and American productions, spectators, and young people in comparison with demographic differences

Scenarios/Films:
1. "American" values expressed in films in comparison with demographic differences
2. Content analyses

(continued)
Table 7 (Cont'd)

Research in Bucharest:

1. Indications in Romanian research of demographic differences in media preferences

IX. Adolescents, in important decision-making stages of their lives, will be the community members most involved in decisions concerning the maintenance or rejection of the cultural status quo.

Participant Observation:

1. Visible differences in orientation
2. Adolescents' expressions of interest/disinterest in their community
3. Expressed support or lack of support for indigenous Romanian elements (i.e., folklore, dances, cultural heritage)

Focused Interviews:

1. Responses to
   a. differences in Romanian and American spectators
   b. differences in Romanian and American productions
   c. why films were made

Repertorial Grids:

1. Relationship between "typically Romanian," "typically American" and "As I would like to be"

Research in Bucharest:

1. Romanian research on the young, film preferences, and how discriminating they are in selection of programs to watch
2. Activities and comments of Romanian youth at Costinesti film festival

Corollary: Adolescents will also be seen by adults as being the most vulnerable in the chain of cultural continuity.

Participant Observation:

1. Comments made by teachers, parents, community leaders, and other adults on adolescents
2. Community efforts to acculturate adolescents
3. Development and implementation of programs that are "protective" of the young
   (continued)
Table 7 (Cont'd)

Research in Bucharest:

1. Statements made by Bucharest decision-makers, filmmakers, critics, and others about the "vulnerability" of youth
2. Romanian research on non-discriminating nature of youth
3. Orientations of national programs (i.e., Union of Communist Youth)

X. Peer pressure, the media, and other outside influences will tend to be more important than traditional influences (parents, school) on most adolescents.

Participant Observation:

1. Discussions among peers and parents
2. Manner in which ideas are spread or passed around groups
3. Expressions of adolescents of most important influences
4. Nature of time spent in association with different sources of influence
5. Portrayal of school, family, and media importance

Perceptual Index:

1. Comparison of adolescents' perceptions of the most important sources of information

Focused Interviews:

1. Information (if imparted) on participants in the construction and development of the scenario/film ideas

Research in Bucharest:

1. Romanian research on young and their preferences
2. Union of Communist Youth programs' orientation to influencing peer pressure and media selection
3. Information from the Costinesti film festival
4. Comments of decision-makers in media and importance attributed to their criteria

XI. Adolescents and children can form and reproduce clear and concise cross-cultural stereotypes and media formulas.

Participant Observation:

1. Games and mannerisms used by the young

(continued)
Table 7 (Cont'd)

2. Behavioral mannerisms adopted by "Americanized" teens (i.e., at the disco, school functions, in the company of others)

Repertorial Grids:

1. Values associated with being "typically American"

Focused Interviews:

1. Responses to
   a. differences between Romanian and American productions
   b. differences in Romanian and American spectators
   c. differences in Romanian and American young people

Scenario/Film:

1. Clear visual portrayal of media formulas and stereotypes
2. Content analyses

XII. Cross-cultural media in some cultures help generate and maintain an "aspiration-versus-reality" gap, particularly in the young.

Participant Observation:

1. Discussions about nature of American life and the value judgments of the young
2. Differences in acceptance or rejection of traditional desires for those things from other cultures

Repertorial Grids:

1. Differences in relationship of "typically Romanian" and "typically American" with "As I am" and "As I would like to be" correlations

Focused Interviews:

1. Response to differences between Romanian and American young people

Scenario/Film:

1. The feeling or atmosphere of each film, the nature of the depiction of American qualities/traits

(continued)
XIII. In spite of pre-planned media policies established by the decision-makers, other circumstances will influence both the choices and the influences they have.

Participant Observation:

1. Community differences in what they want (and will pay to see) in the cinema
2. Influences on the young in the community

Repertorial Grids:

1. Extent to which values and characteristics of being "typically Romanian" are more or less desirable to young than being "typically American"

Focused Interviews:

1. Responses to
   a. differences in Romanian and American productions
   b. differences in Romanian and American spectators
   c. differences in Romanian and American young people

2. Suggested preferences

Research in Bucharest:

1. Information from decision-makers on the relationship of decision-making theory and practice
2. Romanian research results on preferred genres, countries, types of programming
NOTES TO CHAPTER 4


3 Ibid., p. 22.

4 Ibid., p. 255.

5 E. Webb et al., Unobtrusive Measures (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), p. 3.


BUSTENI* AND THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN MEDIA

It is difficult to pinpoint what might be described as a "typical" Romanian community. The amount of diversity among customs, life styles, and traditions in Romania, as small as the country is, is astonishing, and even Romanians have a hard time agreeing on what is "average" for a country of such variety. Transylvanians, because of their years of Hungarian and Saxon domination, are considered more "westernized" and "conservative" than other Romanians, while Moldavians, from the northeastern part of the country, are said to be more moody and poetic. The culture of southeastern Romania was much more dominated by the Greeks and Turks, whereas the Romanians of the Banat, in the southwestern part of the country, have lived side by side with Serbian influences. Some Romanians (particularly Oltenians) claim that the true heart of Romania is in Oltenia, a farming area in south central Romania. This is the region from which President Nicolae Ceausescu comes, and it is indeed rich in cultural heritage. Yet due to its place in the spotlight as the President's birthplace, it was felt that many Oltenians might be even more conscious of promoting Romanian cultural traditions than other Romanians, and a more "value-neutral" location was sought.

* Pronounced "bush-TEN."
The "judet," or district, called "Prahova," located northwest of Bucharest in the relative center of the country, seemed appropriate, and many Romanians with whom we conferred were supportive of this choice.

A second set of criteria which helped in the decision-making was the need to find a place geographically and demographically comparable to Favèrèges, the small provincial town of southwestern France where I had conducted a pilot study on the research methodology.* As I intend to do a comparative study on the influences of American media in these two areas, the strength of various similarities and differences in media impact would be all the more obvious if the towns' respective outlooks were similar. In effect, then, I was searching for an environment with the following characteristics:

1. a rather small town, from 5,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, primarily supported by local industry and agriculture,
2. a location not so remote that there was no ebb and flow of people and ideas from other localities,
3. a town with smaller villages in the vicinity which relied on the town for shopping, information, and government services,
4. a town, which while not itself a principal tourist site for foreigners, was near enough to such a site that some contact with American tourists (or information about them) would be possible,

*In attempting to evoke for the reader more "feeling" for the community, the author will use the first person for the chapter.
5. a town with a sizeable enough population of young people to support a school system, a movie theater, and other youth-oriented activities.

The manner in which I and my husband, Allen Karlin, came to live in the mountain town of Buşteni happened more by chance than by design. We had assumed that either my advisor, Dr. Ghiorghiu, someone from the Academy of Social Sciences, or someone from the National Council of Science and Technology would select the location for the research. Yet after our arrival in Bucharest, it became apparent that the decision was more or less ours to make. Consequently, we took a short trip by car from Bucharest through the mountains to the area of Faragaş, which had been recommended as a place of excellent potential.

As we passed through the region heading toward the Transylvanian town of Braşov, we listed a number of communities which more or less met the research needs, among them Breaza, Cîmpulung, Buşteni, and Azuga. The little town of Buşteni seemed to be the most adequate site, and a few weeks later we found ourselves discussing housing arrangements with Primarul Militaru, the mayor of Buşteni.

In looking over journal notes on the progression of events that marked our stay in Buşteni, it is surprising how easily our encounters with the young people of Buşteni can be segmented into different "eras," although we did not plan it that way. Although our "unnatural status" as Americans in the community made it impossible for us to just "melt" into the scene as many participant observers attempt to do, our general acquaintance with community members and their acceptance of us seemed to evolve naturally through different time periods or "eras." These
"eras," which numbered seven, provide a frame of reference from which the reader may follow the course of the implementation of the different methodological components. The first two naturally occurring eras were the period of getting acquainted with the community of Buşteni and the period of visiting the schools and meeting students. Although participant observation was important throughout the research period, it was the sole aspect of the methodology in use in the early research stages. These eras were followed by a period of research with pre-adolescent children, which involved photo recognition and completion of the perceptual indices. We next initiated the perceptual indices, photo recognition and value selections for the adolescent participants. The fifth era was one of many problems (see Appendix F for details), during which time the comparative photo component was introduced and then discarded. This was followed by a period of intensive grid and scenario work. The final weeks of research were the "era of film-making," during which thirty films were made, along with the focused interviews. The methodological results presented in this chapter are incorporated in the same order in which they were generated during the research period. In other words, the section on participant observation is followed in order by (1) children's perceptual indices, (2) adolescent perceptual indices, (3) repertorial grids, (4) scenario and films, and (5) focused interviews. The content analyses of the films, while occurring at a later date, are included in the film discussion.

Buşteni

To the casual observer, Buşteni looks like any other typical Romanian town, strung for miles along the main road which winds its way
up the Prahova Valley, running roughly parallel to the two other means by which life enters and leaves the valley: the railroad tracks and the Prahova River. Somewhat dusty and noisy in the summer, with the large trucks continuously rumbling through town, the most obvious difference between life in Bușteni and in other Romanian towns of similar size is the crystal-clear presence of the Caraiman cliffs, soaring thousands of feet above the community, their lower slopes blanketed in acres of deep green forest. Unlike the nearby towns of Sinaia and Predeal with their numerous stopping-off places and parking lots, only one place in Bușteni really invites traffic to stop and stay a while, * at the modern hotel/restaurant/cofetarie complex called the Caraiman. (See Figure 3.) Surrounded on one side by the town's small department store/supermarket and on the other by a park which also borders the older building used as the town hall, the steeply-sloped, modernistic architecture of the Caraiman and the shopping complex seems somewhat incongruous with the older buildings that comprise much of the remainder of the town. Across the street from the Caraiman is a small row of shops, including the town's glass store, book store, and stationary shop. To the north, in the direction of Azuga and Brașov, is a sleepy little railroad station, the Post Office, small clothing shops, hairdressers, fruit and vegetable and bread stores, and a small, modest cofetarie. The town's Romanian Orthodox Church, with its classic shape and steeple, is also a short distance from the center of town. The only other modern building visible from the road is the "B.T.T.," a kind of youth hostel

*"Confectionary"
Figure 3. Map of Busteni
which is open to students from around the country and those on international tours, but which is basically off-limits to local teenagers.

To the south of the town center, in the direction of Sinaia and Bucharest, more milk, vegetable, and bread shops line the road, as well as the town hospital. Near the southern edge of town stands the "Cinema Progresul," which sits in front of the large paper factory, the town's largest complex. A sharp turn in the road takes the traveler under the metal bridge over which huge rolls of freshly-made paper are rolled from the factory to the nearby warehouse. A public bath, followed by a few more houses, lines the road; then the forest and the river set in once again on either side.

A few more kilometers in a southerly direction leads into the community of Poiana Țapului, the "Glade of the Bucks," which is administered by Bușteni officials. The valley widens and levels at this point, and as the cliffs do not cast their shadows, day seems to last a little longer. Here, too, small shops line the main street, as well as a shady park alongside Poiana Țapului's small movie theater.

Across the valley, beyond the railroad tracks and the rapidly flowing river, is the village of Zamora, whose homes seem more casually scattered across the hillsides, in comparison with the more tightly-packed layout of Poiana Țapului and Bușteni. Zamora also has its main street, the Strada Panduri, but unlike Bușteni's main Bulevard Libertăți, commerce in Zamora is limited to a small fruit and vegetable shop and a soft-drink vendor.

In early meetings with the mayor and the town secretary, Domnul Bogasiu, I learned more about the life of this community than could
ever be imagined by those who merely pass through. The town of Buşteni, and the smaller communities of Poiana Țapului and Zamora which it administers, are located in the very corner of the well-off "judet," or district, named "Prahova." Like the country of Romania, the judet Prahova is approximately one-third hills, one-third mountains, and one-third flat farmlands. The district's capital, Ploiești, is also the oil capital of Romania. The combination of oil and farming in the lowlands with the timber and tourists in the highlands makes a prosperous judet which strongly supports the arts, culture, and education of the inhabitants.

The town of Buşteni has an added advantage in being located only 34 kilometers from the Transylvanian city of Brașov, the third largest city of Romania. Brașov, which is actually closer to Buşteni than is Ploiești, is a source of employment and education for many Buşteni residents who want to specialize in occupations other than Buşteni's primary industry of paper-making. The frequent, inexpensive trains scheduled daily to Brașov are packed with workers and students from Buşteni and Poiana Țapului, as well as from the neighboring communities of Azuga and Predeal.

The recorded history of Buşteni began in 1812 with the construction of twelve small huts built in the area to house logging families. Appropriately, the name "Buşteni" means "Logs," and the rich and beautiful Carpathian forests surrounding the settlement, coupled with the brisk River Prahova passing through its center, made the community a prime place to establish a paper factory in 1882. Predeal, located a few miles north, marked the frontier between Hungarian-controlled
Transylvania and the Romanian Wallachia. In the nineteenth century, a road and railroad finally joined the often treacherous valley with Braşov and Bucharest, and so trade flourished. The primary occupations of the Buştenians remained logging and raising animals. Sheep and cattle are best suited to the environment in the mountain meadows, and the cheeses and "cas" (whey) from the area have an excellent, well-earned reputation.

The neighboring town of Sinaia, known as the "Pearl of the Carpathians," was a long-established health and vacation resort, besides being the site of the palace of King Carol. Because of the beauty, healthful aspects, and prestige of the site, more and more visitors from wealthy Romanian families and from abroad were attracted and built luxurious villas in the area. Zamora, the small village which faces Poiana Țapului on the sunny side of the valley, was particularly popular among actors and actresses from Bucharest theaters through the Thirties. The beautiful villas built throughout the valley can still be seen, and at least one famous Romanian actress still maintains a villa in Zamora. The majority of the beautiful buildings, however, have been turned into schools, kindergartens, rest homes, or lodgings where visitors stay for a few days during their vacation periods. Although Americans are frequently encountered in Sinaia, and to a lesser extent in Predeal, relatively few are familiar with the charms of Busteni, due to a lack of promotion as well as the scarcity of hotels.

Of the 12,500 year-round citizens of Buşteni, the majority work either for the local industries or in tourist-related capacities. Approximately two-thirds of the workers are in some way connected with
the paper factory which makes goods for the rest of Romania and for export abroad. Local transport and construction industries also employ local workers. During the summers, the number of inhabitants increases to 40,000, but the crowding is not visible as in the nearby town of Sinaia, which is swamped with tourists. This situation may change in the future, as a new cable car has been built in Bușteni, connecting the town with the tops of the Bucegi Mountains which tower over the community. In the past, access to the peaks from Bușteni was difficult, if not impossible, to anyone other than mountain climbers. Sinaia and Predeal, therefore, won the majority of winter skiers and summer hikers. Further complicating tourist developments was the fact that Busteni, although well-equipped with villas, had only two hotels and two restaurants. A new deluxe hotel for accommodating tourists was being built at the base of the cable car during our research period but was stopped, purportedly because the Romanian government felt that it was being criticized for putting more money into the building of luxury hotels than in improving the living conditions of Romanian workers. The people in Bușteni expressed the hope that the delay in completing the hotel was only temporary, as the much-needed enterprise would result in new business and job opportunities for the growing community. New apartment complexes were also being constructed in various locations throughout the town.

Bușteni is also somewhat of an educational and health center, since, due to the healthy climate, there are three health facilities: a clinic, a hospital, and a sanitarium for children with respiratory ailments. There are six educational facilities in town; the best known
being the "Liceul Profesional de Chimie," an industrial high school specializing in chemistry, which has 900 students, 600 of whom are girls. Besides chemistry courses in research and lab technician training, classes in paper technology are also offered. Many of the students who attend commute from the Bușteni, Brașov, and Sinaia area. Others who come from around the country and even some foreign nations live in dorms located down the hill from the school. Afternoon and evening classes for students are also held at the liceul. The evening classes are primarily reserved for adult education programs which train workers who want to increase their skills and obtain better jobs.

There are three grade schools, called "Scoala Generală," for children from seven to sixteen years of age. Approximately 1,000 students are enrolled in these schools, two of which are in Bușteni; the third is located in Poiana Țapului. Some students finish their schooling in these general schools and are then found positions as apprentices to learn more specific working skills. Most students, however, go on to some kind of vocational or technical high school, while others enter college preparatory schools, usually in Sinaia and Brașov. A few children are selected to enter professional training schools at an early age; we met students training to be athletes who attended a physical education school in Predeal, as well as an eleven-year-old girl from Bușteni who was a student at the School of Choreography in Bucharest.

Bușteni is also the location of two special schools. The first is for unhealthy, weak children who attend for a few months until they are cured and then return to their homes. The second is an institution
for boys who either have no homes, or, for various reasons, cannot live
at home. Some are orphaned, some have alcoholic or abusive parents,
others have emotional problems, but regardless of the reason, they are
housed and cared for as long as the problems exist or until they come
of age.

Five kindergartens, with 250 pupils, two nursery schools with
90 young children, and one day-care center for the factory workers'
children, complete the town's facilities for the accommodation of over
2,500 school-age children, of which 52 percent are female.

Other important activities for the children include the social/
cultural/political organizations found throughout the nation. The
youngest group, for children of ages five through eight, is the "Saimii
Patriei," the "Falcons of the Homeland," who number approximately 600
in Busteni. The "Pionierii," or "Young Pioneers," are from nine to six­
teen years of age. Once students begin to enter their more specialized
career training, they may join the "Uniunea Tineretului Comunist," the
Union of Young Communists, which plans many activities for its members,
age from 16 to 25 years. At age 18, young Romanians may be allowed to
join the "Partidul Comunist Roman," the Romanian Communist Party, if
they wish. The Pioneers and the U.T.C. are selective in their member­
ship, permitting the better and most worthy students to join their ranks.
According to Primarul Militaru, Buşteni includes between 1400 and 1500
members in these two groups.

Many community activities, including children's musical and
theatrical productions, graduation festivities, and school festivals,
are held in the "C.P.P." or "Cepeca," a new meeting hall/theater located
behind the Caraiman complex. The hall is also reserved for other important meetings; an international mathematics conference was held in the modern, spacious, and comfortably designed building during the research period, along with numerous shows and plays. School-sponsored dances and activities were also very common, although these were usually held in the schools or in an old gymnasium which stood not far from the post office.

Another attraction for children in Buşteni is the small zoo, located across the road from the Scoala Generala Number 2, near the cable car station. The most prestigious residents of this zoo are the Carpathian bears, deer, and a wolf or two, which may also be encountered in the forests that surround the town. Once during our stay, a bear came into the edge of town and stole a pig, tucking it neatly under its arm like a football. When the owner of the pig tried to chase off the bear with a stick, the bear chased the man down the streets of Busteni. Luckily, the man proved to be faster, as one older lady in the area told us in a disgruntled fashion that people were not allowed to kill the bears, even if they stole pigs, cows, or children. The reason for this was because "Ceauşescu says that the bears are worth more than a person." (This quote was not, however, confirmed by the authorities.)

Other primary pasttimes of the majority of Buşteni youngsters are sports of all kinds. Cheers could be heard all over town on almost every summer Sunday afternoon from the small soccer field wedged between the community and the river. The grounds of the Liceul, located next to our back yard, were also the site of seemingly perpetual soccer
matches between boys of all ages during the summer. The area's children, particularly those from the edge of town and Zamora, have incredible stamina from all the exercise they get walking or, if they are fortunate, riding their bikes, on errands and visits all over the community. Bușteni children excel at running, playing games in the streets, climbing trees, and going on picnics. A favorite site for the younger boys' favorite game of cowboys and Indians happened to border the white picket fence surrounding the town cemetery, located on the westernmost edge of town. It was occasionally somewhat incongruous to see the high-spirited cowboys in conjunction with the factory band playing somber funeral processionals; yet young and old were involved in their own respective rituals and interests, and seemed to function well side by side.

Besides television, the presence of which will be discussed later, the primary source of information from which those cowboy and Indian games evolved was the "Cinema Progresul," the only movie theater in Bușteni. Nestled between a factory cafeteria and a shop specializing in meat and milk products, the cinema is located directly in front of the paper factory, under the bridge over which paper is carted for storage. At one time the Progresul (a medium-sized theater for Romania seating somewhere between 150-200 people) was apparently a meeting hall or theater, because of its balconies and prominent stage. Although the theater is somewhat dilapidated, with green painted walls and ancient drapes, the posters displayed in the windows and around town attract many Bușteni citizens and visitors; on a warm, summer evening, hundreds may be milling around on the sidewalk outside, waiting for
the show to begin. The tiny office of Domnul Gana, the man in charge of the theater, is readily visible as the source of those announcements. Located in the back of the theater to the left of the screen, the office is filled with paint cans, discarded posters or flyers, and account books, indicating the "one-man show" which the theater is. The atmosphere of the theater, like the office, is very informal, if not occasionally somewhat disorganized.

Given the informality, the proximity, and the accessibility of the cinema, it is not surprising that the people of Bușteni feel quite at home in their theater. During the World Cup soccer games, young men frequently brought transistor radios (without earplugs) to the theater so as to keep in touch with the turn of events prior to, and in some cases during, some of the films. In many films, the spectators were very involved with the action, making comments or giving vent to cheers of encouragement for their heroes. Occasionally someone would make a joke about a love-scene, a certain character, or a piece of the dialogue. Then other spectators would laugh and/or respond in kind. The jokes and cheers always seemed to come from male spectators.

It was also possible to tell the nature of the scene by the amount of noise emanating from the hard-backed wooden chairs. Although the chairs squeaked continously during the films, the noise was particularly obvious during painfully slow love scenes or other "less attractive" parts of the films.

The evening audiences seemed to be composed primarily of teenagers and young adults roughly between the ages of 15 and 35. Young women did not usually attend alone, but came with either girlfriend(s)
or dates. Some young men came alone, but the social importance of the cinema was indicated by the majority who came with one or more friends or met. Groups of friends, acquaintances, and double-dates often stood outside after purchasing tickets, waiting for the film to begin. Frequently one friend would wait in line to save choice seats for all friends inside the theater. Young men and women seemed to congregate in back-row seats, although the dating activities prevalent in American cinemas were not noticeably present.

If a documentary short preceded the feature presentation, as was usually the case, many people waited outside the theater until the film and the following intermission ended. The reason for the wait was never clarified, although one possible explanation may have been that the long, occasionally pedantic, documentaries were not of particular interest to the young people who came to be entertained. Another element which possibly influenced the decision to remain outdoors was the fact that after a long day of four to five screenings, the lack of ventilation in the building, combined with large numbers of human beings packed in a close space, created what might be labeled a very "ripe" environment. In winter, for this reason, little heating was needed.

The exception for missing the shorts which preceded each feature was when the short was a cartoon. The audience seemed to watch the cartoons with as much (if not more) enthusiasm as they watched the feature films. Most of the cartoons were Hanna-Barbera Productions or others of similar make (e.g., Tom and Jerry, Tweetie and Sylvester). Sometimes the cartoons did not follow the same circuit as the feature
films; for example, the same Chilly Willie cartoon preceded three different films shown in the local theaters.

Although studies done by Romanian researchers indicate that men and women attend the cinema in relatively equal numbers, it seemed that the audiences in Bușteni were predominantly male. This predominance of young men may be attributed perhaps to the types of films we usually attended: mostly American or British films which were generally adventures, Westerns, or detective stories. The predominance of males may also be due to the times when we attended—which was usually, from American habit, in the evenings.

According to Domnul Gana, approximately 2,800 to 3,000 people attend films at the Cinema Progresul each month. (This number seems light, and may represent fully-paid tickets, excluding students and soldiers.) The number increases significantly in the busy summer months and decreases in the winter. The most sizeable audience is said to be high school students, who average more than 600 tickets per month, although their attendance varies according to the types of films being presented. A summer camp in Bușteni accommodates 6,000 children from all over the country. With the pick-up in children's attendance from the camp during the summer, Bușteni is said to have one of the highest cinema attendance records in the Prahovean județ.

In preparing the schedule of films to be presented, Domnul Gana works directly with the schools and preschools to coordinate and schedule films that will correspond with teaching needs. For example, documentary films on certain animals are scheduled to correspond with the weeks when those lessons are taught in science classes. It is not
uncommon to see entire classes of youngsters marching in organized pairs to or from the cinema. They are always dressed either in the Young Pioneers outfits or their school uniforms, the girls with their hair neatly tucked behind white headbands.

The final decisions about which feature films are to be shown in Bușteni are made by a regional group called the "Interprinderea Cinematografică al Județului Prahova," the Cinematic Enterprise for the Prahova District, which maintains offices in the district capital of Ploiești. The wishes of the public are taken into consideration as much as possible in the scheduling of films in the Bușteni theater. This is done in two ways: first, spectators may make film requests by word of mouth or by writing them on slips of paper which are given to the female ticket-takers. Occasionally, the audience research is a more sophisticated and coordinated endeavor: questionnaires are passed out to assess (1) the demographic make-up of the audience, (2) their movie-going habits, (3) their preferences, and (4) how they find out and make decisions about the films they will attend. (See Appendix C.)

Although Româniafilm takes the results of these nationwide questionnaires into consideration when it makes its filmmaking decisions in Bucharest and abroad, the decision-makers in Ploiesti attempt to balance the genres of films sent to each theater, mixing popular with less popular productions to insure that the films reach as wide a circulation as possible.

The decision-makers for the Județul Prahova meet with members of Româniafilm three to four times yearly to discuss the film and scheduling needs of their district. They are given a chance at these meetings
to view many of the newly-acquired films and express their preferences, according to what their studies indicate the local people would be most likely to attend and enjoy.

In Bușteni, Domnul Gana has the obligation to go to the factories in the area as well and program films to meet the workers' wants and needs. The Prahova film council tries to program films of diverse genres for all ages and interests, while keeping in mind that the primary importance of film in Communist philosophy is as a learning medium, and that the primary audience is composed of students. Frequently, a week or two of films on one general "theme" will be scheduled. Likewise, a special series called a "Medalion" of one actor's or actress' films may be shown to honor the work of that film star. Scheduling for the summer is a more difficult endeavor: in general, more films are shown which have to please greater numbers of people, and so, more decision-making is involved. Occasionally, public forums are held in the area to talk about films and problems expressed in films; actors and actresses are said to attend once in a while. According to Domnul Gana, three of four of these are held yearly in Bușteni, while the judet sponsors 25 annually. Unfortunately, during our stay, we did not hear of any being held or planned.

Ion Miricescu, of the Prahovean film council, outlined some interesting comparisons between Bușteni's film programming and that of the rest of the judet. Table 8 indicates the general film preferences of the people of Bușteni and the rest of the district (assuming that the films scheduled match what the people have indicated as their preferences).
Table 8

Differences in Buşteni and Judeţul Audience Preference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Buşteni</th>
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*The author recognizes that the Buşteni column totals 102 percent, but these are the figures given. It is possible that some films may have been accidentally represented in two categories.

Approximately 31 out of each 100 spectators in Buşteni come to see Romanian films; 40 per 100 see films from non-Socialist countries, and 29 of each 100 view films from the Socialist countries. The most favored American films in the region (in terms of box office success and viewer requests) have been Sound of Music (corresponding with national indications), Gone With the Wind, Wuthering Heights, Love Story (which was frequently mentioned by young girls in Busteni as being their favorite film), The Great Escape, and Zorba the Greek, with whom many Romanians identify.
The planned schedule of films for the Busteni area is circulated in a monthly flyer entitled "Ecran Prahovean," "The Prahovean Screen." (See Appendix G.) From the film schedules, it appears that more American films are seen in the area during the summer months, when potential audiences are larger. However, in spite of the scheduled list of films, on several occasions during our stay in Bușteni, those films were either delayed or never appeared at all, in which case, substitutions were made. Suddenly scheduled screenings of other films, which were announced by flyers nailed up around town, were also frequent.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, cinema tickets in Romania are very inexpensive, and almost anyone can afford to go. The price for schoolchildren in Bușteni is one "leu," (8 cents). Soldiers and students also receive reduced tariffs, and the highest price a "Progresul" ticket may cost is 5 lei (40 cents) for a two-part film.

The most popular shows are those scheduled from 6 to 8 in the evening. As Bușteni, and most of Romania, is an area of early-risers (from 5 to 6 a.m.) and the town is generally very dark and quiet after 9 p.m., the earlier show is preferred. Comedies and adventure films are most popular for the greater public. During our stay, the three films which received the most discussion among the younger people were Sandokan, an Italian pirate film; The Corsair, starring Errol Flynn, a Romanian favorite; and the first Romanian Western, The Prophet, the Gold, and the Transylvanians. Domnul Gana said that the older people of Busteni prefer splendid, colorful films with beautiful scenery, as epitomized by the favorite Sound of Music. Also of great importance to old and young are films starring actors and actresses who are well-known and popular. Often, who is acting appears to be more important
than what is being acted; the people of Bușteni enjoy seeing the familiar faces.

With the passing of time, we became increasingly aware of Bușteni styles and patterns of television viewing as we visited different homes and watched how people used television. The villa was also an important source of information on this topic, as the Jipas, the family with whom we lived, were regular viewers.

The first element of interest relevant to the research was that a television set was to be found in almost every house we visited. Usually a rather large console, the television set occupied a predominant space in the living room or sitting room of the various homes. Occasionally the set was located in the kitchen or dining area, but usually only when these rooms were equipped with a studio couch or day bed, as many of the smaller homes are. The television set was often used as a sort of table or stand as well, on which embroidered hangings, family photos, or other embellishments were placed.

From the rooftops in the Bușteni valley, antennas sprout in impressive clusters. Reception is usually adequate, in spite of the high surrounding peaks, because of a nearby relay station located above Brașov. Once or twice inclement weather seemed to mar reception, although this was rare. The town had its own television repairman, who had to return several times to repair the television set in the villa dining room. He seemed to have a fair amount of business, as there was a long delay before he came to fix the soundless set. For some villa visitors, the delay was not too problematic: with the
sub-titles accompanying the films and series offered in the evenings, they were able to understand many of the programs without sound.

Sets are usually viewed in a very dark environment: no lights in the room were turned on. The brightness control was often set very high as well, and to less contrast than we were normally accustomed. We occasionally left the viewing room somewhat bleary-eyed after several hours of uninterrupted viewing, but the Romanians seemed to not be affected by the brightness of the picture. As in most European countries, films and shows were not interrupted by commercials. Occasionally this made the lead up to the commercial break written into American serial scripts rather obvious to us, but I don't believe the Romanian viewers noticed these mini-climaxes every twelve minutes or so.

Guests were frequently invited for viewing certain films and programs. Occasionally, even if their families had their own sets, a young person or two would come to watch at a neighbor's or friend's house. The elderly neighbors, or others without television sets, were expected to come over, generally on Wednesdays or weekends, to see the films and serials. They seemed to relish the programs a great deal.

During news and other shorts preceding the evening's main presentation, people frequently got up and left for the kitchen, the bathroom, or other unspecified destinations. During these programs, there was often a fair amount of talking, which occasionally (at least for us) made it difficult to hear the words. The conversation seemed to matter little to other viewers; if it did, the offenders, whether adults or children, were quickly hushed.

The exceptions to this leniency occurred when the serials and films came on air. Then everyone quickly became devoted to the serious
business of watching these productions. If the scenes contained action segments involving fights, chases, or other kinds of excitement, the viewers, generally the males and the children, would occasionally cheer their favorites on. Likewise, if someone on the screen behaved in a particularly discourteous or offensive manner, the men, as well as the women and girls present, would often mumble something or make "scolding" sounds.

Sometimes the dialogue written in the sub-titles became too complex or uninteresting for the children, and they would start to converse about other things of interest. If the program was not holding the adults' attention either, they would frequently join in until the action or content picked up interest once again. The sub-titles occasionally presented problems for the younger children in the audience as a large number of prime-time evening programs, as well as the children's programs, were foreign productions. Occasionally, a parent might read some of the conversation to the child, but it was more common for the child to just make whatever sense of the program he or she could. The children's programming, as mentioned, came with sub-titles (although some of it was occasionally dubbed), and the stories of favorite characters, like Woody Woodpecker, were incomprehensible to many of the younger children, although they liked the action. Younger children in the theaters and in front of the television screen would frequently read the sub-titles to pre-school-age children, particularly if no adults were present. Adults seemed less likely to do this (although mothers were occasionally helpful), but it may have been that the practice was suspended for fear of "disturbing" us, when we were present, and was more
common under other circumstances (although we, ourselves, never com­
plained). One thought which entered my mind while watching many of
the adult viewers and their preference for action over dialogue was
that, for some, reading the sub-titles may have posed some problems.
Many of the older workers read very slowly, or needed special reading
glasses to read (which they did not wear while watching). Perhaps it
was easier for them to not worry about interpreting the written words
and to enjoy the program for whatever sense they made of it.

Places of honor were frequently held for older people and
parents. The entrance of an adult usually meant a child automatically
moved to the floor (or back to the adult's lap) if no other space was
available. I once unintentionally created a minor scandal when I
came in after the start of a program and unobtrusively took the only
unoccupied spot (which happened to be on the carpet as the room was
packed). The viewing of the serial was interrupted for at least five
minutes while it was determined which youngster was to change places
with me. Somehow, the one who lost her place ended up sitting on my
lap for a good part of the program, and I recall ruefully gazing at my
very vacant, comfortable spot on the carpet.

Television-viewing in Buşteni tended to be primarily an even­
ing and weekend pasttime for most viewers. One exception to this trend
was during the televised broadcasts of the World Cup Series in soccer,
which brought hordes of male viewers into the room at all hours of the
day. Their involvement with these sports rivaled the enthusiasm in the
United States for professional football (particularly the NFL), and they
were as vociferous, if not more so, as any child viewer in their admiration for their "stars."

During numerous evening visits which we later made in the research period, all business and conversation was gently turned to the occupation of waiting for the desired program on the screen as the hour approached. Regardless of whether meals were terminated or discussions finished, the attention shifted at the scheduled time. The timing of the "shift" was occasionally quite a feat, as the actual time at which the program came on was only generally known, for a variety of reasons, and was announced on the air after the news. For this reason, the television was often turned on ahead of time, but with little or no volume, until the well-known face of the evening's "speakerine," or female announcer, appeared.

The program announcers, attractive young women who explain the schedule and its changes several times daily, attempt to make the tele-spectators feel at home and "invited" to participate in the evening's fare. The idea, adopted and adapted from the French, makes viewing, in Romanian opinion, seem more personalized, and makes up for the fact that the viewers may not have an exact idea of when programs will be aired. Certain announcers are preferred by some viewers over others, and comments, retorts, and other remarks about them from viewers (usually male) are not uncommon during the announcements.

The remarks made about the women, as well as the program content in general, increased in frequency when the amount of drinking which preceded and coincided with the programs did the same. The television viewing session seemed to provide a setting in which adults could drink
beer, wine, and țuica (plum liquor) without the expense of the restaurant or club, but with all the enthusiasm. Occasionally, a bottle was passed around the group of spectators, although the decision to do this or not varied with the make-up of the group. Certainly, the amount of involvement which viewers had with the programs was increased by this practice: comedies seemed funnier, Westerns seemed even more exciting, and love scenes definitely felt more emotional while sharing a bottle with one's neighbors. It was not unusual under the circumstances, for the attention of the entire group (with the possible exception of the children) to shift to an involved discussion of morals, or right and wrong behaviors between men and women, for several minutes. Then attentions wandered back to the screen, or were wrenched from the debate by some exciting action occurring in the program.

Occasionally, the imbibing began long before the television was turned on, and sometimes continued for a while afterward. Sometimes, discussions even became quite heated, as frequently the shows seemed to provide fuel for conflicts or arguments that had already been underway for some time, and the program content was used as factual "proof" for one or another's opinions. The socializing realm of television, in terms of values discussed, was particularly apparent on these occasions. After the programs, discussions often continued on the conclusion or the nature of the events covered, although if the program finished late e.g., after 10:30 p.m.), most people headed to bed rather quickly.

It appeared, after many hours of observation, that television in Bușteni performed a variety of functions for the people. In the first place, it provided them some entertaining and inexpensive
diversions for the evening, sometimes by itself, and sometimes in combination with other activities. These included drinking, eating, and playing cards. It was watched and apparently enjoyed by people of all age groups, although young adults were more likely to engage in other activities away from home on certain evenings, when favorite films and serials were not being aired. Viewing in general was less frequent on the nights when concerts and plays comprised the schedule, and it was heaviest during the World Cup Soccer Match Finals, when the Romanians were rooting for Italy, then Argentina, over Holland. At that time, the dining room was packed for every event over a two-week period, and the Romanians strongly favored each "Latin"-oriented country over its rivals.

Television was also used as a source of information and education by both young and old. The Telejurnal was usually turned on, but not everyone was in attendance. The TelEncyclopaedia was popular for discussions between parents and children; the younger and older people also seemed to like the travelogues on other countries. Television also functioned as a babysitter, particularly when older children were left to take care of the young. It was less frequently a means to isolate oneself, as usually more than one person watched, and viewer involvement in discussions was common. However, I could not be sure what happened at times when I was not present. Television did seem to act as a way of relieving boredom, and the lack of other activities (with the exception of the cinema) in the evening. Along with many other viewers in town, Allen and I found ourselves waiting eagerly for Wednesday, Friday,
and Saturday evenings, and Sunday afternoons, when the films and serials were scheduled.

A final example of television's prestige came from an unexpected source. From August 10th through the 20th, we were away from Bușteni to attend the Film Festival for Youth held at the Black Sea in the student resort of Costinești. Although this festival was a wonderful and informative experience, I was convinced that upon our return to Bușteni, we would experience similar difficulties to those we had encountered after our return from the Haiducii Tour. (See Appendix F.) As the festival preceded our departure from Romania by less than three weeks, I was worried that we would never have the time to complete the remaining films. Our fortune was different on this occasion: during a Sunday afternoon program for youth on television, some documentary footage shot of the actors, actresses, and directors at the Festival happened to contain a shot of me sitting and listening to the discussions. The esteem which my single television appearance in Romania created among the younger residents of Bușteni was inestimable. Many who knew me prior to the festival came up to greet me on the streets after my return, smiling and talking so that the immediate world would be aware of our acquaintance. Other young people whom I did not know had evidently seen the show as well as they openly stopped to stare at me in the streets. My "quasi-celebrity" status among some of the young students did not in the least inhibit the final weeks of research; instead it made the participation almost more than we could handle. Had time permitted, the sample would most certainly have been enlarged.
School Visits

One sizeable problem faced in the early research stages was how to get acquainted with as large a number of young people from all parts of the community as quickly as possible. Due to unavoidable delays in getting established in the research community, we arrived approximately one month before schools let out for the summer vacation. Although, in some respects, the research benefitted from the students' increased amount of spare time as well as the sunny summer weather, the difficulties in getting to know a representative sample of Busteni adolescents were also increased, due to the ensuing vacation period. In spite of the importance of not revealing immediately the nature of the study to the students, it was necessary to establish the idea among young people that we were legitimately conducting research in Busteni, although neither associated with the Romanian government nor simply present as tourists. It is doubtful that invitations to the villa would have been accepted otherwise, and the research would have progressed slowly, if at all.

With Domnul Bogasiu, the local town council secretary in charge of facilitating the research in Busteni, it was decided that it would be wise to visit at least one teen-age class in each of the schools in the community, to provide the "official" opportunity to meet students from each sector. At least one visitation was made to a class of every grade level, beginning with 12-13 year-olds and proceeding up to the vocational classes with students 19-20 years of age. A night-school math class which was oriented toward graduates of vocational schools who wanted to improve their job skills and training in order to receive
promotions was also included. As many types of classes as possible were attended, among them a philosophy class for 16-17 year-olds, a French class of 12-14 year-olds, an English class of 17-18 year-olds, a math class of 19-20 year-olds, a career-discussion class of 14-15 year-olds, and a Romanian literature class of 15-16 year-olds.

Although in some respects it would have been preferable to sit alone in the back of the classes, I was usually accompanied by Domnul Bogasiu, the school's principal, or another teacher. This was done, without doubt, to exhibit hospitality and to give the visitor some formal status, which is important in Romania. It was unfortunately rather difficult to talk with students after class, as intended, since I was usually escorted back to the teachers' lounge for coffee and/or mineral water. At the end of each class, however, I was invited to say a few words to the students. While I did not divulge the exact topic of my work, I hinted that I was involved in some interesting research about young Romanians in which they might find it interesting to participate. I also mentioned that I would be pleased if they would feel free to stop by the villa (which many did), or head to the cofetarie as my guests. (I did not realize at the time that visits to the cofetarie, particularly by adolescent girls, were discouraged by teachers.)

The response was good in each class visited; the younger people from 12 to 16 or 17 seemed particularly enthusiastic about getting involved in the research. Fortunately, after the classroom attempts at explaining myself and making these casual invitations, Allen and I were usually invited to attend various sorts of organized extracurricular activities like picnics, dances, and games of different types. It was
during these events that I really got a chance to talk with students, and Allen and I, in great demand to demonstrate the latest disco dances and American party games, acquired a new and different kind of status in the community. As our status rose, the number of students who stopped to talk with us on the streets, who introduced us to their friends or relatives or who stopped by the villa for the inevitable chewing gum, also grew. The older students, those over 17 years, seemed to have fewer of these organized class activities. Although we did go with several to their favorite forms of entertainment (i.e., the discos, which were off-limits to the younger students), we did not feel that we got to know as many from this age group well, with a few exceptions.

During these initial encounters, we talked about all kinds of topics, although I refrained from initiating discussions about American films and television programs. This is not to indicate, however, that these subjects were not frequently brought up by the students who wanted to know as much as possible about the young people, actors, actresses, and musicians in the United States. American disco music and the Swedish group "ABBA" dominated the music recorded on the tape cassettes which were the primary source of entertainment at the dances. The tapes had been played again and again, but their rather low fidelity did not inhibit the seriousness with which the young dancers danced, nor their ability to sing along with the American lyrics. I could not determine the source of the taped music: some may have been taped from the Voice of America broadcasts, while others may have been copies of copies made from records or the 1/4-inch tapes used to provide music in the official discotheques. Regardless of the source, great prestige was
awarded to those who possessed the tapes, as well as those who had acquired important English vocabulary, ranging from "I love you" to more extreme expressions.

During this "initiation" period, the extent of Romanian adolescents' interest in the life styles of American youth became steadily more apparent. Several of the most commonly-used slang expressions in Romanian were plucked directly from the English language. For example, when the Romanian teenagers want to indicate that something is really great, they claim that is "foarte fine," the latter word being spoken in American fashion, with a nice long drawl. The adjectives "foxy" and "sexy" have also been making inroads into Romanian argot, as well as some more infamous four-letter words. The ability of some of the students, particularly teenage girls, to understand all the lyrics of some of the overused tapes of imported tunes whose English I could barely make out was amazing.

Another common word, unique to European countries but with obvious American connotations, was the term "bluj." It was the dream of many young Buștenians to own a pair of American-made blue jeans, and we were frequently asked if we had extra pairs for sale. These items, along with whiskey and cigarettes, were the most sought-after American products in Romania. Apparently quite a hierarchy was involved: if the jeans were made in America, they were excellent, but if they were "Levi's" they were the best. Likewise, if the cigarettes and whiskey were American, that was wonderful, but if the brands were "Marlboro" and "Johnny Walker," that was best. If one went to the cofetarie and ordered fruit syrup-flavored water, that was good, but if one ordered
"Pepsi," that was best. Many students had collections of great prestige among their peers which included cigarette packages, whiskey labels, gum wrappers, postcards, and photos of American actors and actresses, of American cars, of American cities. Sometimes these collections even hung on the walls of rooms, the colors arranged on burlap or cloth backing. Students learned "Oh, Susannah" and "My Darling Clementine" at school; out on the street they sang the latest lyrics by Donna Summers.

This orientation and enthusiasm for American products and for American ways of life seemed to have its peak with students, particularly girls, in their late teens (from 16-19). Boys seemed to have their peak a little later, but much of the interest seemed to depend on the career/life goals of the individual student. Those who were going, or had been, to study in the colleges of Bucharest or in other large cities appeared to be more involved in continuing to learn about the United States, but with more realistic assumptions about the nature and quality of life across the ocean. For the younger students so enthralled with American disco music and clothes styles, the interest in American youth appeared to be more of a fad, a way of being different and "with it," of having knowledge, perhaps, that their parents and teachers couldn't, or wouldn't, share. They sought information from us that would, at least superficially, support their ideas on what life and the young people of the United States must be like.

Curiously, as the time and the number of discussions we shared increased, it became apparent that for a number of the young people a great deal of confusion existed about what really constituted life in
the United States. As the students entered their mid- and late-teens, their desire to be different or unique from other Romanian age groups seemed either to eliminate the apparent contradictions they felt, or at least temporarily push them into the darker recesses of their minds. Yet the young ones who were starting to grow in political and social awareness, who were already making career direction decisions on what they would become in life, often made contradictory statements during our discussions which made us wonder how they were accommodating the diverse viewpoints and perspectives on the United States which came from many sources. For example, one thirteen-year-old girl, while sitting with her classmates, said that 85 percent of American young people were drug addicts, that 20 percent of Americans could afford to own cars, and that the remaining 80 percent were very poor. Yet this same student, on other occasions, felt that every American probably had two or three cars, that American young people were happy and able to do many activities which Romanian people could not do, and that life in America was probably very exciting. One young boy remarked that Americans were the most racist people in the world, whereas in Romania, racism did not exist. Yet, at one point, when he was asked how Romanians feel about the gypsies, he went into a forceful tirade on the evils of these people and how they caused so many problems for Romanians. Another young man lectured on the evils of marijuana, and then proceeded, with great enthusiasm, to demonstrate his idea of how one smokes a "joint." One significant feature of these discussions in terms of the present research was that besides the information learned in schools about the social nature of the United States, films and television
programs were the most frequently cited sources to support ideas and their contradictions. That is, the stories from television programs and films could be used to show that Americans were at the same time the most fair and the least fair people, the most friendly and least friendly people, the most intelligent and least intelligent people. In short, the young people seemingly interpreted the meaning according to their then-current perspectives which could fluctuate. The most striking difference that separated the ideas about Americans from the ideas held about other nationalities was the extreme polarization: either great admiration or strong criticism, yet both frequently professed by the same young people. As the black-and-white nature of this image was explored via the other methodological components as well, it was decided to pursue the reasons for the diversity in follow-up discussions with the young.

**Media and the Young Children of Busteni**

During an early walk around town, I saw a poster announcing a Sunday afternoon series of cartoons for young children. Thinking that it might be worthwhile to watch and listen to the reactions of the young children, if the cartoons were American, I called the theater to inquire about the content of the special show. I had been told by numerous sources that Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, Tweety and Sylvester, and Tom and Jerry were long-term favorites and, as mentioned, the artistic preoccupations of Romanian young folk with Woody Woodpecker had been noted. After several minutes of muffled conversation on the other end of the line, I was told that some of the cartoons would indeed be American. I hurried to the theater to buy my one leu (8 cents) ticket
only to find that Domnul Gana insisted on conducting me as an honored guest into the theater. There, to my surprise, I was introduced to over a hundred children as a very important person from the United States who had come to watch cartoons with them. In spite of this introduction, which included an admonition for them "to behave," I was offered a seat in the center of all the children; sticking out like a pigeon in a nest of sparrows, I scrunched down as the show began.

As the lights went out, I was worried about blocking the view of the little boy sitting directly behind me; however, he was so preoccupied leaning sideways to stare at me that my position made little difference. Throughout the program, my presence seemed to inspire as much, if not more, discussion than the cartoons on screen. It was in the theater that I first heard the whispered term that soon announced my coming when I walked through Busteni: "Americanca!"*

The cartoons, although well-done, were not American: all were either Polish or Czechoslovakian with Romanian sub-titles which the older children read to the young. At one point, a little girl seated next to me apparently decided that I could not understand the stories, so she proceeded to whisper explanations into my ear in Romanian. After the program, we all sat and talked for a few minutes about our favorite cartoons, at which point Domnul Gana came in and ushered all the children out the side door. He returned to chat for a few minutes so that the children would head homewards and not "bother" me when I left by the front door. After ten minutes, he glanced outside and told me that

*"The American!"
the coast was clear. The moment I stepped out the door, I noticed fifty children peeking out from the side of the theater. I started up the street, and immediately was trailed by the whole horde. They soon caught up and we again began talking about their favorite cartoon characters. Although I had been told of the popularity of American cartoons, I was surprised at the number which were American in origin. As I walked up the main street with most of the children trailing behind, dozens of people turned to stare. Some were obviously suspicious about where I was heading with the children.

In order to exit the situation gracefully, I invited the children to visit me at the villa a week later, where I promised to show them some pictures, play some games, and offer some refreshments. I never dreamed that so many would remember: over fifty children showed up during the next two weeks, and some came again and again, their friends tagging along behind them.

As I rewarded those who completed the perceptual indices and the photo recognitions with a piece of chewing gum, I acquired a new nickname in the neighborhood, "femeia de guma."* Some children even offered to do the games twice for another stick of gum.

Children's Perceptual Indices

The results of the children's perceptual indices on the sources of their ideas about American life proved to be very interesting. (See Table 9.) The great importance readily attributed to films and television programs was larger than anticipated: over 90 percent checked

*"The chewing gum woman."
Table 9
Children's Sources of Ideas about Life in the United States: Percentages

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M = males 7-11 = 27  F = females 7-11 = 22  T = total children 7-11 = 49
the "Great Importance" category for the cinema, while 87 percent rated the importance of television as great. American music, cartoons, and postcards were also accorded "great importance" by over 50 percent of the sample. Some interesting sexual differences in ranking were apparent as well: boys more frequently ranked tourists, teachers, and films as being very important, while girls more frequently ranked books, newspapers, cartoons, and postcards as being very important sources of ideas about life in the United States.

Least important sources of information (over 50%) tended to be travel, American relatives, newspapers, publicity, tourists, teachers, and books. Boys were much more likely to declare these categories unimportant than girls, with the exceptions of teachers and magazines, to which the girls attached little or no importance. Few "diverse" or miscellaneous categories were listed for either sex, with the exception of one child who had seen a show of American dances, one whose American relatives had visited Bușteni, and a third who claimed to have a close friend who had actually visited the United States. All of these miscellaneous examples, as might be expected, were ranked as "very important."

One final game played with the younger children involved the photo recognition of the 25 Romanian and 25 American actors and actresses. Besides giving an early indication of how well the lists had been selected, the game revealed the most popular Romanian and American stars for the young children. (See Table 10.)

The results of the game were revealing: besides recognizing the majority of the Romanian stars, the children recognized a significant number of the American actors and actresses. In both the male and
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Romanian Actors and Actresses</th>
<th>No. of Recognitions</th>
<th>American Actors and Actresses</th>
<th>No. of Recognitions</th>
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<td>Silvia Popovici</td>
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<td>Elizabeth Taylor</td>
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<td>&quot;Veronica&quot; (Lulu Mihăescu)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Shirley Temple</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ilarion Ciobanu</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>John Wayne</td>
<td>49</td>
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</table>

N = 49 children
female samples, comedians were the most readily identified: Charlie Chaplin, Laurel and Hardy, and Jerry Lewis were known to almost every child in the sample. Buster Keaton was the sole exception, and although people in Bucharest told me that his silent films had been recently shown on television, I found few youngsters in Bușteni who recognized the picture. Aiding in the easy identification of the comedians was the fact that a Laurel and Hardy series (known in Romania as "Stan și Bran") had played shortly before our arrival, and that a Charlie Chaplin retrospective was aired during the first few weeks of our stay. A Jerry Lewis film, The Distraught Professor, was also scheduled during the summer. (We had not been aware of this in advance.) Although the presence of these programs may have "biased" the results of the recognition game, they were also a strong indication of the frequency with which the children might view American comedians. The photos of these particular stars produced a lot of very accurate mimicking among the children, who could also recite detailed accounts of many of their films. The other American actors who were recognized with a great deal of enthusiasm and frequency were John Wayne (perhaps the most popular), Telly Savalas of the Kojak series, and Peter Falk, usually known only as "Colombo." Charles Bronson, Marlon Brando, and Steve McQueen were occasionally identified, usually by the boys. Marlon Brando, whose On the Waterfront was screened once during our stay, and Anthony Quinn as Zorba the Greek, were also frequently recognized.

Among the photos of actresses, only two produced high frequencies of recognition: Elizabeth Montgomery, known only as "Samantha," and Shirley Temple, well-known as herself. Elizabeth Taylor, Julie
Andrews, Barbra Streisand, and Katherine Hepburn (who was seen in several films during our stay) were not generally well-known among the children.

Finally, although no one had any idea of his name, the photo of Sidney Poitier was immediately identified by many as "a man who was trying to get a house," an allusion to *Raisin in the Sun* which had evidently been screened a few months earlier. A few said that they were not aware that he was an American actor, but liked the film.

Among Romanian actors, the comedians Jean Constantin, Draga Olteanu, and Dem Radulescu were known to most, as were the heroic figures of Sergiu Nicolaescu, Amza Pellea, and Florin Piersic. Toma Caragiu was also recognized by virtually every child, but they identified him as "the actor killed in the earthquake," and not generally by the films in which he had appeared.

Romanian actresses were much more frequently identified than the American actresses. Besides Draga Olteanu, the child actress Lulu Mihaescu was immediately identified as "Veronica," the role she played in two films. Margareta Pislaru was very popular as a singer/dancer/actress. Stella Popescu, Margareta Pogonat, and Vasilica Tastaman were also known by quite a few children. The only other widely-known actress was Marga Barbu who was remembered not so much for her film work, but for the villa she owned in Zamora and the claim that "she cares more about her dogs than she does about children."

When the games ended and the younger children learned that I did not have gum to give away all the time, their interest in coming by also decreased, and life in the villa quieted down. Later in the summer
I began to hear of some interesting rumors circulating about Allen and myself. Some of these claims were not unpleasant: the children claimed that it was I who made the *Woody Woodpecker* series and it was also said that I was the director of one of their favorite movies, *Heidi*, starring Shirley Temple. Other children were a little more disgruntled about the lack of chewing gum. They claimed that I kept my own 12-year-old son locked in the bedroom that was off-limits to the children, and occasionally beat him. Others, of course, were convinced that I was a very bad and dangerous spy to be avoided at all cost. In the long run, these "facts" seemed to balance each other out, and my esteem was still existent when I left town.

**Adolescent Perceptual Indices**

As the surge of very young people at the villa died down, the number of those in their teens, who started coming singly or in groups of two and three, increased. The school activities had died down as the end of the school year and final exams approached, and our invitations from the students to visit their homes increased. At that point, I began to introduce the perceptual indices and photo recognition games into the visits made by students to the villa or by me to their homes. For the most part, they responded positively and particularly liked to try to recognize the photos. Two or three boys were suspicious of the research and avoided future meetings. Another 16-year-old boy came by again and again to drag the research out as long as possible in order to ask for cigarettes, gum, and taxi service to wherever he wanted to go. When these "services" became less and less available as we caught
on to the game, he finally stopped coming altogether. Although many students came by because they were genuinely interested in the research, many also came specifically (1) for the American refreshments, (2) for the American tapes which we played at their request, (3) for the prestige of having been to visit the "americanii,"* and/or (4) for the possibility of walking away as the new owners of some American blue jeans or other highly-regarded American products.

We continued to (1) offer refreshments, (2) play the tapes, (3) be helpful and friendly, and (4) refrain from selling our possessions. It did not matter to me why the students came; my preoccupation was, in one way or another, to persuade them to do as much of the research as possible over the summer months, without being "pushy." I estimated that in order to complete the thirty films I wanted, I would need approximately 75 students who completed the perceptual indices, 50 who completed both repertorial grids, and 35 to 40 scenario ideas. My estimates turned out to be fairly accurate: the actual perceptual index sample was 78, completed American and Romanian grids numbered 52, and I received 35 completed scenarios.

When beginning the research (although not necessarily during the students' initial visit to the villa), I first asked people to fill out the perceptual index. Some seemed confused about the index, believing that they were to rank the general importance of each category, and not how each category related to their ideas about life in the United States. At first I thought that my Romanian was too poor to

*"Americans"
clarify the difference. When I checked my phraseology with other Romanians who were fluent in English, they seemed to understand the index, and so I remained perplexed as to why some students had trouble understanding the index. Then a Romanian college student told me that the younger students were usually given very specific instructions in school, and were probably not as familiar with the open-ended style of the index and the lack of prompting on my part. From then on, I became more specific about what was meant by each category if the student seemed hesitant in completing the grid. Although this new method was more time-consuming, it assured me that the students were not "guessing" at my intentions.

Even with this change, which occurred early in this part of the research, the patterns of the earlier grids and later grids were basically the same. (See Table 11.) The results strongly support the prominent positions held by American films and television programs for all age and sex groups. The importance of music and cartoons, as prominent secondary sources among adolescents, had not been anticipated. Each of these four categories was ranked as "Very Important" by over 70 percent of the sample respondents.

Some interesting sexual differences in the ranking of categories occurred. Males ranked friends, teachers, and magazines as being very important sources of information about the United States with at least 10 percent greater frequency than females, whereas females more frequently placed the radio, language, cartoons, and American products in the "Very Important" class.
Table 11

Sexual Differences in Adolescents' Sources of Ideas about Life in the United States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Perceptual Index</th>
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<th>Less Important</th>
<th>Unimportant</th>
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M = males = 41    F = females = 37    T = total = 78
There were also sexual differences in the categories ranked "Unimportant" by the two groups. Boys were much more decisive in ranking categories "Unimportant" than were girls. Again, with at least a 10 percent greater frequency, boys dismissed the following categories as having a bearing on their perceptions of life in the United States: family, school, newspapers, language, and publicity. Girls named only one category as being "Unimportant" with more frequency than boys: "teachers."

Numerous age-related differences were also apparent. (See Table 12.) Younger age groups valued their schools, teachers, cartoons, postcards, radio and television programs more highly than did the oldest age group. The older students, in turn, placed their preference on their friends, the cinema, books, magazines, music, and documentary films. The middle years, as might be expected, tended to represent a transitional period from the interests of the younger groups to those in their upper teenage years. As television interest for ideas decreased somewhat in the later teens (although not greatly), the importance of films increased. As reliance on the words of teachers and schools decreased slightly with age, trust in friends increased. As interest in cartoons decreased slightly, the importance of documentaries, books, and magazines grew. The importance of music also increased dramatically with time, although this category was seldom ranked "Unimportant" by any of the age groups. If anything, those in their mid-teens were least involved with the "academic" sources of information, like books, magazines, and documentaries, as sources of ideas about the United States.
Age Differences in Adolescents' Sources of Ideas about Life in the United States

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Age group:  
A = 12-14 years = 32  
B = 15-16 years = 21  
C = 17+ years = 25
The second item on the agenda was to ask each student individually for the qualities or traits which they felt were most important for humans to possess. In other words, I wanted to know what qualities they admired and/or respected most in other people. As this was being done in preparation for the repertorial grids, which were seldom administered on the same occasion, I asked the students to select the nine characteristics most important to them, and indicate what the opposite of each trait would be. Their selection was totally personal, with the exception of a few who looked at me in utter non-comprehension. For those, I repeated some examples that had been used by their peers, but encouraged them to come up with their own ideas.

On consulting several Romanian sources, it was apparent that the selected adjectives could be grouped into approximately 25 general categories which encompassed the meaning of each term without collapsing its significance. These 25 categories are presented in Table 13. (See Appendix E for the groupings.)

The frequency of quality or trait selections are expressed in Table 14. Those selected most often by the sample as a whole, in order of importance, were: courageous, clever/intelligent, trustworthy, and hard-working. Significant preference for these qualities was found in every age group and in both sexes as well. In addition, each age and sex group had unique preferences. Girls rated "hospitable/friendly" as significantly more important, while boys rated "sportive" as being a preferred trait more often than the girls. Young teenagers, between 12 and 14, stressed the importance of being polite, while those 15 and 16
Table 13
Qualities Selected by Adolescents

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Clean</td>
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<td>Compassionate</td>
</tr>
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<td>Courageous, brave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Faithful</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Giving, worthy</td>
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<td>9.</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Hard-working</td>
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<td>13.</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
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Table 14

Frequency of Qualities Selected by Adolescents

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<th>MB</th>
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</table>

*Refers to high frequency categories.

M = males = 61
F = females = 37
T = total = 78
A = 12-14 years = 32
B = 15-16 years = 21
C = 17+ years = 25
years of age again stressed the quality of friendliness. Young people 17 and over selected "good" and "good-looking" characteristics more often than the other groups.

**Adolescent Photo Recognition**

The final aspect of the methodology introduced during this period involved the recognition of photographs of Romanian and American screen stars. Of the Romanian actors and actresses, teenagers, on the average, recognized 19 of the 25. Gheorghe Dinica, Irina Petrescu, Mircea Albulescu, Marin Moraru, George Constantin, and Silvia Popovici were the least-known, while Sergiu Nicolaescu, Draga Olteanu, Dem Radulescu, Vasilica Tastaman, Jean Constantin, Amza Pellea, Florin Piersic, Margareta Pislaru, and "Veronica" were instantly recognized by most. As with the young children, Toma Caragiu was usually identified as having lost his life in the devastating earthquake which had hit Bucharest a year earlier. Once Profetul, Aurul, și Ardelenii, the Romanian Western, appeared in the theaters around Bușteni, Mircea Diaconu and Ilarion Ciobanu, who were less frequently recognized beforehand, experienced, as might be expected, a dramatic increase in recognition.

Girls in their mid- or late teens were unquestionably quicker in recognizing the photos and producing the name for Romanian film personalities than the boys. More than one girl knew all 25 of the Romanian list, and over 23 of the Americans. Older teenage boys tended to fall into one of two categories: either they could name a fair number in both the Romanian and American categories, or they knew the
names of very few. The younger students of both sexes were fairly equally divided in their ability to recognize actors and actresses.

The results of American actor/actress recognition are presented in Table 15. The level of recognition among respondents averaged 15 of the 25 photographs. Among both males and females, Laurel and Hardy and John Wayne were recognized by all participants. Only one boy failed to recognize "Colombo" (Peter Falk), and one girl missed Charlie Chaplin. Telly Savalas as "Kojak" and Elizabeth Montgomery as "Samantha" (from the series Bewitched) were each recognized by 52 of the 54 people in the sample. Those actors and actresses with the highest recognition factor for the entire sample were also the most readily identified by members of each sex. Females, however, recognized some of the American actresses over 20 percent more frequently than did males. Those recognized included Ingrid Bergman, Barbra Streisand, and Elizabeth Taylor. Females were also more familiar with Marlon Brando.

Males were more familiar with Anthony Quinn and Steve McQueen. It may be noted that the list of most frequently recognized film personalities is primarily male with the exception of "Samantha." Also, the capacity of the girls to recognize the American actresses more frequently than the boys may indicate a greater awareness among girls of American actresses. Whether this is due to the girls' identification with the actresses, greater interest in the roles they play, or differences in the films which boys and girls tend to see and/or remember is not clear. It is probably due, however, to each of these explanations to a certain extent.
Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Actor/Actress</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>John Wayne</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>Charles Chaplin</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>Elizabeth Montgomery</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Elizabeth Taylor</td>
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<td>Robert Redford</td>
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<td>Jane Fonda</td>
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</table>

Boys = 27  
Girls = 27  
N = 54
Répertorial Grid Results

The values which were to be used in the grids, as well as the actors and actresses, had previously been selected, so all that remained was the matrixing of the actors/actresses with the values. Teenage students were frequently accompanied by young brothers, sisters, and friends during this endeavor, and the obvious prestige granted by the children to the students old enough to do the grids seemed to make the students feel the task was more worthwhile.

The results of the répertorial grids were informative in a number of areas, for which supportive data is introduced on the following pages. In the first place, the grids revealed those American actors and actresses who were considered "most" and "least" typically American by the young people in the community, and the implications for those decisions.

The second area of inquiry involved the nature of correlations between the constructs, particularly "As I am," "As I would like to be," and the nationalities. Finally, the positive and negative qualities which correlated with "Most typically Romanian" and "Most typically American" constructs were revealed.

The results of the "most typical" and "least typical" correlations of the répertorial grid were particularly interesting in terms of sexual differences and their implications for the importance of viewing frequency in generating stereotypes. Table 16 indicates the percentage of the sample giving strong ("upper level"), medium ("mid-level"), or weak ("lower-level") correlations of being "typically American" with each American actor or actress. (See Appendix E for related information.)
Male-Female Differences in Ranking "Most Typically American" and "Least Typically American" Actors and Actresses

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<td>Laurel and Hardy</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerry Lewis</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steve McQueen</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Montgomery</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Newman</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney Poitier</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony Quinn</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Redford</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telly Savalas</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbra Streisand</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Taylor</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirley Temple</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wayne</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M = males  
F = females  
T = total  
U = upper level correlation or percentage of students considering actor/actress highly "typical American"  
M = mid-level correlation or percentage of students considering actor/actress moderately "typical American"  
L = lower-level correlation or percentage of students considering actor/actress "atypical American"  
TU = total percentage ranking actor/actress as "highly American"  
TL = total percentage ranking actor/actress as only "slightly typical American"
In terms of sexual differences, although the two "most typically American" actors were the same for both sexes (John Wayne with 85 percent of the entire sample, Telly Savalas with 71 percent), males ranked Charles Bronson as third and Peter Falk ("Colombo") fourth. Females included only one actress, Shirley Temple, among those whom 50 percent or more ranked as "most typically American," relating her with Paul Newman, a favorite actor among young Romanian females. (See Table 17.)

Sexual differences also arose in the analysis of the "least typical" Americans. Females relegated fewer actors and actresses to this category. Males were significantly more likely to support or reject the "typically American" nature of the actors and actresses. The most significant difference between male and female decisions was the large number of actresses perceived by males to be least "typically American": 50 percent or more of the males classified five of the eight actresses in the sample in this manner, whereas only two actresses were classified in the same way by 50 percent or more of the females surveyed.

Males apparently did not view actresses as being "typically American," suggesting that their stereotypes of what Americans are tend to be male-dominated. Females, on the other hand, who may more readily identify with actresses and pay more attention to their roles, were more supportive, although they too supported masculine images.

These findings tend to support the reasonable idea that cultural stereotyping may relate to the frequency with which the actors/actresses are seen. In referring to the section on photo recognition,
Table 17
Most and Least "Typically American" Actors and Actresses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most Typically American (over 50% of sample)</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Wayne</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telly Savalas</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Bronson</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td></td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirley Temple</td>
<td></td>
<td>.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Falk</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td></td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Newman</td>
<td></td>
<td>.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Least Typically American (over 50% of sample)</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buster Keaton</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faye Dunaway</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Taylor</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney Poitier</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gene Hackman</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td></td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine Hepburn</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td></td>
<td>.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbra Streisand</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingrid Bergman</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the "most typically American" actors correspond to a great extent with "most frequently recognized," with one important exception: the comedians. This does not resolve the question of whether actors are "most typically American" because they are seen most frequently, or whether they are seen most frequently because they are viewed as being most representative. It is likely that both arguments have some degree of validity.

The nature of the correlations of constructs in the repertorial grids revealed provocative information. Prior to the research, it was assumed that very high correlations between the different constructs ("qualities") which the adolescents selected would imply a rather simplistically "polarized" perspective on the part of the subject. It was expected that younger adolescents would be most inclined to exhibit this tendency, and that older adolescents would make more sophisticated differentiations among qualities. It was also expected that the polarization of values would be more likely to occur on the American grid, since an adolescent would be more familiar with the differentiation of values in his/her own culture than in a less-understood foreign culture.

However, the results did not support these expectations. (See Table 18.) The percentage of high correlations between values were highest in the mid-teens (as well as among boys 12-14 for the American grid), although they did decrease slightly in the older teens.

Interesting age and sex differences also occurred with the relationships of the constructs "As I am" and "As I would like to be" with "most typically American" and "Most typically Romanian." (See Table 19.) Parentheses indicate numbers of very high correlations (over 50%).
Table 18
Percentage of High Correlations Among Repertorial Grid Values According to Grid Nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Romanian Grid</th>
<th>American Grid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FA</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FB</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample N = 25  
Males (M) = 27  
Females (F) = 25  
A = Lower (12-14 years) (A) = 21  
B = Mid (15 & 16 years) (M) = 27  
C = Upper (17 + years) = 14
Table 19

Sex and Age Differences in Significant Correlations and Percentages of the Construct Pairs: "As I am," "As I would Like to be," "Typically American," and "Typically Romanian"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construct Pair</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;As I am&quot; and &quot;Would Like&quot; (Romanian)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 (17)</td>
<td>18 (16)</td>
<td>16 (13)</td>
<td>13 (13)</td>
<td>9 (7)</td>
<td>38 (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.74 (.63)</td>
<td>.72 (.64)</td>
<td>.76 (.62)</td>
<td>.76 (.76)</td>
<td>.64 (.50)</td>
<td>.73 (.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;As I am&quot; and &quot;Would Like&quot; (American)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 (16)</td>
<td>16 (11)</td>
<td>13 (10)</td>
<td>12 (11)</td>
<td>9 (4)</td>
<td>36 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.66 (.52)</td>
<td>.64 (.44)</td>
<td>.62 (.48)</td>
<td>.71 (.65)</td>
<td>.64 (.29)</td>
<td>.65 (.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;As I am&quot; and &quot;Romanian&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 (6)</td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
<td>4 (4)</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>11 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.30 (.22)</td>
<td>.12 (.12)</td>
<td>.19 (.19)</td>
<td>.24 (.18)</td>
<td>.21 (.14)</td>
<td>.21 (.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;As I am&quot; and &quot;American&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 (7)</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td>6 (4)</td>
<td>5 (3)</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>13 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.41 (.26)</td>
<td>.08 (.08)</td>
<td>.28 (.19)</td>
<td>.29 (.18)</td>
<td>.07 (.07)</td>
<td>.25 (.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Would Like&quot; and &quot;Romanian&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 (5)</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>5 (3)</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>12 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.30 (.19)</td>
<td>.16 (.08)</td>
<td>.19 (.10)</td>
<td>.29 (.18)</td>
<td>.21 (.14)</td>
<td>.23 (.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Would Like&quot; and &quot;American&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 (8)</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>5 (4)</td>
<td>6 (4)</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>15 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.44 (.30)</td>
<td>.12 (.08)</td>
<td>.23 (.19)</td>
<td>.35 (.24)</td>
<td>.29 (.14)</td>
<td>.29 (.19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 27 25 21 17 14 52

M = males = 27 in sample
F = females = 25 in sample
A = 12-14 years = 21 in sample
B = 15-16 years = 17 in sample
T = total = 52 in sample
C = 17+ years = 14 in sample
The extent to which an individual is self-realized is indicated by the extent to which "As I am" and "As I would like to be" correlate in the repertorial grids. It is evident from the correlations of these constructs on both Romanian and American grids that the majority of the adolescents (ranging from 62 to 76 percent) are relatively content with themselves as they are. Those in the older age groups tend to be slightly more self-critical and less self-realized than younger teenagers, but the variance is small. The slight differences between the outcome on American and Romanian grids may be attributable to the actors and actresses used for correlation purposes, i.e., the variance in their personalities which effects ranking. There are apparently few sexual differences in the degree to which the teenagers feel self-realized.

Although correlations were rather low, those which existed between "Most typically Romanian" and "As I am," as well as "most typically American" and "As I am," are more obviously effected by sexual status than were the self-realization evaluations. Males were much more likely to identify themselves with being like a certain national stereotype than females, a pattern which was visible earlier in the ranking of the most and least "typically American" actors and actresses. Besides separations according to sex, older students also avoided identifying themselves as they are with being "typically American." In other words, the tendency is for males in their lower and mid-teens to identify themselves with American males.

In terms of the low identification between being "Romanian" and "As I am," the response should not necessarily be interpreted to mean that the adolescents do not see themselves as being Romanian. It is
the connection with "typicality" that seems to generate the difference; most Romanian adolescents were openly proud of their national and cultural heritage.

The significant correlations between "As I would like to be" and being typically American or Romanian were also low, although they ranged from 4 percent to 14 percent higher than those on the Romanian grid. The differences were again clearly distinguishable along age and sex categories: in this area, males in their mid-teens expressed the greatest preference for wishing to be "typically American." Females were less involved in wanting to be like the Americans than they were in wanting to be like the Romanians. Apparently, their needs to identify with traits that are "typically American" or "typically Romanian" are lower than the males or perhaps their heroes/heroines are not presented in the media.

The comparison of the correlation factor between the Romanian and American grids is also intriguing. Twenty-eight students had more positive correlations between "As I am" and "As I want to be" on the Romanian grids compared to 23 who had higher American grid correlations (one tie occurred). On the other hand, 28 students had more positive correlations with what is "typically American" and "As they would like to be," as opposed to 23 who had higher identification with being typically Romanian and "As they would like to be" (again one tie occurred). On more neutral ground were the correlations between being typically Romanian or American. Twenty-four students felt they were more Romanian; twenty-six felt they were more like the Americans; and two ties occurred. In other words, the differences were generally minor.
The identification of certain qualities or traits as being typically Romanian or American are also indications of the concepts of national identities and value systems in operation. (See Table 20.) Although, statistically, the inclusion of all correlations of 35 to 49 percent dilutes the significance of the figures, the psychological, social, and cultural implications present in the associations of certain values with national identities makes their inclusion worthwhile. The number of correlations over 50 percent and their corresponding percentage of the sample have been included in parentheses on the table for comparative purposes.

The first data of interest are those qualities associated with nationalities by 20 percent (over ten members) of the sample. These four qualities, which were identical for both Romanian and American nationalities, included clever and intelligent (#2), courageous (#5), hard-working (#12), and trustworthy and fair (#25). These qualities happen to be those which the government, through schools and extracurricular activities, encourages in the young. It should be noted that these qualities were applied to both Romanian and American cultures, admittedly with some differences. Although Americans were highly correlated with being "courageous," the typical Romanian was considered to be more clever, and more fair or trustworthy in dealing with others. Romanians and Americans were perceived as basically equal in their hard-working natures.

Other relevant distinctions (with a difference evident on three or more grids) were made in the following manner: the typical Romanian was more compassionate (#4), "better" (#8), and happier (#11) than the
Table 20

Numbers* of Significant Age and Sex Correlations between Grid Qualities and Nationalities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>Romanian</th>
<th>Comment</th>
<th>American</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ambitious</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>FA only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Clever, intelligent</td>
<td>19 (10)</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 (7)</td>
<td>F only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clean</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Compassionate</td>
<td>8 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Courageous, brave</td>
<td>17 (13)</td>
<td></td>
<td>23 (15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Faithful</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td>C only</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Giving, worthy</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>F only</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Good</td>
<td>8 (6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Good-looking</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>FA only</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Graceful</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Happy</td>
<td>5 (4)</td>
<td>A only</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>NA only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Hard-working</td>
<td>11 (6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Helpful</td>
<td>2 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Hospitable, friendly</td>
<td>5 (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>MC only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Humorous</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>A only</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>FA only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Miscellaneous</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Modest</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>M only</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Musical, artistic</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Peaceful</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>M only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Polite</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>L only</td>
<td>8 (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Popular</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
<td>F only</td>
<td>4 (1)</td>
<td>C only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Sentimental, emotional</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Strong</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Sportive</td>
<td>4 (2)</td>
<td>MB only</td>
<td>5 (2)</td>
<td>MC only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Trustworthy, fair</td>
<td>19 (12)</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Unless otherwise indicated under "Comment," numbers refer to combinations of both males and females from various age groups.

**Numbers in parentheses include high correlations on grids of 50 percent and over; the preceding numbers refer to grid correlations of 35 percent and over.

F = female  A = lower (12-14 years)
M = male    B = mid (15-16 years)

Unless otherwise indicated under "Comment," numbers refer to combinations of both males and females from various age groups.

**Numbers in parentheses include high correlations on grids of 50 percent and over; the preceding numbers refer to grid correlations of 35 percent and over.

F = female  A = lower (12-14 years)
M = male    B = mid (15-16 years)

C = upper (17+ years)
typical American, but the American was more helpful (#13), and polite (#20) than the typical Romanian.

Age and sex differences in the association between qualities and nationality traits have been noted in the graph under "Comments" for each column. The more commonly cited sources generally emerged from all age and sex groups; there were, however, certain qualities which were sex and/or age specific in terms of importance. For example, the value of "giving" was mentioned only by girls, whereas being "sportive" had a masculine association. Likewise, younger adolescents were more likely to suggest "humor" as a valuable quality, whereas older teens were more concerned with "popularity."

The generally positive outlook that most of the young seem to have on Romanian and American identity was also apparent by the small number of negative traits associated with each national identity. With one exception, no negative correlations were made more than once between the nationalities and the qualities. The two negative associations between qualities and being "typically American" were being intelligent or clever (#2), which was mentioned twice, and being sensitive (#4), identified once. The typical Romanian was thought to be unintelligent (#2), unclean (#3), insensitive (#4), unhappy (#11), not hard-working (#12), and unsentimental (#22) by adolescents on one occasion apiece.

The final results presented in this section are those associations made between the constructs of "As I am" and "As I would like to be" and the qualities or values on both Romanian and American grids. (See Table 21.) In the first place, these involved differences among the qualities associated with "As I am" and those linked with "As I
Aspirations, Reality, and Values: Correlations Between Values with "As I am" and "As I would like to be" on Grids*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>As I am</th>
<th>As I would like to be</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romanian Grid</td>
<td>American Grid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clever, intelligent</td>
<td>Clever, intelligent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compassionate</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courageous</td>
<td>Courageous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>Polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair, trustworthy</td>
<td>Fair, trustworthy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*As indicated by a minimum of 20 percent of respondents.

would like to be." These are followed by a discussion of age and sex differences in the degree of interest expressed for different values.

In general, the young Romanian respondents were rather modest about the qualities they associated with the way they were. On both Romanian and American grids, 20 percent or more felt themselves to be clever and intelligent, courageous, and fair. The only differences between the two grids were the associations of "compassionate" with "As I am" and "As I would like to be" on the Romanian grid, and "polite" with "As I am" and "As I would like to be" on the American grid. In
other words, in the Romanian environment, compassion is apparently a quality of greater concern, whereas in the American environment, politeness seems to carry greater import.

There were greater numbers of correlations between the various qualities and the construct "As I would like to be" on the grids than between the qualities and the construct "As I am." On both Romanian and American grids, students indicated they would like to be clever, intelligent (#2), courageous (#5), good (#8), good-looking (#9), hard-working (#12), friendly (#14), trustworthy, fair (#25). These were indicative of the higher aspirations of the students in comparison to their perceptions of their perceived state of being.

In general, males were more consistently interested in greater numbers of qualities than females, particularly males in their mid-teens who were concerned with ambition, courage, industriousness, hard work, and fairness. Older teenage boys were more concerned with cleverness and intelligence than the other age groups.

Females, as a group, were interested in the qualities of compassion and good looks. Mid-teen females were concerned more about friendliness, which, by the late teens, shifted to greater concern about popularity.

The only age differences which did not coincide with corresponding sex differences occurred with students in their early teens. In this age group, both males and females were interested in humor and politeness. Sexual differences in interest in certain traits, in effect, became more apparent as students' ages increased.
The only quality which was present in all age and sex groups was the general, rather ambiguous concern for being "good." All values, with sex and age differences, are presented in Table 22. "AR" is "As I am" on the Romanian grid, "AA," "As I am" on the American grid; "WR" is "As I would like to be" on the Romanian grid, while "WA" is "As I would like to be" on the American grid. "M" is for males, "F" for females under sex differences, while "A," "B," and "C" stand for lower, mid, and upper teens under age differences, and "A" represents all age groups. "T" represents all age groups.

**Scenarios/Films**

In order to appease the younger generation of would-be actors, actresses, and directors, a day was established when they would be able to generate their own film, the first one made. On the scheduled day, we predicted that 20 to 30 children would show up. When over fifty children wound up participating in the activity, I knew that any concerns about the young people's interest in making films were unfounded. The enthusiasm which the children exhibited after making the film seemed to inspire desire in adolescents to make films as well. Older sisters, brothers, and friends of those who had participated in the first film began to come by with their own ideas for scenarios. Younger children, who wanted to participate in these films, assisted the research immensely by their constant prodding of the older students to come up with film ideas. As word of this first filmmaking endeavor spread, enthusiasm for participating in the research began to increase.

The children's film itself was a wonderful stereotype on the traditional American Western. By unanimous consent, the youngest
Table 22

Age and Sex Differences in Relationships between Values and the Constructs "As I am" and "As I would like to be" on Romanian and American Grids

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Sex Differences</th>
<th>Age Differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ambitious</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Clever, intelligent</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Compassionate</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Courageous, brave</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Faithful</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Giving, worthy</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Good</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Good-looking</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Graceful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Happy</td>
<td></td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Helpful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Hospitable, friendly</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Humorous</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L/B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Miscellaneous</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Modest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Musical, artistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Peaceful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Polite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Popular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Sentimental, emotional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Strong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Sportive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Trustworthy, fair</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M = Male
F = female
AR = "As I am"/Romanian grid
WR = "As I would like to be"/Romanian grid
L = 12-14 years
AA = "As I am"/American grid
B = 15-16 years
WA = "As I would like to be"/American grid
C = 17+ years
T = all age groups
Bușteni actors and actresses decided to do a Western involving the "bad guys," the "good buys," the chorus girls, and the Indians. The scenario was rather basic: while watching the chorus girls perform, the good guys were attacked by the bad guys, whom they quickly subdued with the use of guns, and persuaded to watch the show. While they were peacefully watching together, the Indians came whooping up and were, in turn, rapidly apprehended by the cowboys. As it turned out, all the Indians wanted to do was watch the girls perform; they were not on the warpath. As this was resolved, all sat down to hear "Whoopie-Aye-Oh-Kay-Yey," "Oh, Susannah," and "Red River Valley" performed by the chorus line, which had continued dancing throughout most of the action.

As interest in the film-making increased, we found ourselves shooting two, sometimes three, films in one day. We also found ourselves in the rather sad position of having to turn away some would-be filmmakers in order to have film for those who had previously been promised the chance to shoot their scenarios. I had come with extra film cassettes, but time was running out quickly, and I felt that I should try to balance my sample as much as possible. An overabundance of boys between 12 and 16 and girls between 12 and 14 and 16 and 17 wanted to make films, and I sought the older students, males 17 to 18 and females 15, 18, and 19 to make productions. We were unable to finish the films of three girls of those ages who had written excellent film scenarios, and that of one 17-year-old boy, who had planned to do impressions of American film stars. The three girls' scenarios were all basically love stories: one incorporated in a Western, another in a disco, the third in a big city. We actually went to film the one
which was set in the disco, but encountered major obstacles from the B.T.T. officials who sharply denied us permission to film there.

The nature of the films which were made varied considerably. Students were free to create any film they wanted within the single American-oriented guideline, but peer and sibling pressure, in all probability, shaped many of the productions as the younger begged the older for a chance to perform. Some productions were theatrically staged and memorized to the smallest details, while others were basically improvised and learned on the spot. The latter tended to take a great deal of time: the longest and most exasperating production required six hours to shoot six minutes of film. At times, I showed up before the directors and actors. Once, they never made it. As the remaining research time ran out, I became firmer about making the films when scheduled and worked around minor problems as they arose. Also, more and more of the films were made either in our apartment or in the vicinity of the villa, since many young filmmakers wanted to make use of props (e.g., cigarettes, whiskey bottles, music) which we had available. For us, the nearby locations provided an environment which was easier to work in and resulted in less outside interference (e.g., from parents, gardeners, and cranky neighbors). (See Figure 4.)

The filming, for the most part, went smoothly, although there was great diversity in the types of projects planned. Table 23 summarizes some of the differences (in film orientations) which were clearly divided on age and sex bases. Young girls, from 12 to 14, were most interested in adventure/fairy tales and in their films, the female characters outnumbered male characters two to one. Their films, like
Figure 4. Characters from Adolescent’s Scenario: "Laurel and Hardy" ("Stan și Bran")
Table 23

Role Models, Genres, and Content Displayed in Films Produced by Young People of Busteni

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Role Models</th>
<th>Genres</th>
<th>Content Displayed in Films</th>
<th>Produced by Young People of Busteni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male Leads</td>
<td>Female Leads</td>
<td>Love</td>
<td>Fairy Documentaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Petrceca Atanase (2 reels)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Patricio von Vaijita (The Enchanted Princess)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Traate Tarumeta (Long Live the Enchantress)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ragastena (Rediscovery)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anti Timur (The Year of Youth)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Stan el Brie de Plaja (Laurel and Hardy at the Beach)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Colombo In a Mous Action (Colombo in a New Adventure)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>O Premie Saraca (A Poor Family)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ragastena (Rediscovery)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Stan el Brie, Comici Kramolui (Laurel and Hardy, Connoisseur of the Screen)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Black and White (2 directors)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Impacarea (Reconciliation)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dracana (Love)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hitul Elmgut (The Little Runaway)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F  19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Un Accident Pericid (A Happy Accident)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M  12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pametici Dojol (Peaceful Thieves)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M  13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beadara (The Escape)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M  13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Serul in Sujat Deraa (The Sheriff in the Service of Justice)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M  13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dracana Rambura (Love and Revenge)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M  14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Colombo in Texas (2 reels)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M  14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Stan el Brie Comparatori (Laurel and Hardy Shopper)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M  15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Agonia (Agony)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex Age</th>
<th>Film</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Adult Love</th>
<th>Family Drama</th>
<th>Guns &amp; Gangs</th>
<th>Social Drink &amp; Drugs</th>
<th>Cigar &amp; Gun Use</th>
<th>Entrance Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M 15</td>
<td>Onward, Onward (Rich Man, Poor Man)</td>
<td>6 2 X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 16</td>
<td>Legend of the Lost</td>
<td>6 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 16</td>
<td>Respect for the Law</td>
<td>6 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 18</td>
<td>The Fighter</td>
<td>2 2 X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 19</td>
<td>Monte Vista or Banda (Death Comes to the Gang)</td>
<td>8 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 19</td>
<td>Cali Cali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 26</td>
<td>Fresh Paint</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/F 7</td>
<td>Children's Cowboys and Indians</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23 (Cont'd)
those of the vast majority made by girls, had happy endings, with no drugs, alcohol, cigarettes, guns, knives, or killings. As the girls' ages increased, their interests changed to making love and/or adventure stories, again with a minimum of weapons and death. The love stories of some girls did contain the use of alcohol and cigarettes, which seemed to be tied, by many, to the nature of American teenage sex. A few of the girls' films made social comments, about the nature of poverty, racism, and drugs in the United States. Two girls, extremely fond of Laurel and Hardy, devoted their films to the depiction of these characters. The sole exception to the basic style of the girls' productions was a 14-year-old's production of "Colombo." In this film, the young director/actress chose not to play the lead, but the killer/robber.

Boys were found to have a totally different orientation to their film projects. Male characters outnumbered females by six to one. The most frequent genres were "cops and robbers," adventure, and Westerns. Social commentary was often included, but boys' films were much less likely to have happy endings than the girls' films (about 50 percent of the time). Only one "love story" was made by a boy, yet the focus of the action was on the killing of the girl's father and his hired assassin, not on any strong affection between the young couple. Guns, knives, and deaths predominated in the majority of the boys' films. Alcohol, drugs, and cigarettes, although implied by much of the action, were less frequently used as props. Boys' films were shot outdoors more often, possibly because the chase scenes, fights, and numerous killings were more difficult to stage in the confined spaces of the apartment.
Two exceptions to these tendencies were the films made by the two oldest students in the sample, 19- and 26-year-old males. Unknown to each other, they each decided to do a documentary, one a cinematic poem against war and the unnecessary deaths of young soldiers, the other a lively look at the universal way in which city people seem to spend their free time: by heading to the country. It was interesting that both of these young men wanted to make social comments on their feelings and ideas for the American audience, rather than to make renditions of the popular genres adopted by the other students.

**Content Analysis of Films**

Major differences in roles, genres, and the content for the different age and sex groups support the conclusions about the extent of the stereotyping portrayed in the students' films. The investigator also asked uninvolved spectators to record their impressions of the films. To that end, a group of eight American graduate students from UCSB viewed fifteen of the thirty films and filled out brief open-ended questionnaires after seeing each production. (See Appendix H.) Before screening each film, each was given a translation of the title, as well as the age and the sex of the young director. Also, thirty undergraduate students in a course on Culture and Communication at UCSB saw eight of the films and verbally responded to the same content analysis questions.

The graduate evaluators did not discuss their perceptions with one another until after the questionnaires had been completed. The results generally support the observations made during the filming in Romania.
In terms of the "positive" stereotypic elements perceived in the films, the following comments were made:

1. People were often acting together in friendship to help each other.
2. People were shown performing their duties well.
3. Often peace and friendship (i.e., happy endings) were shown, along with frequent reconciliations of differences.
4. Justice was shown to triumph and crime did not pay.
5. Families were usually shown as being together in the end.
6. Moral values usually survived.

In terms of "negative" stereotypic elements, the following examples were frequently reported:

1. There was an incredible amount of violence, in which victory was usually obtained by the violence.
2. The use of guns, clubs, and knives resulted in justice by force and trickery: the gun makes right.
3. Sex-role stereotyping was prevalent as epitomized by the helplessness of women and the macho male.
4. Nationality-stereotyping was also evident in the portrayal of blacks and Indians.
5. Parents occasionally beat children in the films.
6. Sex was seen as related to drugs and alcohol in the American way of life.
7. The crime wave was continual.
8. Cigarettes and alcohol and occasionally disloyal fair-weather friends typified many friendships in the United States.
9. Numerous "random" deaths occurred, indicating a fascination with death.

10. The poor were enslaved by the powerful, rude people.

11. The films emphasized the American quest for money.

12. Films depicted the necessity for one group to conquer others before peace or friendship could occur.

The most striking aspects of the films for these American evaluators varied, but dealt, for the most part, with the impressions made by the overall quality of the films, including:

1. the director's ingenuity in the story; the costumes, props, setting, etc.

2. the director's mastery of American film formulas on all levels: particularly Westerns and "cops-and-robbers" genres

3. the amazing perceptions of the children in picking out the details of American styles

4. the actor's involvement and interest in making the films

5. the use of music to change moods and provide feelings

6. the superb observation of stereotypes: a doctor with sunglasses, criminal returning to the scene of the crime, cops frisking criminals

7. the idea that New York is the city, and that the rest of America is rural

8. the depiction of the rich and their behavior toward others

9. the feelings about the American family situation, the use of alcohol, drugs, etc.

One respondent said about a film, "It seemed like a movie I'd expect an American girl to make."
Focused Interviews

Following many of the filmings, although occasionally beforehand (i.e., during the planning stages), focused interviews with the young directors, actors, and actresses were conducted if the facilities permitted; otherwise mental notes of respondents' comments were recorded later. These interviews were basically open-ended, although generally the following questions were asked:

1. Why did you decide to make this particular film for American audiences?

2. What are the differences, if any, between American and Romanian films and television shows which you've seen?

3. What are the differences, if any, between American and Romanian audiences?

4. What are the differences, if any, between Romanian and American young people?

In answer to the first question, the directors often mentioned that they had seen many American films of that style and so they thought their films would be pleasing to Americans, as they were to Romanians. Others said the reason was because the idea was interesting and they knew it was on American television. One young director said she had considered a film dealing with social equality, but would have had trouble finding blacks, Orientals, or other minority groups in Bușteni. Westerns were frequently claimed to be the best-known, best-liked films in America. Another director said that comedies, or cops-and-robbers films, would have been easier to make, but she wanted to do a film on young Americans' drug abuse to help resolve the problems of American youth. She had heard that American young made mistakes and did not think about what should be done with their lives. She wanted Americans
to see her film, because she felt that many American adults were too severe with the youth. She concluded with the thought that American youth were capable of inventing things and working, and should be urged to be more productive citizens. Another girl, who made a love story with music, felt that this topic was truly of international interest: "In love and music, no important differences exist between Romanians and Americans."

The differences between American and Romanian films were said to be due to the fact that Romanians had no cowboys, no cops and robbers, and so they made other types of historical films with the haiducii (the outlaws of former days) and other historical figures. An often-noted difference was that there were many more fights in American films than in Romanian productions. American films were perceived as being "better" and "better liked," particularly cartoons such as Woody Woodpecker, Donald Duck, and Chilly Willie. Some young directors said that American films were more contemporary, while Romanian films were more historical, although both tended to show "the glory of their people."

American films were said to be "prettier" because they were made under better conditions in big cities like "New York" and "Texas." One student said that in America the films had "more liberty, more free space, and more scenes." One girl felt that American films had many cops and robbers, but fewer social subjects. Another claimed that American films on love often end in a "dumb" manner, since the girls are often gotten rid of, or die in the end. She loved the Romanian Septembrie, however, because, although both lovers die in the end, "their love was beautiful and clean." This thought was repeated by another director, who added
that Americans often make sad films with leading actors who die, whereas 
Romanian heroes very rarely die in films. American films were preferred 
by the boys precisely because they have so much action. Finally, respon­
dents said that in America, drugs, hippies, and porno shows were common, 
while these things were not permitted in Romania. One young director 
said that "Romanian films are not so interesting"; the themes are differ­
ent because the United States is capitalistic and Romania is socialist. 
Almost every young director interviewed was extremely enthusiastic 
about the release of the first Romanian Western.

Generally, few differences were cited between Romanian and Ameri­
can spectators. Several young directors claimed that American films had 
good actors, good techniques, and good stories, and so the American 
spectators had high expectations of what they saw. This was why Romanians 
were said to like American films so much. Sometimes the directors were 
somewhat derogatory about their own cinema, claiming "There is more 
talent in America" and "American stories and techniques are better."

In terms of the differences, Americans were said to be more 
violent and fighters by nature since "life there is so tough" (although, 
considerably less than before). Another said that "the language is the 
same, but we speak differently." Along similar lines, one girl said 
that Romanians prefer calmer films, but Americans, with their huge popu­
lation, are better adapted for films with more action.

One final comment made was that Americans were not good decision­
makers since Americans could build 25 health clinics for the money spent 
on each warplane, but failed to do so.
Frequently some of the children became a little tense when I asked about the differences which they thought existed between them and American children. Although they assured me that there were no major biological differences, they explained that the United States had a capitalistic society, while Romania had a socialist environment. In Romania, young adults were "obliged to work," but everyone was "assured of employment," whereas in America there was a serious lack of employment. Children in America were cited as having killed their professors when they got mad at them and having drugged themselves because they didn't have work or other interests, America being the worst place in the world for drugs. On the other hand, American children were said to have more possibilities for advancement, with possessions like computers and swimming pools.

In general, American and Romanian children were said to like the same types of films. In terms of games and interests, the Romanian children felt they were similar to Americans and claimed they liked to play cops and robbers and cowboys and Indians. Some even assured me that even if no American films existed, they would still play those games. One young director claimed that in America, children were more "destept" (clever, intelligent) than Romanian children, but Romanian children would be the same if they lived there. Another said that American children are "happier," while a third contended that although American young people were more drugged, the Romanians "would if they (drugs) were here."

In terms of mutual understanding, it was said that socialist and capitalist differences shouldn't matter; trying to build friendship
should. Along this line of reasoning, others said that children from all countries understand each other; some may have different ideas, but that need not inhibit friendship.

The extent to which the data presented in the preceding pages support the thirteen research hypotheses and corollaries is explored in the following chapter.
In Chapter 2 it was stated that each of five general research questions was to be explored by the testing of one or more research hypotheses, using a combination of methods. The extent to which the hypotheses were supported or not supported by the research is discussed in this chapter.*

The Importance of the Media as Intercultural Transmitters in the Community

The issue of whether the media are important intercultural transmitters in the community of Bușteni, Romania, was explored via hypotheses I, II, III, and the corollary to III.

I. Film and television productions are interculturally important verbal/visual materials in the establishment and maintenance of cultural stereotypes.

*The following abbreviations, included at the end of each paragraph, indicate the source and chapter of the data interpreted as supporting each hypothesis and corollary: (PO) participant observation in Chapter 5; (PI) perceptual index in Chapter 5; (RG) repertorial grid in Chapter 5; (FI) focused interview in Chapter 5; (S/F) scenario and film section in Chapter 5; (RB) the research in Bucharest, Chapter 3.
This hypothesis was strongly supported by the research, although it appears that individuals are more prone to gradually accumulating "bits and pieces" of information about other cultures rather than acquiring large quantities at one time. This "selective acquisition" of information will be discussed in depth under hypotheses V, VI, and the corollary to VI. In Bușteni, the cowboy-and-Indian games, the cops-and-robbers games, as well as other imitations of American films and television series, were played by groups of children and adolescents. The enthusiasm for American films and television programs expressed in informal discussions and the amount of information about American life styles derived from these media also supported the hypothesis. The general audience anticipation and viewing of scheduled American films and programs (as well as those of other nations) indicated unusual interest in the content of this intercultural programming, normally presented during prime-time viewing hours. The dress, hair styles, and mannerisms adopted by some Romanians, particularly the adolescents, were primarily modeled directly on patterns found in American films and television productions. Various collections and possessions of Americana (e.g., postcards of American actors and actresses, Donald Duck and Mickey Mouse notebooks and stickers, cowboy toys) further reflected their media origins. (PO)

The importance of films and television programs as sources of cultural images about the American way of life was also strongly supported by the results of the perceptual indices, which demonstrated the prominence of the media as credible channels of information about the United States for all age groups tested. Adolescents and children,
as well as males and females, differed in importance attributed to certain channels of information. However, in no age or sex group were films and television programs ranked low. (PI)

Further support of the hypothesis was widespread recognition of the photos of American actors and actresses (which, in a few cases among adolescents, surpassed the recognition of the Romanian actors and actresses). The fact that some actors were openly associated with being "American" (e.g., John Wayne, Telly Savalas), while the national identities of others were unknown to some (in particular, Sidney Poitier), supports the media's role in the maintenance of certain cultural stereotypes. Among actor genres, comedians were least likely to be associated with being "American." The frequency of recognition varied, as did the extent to which respondents "liked" or "disliked" certain screen personalities, but the photo recognition game produced a great deal of supplemental cultural material about the United States. Frequency of exposure to certain personalities seemed to increase recognition of cultural background in some instances (e.g., John Wayne, Telly Savalas), but this was not always the case (e.g., Elizabeth Montgomery, the comedians). The depiction of certain actors as being "most typically American" by a substantial part of the sample of the repertorial grids also provided support for the hypothesis interrelating the media and the establishment of cultural stereotypes, as did the relationship between being "typically American" and the possession of certain traits (e.g., courage) which frequently occurred on the grids. The lists of "most" and "least" typically American actors and actresses (Tables 10, 15, 16) provide further evidence, although the polarization of
values by adolescents on the American grid was not as strong as expec-
ted (Table 18). The identification of certain qualities on traits with
being "typically American" (e.g., courage, politeness, hard-working
nature) further supports this hypothesis. (RG)

Answers to the focused interview questions on why certain films
were made by the young people and the differences they perceived be-
tween American and Romanian films (i.e., the often-stated idea that the
national differences were due to the fact that the countries had differ-
ent psychological tendencies and needs) also supported this hypothesis.
The stated differences between Romanian and American spectators and
young people included extensive use of media examples as supportive
material—to the exclusion of most other sources. (FI)

Young people were clearly able, verbally and visually, to cap-
ture these cultural stereotypes of Americans in their scenarios and on
their films, these being perceived as products that Americans were
supposed to "expect or want to see." The content analyses also indi-
cated the extent to which the films portrayed televised types of infor-
mation. The stereotypes, both positive and negative, which were most
obviously and frequently used, were (1) the nature and use of violence
in American society, (2) the nature of the American family and male/
female relationships, (3) American reliance on alcohol, drugs, and
cigarettes, and (4) the nature of the distribution of wealth in the
United States. (S/F)

Finally, the hopes, anxieties, and philosophies expressed in
Bucharest decision-makers' opinions and experiences, as well as changes
they made in programming either due to, or in spite of, public responses,
supported the hypothesis. The care taken in the selection and dissemination of intercultural programming, the numerous filtering mechanisms in operation as well as continued calls from critics and educators for regulation in permitting certain elements to enter the nation, all attest to the officially-perceived importance of the media. Research results indicated that preference for, and interest in, foreign films often surpasses interest in those made in Romania, American films being among the most popular. (RB)

II. The extent to which the media are important and the manner in which they are used cross-culturally vary with age, sex, environment, education, background, availability, and other considerations.

Differences in the imitative behaviors of people of different ages and sexes support the hypothesis, with the imitative "peak" apparently occurring in the mid- to late teens. The different orientations of the children, adolescents, young adults, and older adults toward the media varied considerably, as did their uses of the media (e.g., for socializing, baby-sitting, family discussion, diversion). These functions varied with the content of particular media programs and films, and also among the different age groups. People in Bușteni seemed to use television as an evening activity more often than people in Bucharest, and were more inclined to use the media, as opposed to other sources for support of their perspectives in discussions, than were residents in Bucharest. Different orientations toward the importance and potential use of the media were also apparent in discussions with college students, high school students, teachers, workers, and other groups of people. The comparisons of differences in what the Bușteni
audience preferred to see in the cinema with what respondents from other regions preferred (Table 8) provided further support for the hypothesis, as did the demographic variations in who came to see various types of productions. The predominance of older adolescents at the theaters and their frequency of attendance, in comparison with the more family-oriented pasttime of watching television, was further evidence. Variations occurred from town to town, even with the small region of the județ. (PO)

Results from the perceptual index clearly indicated age and sex differences in the hierarchies of the importance of sources of information about the United States. (Tables 9, 11, 12.) Changes in the importance attributed to parents, teachers, peers, music, and other media with age, were particularly apparent in the comparison of children's and adolescents' grids, although the predominance of the films and television programs as important sources were supported in both. Male adolescents tended to rank friends, teachers, and magazines more important than female adolescents who valued the radio, language, cartoons, and American products more strongly. (PI)

Differences by age, sex, and area of residence were also strongly indicated in the repertorial grids. Adolescents who had spent time as students in Bucharest, or visiting relatives in the area, were more familiar with American actors and actresses than those who lived solely in Bușteni. (This was probably due to their access to greater numbers of American films in the numerous movie theaters in Bucharest.) In general, familiarity with names and roles of actors and actresses increased with age. Girls exhibited a greater familiarity with the names
and characteristics of more of the American actors and actresses than boys who recognized actors, but fewer actresses. Girls were more moderate in their cultural stereotyping of actors and actresses and their own identity with a nationality than boys who stereotyped more readily (Tables 15, 16, 17, 19). Boys also tended to omit actresses from high ranking in the constructs "typically Romanian or American, "As I am," and "As I would like to be," whereas girls highly ranked many male actors. (RG)

The interest expressed by young filmmakers in making films that would educate and/or entertain American audiences also supported the hypothesis, since reasons expressed by the young people as to why Americans might want to see certain films reflected the conceptions which they had about the potential functions of the media. Furthermore, the comparisons made of the differences in Romanian and American productions in relation to the different needs of the natives also supported the idea that the importance of the media varies from environment to environment. (FI)

The films made, reflecting a wide variety of interests and concerns, differed most obviously according to the age and sex of the filmmaker (Table 23). The enthusiasm with which many of the young people participated in the project and their varying degrees of seriousness about the enterprise also implied differing ideas about the importance of the media. Young adolescents were more eager to participate initially than older students who had more weights on their time. Females often treated their subject more seriously, and spent more time rehearsing parts to perfection, than males. (S/F).
Bucharest decision-makers provided support for the hypothesis by the priorities they established in meeting specific audience needs (particularly those perceived for children, adolescents, and young adults). Audience research also revealed differences in attendance to and interest in certain programs over others which were related to age, sex, and environment (Tables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). The young were repeatedly found to be the most involved, and "least discriminating," audience.

This data supports conclusions of other research on age and sex differences. For example, the tendency of boys to be interested only in male characters, reporting them to be the ones which they would most like to resemble, and omitting women from their "most typical" sample parallels the results of research by Miller and Reeves, as well as Maccoby and Wilson. According to Reeves,

Two different studies report that no boys chose opposite-sex TV characters as people they would like to be like, while approximately one-third of the girls chose male characters as primary role models.¹

Along similar lines,

Maccoby and Wilson found firstly that girls recalled better than boys the words and actions of the girl character when they occurred in context of interaction with the boy, and secondly boys recalled the aggressive content better than girls only if the boy hero was the agent of aggression.²

Girls in Romania also tended to emphasize personality and psychological traits and their importance in the repertorial grids than did boys, who relied to a greater extent on physical capacities and shows of power or strength. This may explain the greater enthusiasm males had for American films, given the orientation of American media to depicting shows of strength.
The research did not support studies that indicated women were more likely to stereotype than men (Sarbin, 1954). If anything, Romanian girls tended to attribute fewer stereotypic qualities to being "typically American" than did boys, who were openly more imitative of characteristics of the "American male." These imitative tendencies apparently decreased with age.

Finally, the attributes frequently expressed by the young as being "most important" in this research parallel findings by Reeves and Greenberg that the young are most attracted to characters who possess "humor, strength, attractiveness, and activity." In both findings, however, the interest in "humor" decreased with age.

III. Media of an intercultural nature will initially tend to be suasory whereas intracultural media will tend to be mimetic.

There is less support for this hypothesis than for the preceding two hypotheses as the differences between "suasory" and "mimetic" communication are both variable and subtle.

Comments made by Bucharest decision-makers imply that their decisions are based on the perceived values of both mimetic and suasory communication. They choose (and want to choose) information which they believe represents "universal morals," supporting "good" over "bad" information, which will reinforce their societal goals. In this respect, they see intercultural media as essentially mimetic, or supportive of the status quo which they are attempting to promote. On the other hand, they readily acknowledge that sometimes information is imported which promotes ideas that are contradictory to the system, but contend that these effects are more than counterbalanced by other
sources in the system. In other words, although the American programs they select may contain content that inherently supports the concept of free enterprise or capitalism, the negative aspects of this suasory material are more than outweighed by its positive values, for example, in promoting the work ethic among Romanian young people.

In contrast, the media produced at home, which were discussed in Chapter 3, are more standardized and consistent in outlook (i.e., more mimetic in nature), reinforcing the status quo and seldom reflecting its weaknesses (although there are subtle exceptions). The extent to which the intercultural media are mimetic or suasory in their influences seems to vary from country to country; as the media in most nations are more or less controlled by the governments, decision-makers will be more likely to focus on the mimetic potential, that is, the reinforcing quality, of imported and, possibly, exported media.

Sources of information in Bucharest on the mimetic/suasory nature of the intercultural media included filmmakers and their ideas on how the presence of American and other foreign productions is forcing/encouraging changes in the nature of Romanian productions, if they are to remain competitive. For example, at the Costinești film festival, some of the young students demanded that more or different American productions should be acquired and that Romanian productions should try to parallel the nature of American productions, thus supporting the image of American materials as essentially suasory in nature. This was principally in the area of technical expertise, but format and content were not overlooked. Some Romanian filmmakers have adapted more contemporary American styles of filmmaking—not the studio styles of the bygone
Hollywood era, but the traits exhibited by many independent American films in recent years. (RB)

In the community of Bușteni, some support for this hypothesis came from several sources, particularly the young. Comments on the admirable traits of many American personalities (particularly John Wayne, Telly Savalas, and, incidentally, one sole political figure, John F. Kennedy) were common, as was the rather visible and vocal manner in which some of the adolescents rejected "Romanian" characteristics in preference for "American" ones seen on film and television. Also, in both general discussions and in focused interviews, American programs were often depicted as being more "exciting" or "interesting," while, in contrast, the Romanian-originated programs were said to be "standard" in nature. (PO)(FI)

Weak evidence supporting the hypothesis was also apparent in the lower level of importance attributed in the perceptual indices to documentaries, the newspapers, and the Telejurnal as sources of information about the United States, implying that American films and television serials carried different information than locally-originated "factual" material. (PI)

The extent to which identification between being "typically Romanian" or "typically American" and the "As I am" or "As I would like to be" constructs differed on the grids was also slightly supportive of the hypothesis, although much less than originally expected, in that some of the spectators saw something "different" and slightly more appealing in the American construct. (Tables 18, 19, 20, 21). However, although the minor differences in these correlations may indicate
a slight idealization of the American identity by some Romanian adolesc­

cents, they do not support the hypothesis of some theorists (Mattelart, 

Schiller) that imported American media are radically eroding the cul­
tural identities of the young. (RG)

**Corollary:** In order to influence a culture, both intercultural and intracultural media should have mimetic and suasory aspects.

Support for the corollary was much more apparent than support for the preceding hypothesis. There were numerous instances in the Bușteni community in which parallels or similarities between Romanians and Americans were expressed, and preferences for certain types of pro­
ductions, regardless of the country of origin, were identified. In particular, the growing preference for some spectators for certain types of programs (e.g., detective and adventure shows) over others (e.g., old Westerns) supported the idea of the mimetic-suasory content. In other words, people liked the detective-show and Western themes (e.g., the triumph of justice over evil), but enjoyed the new information of contemporary life in the detective shows over the historical orientation of the Westerns. (PO)

The views of the young in seeing the media as both mimetic and suasory in nature also appeared in their responses as to why they had chosen to make certain types of films over others. Their answers ranged from the need to change American ways of thinking (media as suasory) to efforts to reproduce something which American spectators enjoyed seeing (media as mimetic). In the interviews, there were numerous instances in which parallels or similarities between Americans and Romanians were expressed. The qualities associated with being Romanian or American
spectators (i.e., interest in action, adventure, the triumph of justice) were often similar, if not identical. (FI)

Also, in general support to the corollary was the fact that the qualities associated with being "typically American" or "typically Romanian" did not differ as widely as expected, although there were some variations (Tables 18, 20), and some adolescents evidently did idealize America in a suasory manner. In general, however, values of importance were perceived by many young people as being the same for both countries. Since the media, as indicated by the perceptual indices, were the sources of many of these concepts, the implication is that the young people see both mimetic and suasory aspects of both American and Romanian cultures. (RG)

Finally, the decision-makers in Bucharest, while complaining about their difficulties in acquiring appropriate American media products, also acknowledged that they didn't make greater use of the tremendous quantities of Indian and Japanese films available because the orientations and nature of those films were too different from Romanian audience expectations. The implication is that while some American films and serials introduce many "polluting" elements which are currently non-existent in Romanian society (a suasory effect), the same American products contain standardizations of ideas which reinforce the Romanian status quo (a mimetic effect). This dichotomy appears to support the idea of joint mimetic and suasory aspects needed in the media. (RB)
The Evolution and Integration of Intercultural Stereotypes

The issue of how intercultural stereotypes evolve and are integrated in people's minds was explored by hypothesis IV and its corollary and in hypothesis V.

IV. People utilize and maintain cultural stereotypes for identity purposes, for diversion, and for entertainment.

Variations in the selection of programs made in Bucharest and the reasons for those decisions supported the hypothesis that, for different reasons, people utilize and maintain cultural stereotypes. Decision-makers openly acknowledged that they wanted to give adolescents "heroes" to imitate, and that some popular American media heroes, like John Wayne and Telly Savalas, consistently met those needs. The entertainment value of these characterizations was also frequently expressed in that interest in these fantasy characters diminished the problems of daily life, at least temporarily. The principal rationale was that young people would always be inclined to imitate screen heroes, and that the duty of the Romanian government was to make sure they were the right ones.

The cultural stereotypes were also used to polarize and strengthen Romanian identity as opposed to American identity by the selection of media content that portrayed the shortcomings and weaknesses of the American system, including a preponderance of films on the drug problems, the racial discrimination, poverty, and other negative aspects of the American system. (RB)
The establishment of cultural stereotypes such as American racism is not paralleled by depictions of Romanian racism (i.e., against the gypsies), increasing the idea of the "fair" Romanians as opposed to the "unfair" Americans. This tendency, however, may occasionally have a boomerang effect in that negative traits seen in American films may be picked up and exploited by Romanians with tendencies opposite to those of the decision-makers' intentions. Examples of this in relation to American racism were common in Bușteni, as some Romanian young people, who had never met an Afro-American, spoke derogatorily about them as being the "gypsies" of America, displaying terms and ideas evidently acquired from American films. (PO)

A great source of entertainment for the young in Bușteni was the imitation of American characters (cowboys, cops, robbers) and plots in their games. The young boy who owns his own toy rifle and sheriff's badge enjoys the prestige of his peers in being allowed to play the sheriff hero, resulting in an obvious elevation in status. Yet even those who play the villains seem to enjoy themselves when pretending to be in these different fantasy worlds. As the children enter adolescence, the nature of the game apparently shifts to the search for different adult identities. Discussions with the young about their interest in Americans portrayed in films supported their tendencies to regard them as stereotypes for identity, diversion, and entertainment purposes. (PO)

The maintenance of the cultural stereotypes was also apparent from the characteristics attributed to Romanians and Americans in the repertorial grids (Tables 20, 22). Americans were "courageous" and
"polite," but Romanians were "clever" and "fair," although both groups were considered to exhibit these traits to a certain extent. (RG)

The answers to the interview questions on the differences between American and Romanian productions, spectators, and young people reflected two primary points of view: (1) in general, in spite of the political structure of the two nations, the differences were not considered to be overwhelming, yet (2) they definitely did exist. Furthermore, one of the most consistently reported differences was the amount of material possessions which the average American spectator or young person had, closely associated with the perception of the American ability to "do things better" than Romanians. Reasons given for the selection of the different filmmaking topics also supported the idea that American identities were established by the content of American films and the manner in which the young Americans were entertaining, but that they also provided points of comparison with the young person's Romanian identity. The fact that most of the young people thought that the stereotypes they generated in their own films would appeal to American spectators and be entertaining as well reflects their own use and reinforcement of cultural stereotypes for these purposes. (FI)

The adolescents' films are filled with visual images or symbols which identify Americans in specific contexts (e.g., "the rich," "the poor," "the young," "the criminal," "the law"). American students who content-analyzed the work of the young Romanian filmmakers were surprised to find such clearly defined positive and negative stereotypes reflected in the films. (S/F)
Corollary: Personal contact with members of other cultures will supersede media in importance as a source for cultural information unless those members are too different from expectations, in which case they will be dismissed as "atypical."

This corollary needs much more study in order to determine in what contexts and situations it applies. According to the perceptual indices, the few adolescents who did encounter Americans other than those portrayed in the media (e.g., relatives, tourists, or encounters made in other situations) indicated the importance of these encounters as sources of information about life in the United States. (PI)

However, the extent to which these interactions really modified or broadened their concepts of Americans seemed (reasonably) to depend on other factors, including (1) their relationship to the person encountered, (2) the length of time of the interaction(s), (3) the nature of the interaction(s), and (4) the age of the interactants. In the participant observation context, our own ideas were sometimes used as "proof" of the American perspective on certain topics, while at other times we were felt to be obvious exceptions to their expectations of Americans, in which case our ideas carried little weight. For some young people, Americans could do little wrong, for others, they could do little right; we seemed to find ourselves viewed primarily in the light of existing perceptions, even contradictory perceptions, and the power of "personal contact" over mediated images was not apparent. (PO)

V. As more encounters occur with another culture, cultural images (e.g., stereotypes) will be modified and differentiated.

The results of the research indicate that some type of qualifier needs to be worked into this hypothesis. In effect, hypothesis V and the corollary to hypothesis VI present an interesting paradox.
Hypothesis V does not effectively imply more "accuracy" in cultural images because, as hypothesis VI and its corollary contend, the differentiation will be affected by the culturally-specific myths which have been generated. Consequently, this relationship is discussed in more depth under hypothesis VI.

One key to resolving the inconclusive nature of this hypothesis may be that modification and differentiation occur to the extent to which people are willing to listen to the material presented in the encounter. In Bușteni, it seemed that many older people had stereotyped ideas which were much less likely to be modified and differentiated as they came into contact with American programs than were the ideas of the young people. Perhaps this was due to different uses the older community members were making of the material (e.g., focusing more on the fantasy elements), while young people were also preoccupied in acquiring new, usable information. Some of the older people seemed to idealize life in the United States more than the young, discussing it as a relatively problem-free society. As reliance on certain sources of information shifted (e.g., from adolescents' preferences for films to adults' preferences for television), so did the nature of the images expressed. Consequently, with differences in the sources encountered and the uses made of them, cultural images will be modified in different ways.

Certain types of programs (and other sources of information), were openly preferred by different groups of people in the community; differences in the uses made of content were also noticeable. (PO)

The perceptual indices indicate that the sources which are most commonly used shift to a great extent from childhood through adolescence.
(Tables 9, 11, 12). Only the importance of the film and television media and music remained consistently high throughout the age and sex groups. (PI)

Fewer correlations in the association of certain desirable qualities with national characteristics occurred with the young on the repertorial grids than expected, yet a tendency for the younger and mid-level teenage groups to present slightly more idealized conceptions of the qualities typifying Romanians and Americans was in evidence (Tables 19, 20, 22). Somewhat greater differentiation seemed to occur among (1) older adolescents, and (2) females. (RG)

Responses to interview questions about Romanian and American differences indicated that the older adolescents, particularly those with more experience with the media and other sources of information, were less likely to make blanket statements and more likely to weigh the pros and cons of the perceived American environment. There were several exceptions to this tendency, i.e., younger adolescents who considered pros and cons of the American environment and older students who made very one-sided judgments. (FI)

The relative complexity of the films tended to increase with the filmmaker's age, but this was inconclusive, since many of the younger filmmakers made very provocative social comments in their films, while some of the older adolescents' productions were extremely simplistic. These films were neither profound or clever in their portrayals of American life, but tended to be "universal" formulas which remained relatively unmodified and undifferentiated by the old as much as by the young. (S/F)
The young were frequently less discriminating in the use they made of the media in comparison with other age groups, but more critical than some adults of what they saw, according to Bucharest researchers. This may be due, in effect, to their greater openness to a variety of different, perhaps conflicting, messages or information. (RB)

The Orientation of the Viewer to Intercultural Media Content

The issue of how the viewer develops a unique orientation to the content of the intercultural media was explored via hypothesis VI and its corollary, and in hypotheses VII and VIII.

VI. Those formulas frequently presented in other-culture programming tend to be accepted as "reality" by those cultural members without direct experience with the other culture.

Support for this hypothesis was strong, although more exploration of the nature of the media and credibility is necessary to determine the extent to which this hypothesis could be supported in different situations.

In the community of Bușteni, it was evident from discussion and observation that American films were accepted as realistic portrayals of aspects of American life, and that they were, in many cases, the only "reality" known. In the first place, when "proof" was needed to prove a point about Americans, the source of the proof was almost invariably a film or television program which had been seen on some previous occasion. For the Romanians in Bușteni, New York was what was depicted in Kojak, the West was what was depicted in Westerns, racial relations were what was portrayed in A Raisin in the Sun and Guess
Who's Coming to Dinner? Furthermore, for the majority of the young people in Bușteni, the United States consisted of little more than the areas of Kojak's New York, Eliot Ness' Chicago, a smattering of "California," and the great endless prairie known vaguely as "Texas," extending hazily almost from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In other words, their image was constructed from bits and pieces of information, gathered from a variety of sources, in particular the media. Furthermore, greater interest was regularly exhibited in watching the fictionalized formats than for documentary or news productions on the same topic. (PO)

The preference for American films and television programs as sources of information about the United States, as opposed to the documentaries and Telejurnal news reports, was also strongly indicated by the results of the perceptual indices (Tables 9, 11, 12). (PI)

The overwhelming identification of certain actors as being "typically American" in the repertorial grids (in particular John Wayne and Telly Savalas), plus the association of their characteristic traits (e.g., courage) as being "typically American" qualities, also supports the hypothesis that people accept idealized media traits and heroes as reality. (RG)

The revelations of the differences which many Bușteni adolescents thought existed between Romanian and American spectators and young people also supported the "media as reality" hypothesis, although it was evident that some of the ideas had been reinforced or expanded by other sources (e.g., school, friends). (FI)

The scenarios and short films produced by youth in Bușteni also indicated how the content of the programs was accepted as being
analogous to American reality. This was reinforced by discussion of the films and the subjects selected during the focused interviews. Table 23, on the content of the short films, and the content analyses made by the American students revealed the extent to which certain associations often portrayed in the media were considered analogous to American life styles (e.g., the association of sex and alcohol, law officers and violence, young people with drugs). (S/F)

Bucharest decision-makers, aware of the tendency of people to accept the visual media portrayals as the reality of other cultures, were selective in choosing films. Films which showed the inequities of the capitalist system were preferred over those which implied that the system worked fairly. One explanation of this tendency offered by a critic was that by focusing on the faults of other nations or cultures, the home environment became more appealing; thus more critical consideration of the home environment by the majority of the people was blunted. On the other hand, certain suggestive or "polluting" elements, such as films depicting student revolutions where the status quo was changed, were avoided. (RB)

Yet, certain qualifiers need to be explored in more depth. Some sources are more credible than others, and American television and films seem to remain influential with the audience until their credibility is shaken. The American films and television productions currently chosen appear to be credible for three reasons.

First, their selection and use fits the value system cultivated by the Romanian family and/or state. If the message did not overtly support those values, the production would not have been selected. At
the same time, those films (e.g., Westerns, cartoons) which have been chosen primarily for entertainment and project a romanticized, idealized version or vision of life in the United States are not officially discredited and retain a certain believability for the spectators. The second reason for the maintenance of credibility in American films and television programs is the lack of "interpersonal contact" which might substantially alter perceptions acquired through the media. Finally, the media portrayed do not totally contradict what is understood from other sources and bear some semblance to what has already been learned from the media of the other culture.

Corollary: In accepting formulas as "reality," cultural members develop certain myths of their own about the culture which are particular to factors within the environment within which the programs are viewed.

This corollary was supported strongly in discussions with the young people in Bușteni about the pros and cons of the American system. As defined in Chapter 2, a myth is a belief or concept embodying a visionary ideal. This does not imply that it is "true" or "false," but rather an ideological interpretation placed on a role or an institution. Many of the adolescents constructed rather elaborate myths about life in the United States, concocted from bits and pieces of information from many sources, but primarily from the media. Often these myths included the pairing of seemingly contradictory information. For example, in some films and television programs, they interpreted that everyone in America seemed to have a car, yet from others it appeared to them that only the rich in the United States owned cars. Likewise, American teenagers were thought of (and portrayed in films) as the
happiest in the world because of all their possessions, yet at the same time they were considered to be so unhappy that they became addicted to drugs and sometimes shot their teachers. The American legal system was known to be unfair to the poor, yet "Kojak," a representative of that system, seemed to be always fair to people. America was said to be the richest country in the world, yet much of what was seen on television focused on New York City tenements and Western deserts and prairies. Consequently, many adolescents concocted very intriguing, somewhat paradoxical images of the United States. (PO)(FI)

These paradoxical interpretations seemed to be environment-specific: students in Bucharest had acquired a more complete picture of the situation with fewer of the polarized perspectives which seemed to dominate the myths created by the young people of Bușteni. (PO)(RB)

In spite of the less attractive aspects of the myths they developed, more students in general (55 percent) wanted to be what they thought was "typically American" as opposed to those wanting to be what they perceived as "typically Romanian" (45 percent). Boys in their mid-teens were those most likely to make this correlation. The qualities of courage, intelligence, hard-working, fairness, and politeness made up part of the American myth (Tables 18, 19, 20, 21, 22). These myths were apparently centered around male characters who embodied the basically "masculine" qualities that are considered to be "typically" American." It should be noted, however, that a 10 percent difference in the desirability of being American over Romanian is not indicative of substantial dissatisfaction with "typical" Romanian culture. (RG)
These myths, to various degrees, were expressed again in the focused interviews during the discussion of differences between Romanian and American spectators and young people. (FI)

In the characterizations of Americans and their interactions portrayed in the short films made by the young people of Bușteni, the construction of these myths was apparent once again. (S/F)

Finally, as explicated in detail in the discussion of decision-making in Bucharest, the decision-makers, filmmakers, and critics themselves had their own unique and diverse versions of the myths of American ways of looking at life (e.g., the "wide-open-space" approach and the "active-people" explanation). (RB)

VII. That which is culturally "distant" may be more believable and acceptable to cultural members than that which is "close," yet not yet identical.

The methodology was not sufficient to explore the motivations which might support this hypothesis, although some evidence was generated on this question.

Discussions with individuals in the community occasionally revealed that some, particularly older people, still dreamed about the American cities paved with gold and rags-to-riches stories. They did not seem to want information that implied more similarities than differences between some aspects of the two cultures. Some of the older people stated marked preferences for Westerns or programs on the unusual or unique in the past, apparently to reinforce their image of "America" as an exciting, unimaginable place.

The young people seemed to seek out other cultural differences, admiring what they perceived as the free-spirited, rebellious nature
of American youth, considering them almost as naughty sub-heroes to be secretly admired from a distance. They were not interested in interpretations of American youth that suggested that the majority, like Romanian youth, eventually find their place within the status quo. The reaction of people in Bușteni to the Rich Man, Poor Man series illustrated this hypothesis as well; the Romanian audience was uninvolved in the content until some violent episodes seemed to interest them again and confirm their expectations of American life styles and/or American media. (PO)

Answers to interview questions on the differences between Romanian and American spectators and young people, in particular the responses of those in their early and mid-teens, seemed to focus on the differences, especially the "wilder" side of American nature. (FI)

Analysis of the content of films made by young people in Bușteni also shows a preoccupation among most of the young with making something different from "ordinary" life: young girls made fairy tales, boys made Westerns or thrillers involving clearly defined heroes and villains, older girls made romantic love stories. (S/F)

In terms of decision-making in Bucharest, a kind of "polarization" of old American images with new Romanian productions had been occurring for years, and it is hard to determine whether the viewers already had the desire to believe in great cultural differences, or whether these ideas were built and promoted by the media policies. Bucharest decision-makers tended to attribute it to a need for fantasy and entertainment on the part of the viewers. (RB)
Whether or not this tendency has other important functions in the maintenance of the separation between two distinctively different cultures needs to be explored further.

VIII. As media are not value-neutral, the value systems which individuals generate about people of other cultural backgrounds and themselves will vary with age, sex, environment, background, and availability of information.

The most explicit support for this hypothesis came from the repertorial grids in the form of (1) the values selected, which varied according to age and sex, and (2) the relationship between being "typically American" or "typically Romanian" and certain values. (Tables 13, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22.) The relationship between the values and the constructs "As I am" and "As I would like to be" indicated diverse personal differences in value systems, which also varied according to age and sex differences. (Tables 21, 22.) (RG)

The differences perceived in Romanian and American films, spectators, and young people which were discussed during interviews also illustrated the perceived differences in Romanian and American value systems. Those perceived differences varied according to the age, sex, and background of the young perceiver. (FI)

The different perceptions of American value systems were also evident in the context of the Bușteni-produced films, indicating whether the director felt American value systems were sufficient for making a "good" society or not. The extent to which the American societal value systems were depicted as negative or positive, or even relevant, differed from filmmaker to filmmaker. The more obvious of
these perceived values (e.g., American dependency on violence, drugs, alcohol) were revealed by the content analysis. (S/F)

Finally, the research conducted in Bucharest supported the claim that value systems differed from individual to individual, but are definitely affected by factors including age, sex, and education. (RB)

American researchers have often pointed to the violent aspects of many American media formulas while overlooking an important aspect of their popularity at home and abroad. According to Noble, the reason why both Westerns and war films are so popular abroad is that they "are among the few programs which show kindly cooperation as well as aggression."4

Researchers overlook these elements of kindness and cooperation, as well as other values, which comprise the myth structures of much American film and television content, in their attempt to highlight the negative "violent" aspects of the material. Children in Romania witness the violence, but they also witness kindness, cooperation, and other aspects which have a potential impact.

Adolescents and Intercultural Media

The relationship between adolescent socialization and the impact of intercultural media was explored via hypothesis IX and its corollary, and hypotheses X, XI, and XII.

IX. Adolescents, in important decision-making stages of their lives, will be the community members most involved in decisions concerning the maintenance or rejection of the cultural status quo.

Major decisions concerning careers and locations are made by adolescent students in Romania. The direction their studies take, the
likelihood of their going to universities or other types of vocational training, are basically decided when they are in their mid-teens (from about 14 to 17). After these decisions, it is more difficult for them to shift directions and goals; even if they succeed, they may wind up losing years of study because of the highly specialized educational system in Romania. The decisions they make in their teens also reflect their likelihood of remaining within, or leaving, the community. Specialization in health service, for example, may allow a student to find a job in the vicinity of Bușteni; specialization in foreign languages will most assuredly involve relocation.

The experimenting that goes on through this decision-making period was highly visible. Of all the age groups, the adolescents in the community had the most visibly different codes for appearance and mannerisms which were not in line with the cultural status quo (gypsies excluded). As previously mentioned, their preference for certain American products was also the most obvious. They were also the most openly restless group about the "limitations" of life in the community, some openly seeking possibilities to move on to new experiences. Without question, the exciting, more cosmopolitan city life in Bucharest was preferred to the quiet life in Bușteni by the majority, and those who were going to be students in Bucharest generally appeared excited at the prospect. Those who were staying in the community, or being sent to more remote, provincial communities, seldom discussed their futures with the same enthusiasm.

In the decision-making period, there was a kind of balance in the maintenance and rejection of the status quo. Away from school,
students might express disinterest in Romanian cultural traditions, such as folklore, dances, customs, and costumes. In the classroom, however, participation in these areas was important for evaluations which led to the higher class rankings associated with greater career possibilities. The result was that in-class and out-of-class attitudes differed visibly, as illustrated by students learning cowboy songs in school and singing disco tunes out on the street. (PO)

Evidence supporting the adolescents' maintenance/rejection of the community status quo came from the relationships between "typically Romanian" and "typically American" constructs with the "As I would like to be" construct (Tables 19, 21). Although high correlations for "As I would like to be" and "typically American" were more frequent than "As I would like to be" and "typically Romanian," they were not overwhelming in number. Adolescents seemed to be somewhat more self-realized as they grew older, with the exception of the mid-teen group (between 14 and 17) who seemed to be in the greatest period of fluctuation both for and against aspects of the system. (RG)

Information on the differences between Romanian and American spectators and young people discussed in interviews also supported the idea that the peak period of fluctuation was among the mid-teens, those adolescents who were most vocal in pointing out certain perceived benefits of life in the United States over life in Romania. Most expressed the feeling that career possibilities were greater for young people in the United States than in Romania, although many were quick to point out the work security in Romania as opposed to what they were led to believe was the "massive unemployment" in the United States. Some
admired what they saw as American superiority in technology and inventions, but several added that given the same set of circumstances, Romanians could achieve the same. Most of the adolescents were vocally patriotic in their love for their country, but some had a reserve about it that seemed unusual compared to the young of other countries. (This may also have been in deference to what they perceived my feelings would be on the issue.) (FI)

The perceptual indices revealed that adolescents in the mid-teen group, particularly males, were the most likely to strongly reject the importance of traditional sources of information about the United States (i.e., parents, schools, teachers) (Tables 11, 12). (PI)

The researchers of Bucharest also revealed that the preferences of the young were less supportive of Romanian films than of American films. However, mere classification of a film into the "American" category did not necessarily assure its success among the young. (RB)

Finally, the nature of the film festival in Costinești, and the rather critical remarks of several of the students attending, also supported the hypothesis, although the majority of those present seemed far more concerned with enjoying themselves on the beach than in comparing the purported limitations of Romanian and American films. (RB)

Corollary: Adolescents will also be seen by adults as being the most vulnerable in the chain of cultural continuity.

The massive youth programs, which were visible from the community level through the highest echelons of the government, were ample evidence of the Romanian government's belief in the importance of adequately acculturating the young. In both Bucharest and Bușteni, parents,
teachers, community leaders, researchers, filmmakers, critics, and media decision-makers supported the need for and the importance of these programs, as well as their value in integrating the young into the culture and insuring their moral codes were the proper ones. The importance of Union of Communist Youth and its extensive programs throughout the country, and the resources spent in the promotion and maintenance of youth groups like the Young Pioneers, are further evidence in the support of the hypothesis on the perceived vulnerability of the youth. (PO)(RB)

X. Peer pressure, the media, and other outside influences will tend to be more important than traditional influences (e.g., parents, school) on most adolescents.

The most direct source of information supporting this hypothesis came from the results of the perceptual indices which reported the children's and adolescents' own perceptions about the importance of certain sources in terms of their perceptions about life in the United States (Tables 9, 11, 12). Although sex and age differences among the samples vary, two general trends were firmly established: (1) the great importance of films, television programs, and music for virtually all age/sex groups, and (2) the reduced perception of the importance of parents, school, teachers, as sources of information during adolescence. (PI)

Although the perceptual index was oriented specifically to rank sources in regard to their usefulness in providing information on life in the United States, community observations and discussions with the young supported the extension of this tendency to other areas of information as well. As with many teenagers around the world, Romanian youth had issues with which they were at odds with their parents and
other authority figures. These issues ranged from career decisions and study needs to dress behavior and relationships with members of the opposite sex. Most adolescents had close friendships with one or more adolescents, usually of similar age and sex. Many of their free-time activities involved spending time with other young people. In Bușteni, this time was most often spent in going for walks, picnics, talking in private, playing or attending sports, seeing movies, watching television, attending class functions, dances, and discos, exploring nearby communities, shopping, eating, and playing games. (PO)

In further support of the hypothesis were the sources of information cited in conversations which were strong indications of the manner in which ideas spread through the group. These were primarily friends, films, television shows, occasional favorite teachers, and, more rarely, comments made by parents (usually fathers). Comments made by older people in the community about how the young didn't listen anymore were also indirect evidence of their feelings that the sources of influence had shifted. (PO)

Evidence from both the focused interviews on who participated in the construction and development of the scenario/film ideas, and from the actual filming context, showed peer pressure to be important. (FI)(S/F)

Comments made by Bucharest decision-makers and researchers on the youth also supported this hypothesis; their desires to build sound programs within which the youth and their interests could interact (e.g., cine-clubs, film festivals) was further evidence of their realization that these interactions, outside the boundaries of authority
influences, were important factors affecting the behavior of the young.  
(RB)

XI. Adolescents and children can form and reproduce clear and concise cross-cultural stereotypes and media formulas.

The content of the scenarios and films, the acting, the props, and the characters used by the young people involved in making the films provided the strongest support for this hypothesis. Support was further found in the content analyses generated by American students who expressed their amazement that such accurate reproductions of certain American media formulas and characters were made by Romanian children and adolescents. The clear visual portrayals of what constituted the American law officer, the American love scene, and American family relationships were particularly impressive. (S/F)

The responses made by the young filmmakers about the differences in American and Romanian films also indicated their clear idea of the variety of media formulas generated in one nation in comparison with those of another. Perceived differences between the spectators of the two countries and their expectations were also explicated in depth in a relatively cohesive image (although that image tended to vary from age group to age group and, to a lesser extent, by sex). (FI)

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the clear-cut replications of American media formulas and characters in some of the "pretend" games played by the younger adolescents and the "Americanized" mannerisms adopted by some of the older students, also suggest the influence of American films and television programs on this age group. (PO)
One possible explanation of this situation involves (1) the action, and (2) the characters of American films. Most of the content of the young people's films was readily understandable without necessarily understanding the dialogue. The films, for the most part, contained little that depended on verbal explication—the characters and their positive or negative characteristics were physically visible, and their positions in the unfolding drama were quite evident. The success of many American media products, in addition to their generally superior technical qualities, may be due to the simplicity of plots where heroes and villains are clearly defined. On the surface, they are apparently almost universally understandable to most people to some degree (e.g., the triumph of good over evil, the importance of courage, etc.). There is, on the other hand, a general lack of success of other styles which do not incorporate this structural simplicity and attempt more complex analyses of themes.

In all probability, the various "American" myths portrayed in each film are perceived and accepted to the degree that they already correspond to the perceptions of the viewer. For example, the American rags-to-riches myth corresponds in Romanian society to the degree that there, too, is the social belief that one may rise from poor surroundings to a position of importance or prominence. The ultimate focus may be different (e.g., in America, financial wealth or power; in Romania, community status or power), but much of the same myth is found in both cultures. That which is different may be what becomes stereotyped as a trait of that particular group of people. The fact that it may not
be accurate or may not be readily apparent in other presentations may not matter, if it is more convenient to classify it as a trait.

The result appears to be a culturally unique mixture of positive and negative reactions to the foreign culture—positive to the extent that the foreign culture parallels or seems even better than the perceiver's view of the home culture, and negative to the extent that other traits are seen as paradoxical, contradictory, or "bad" by the perceiver. Consequently, one young Romanian may see the ultimate American dream as a poor one if s/he has been deeply acculturated in the Socialist philosophy against the accumulation of wealth, while another young Romanian may be highly approving of it—in practice if not in principle, in principle if not in practice.

XII. Cross-cultural media in some cultures help generate and maintain an "aspirations versus reality" gap, particularly among the young.

This hypothesis, moderately supported by the research evidence, needs to be reexamined with the addition of some qualifiers.

Discussions with many of the young about the nature of American life styles revealed the extent to which their judgments, particularly in regard to American material possessions, were affected by the goods and life styles which they saw as readily available to Americans. Yet some adolescents, of both sexes and all age groups, were far more concerned than others with the acquisition of "high prestige" American items (e.g., blue jeans, cigarettes, cassette recorders). Furthermore, in the perceptions of some, particularly younger adolescents and children, despite the fact that certain career possibilities existed in both Romania and the United States, to pursue a specific career in the
United States was considered to be far more exciting than to follow it in Romania. An example of this was the young person who wanted to be an airplane pilot only if he could be an American airplane pilot. (PO)

The repertorial grid results indicated a somewhat greater degree of adolescent identification with being "typically American" and "As I would like to be" over being "typically Romanian" with the same construct (Table 19). Males in the lower and mid-teens also identified slightly more with wanting to be American than with Romanian identification, but this tendency dropped slightly in the older male group. Females had far fewer significant correlations with these constructs, which may be due not to lower aspirations, but to evidence that the major American role models are almost entirely male-dominated. (RG)

Some information in the focused interview responses on the differences between Romanian and American youth also showed that some young Romanians were openly envious of the material possessions and life styles which they felt the American youth enjoyed. The desire to own "cars, swimming pools, computers, cassette recorders" and other goods commonly considered to be possessed by many young Americans was an often-voiced wish. (FI).

Finally, the overall positive or negative mood of each film may be seen as an indicator of the young filmmaker's feelings about the differences in the "reality" of the two nations and the resulting aspirations which are not being met. (S/F)
Limitations of Pre-planned Media Policies

The issue of whether media policies will be influenced by elements outside the realm of the decision-makers' control was explored via hypothesis XIII.

XIII. In spite of pre-planned media policies established by the decision-makers, other circumstances will influence both the choices and the influences they have.

This hypothesis was strongly supported by the comments of some of the decision-makers in Bucharest, who acknowledged that although they can weed out films and programs which they feel possess overtly detrimental characteristics, they cannot control all the information or the interpretations of material which viewers will make. Some explained that they have to choose given the overt implications of the content, and hope that the subtler problematic messages will either be overlooked by the viewer, or be countered by information presented elsewhere in the system (e.g., schools, teachers, other media sources). In other words, the overall message that justice will triumph in Westerns and Disney cartoons is generally seen as outweighing the more subtle information that this adventure is occurring in a capitalistic context. In other words, the gatekeepers did not seem to agree with or be worried by Mattelart's fears of Walt Disney influences.

One very important research indication is that in spite of the most cautious, careful decision-making procedures, the decision-makers will still be limited in their choices as to (1) what is available, (2) what can be afforded, (3) what will be watched, and (4) what will be perceived by the Romanian viewers. On the other hand, a number of excellent, relatively inexpensive productions which hypothetically fit
the Romanian media criteria are also overlooked in favor of the Romanian selection of old Westerns and comedies. The reasons given for this situation are numerous, but each has its paradoxical side. These include (1) "the productions would not be understood by the audience," (2) "we do not know about them," (3) "the audience needs more entertainment," and (4) "we will provide philosophical/political programs as others are inappropriate." (RB)

National research conducted on Romanian viewing preferences also indicates that in spite of national programming priorities, people will watch what interests them in terms of certain film genres, types of programming on television, and productions from certain countries. In spite of efforts to promote films from other Socialist countries, the popularity of films from non-Socialist countries (e.g., the United States, Italy, Great Britain, India) surpasses the others in popularity and attendance. In spite of efforts to promote socio-political themes, people continue to attend adventure, action-oriented films. Furthermore, the implications of media research conducted elsewhere (Murray in Australia) are that audiences tend to get more selective in what they want to spend their time watching. (RB)

The influences which the media have, as indicated by the support given for the first twelve hypotheses presented in this chapter, depend largely on a variety of characteristics, notably age, sex, environment, education. In spite of decision-makers' various motivations for programming decisions, the manner in which the young act upon the information in the programs will differ somewhat from the media managers' expectations and wishes. The media in this capacity have a "leveling" effect.
While they may not result in an overt swing of values or opinions away from those of the system in which they are presented, they do seem to round out or balance the information available. The young people of Bușteni are not totally naive about the limitations of each system, as they appear, for the most part, to neither accept nor reject either system in totality. Many of the older adolescents were reflective in their preference for the combination of the positive aspects, as they see them, from both systems. Their philosophy, however, did not extend in adolescence to a deep consideration of the viability of mixing the two outlooks. Investigation of the contradictions of these perspectives, harbored in each adolescent's world outlook, would probably reveal their formative nature.

The Influence of American Films and Television in Romania

For the sake of clarity and general ease of reading, a summation of the key research findings are included for the reader's use. However, in summarizing and taking the information out of context, the risk of oversimplifying the relationship between the media and the people is great. The author maintains that it is better to understand this relationship in the more detailed context of the preceding chapters.

In terms of general conclusions on the nature of Romanian decision-making, the following observations are made. Although films and television programs seen in Romania are officially selected to support Socialist objectives, the demand for entertainment programming is growing and decision-makers recognize the demand. Nonetheless,
there are limitations on what American films and programs the Romanians want to acquire and can afford to acquire. The content of many American programs is not acceptable by Romanian standards, and the cost of many of those that are puts them out of the range which can be afforded by the Romanians. There is a great deal of frustration on the part of decision-makers with the export-import situation as it currently exists. Nevertheless, sizeable quantities of American programs are imported and are highly popular with Romanian audiences,* although the numbers fluctuate.

The popularity of American films and television programs seems to lie in several areas. American films are "more interesting" and "more exciting" to Romanian youths than many of the Romanian films and are often preferred over other foreign imports, like Indian and Japanese films. One reason appears to be familiarity with American techniques and genres. Furthermore, American films are usually easy to understand, in many cases with little or no translation (Romanian adolescents could reproduce the formulas in their films quite easily). The action orientation, traditional formats, and clear-cut messages of American films seem to be the reason for their success in Romanian culture, but some Romanians feel American media give only superficial treatment of complex issues.

*One incident which the researcher learned about upon returning to the United States was that Peter Falk of the Colombo series, extremely popular in Romania, had been asked by the Romanian government (through the intermediary of the then U.S.I.A. and the U.S. Department of State) to tape a small message for Romanian audiences. This message, i.e., that more Colombo episodes would be forthcoming, apparently was used to insure the Romanian viewers, disturbed by the absence of the program on television, that the government had not cancelled the program.
Romanian adolescents indicate that films, television programs and music are their most important sources of information about the United States (surpassing other influences like parents, schools, books). Children and young people learn specific kinds of information from American films and television programs which seem to be acquired in bits and pieces. This image is not without its contradictory or paradoxical aspects. Often, the characteristics seen in American media are visibly imitated by adolescents in public, including speech (American slang), dress (blue jeans), and personal habits (smoking American cigarettes). Most adolescents can easily identify photographs of American film and television personalities and choose them as hero/heroine figures. Many Romanian youth in the mid- to late teens express the desire to "be like Americans," although this attitude seems to change with age. Yet adolescent behavior in Romania, especially rejection of authority, interest in sex, personalities, action, concern for the future, is consistent with adolescent behavior elsewhere in the Western world. This seems to be a matter of acculturization of which media are an important part of the experience.

Yet in terms of the acculturization process, the "American myth," as seen in films and television programs from the U.S., seems to be accepted to the degree that aspects of the myth conform to already existing beliefs of the viewers established by home, school, and state. The preferences for different films, programs, and personalities differ with age, sex, education, and other variables.

Finally, in terms of what is perceived in the media, it is evident that although a state may control what is seen, it cannot control
what is perceived. For example, American films may portray a great amount of violence, racism, and other social evils, but many positive perceptions are apparently acquired. Furthermore, while the influences mentioned above can be documented, American media cannot be said to be radically eroding the cultural heritage of the young in Romania. Such influence is affected by the time, place, and changing social and personal conditions of the subjects.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1 B. Reeves, "Children's Understanding of TV People" (n.p., n.d.).


3 Reeves, "Children's Understanding of TV People."


5 J. Murray and S. Kippax, paper on television influence on Children in Three Australian towns.
CHAPTER 7

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Research Limitations

The research methodology was successful in generating evidence to test several of the research hypotheses. The detailed and informative data generated by the methodology leaves little doubt that there is a need for field studies in communication which use multiple methods to explore the unique and difficult aspects of complex human situations which do not lend themselves to purely statistical methods. The usefulness of the gaming aspects of the methodology in attracting respondents made it particularly helpful in the study of the media and the young. In general, it is felt that the methodology of this study could be effectively adapted in other cultural settings, although it is not without important limitations. In the first place, there are logistic, economic, and political variables which cannot be completely controlled (although there are not problems unique to field research). There are human factors involved—the nature of the investigator, the nature of the subjects—which may make the specific findings difficult to replicate; however, the multiple methods approach permits an internalized means of cross-checking results.

Although many of the specific setbacks and problems have been discussed in Appendix F, the prospective intercultural field researcher
should be aware of the following limitations of this methodology:

1. The participant-observation approach is not, and cannot be, totally objective, nor does the researcher pretend otherwise. However, this limitation may be said to exist of all research methods.

2. Depending on the researcher's knowledge of the culture to be studied (including the language), the methodological implementation may require several months of time.

3. Certain aspects of the methodology may appeal to certain age groups over others (e.g., repertorial grids for older respondents, the making of films for younger).

4. Certain elements may require careful supervision or may have to be discarded in the field situation (e.g., the still photography project). These potential problems are difficult to estimate ahead of time.

5. The methodology may have to be expanded or reduced in certain areas, depending on social, political, and cultural aspects of the environment (e.g., the discarding of the managerial survey).

6. The findings, in certain cases, may not be able to be fully documented in order to protect the privacy of the human subjects involved (e.g., the confidential information given in interviews).

7. The interpretation of certain findings (e.g., the films and photographs) will be subjective. This is particularly true in the case of visual information since there is still no taxonomy of photography, film, or television imagery.

8. While comparative studies may be made using the methodology, other complex variables including the background of the researcher, the inevitable changes in the situation studied, changes in the nature and
content of the stimulus material (films, television, program changes) and time will effect the results.

Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations, the same general human behavior related to the process of communication through media would predictably be substantiated along the lines indicated in this (and other similar) intercultural studies. The details and specifics may vary, but the general findings would probably be very consistent.

The use of participant observation in Romania was justified in the researcher's attempt to study the phenomena from a Romanian societal point of view, because it avoided the imposition of the hierarchy of values apparent or implied in formal questionnaires and other research methods. This was particularly useful in a nation like Romania which has experienced a "missionary" mentality from other nations and feels it needs to be assessed with recognition of its own proposed value system.

Another problem was researcher presence in the Romanian community. A foreign participant-observer is hardly unobtrusive in some relatively closed cultures, as it is quite evident that the intruder's purpose is research. Even if attempts are made to conceal the status, at the very least, various rumors may start to circulate about the researcher. At best, these may be highly entertaining and supportive of the research; at worst, they could result in cancellation.

Many Romanians, it should be noted, expect to be researched as an intrinsic part of living within their social system: inspectors and planners associated with the government research people to find out what is needed; councils research residents to find out their ideas;
cinema operators research spectators to find out what films are enjoyed most; television and radio researchers poll and survey listeners to find out changes in attitude. Consequently, this may work to the researcher's advantage where, as in the present study, Romanians are used to responding and feel, to a certain extent, that it is their duty to respond. On the other hand, it may work to the researcher's disadvantage if the people feel they have had enough, and start to avoid the researcher.

A final problem with use of the participant observation approach in Romania is that although the official letters or permits allow the investigator to undertake the research in theory, local officials or those in charge of areas controlled by other ministries may refuse to cooperate. These setbacks may be occasionally overcome by sensitive, understanding explanations of the value of the research and its specific requirements. However, on occasion, for reasons known or unknown, the situation may become a blind alley, and no amount of pleading, cajoling, haranguing, discussion, or argumentation will open the doors. The solution may come in this situation from working one's way to the top (or starting there and working down, if the researcher is lucky), but the top is often precisely where the doors are closed. This problem occurs in dealing with any bureaucracy; its impact seems to be increased, however, when the researcher is a guest in a country and is dependent on the official channels of access.

Another limitation of the research methodology in Romania was failure to gather evidence on certain qualifiers which were needed for the hypotheses. The credibility factor of American films and television programs is one area that the components could not adequately investigate.
The likelihood of differentiation and modification of American images was another issue beyond the resources of the methodology. The methodology did not permit assessment of aspects of the perceived "aspirations versus reality" gap suggested by a few of the components, nor did it uncover the way in which mimetic and suasory aspects of the media may be combined. These factors were not in the original conceptualization of the research hypotheses, however, and could be solved by expansion of the methodology.

One final problem involved a research element originally included in the methodological structure which had to be omitted for lack of time and equipment. The filmmakers and other young people of Busteni were to participate in a showing of the films generated in the community, after which they were going to discuss whether or not they felt the films were accurate portrayals and other questions. The lack of this "community feedback" is an important shortcoming of the research in its present form. It is hoped that it will be resolved in a future reencounter with the community, which may provide some of the process information so visibly lacking in this research.

Some significant implications of the present research are included in the following sub-section.

**Media: Continuing the Trend as Intercultural Transmitters**

The first sentence of this text, that "Exchanges of information from one nation to another, from one region to another, from one culture to another, have been occurring between groups of human beings for millenia," could also be the concluding statement of this work, as it
Implies a process which is intrinsic to human nature. Cross-cultural communication and adaptation has been a condition of human social life since early times and will be primary to its survival and growth in the future.

The key differences between what occurred "back then" and what is occurring now lie in (1) the fact that the filtering mechanisms have changed to increasing reliance on technological media, and (2) the speed of social change which leaves little time for information to be assimilated before new material is presented. Human beings have not lost their capacity to deal with new and different perspectives coming from others, but the speed with which new ideas are disseminated makes coherent constructions about the rest of an increasingly complex world more difficult. Contradictions and paradoxes have always existed, but today an individual may be confronted by as many examples of these issues in a single film or television program as s/he might formerly have encountered in a lifetime. Selective perceptions may help channel the confusing, contradictory messages, but they cannot completely eliminate them.

Furthermore, the media in their new and proliferating forms simulate reality in forms which make them difficult to evaluate. When information was passed by word of mouth or by the written word, there were obvious ambiguities in the interpretations. The addition of visual imagery brought the media potentially one step closer to versimilitude, although many of the same ambiguities still exist. In spite of the demonstrated importance of the electronic media as intercultural transmitters, they should not be made into intercultural scapegoats. To do
so is to overlook the implications of the research findings for the problems involving viewers and intercultural communication. The importance of the electronic media as intercultural transmitter should, however, generate an awareness of the importance of educating our media-makers to be sensitive to the manner in which the media work interculturally. To operate without this awareness results in the frequently encountered "tunnel" vision which seems to characterize many images, especially those which are seen abroad.

The Relationship of Viewers and Intercultural Media Content

One widely recognized problem and concern of contemporary man is the so-called erosion of the basic philosophies which mold his outlook on the world, or "world view." It is inaccurate, however, to contend that this erosion is new or that it is more extensive. Philosophers since Aristotle (e.g., St. Augustine, Hegel, Marx, Rousseau), and in all likelihood before, have contended that people's philosophies were on a "downhill" trend, and expounded deterministic solutions for changing that direction.

The primary difference today is that the perceived sources of these changes and the speed with which they occur have again been attributed to the media. Once, terms like "faith" helped us accept the gaps and paradoxes of our construction of reality, but our ability to rely on this has been severely tested. A new philosophical orientation to explanation, known as "analytical" or "scientific" reasoning, has challenged older forms of faith. (The fact that this philosophy demands its own form of faith is an intriguing area of consideration that will
not be explored here.) With the increasing dominance of this philosophy, advocates of the old-style concept of faith frequently have to defend it. Yet it should not be forgotten that the sands have shifted more than once—they may shift again if nothing else adequately fills the void. At times, humans seem to swing back and forth between being too devoted to analysis or too devoted to myth. Some cultures (or individuals) seem to have alleviated the cultural stress by allowing the two tendencies to operate side by side without too much intercriticism or scrutiny.

In most contemporary societies, the myths of the cultures keep resurfacing in many unexpected ways which can be traced in the groups' cultural histories again and again. The affinity which Romanians have, through their cultural heritage, to the Romans, and the Dacians before them, illustrates the point: it does not particularly matter whether the legends are supported by evidence or not, they are one Romanian source for meeting the challenges of other cultures in a self-protective way. To that end, the identity helps function as a base philosophy with fewer problems than if the religious or political philosophies were in operation by themselves.

Yet the fact remains that humans are inevitably being "acculturated," with bits and pieces of other cultures, into evolving new cultures. The conditioning factors of time, state of society, international relations, and the nature of specific methods are important in predicting the rate and direction of such acculturation. Attempts to "close" societies to all influences may succeed for a time, but they are only temporary in the long run. The question of who is most likely to
initiate or aid in these changes involves conclusions concerning the socialization of the young. Policy-makers will have to address themselves seriously to understanding the reasons these communication needs occur.

Adolescents and Change

Young people are most likely to be motivated toward change, probably, in part, because they are less likely to "feel" the sense of the past that the elders share. The ways in which the young are motivated also apparently differ; they do not remember the "good old days" which influence many of the older cultural members in the same environment.

Consequently, the young people in a culture may be diametrically opposed to tradition, although the evidence suggests that those intercultural perspectives generate more balanced viewpoint about the inefficient/paradoxical nature of other cultures in many young people: they provide a mirror for reflecting back on the nature of the home culture.

Romanian youth respond to American media by taking the stimuli and modifying them through their own cultural value systems. The overall effect is neither totally negative, positive, or neutral. The American media may create some rising expectations and frustrations and add some fuel to social dissatisfaction, but these developments will not be exclusive of other influences.

Adolescents are apparently the segment of the Romanian population to which American characteristics are most likely to appeal. Nevertheless, they may be even more discriminating in their enthusiasm
for American values than some of the older adults who have completely "idealized" the American way of life. It appears that the adolescents use American heroes and values most during that part of life when they want to be different, with the extreme polarization tendencies of youth. Other socializing influences eventually help integrate the youth within the society; the extent to which this occurs varies from person to person.

In listening to the conglomerations of stereotypes, myths, and values explicated by the young people of Bușteni, I found myself at first responding to some of their seemingly distorted conceptions of American culture with concealed humor. Their interpretations seemed remote from my experiences with American culture. With time, however, I started thinking about the implications at the base of their thoughts—not about the inflated figures or examples they gave, but about the lack of integration apparent in their perspectives. I came to the realization that in some respects these young people had a more balanced perspective in being able to accommodate what seemed like massive contradictions than most American adolescents have about their own culture in relation to other cultures. Perhaps we should consider more carefully the possibility that the comparative lack of information from foreign media which American adolescents encounter might be ultimately hurting their ability to interact with other cultures and deal with paradoxes of this nature.

Media Policy Implications

In some ways, the paradoxes apparent in the influences of the American media correspond to the paradoxes that decision-makers in
Bucharest face in creating adequate media policies for the nation. On the one hand, some aspects of American life are appealing, while other aspects are incompatible with Romanian cultural standards. How to filter the "good" from the "bad" is their dilemma; the fact that certain other information not in their interest slips through is currently a given, according to the research evidence.

There are three methods by which national decision-makers may initiate a balancing tendency. One, adapted to a certain extent in the Socialist nations, particularly in Romania, is selective programming, which floods the viewers with the weaknesses of competitive socioeconomic systems. This works as long as a certain credibility of the information is maintained. The second is to permit widespread availability of information, both negative and positive in content. Either policy will result in some positive and some negative interpretations of the other culture, and these will vary from individual to individual. A third policy which is becoming far more prevalent in many nations is to increase the amounts of materials and channels from other international sources. As more media products become available from other nations, the tendency to rely to a great extent on the American market will decrease. Also, as the audiences become more discriminating, the simplistic American sitcoms and adventure shows which now flood the international market may become less appealing than other program formats.

It is likely, however, that Americans will remain among the top innovators in the media. American desire for greater diversity at home has already led to the use of cable or multiple channels in many areas. Smaller nations remain limited in the extent to which they can
afford to diversify: the Romanians, at the most, will have two nation­wide television channels in the relatively near future, and there was little evidence in interviews that cable was even being seriously con­sidered. With the limited programming capacity, Romanian policy-makers feel they can maintain more control over the quality of the media. The question is whether the Romanian people will increase their requests for greater programming variety. The writer believes this will occur.

An important condition of media acceptance is that if the material is boring and uninteresting, given audience expectations, viewers will eventually stop watching it. The research in Romania on American films and television programs, pointed to the interest and excitement they generated in the viewers, as well as the visual attrac­tiveness of the images. Although these traits have been established as a characteristic of American programs, other nations are beginning to generate program formats and ideas that are interesting to viewers with­out following the standard American media formulas. It is not a "given" that American programming will continue to be popular solely because it is "American."

Implications for Future Research

The heuristic value of the research is apparent from the ques­tions initiated by the evidence related to each research hypothesis in Chapter 6. This study is the proverbial "tip of the iceberg" in cross­cultural media research. Future research might utilize the same or similar methodology to compare:
1. in **different** nations, similar types of communities (e.g., the results of this dissertation in comparison with the Master's thesis research in France);

2. within the **same community**, different periods of time, studying the long-term influences and patterns of intercultural media;

3. different types of communities with the **same or similar cultural identities** (e.g., Bușteni in comparison with Bucharest).

Other areas of research which could significantly expand the conceptualizations incorporated in the hypotheses include:

1. the credibility factor of the American media, either on a comparative or intercultural basis, which would result in more effective predictions of media use and effect;

2. the nature of image differentiation and modification, i.e., the factors likely to affect the way in which intercultural stereotypes and myths are built and maintained;

3. a study of the mimetic/suasory aspects of interculturally-used films, using content analysis or other methods to examine possible structural tendencies involved in its use (i.e., the claim that American cartoons support the status quo);

4. the extent of the "aspirations versus reality" gap in a specific community; the factors which seem to modify the growth of the differences; and factors which seem to determine its presence, particularly in the young;

5. the effect of television characters on their cross-cultural counterparts in society, particularly on a comparative basis. For example, what effect does the image of the Romanian or French family
presented on television have on the image that family has of itself? What effect does the image of the American family (i.e., as presented in \textit{Peyton Place}, \textit{Bewitched}, \textit{Rich Man, Poor Man}) have on the family structure and behavior in other nations?

6. an image of a nation projected abroad as opposed to the same programs viewed within the national border.

In conclusion, the questions and answers incorporated in this text appear to have a substantial lifetime, particularly if they are further explored and expanded for information on the processes involved.

The systemic orientation has proved effective for understanding the broader societal perspectives in which intercultural media function. It would be useful if we could find a way of escaping the limitations of our linear perspective and begin to understand the relationships in a truly holistic manner. Our response to the elusive nature of intercultural communication must be to keep working on it, and it is hoped that future researchers will find this account at least as useful and informative as the author found the research experience itself to be.
APPENDIXES
APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF ROMANIAN TERMS*

american, -i, -a: American
Casa Pionierlor: Pioneer Clubhouse
câș: whey cheese
ciorbă: a form of sour soup, unique to Eastern Europe
Clubul Criticii: the (Film) Critics' Club
cofetarie: confectionary cafe
deștept: clever, intelligent
doamna: lady, "Mrs."
domnul: man, "Mr."
dulceata: a type of very sweet jam, usually served with water
"femeia de guma": "the chewing-gum woman"
grădiniță: kindergarten
haiduc, haiduci: outlaws of former times
ie: embroidered blouse
județ: county, district
leu, lei: Romanian currency
liceu: secondary school
mămăligă: cornmeal mush, a staple of the rural Romanian diet
mișto: very nice, fine (slang term from Gypsy language)
Partidul Comunist Roman: Romanian Communist Party
Pionierii: the Young Pioneers, children's socio-political group
prajitura: cake
primar: mayor
Radioteleviziunea Română: the Romanian broadcasting agency
Româniafilm: the Romanian film agency
scoala generală: elementary school
Șoimii Patriei: the "Falcons of the Fatherland," a socio-political
group for very young children
Telejurnal: evening televised news
țuica: strong plum liquor
Uniunea Tineretului Comunist (UTC: the Union of Communist Youth,
a socio-political group for adolescents and young adults

*Note: in Romanian grammar, the definitive article ("the") is indicated by placing an ending on the noun. Masculine nouns take "-ul" or "l" as an ending; feminine nouns usually change from "a" or "e" to an "a" ending. For example, "club" becomes "clubul" ("the club"), and "scoala" becomes "scoala" (the school). Masculine plurals are formed by adding "-i" to the word (i.e., american, americani).
## MATERIALS ON BUCHAREST DECISION-MAKING

### Table 24

**American Features First Shown in 1970**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film Title</th>
<th>Release Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actiunea Vulturul</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agsteapa pina Se Intuneca</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Baietii din Strada Pal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Banuiala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Departe de Lumea Dezlantuita</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fantasme</td>
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<td>Ghici Cine Vine la Cina?</td>
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<tr>
<td>In Arsita Noptii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Omul din Siera</td>
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<td>Pasarile</td>
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<tr>
<td>Petrecerea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarada</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sa Ucizi o Pasare Cintatoare</td>
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<td>Spendoare in Iarba</td>
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<tr>
<td>Statin pe Situatie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sunetul Muzicii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Umarirea</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>100 de Carabine</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18/158 films imported (11.4% of total imports)

**American Features Acquired for TV in 1970**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film Title</th>
<th>Release Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Adam Are Patru Fii</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adevarul, Numai Adevarul</td>
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<td>Agent Secret</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alice in Tara Minunilor</td>
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<tr>
<td>America, America</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arsenic si Dantela Veche</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aventurile lui Destry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aventurile lui Don Juan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baietii din Strada Pal</td>
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<td>Bonjour Tristesee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capitanul Blood</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50/166 films imported (30% of total imports)
American Feature Films First Shown in 1971
18/142 films imported
(12.7% of total imports)

Aeroportul - (Airport) 1969
Baieti Buni, Baieti Rai - (The Good Guys and the Bad Guys) 1969
Butch Cassidy si Sundance Kid - (Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid) 1968
Doisprezece Oameni Furiosi - (Twelve Angry Men) 1957
Dupa Vulpe - (After the Fox) 1965
Floarea de Cactus - (Cactus Flower) 1969
Hello Dolly! 1969
Love Story 1970
Marele Premiu - (Grand Prix) 1966
N-am Cindat Niciodata pentru Tata - (I Never Sang for My Father) 1970
Secretul din Santa Vittoria - (The Secret of Santa Vittoria) 1969
Secretul Planetei Maimutelor - (Beneath the Planet of the Apes) 1969
Si Ca Si Impusca, Nu-i Axa? - (They Shoot Horses, Don't They?) 1969
Sprijiniti-l Pe Serif - (Support Your Local Sheriff) 1968
Steaua de Tiniea - (The Tin Star) 1957
Tick, Tick, Tick 1969
Trenul - (The Train) 1964
100 de Dolari pentru Serif - (True Grit) 1969

American Features Acquired for TV in 1971
66/161 films imported
(41% of total imports)

Actiunea Vultural - (Operation Cross Eagles) ?
Balada pentru Johnny Ringo - (The Gunfighter) 1949
Batrinul si Marea - (The Old Man and the Sea) 1958
Calea Ce Mai Grea - (The Harder They Fall) 1965
Un Cartof, Doi Cartofi - (One Potato, Two Potato) 1964
Ce Sapte Magnifici - (The Magnificent Seven) 1960
Cercetasii din Texas - (Over the Hill Gang) 1970
Cfinele din Flandra - (A Dog of Flanders) ?
Cine l-a UCis pe Luo Barnes? - (The Monk) 1970
Cu Ochii Legati - (Blindfold) ?
Darul Dragostei - (Gift of Love) 1958
Declinul Familiei Amberson - (The Magnificent Ambersons) 1942
Defileul de Granit - (Garden of Evil) 1954
Desiree 1954
Destry - (Go Away Little Sheba) ?
Dosarul Secret - (Confidential Report) 1955
Draga Mea Clementine - (My Darling Clementine) 1946
Drumul Demnitatii - (The Big Heat) 1953
Fara Iesire - (No Way Out) 1950
O Femeie Distansa - (A Woman of Distinction) 1950

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fiul lui Frankenstein - (The Son of Frankenstein)</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghici Cine Vine la Cina - (Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?)</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gropite - (Dimples)</td>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingeri cu Fete Murdare - (Angels with Dirty Faces)</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Eyre</td>
<td>1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobenul - (Top Hat)</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joc de Cuburi - (Moment to Moment)</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnny Belinda</td>
<td>1948</td>
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<tr>
<td>Key Largo</td>
<td>1948</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kid Galahad</td>
<td>1937</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lancea Rupta - (The Broken Lance)</td>
<td>1954</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lantul - (The Defiant Ones)</td>
<td>1958</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lili</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunga Vara Fierbinte - (The Long Hot Summer)</td>
<td>1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mai Presus Decit Aurul - (The Hanging Tree)</td>
<td>1958</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marele Gatsby - (The Great Gatsby)</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marele Orologie - (The Big Clock)</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Stuart - (Mary of Scotland)</td>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moby Dick</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nechemat la Tarina - (Intruder in the Lust)</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numai Ingerii Au Aripi - (Only Angels Have Wings)</td>
<td>1954</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oameni Furiosi - (The Violent Men)</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatiunea Cicero - (Five Fingers)</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othello</td>
<td>1952</td>
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<tr>
<td>Patrula - (Bullet for a Badman)</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Podul Waterloo - (Waterloo Bridge)</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procesul Maimutelor - (Inherit the Wind)</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profesorul Distrat - (The Absent-Minded Professor)</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razbunarea - (The Bravados)</td>
<td>1958</td>
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<tr>
<td>S-a Intimpitat Mine - (It Happened Tomorrow)</td>
<td>1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa Ucizi O Pasare Cintatoare - (To Kill a Mockingbird)</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Șapte Mirese pentru Sapte Frati - (Seven Brides for Seven Brothers)</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarea Pamintului - (Salt of the Earth)</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saruta-ma Kate - (Kiss Me Kate)</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semnul lui Zoro - (The Mark of Zorro)</td>
<td>1940</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sint un Evadat - (I'm a Fugitive from a Chain Gang)</td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stan și Bran in Far West</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Suta de Barați și o Fată - (One Hundred Men and a Girl)</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot Orașul Vorbește - (The Whole Town's Talking)</td>
<td>1935</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ultimul Tren din Gun Hill - (The Last Train from Gun Hill)</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umarirea Cea Mare - (Buster Keaton shorts)</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Valsul Nemuritor - (The Great Waltz)</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Gogh - (Lust for Life)</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viva Zapata!</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zenobia</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zorba Grecul - (Zorba the Greek)</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
American Feature Films First Shown in 1972
32/169 films imported
(19% of total imports)

Am Incalcat Legea - (I Walk the Line) 1970
Balada lui Cable Hogue - (The Ballad of Cable Hogue) 1970
Rambi - animated film 1942
Binecuvântați Animalele și Copii - (Bless the Beasts and Children) 1971
Calareții - (The Horsemen) 1970
Un Candidat la Presidentie - (The Best Man) 1964
Daca E Márti, E Belgia - (If It's Tuesday, This Must Be Belgium) 1969
Descult in Parc - (Barefoot in the Park) 1967
Doamna și Vagabundul - (Lady and the Tramp) animation 1955
Eliberarea lui Lord Byron Jones - (The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones) 1970
Evadare din Planeta Maimutelor - (Escape from the Planet of the Apes) 1971
Ferma din Arizona - (The Big Country) 1958
Filia - (The French Connection) 1971
Incidentul - (The Incident) 1968
Inima E Un Vinător Singurății - (The Heart is a Lonely Hunter) 1968
Jocul de-a Moartea - (The Gypsy Moths) 1969
Locotenutul Bullitt - (Bullitt) 1968
Marea Evadare - (The Great Escape) 1963
Marea Speranța Alba - (The Great White Hope) 1970
Mary Poppins 1964
Micul Om Mare - (Little Big Man) 1970
Naufragiații in Spatiu - (Marooned) 1969
Prințivilații - (The Out-of-Towners) 1970
Secera Vintul Salbatic - (Reap the Wild Wind) 1942
Toamna Cheyennilor - (Cheyenne Autumn) 1964
Tora! Tora! Tora! 1970
Trei din Virginia - (Fools' Parade) 1971
Ultimul Razboinic - (The Last Warrior) 1969
Ursul Yogi - (Hey There, It's Yogi Bear) animation 1964
Vacanța la Roma - (Roman Holiday) 1953
Vedere de pe Pod - (A View from the Bridge) 1961
20,000 Leghe Sub Mari - (20,000 Leagues Under the Sea) 1954

Also seen was Casa de Sub Arbori (La Maison Sous les Arbres) with Faye Dunaway.
American Features Acquired for TV in 1972
55/242 film imported (including 4/17 serials)
(22.7% of total imports)

Agonie si Extez – (The Agony and the Ecstasy) 1965
Alerg După O Umbra Falsă – (Chase a Crooked Shadow) 1957
Aventurile Unui Tinar – (Hemingway's Adventures of a Young Man) 1962
Balada pentru Andy Crocker – (Ballad for Andy Crocker) ?
Bumerang – (Boomerang) 1947
Cele Trei Lume Ale lui Gulliver – (The Three Worlds of Gulliver) 1959
Cel Mai Mare Spectacol – (The Greatest Show on Earth) 1952
Cer Arzator – (Bonanza) ?
Cineva Acolo Sus Mai Iubeste – (Somebody Up There Likes Me) 1956
Un Cîstig cu Bucluc – (Jackpot) 1950
Comedianţii – (The Comedians) 1967
Corabia Nebunilor – (Ship of Fools) 1965
Cum sa furni un Milion – (How to Steal a Million) 1966
Draga Brigitte – (Dear Brigitte) 1965
Draga Mea Clementine – (My Darling Clementine) 1946
Dura Vulpe – (After the Fox) 1965
Evantaful – (The Fan) 1949
Expressul Colonelului von Ryan – (Von Ryan's Express) 1965
Fii si In dragostiti – (Sons and Lovers) 1960
Frica lege din ascunzis – (Fear Strikes Out) 1957
Hatari! 1961
In Arşita Noptii – (In the Heat of the Night) 1967
Jack si Pasolea Fermecată – (Jack and the Beanstalk) 1957
Jurnalul Anrei Frank – (The Diary of Anne Frank) 1959
La Cotitura Rîului – (Bend of the River) 1952
La Nord Prin Nord-Vest – (North by Northwest) 1959
M-am Indragostit de un Marină – (The Lady Takes a Sailor) 1949
Marele Premiu – (Grand Prix) 1966
Marty 1955
Menajeria de Sticla – (The Glass Menagerie) 1950
Ce Vorbeste Oraşul – (Talk of the Town) 1947
Chemarea Preriei – (Cowboy) 1954
Cine-i Vinovat
Comoara din Sierra Madre – (Treasure of the Sierra Madre) 1941
Confidente pe Perna – (Pillow Talk) 1943
Un Copac Creste in Brooklyn – (A Tree Grows in Brooklyn) 1949
Corsarul – (The Sea Hawk) 1940
De Unul Singur – (A Lonely Profession) 1957
Destry Revine – (Deputy for One Day) 1952
Doctor Socrates
Eşti Totul Pentru Mine – (You're My Everything) 1957
Eva – (Lady Eve) 1937
Fascinaţie – (Spellbound) 1945
Furia – (Fury) 1952
Gradina de Cretă – (The Chalk Garden) 1948
Hotarul Intumericului – (Edge of Darkness) 1951

(continued)
In Lumea Dansului - (Invitation to the Dance)
Minciuna - (Deception)
Modelul - (Cover Girls)
Musafirul Necunoscut - (The Unknown Guest)
N-ai Fost Niciodata Mai Frumoasă - (You Were Never Lovlier)
O Poveste Mexicana - (Ride the Pink Horse)
Prietenul Meu - (Stranger in My Arms)
Procesul de la Nurnberg - (Judgment at Nurnberg)
O Proprietarea Ciindata - (The Notorious Landlady)
Rascoala de pe Caine - (The Caine Mutiny)
Rebecca
Rio Bravo
Stan şi Bran, "Rudele Noastre" - (Our Relations)
Stan şi Bran Tiganî - (The Bohemian Girl)
Un Strugurie în Soare - (A Raisin in the Sun)
Temerarii - (The Proud Ones)
Trei Camarazi - (Three Camarades)
Valea Razbunării - (Vengeance Valley)
Viața lui Louis Pasteur - (The Story of Louis Pasteur)
Vin Ploile - (The Rains Came)
Viva Villa!
Zapezile de pe Kilimanjaro - (The Snows of Kilimanjaro)
O Zi la Curse - (A Day at the Races)
Muzicantul - (Muzikant) Bulgaria-U.S.A. co-production 1966
Omul din Umbra - (Pay the Devil) 1957
Ore de Cumpăna - (The Desperate Hours) 1955
Fantofiorul de Cristal - (The Glass Slipper) 1955
Pasarea Phoenix - (The Flight of the Phoenix) 1965
Pinky
Recârim pentru un Boxer - (Requiem for a Heavyweight) 1962
San Antonio 1945
Secretul din Santa Vittoria - (The Secret of Santa Vittoria) 1969
Semnul lui Zorro - (The Mark of Zorro) 1940
Simpaticul Andrew - (Merry Andrew) 1958
Sora Carrie - (Sister Carrie) 1951
Statia Union - (Union Station) 1950
Steaua de Tinicîea - (The Tin Star) 1957
Trapez - (Trapeze) 1956
Triumful lui Tarzan - (Tarzan Triumphs) 1942
Ultima Caruta - (The Last Wagon) 1955
Virginia City 1940
100 de Baieti si o Fata - (One Hundred Men and a Girl) 1937

American serials

Invadatorii (?)
Mannix
Pierduti in Spatui - (Lost in Space)
Planeta Gigantilor - (Planet of the Giants)
David Cooperfield (?)
Tubire, Ura, Tubire - (Love, Hate, Love)(American ?)
American Feature Films First Shown in 1973
34/167 films imported
(20% of total imports)

Acea Pisica Blestemată - (That Darn Cat!) 1965
Adio Arme - (A Farewell to Arms) 1957
Aventura lui Poseidon - (The Poseidon Adventure) 1972
Buna Seara, Doamna Campbell - (Buona Seara, Mrs. Campbell) 1968
Cartea Junglezi - (The Jungle Book) animated film 1967
Ce Se Intimpla, Doctore? - (What's Up, Doc?) 1972
Cind Legendele Mor - (When Legends Die) 1972
Copii Capitanului Grant - (In Search of the Castaways) 1962
Cowboy - (The cowboys) 1971
Cu Cartile pe Fata - (Showdown) 1973
Doi pe un Balansoar - (Two for a Seesaw) 1962
Domnului Profesor, Cu Dragoste - (To Sir, With Love) 1966
Drumul Spre Vest - (The Way West) 1967
Efectul Razelor Gama Asuprăt Craitelor - (The Effect of Gamma Rays on Man-in-the-Moon Marigolds) 1972
Fantoma lui Barba Neagra - (Blackbeard's Ghost) 1967
Fluturii sint Liberi - (Butterflies are Free) 1972
Grabiti Apusul Soarelui - (Hurry Sundown) 1966
Infailibilul Raffles - (The Barefoot Executive) 1970
Joe Kidd 1972
Legenda Negrului Charlie - (The Legend of Nigger Charley) 1972
Marele Vals - (The Great Waltz) 1972
Misiunea Secreta a Maiorului Cook - (The Escape of the Bird Men) 1972
Monte Carlo - (Monte Carlo or Bust) 1968
Nici un Moment de Plicileseala - (Never a Dull Moment) 1968
Un Om In Salbaticie - (A Man in the Wilderness) 1971
Omul din La Mancha - (Man of La Mancha) 1972
Organiza^ia - (The Organization) 1971
Paridisul - (Fat City) 1972
Pe Aripile Vintului - (Gone With the Wind) 1939
Pisica Junglei - (The Jungle Cat) documentary 1965
Rond de Noapte - (The New Centurions) 1972
Salbatica Alba - (White Wilderness) documentary 1958
Tara Salbatica - (The Wild Country) 1970
Umarire la Amsterdam - (Puppet on a Chain) 1971

American Features Acquired for TV in 1973
51/221 films imported
(23% of total imports)

Alice in Tara Minunilor - (Alice in Wonderland) 1951
Adventurile lui Sherlock Holmes - (The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes) 1939
Baiatul de Mingii - (The Caddy) 1953
Blonda Vesela - (The Gay Divorcee) 1934
Calauza Caravanei - (The Wagonmaster) 1950

(continued)
Casablanca 1942
Cetateanul Kane - (Citizen Kane) 1941
Charlot Patineaza - (The Rink) 1916
Cocosatul de la Notre Dame - (The Hunchback of Notre Dame) 1939
Cum Se Crete un Copilas - (Bringing Up Baby) 1938
Diligenta - (Stagecoach) 1939
Doisprezece Oameni Furiosi - (Twelve Angry Men) 1957
Drumul Tutunului - (Tobacco Road) 1941
E Lung Drumul Spre Casa - (The Long Voyage Home) 1940
Fascinatie - (Spellbound) 1945
O Fata Draguta - (Nice Girl?) 1941
Folies Bergere 1935
Fructele Minici - (The Grapes of Wrath) 1940
Imi Amlntesc de Mama - (I Remember Mama) 1947
Inimi Zbuciumate - (Break of Hearts) 1935
La Amiaza - (High Noon) 1952
La Est de Eden - (East of Eden) 1955
Linistea Orașului Abilene - (Gunfight in Abilene) 1966
Locotenentul Bullitt - (Bullitt) 1964
Lumina de Gas - (Gaslight) 1944
Marea Expeditie a Femeilor - (Westward the Women) 1951
Marele Scott - (The Beloved Infidel) 1959
Mutra Nostima - (Funny Face) 1957
Orchestra de Cinci Parele - (The Five Pennies) 1959
Orgoliul Ambersonilor - (The Magnificent Ambersons) 1950
Orchideea Neagra - (Black Orchid) 1958
Panica pe Strada - (Panic in the Street) 1950
Partenerii - (The Stooge) 1951
Plugul si Stelele - (The Plough and the Stars) 1936
Prietena Mea Flicka - (My Friend Flicka) 1943
Salbatic E Vintul - (Wild is the Wind) 1957
Saminta Rara - (The Rare Breed) 1965
Serenada din Valea Soarelui - (Sun Valley Serenade) 1941
Spartacus 1960
Stan si Bran in Tara Jucarilor - (Babes in Toyland) 1934
Stan si Bran—Oamenii Orchestra - (Jitterbugs) 1943
Testamentul - (Adam had Four Sons) 1941
Texasul de Pe^te Girla - (Texas Across the River) 1966
Tot Orașul Vorbeste - (The Whole Town's Talking) 1935
Trenul - (The Train) 1964
Urmaritorii - (The Trackers) 1938
Valsul Nemuritor - (The Great Waltz) 1961
Va Place Brahms? - (Good-bye Again) 1958
Vikingii - (The Vikings) 1964
Vizita - (The Visit) 1955
Wichita
American Feature Films First Shown in 1974
25/148 films imported
(17% of total imports)

Alexandru Macedon - (Alexander the Great) 1955
Atac Impotriva lui Rommel - (Raid on Rommel) 1970
Aurul Negru din Oklahoma - (Oklahoma Crude) 1972
Bani de Buzunar - (Pocket Money) 1972
Calutul Roib - (The Red Pony) 1973
Cat Ballou 1965
Ce Drum Sa Alegi? - (What a Way to Go) 1964
Cidul - (El Cid) 1960
Cîntecul Norvegiei - (Song of Norway) 1970
Cleopatra 1963
Le Mans 1971
Locotenent Colombo - (Ransom for a Dead Man) 1971
Marinarul Extraordinar - (The Extraordinary Seaman) 1968
Micul Dejun la Tiffany - (Breakfast at Tiffany's) 1961
Misterioasa Prabusire - (Fate is the Hunter) 1964
Misterul Vasului "Mary Deare" - (The Wreck of the Mary Deare) 1959
Plimbere in Ploaia de Primavara - (A Walk in the Spring Rain) 1970
Rio Lobo 1970
Rîul Roșu - (Red River) 1948
Sufletul Negrlui Charley - (The Soul of Nigger Charley) 1973
Tom Sawyer 1973
Valea Prafului de Pușca - (The Sheepmen) 1958
50,000 Doliari Recompensa - (The Train Robbers) 1972

American Features Acquired for TV in 1974
46/211 films imported
(22% of total imports)

Anna Christie 1930
Binecuvântăti animalele si copii - (Bless the Beasts and the Children) 1971
B ufonul Regelui - (The Court Jester) 1965
Bulevardul Amurgului - (Sunset Boulevard) 1950
Calaretul Singurație - (The Lonely Man) 1957
Capcana - (The Trap) 1959
Cariéra - (Career) 1959
Cavalerii Mesei Rotunde - (Knights of the Round Table) 1953
Cel Mai Mare Comic al Lumii - (The Finniest Man in the World) 1969
Cetățea din Mare - (City Under the Sea) 1965
Charly 1968
Comanșii - (The Comancheros) 1962
Dilema Șerifului - (The Hangman) 1958
Dodge City 1939
Dragul Meu Charlie - (My Sweet Charlie) 1969

(continued)
Editie Specială - (Deadline) 1952
Eliberarea lui L. B. Jones - (The Liberation of L. B. Jones) 1970
Florarea de Cactus - (Cactus Flower) 1969
Grand-Hotel
Hamurile - (The Harness) 1955
Insula Mysterious Island - (The Mysterious Island) 1960
La Volan... Gino Borghesa - (The Racer) 1954
Love Story 1970
O Lume Nebună, Nebună, Nebună - (It's a Mad, Mad, Mad World) 1963
Marea Mascăză - (The Big Carnival) 1951
Niciodata - (The Silent Gun)?
Omul Care a ucis pe Liberty Valance - (The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance) 1962
Parisul Vesele - (Gay Paris) animated film 1972
Peripețiile lui Josie - (The Ballad of Josie) 1967
Printul Actorilor - (The Prince of Players) 1955
Puiul - (The Yearling) 1946
Regina Feciora - (The Virgin Queen) 1955
Sa-Intimplat la Boot Hill - (Showdown at Boot Hill) 1958
Scurta Fericire a lui Francis Macomber - (The Macomber Affair)?
Si Cați Se Impusca, Nu-i Asa? - (They Shoot Horses, Don't They?) 1969
Splendoare in Iarba - (Spendor in the Grass) 1961
Stan și Bran Detectivi de Ocazie - (The Big Noise) 1944
O Sută de Dolari pentru Serif - (True Grit) 1969
Taticu Are Picioare Lungi - (Daddy Long Legs) 1955
Tinutul Prafului de Aur - (Powder River) 1954
Trecere de Noapte - (Night Passage) 1957
Ultima Carte - (The Rawhide Years) 1956
Unora le Place Jazz-ul - (Some Like It Hot) 1959
Verisoara mea Rachel - (My Cousin Rachel) 1953
Ziua Cailor Salbatici/Inadaptații - (The Misfits) 1961

American Feature Films First Shown in 1975
34/174 films imported
(20% of total imports)

A Fost Odata un Hollywood - (That's Entertainment) 1974
A Inceput la Neapole - (It Started in Naples) 1960
Aventurile lui Huckleberry Finn - (The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn) 1974
Cei Mai Frumoși Ani - (The Way We Were) 1973
Cele Mai Bune Momente cu Stan și Bran - (The Best of Laurel and Hardy) --
Conrack 1974
Evadatul - (Breakout) 1975
Ferma lui Cameron - (Ride Vaquero) 1975
Fluvival fara Intoarcere - (River of No Return) 1954
Hoinarii - (The Reivers) 1969
Infringerea lui Wilkinson - (The Violent Man) 1955

(continued)
J. D. Cahill - (Cahill, U.S. Marshall) 1973
Jerry Traficantul - (The Big Mouth) 1967
Legea Preriei - (Tribute to a Bad Man) 1956
Luminele Rampei - (Limelight) 1952
Marea Cursa - (The Great Race) 1965
Marele Gatsby - (The Great Gatsby) 1974
Mireasa lui Zandy/Logodnica lui Zandy - (Zandy's Bride) 1974
Omul din Laramie - (The Man from Laramie) 1955
Piciul - (The Kid) 1921
Rafuila - (The Sons of Katie Elder) 1965
Recompensa Pentru Serif - (The Naked Spur) 1953
Școala Tinerilor Casatoritori - (A Period of Adjustment) 1962
Serfundarea la Mare Adincime - (Death Dive) 1974
Se Mai Intempla Minuni - (Miracles Still Happen) 1975
Sperietoarea - (Scarecrow) 1973
Stralucirea Soarelui - (Sunshine) 1973
Teroare pe "Britannic" - (Juggernaut) 1974
Ultimul Pistolar din Cross Creek - (The Fastest Gun Alive) 1956
Un Barbat Fatal/Favoritul Doamnelor - (The Ladies' Man) 1961
Un Milion Pentru Jake - (Big Jake) 1971
Un Rege la New York - (A King in New York) 1957
Ziua Cea Mai Lunga - (The Longest Day) 1962

American Features Acquired for TV in 1975
55/240 films imported
(25% of total imports)

A Disparut O Nava - (Visit to a Small Planet) 1960
Bătrânul și Marea - (Old Man and the Sea) 1958
Casatorie: Anul I - (Marriage: First Year) ?
Cel Care A Invins Teama - (Edge of the City) 1957
Ce Se Intimpla, Doctore? - (What's Up, Doc?) 1972
Chitty Chitty Bang Bang 1968
Cântind în Ploare - (Sing'in' in the Rain) 1952
Cowboy - (The Cowboys) 1971
Drumul spre Soare/Fuga E Sanatoasa - (La Poudre d'Escampette) 1971
Eroica/Rebelul Magnific - (The Magnificent Rebel) 1960
Eroii de Telemark - (Heroes of Telemark) 1965
Fata Bătrînă - (The Old Maid) 1939
Filiera Franceză - (The French Connection) 1971
Frunze de Toamnă - (Autumn Leaves) 1955
Ghicî cine vine la Cîina - (Guess Who's Coming to Dinner) 1967
Botii de Vite din Colorado - (Colorado Cattle Caper) ?
In Nord spre Alaska - (North to Alaska) 1960
Intoarcerea Acasa - (Hired Hand) 1971
Intre el Alamein si Tobruk - (Death Race) ?
Lantul - (The Defiant Ones) 1958
Maiorul Cook/Misiunea Secreta a Maiorului Cook - (The Escape of the Birdmen) 1972

(continued)
American Feature Films First Shown in 1976

32/167 films imported
(20% of total imports)

Aeroport '75 - (Airport '75) 1974
Alice Nu Mai Locuieste Aici - (Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore) 1974
Cei Trei Misketeari - (The Three Misketeers) 1973
Circul - (The Circus) 1928
Comoara Rechinilor - (Shark's Treasure) 1975
Contele de Monte Cristo - (Count of Monte Cristo) ?
Conversatia - (The Conversation) 1974
Coruptie pe Autostrada - (White Line Fever) 1975
Cursa Grea - (Take a Hard Ride) 1975
Darling Lili 1969
Dictatorul - (The Great Dictator) 1940

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expresul Bulgarilor de Zapada - (Snowball Express)</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filiera II - (French Connection II)</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fratiorul - (The Kid Brother)</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspectorul Brannigan - (Brannigan)</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intoarcerea Panterei Roz - (The Return of the Pink Panther)</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luptatorul din New Orleans: Vremuri Grele - (The Streetfighter/Hard Times)</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micul Indian - (One Little Indian)</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Majestyk</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Fereastrea spre Cer/Celalalt Versant al Muntelui - (A Window to the Sky/The Other Side of the Mountain)</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orient-Express - (Murder on the Orient-Express)</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papillon</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasarii de Prada - (Birds of Prey)</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinocchio - (animated film)</td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parații din Metro - (The Taking of Pelham 1, 2, 3)</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisicile Aristocrate - (Aristocats) animated film</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porumbelul - (The Dove)</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prima Pagina - (The Front Page)</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prizonierul din Manhattan - (Prisoner of 2nd Avenue)</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tara Indepartata - (The Far Country)</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas Dincolo de Riu - (Texas Across the River)</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un Cintec pe Broadway - (Funny Lady)</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**American Features Acquired for TV in 1976**

38/172 films imported  
(22% of total imports)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aeroportul - (Airport)</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Fost Odata un Hollywood - (That's Entertainment!)</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atac Impotriva lui Rommel - (Raid on Rommel)</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calutul Roib. - (The Red Pony)</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casablanca</td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cei Mai Frumoși Ani - (The Way We Were)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cîntecul Norvegiei - (Song of Norway)</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citadel - (The Citadel)</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comoara din Sierra Madre - (The Treasure of the Sierra Madre)</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confuzie de Persoana/Acuzat fără vina - (The Wrong Man)</td>
<td>1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuvânt Contrâ Cuvânt - (The Sheriff)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darling Lili</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draga Mea Clementine - (My Darling Clementine)</td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goana dupa aur - (The Gold Rush)</td>
<td>1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grabiți Apusul Soarelui - (Hurry Sundown)</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hello, Dolly!</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hombre</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Batrînul Chicago - (In Old Chicago)</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jucatorul - (The Great Sinner)</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine/Mostenitoaia - (The Heiress)</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacustele - (Locusts)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Lumea Minunata a fratilor Grimm&quot; - (The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm)</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Marea Evadare&quot; - (The Great Escape)</td>
<td>1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Misterioasa Prabusire&quot; - (Gate is the Hunter)</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Misterul Vasului &quot;Mary Deare&quot;&quot; - (The Wreck of the &quot;Mary Deare&quot;)</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;N-am Critat Niciodata pentru Tata&quot; - (I Never Sang for my Father)</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Oamenii Amurgului&quot; - (The Sundowners)</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Operatiunea Cockleshell&quot; - (Cockleshell Heroes)</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Pasarea Phoenix&quot; - (The Flight of the Phoenix)</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Prinsei Sub Apa&quot; - (Trapped Under the Sea)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Procesul Maimutelor&quot; - (Inherit the Wind)</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Rio Lobo&quot;</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Sarea Pamintului&quot; - (Salt of the Earth)</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Sunetul Muzicii&quot; - (The Sound of Music)</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Teroare pe Britanie&quot; - (Juggernaut)</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Un American la Paris&quot; - (An American in Paris)</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Unul din Pol&quot; - (Gunfight at Comanche Creek)</td>
<td>1963</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**American Feature Films First Shown in 1977**

25/171 films imported
(15% of total imports)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Adevărată Glorie&quot; - (Bound for Glory)</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Adevăratul Curaj&quot; - (Rooster Cogburn)</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Benji&quot;</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Cinci Detectivi la Micul Noapte&quot; - (Murder by Death)</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Comedie Muta 177&quot; - (Silent Movie)</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Din Lumea Cinematografului de Altadata&quot; - (Nickelodeon)</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Evadarea in Vitor&quot; - (Future World)</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Hindenburg&quot;</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Hollywood, Hollywood&quot; - (That's Entertainment II)</td>
<td>1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Johnny Chitara&quot; - (Johnny Guitar)</td>
<td>1954</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Legenda Şerifului din Tennessee&quot; - (Walking Tall)</td>
<td>1973</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Locotenentul McQ in Actiune&quot; - (McQ)</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Lumea Circului&quot; - (Circus World)</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Minie Race&quot; - (Fighting Mad)</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Onul Linistit&quot; - (The Quiet Man)</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ora Spectacolului&quot; - (It's Showtime/Paws, Claws, Jaws)</td>
<td>1976</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Paravanul&quot; - (The Front)</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Porunca Albastra&quot; - (The Blue Bird)</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Porunca Intunecată&quot; - (The Dark Command)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Rocky&quot;</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Salty&quot;</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Sfârșitul Legendei/Legenda Serifului din Tennessee, partea II-a&quot; - (Legend of the Lawman, part II, Walking Tall)</td>
<td>1976</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Solitarul de la Fortul Humboldt&quot; - (Breakheart Pass)</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Unde Infloresc Crinii&quot; - (Where the Lilies Bloom)</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Un Orașul în Texas&quot; - (Small Town in Texas)</td>
<td>1976</td>
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</table>
### American Features Acquired for TV in 1977

102/191 films imported (29 Laurel & Hardy)  
(53.5% of total imports)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adio Arme - (A Farewell to Arms)</td>
<td>1957</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apel Urgent/Chemâti N-777 - (Call Northside 777)</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appaloosa/Omul din Sierra - (The Appaloosa)</td>
<td>1966</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aurul Negru din Oklahoma - (Oklahoma Crude)</td>
<td>1977</td>
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<tr>
<td>Candidatul - (The Candidate)</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitanul Ianuarie - (Captain January)</td>
<td>1936</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cat Ballou</td>
<td>1965</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cei Mai Frumosi Ani Ai Vietii Noastre - (The Best Years of Our Lives)</td>
<td>1946</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cele Mai Bune Secvente cu Stan si Bran - (The Best of Laurel &amp; Hardy)</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Fierbinte/La Rece - (Medium Cool)</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversatia/Discutia - (The Conversation)</td>
<td>1974</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coruptie pe Autostrada - (White Line Fever)</td>
<td>1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drum Spre Marsilia - (Passage to Marseilles)</td>
<td>1944</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duel in Pacific/Iad in Pacific - (Hell in the Pacific)</td>
<td>1968</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dupa Faptal si Raspala - (One Good Turn)</td>
<td>1931</td>
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<td>Elizabeth si Essex - (The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex)</td>
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<td>Feciora - (The Young One)</td>
<td>1960</td>
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<td>Fratii Karamozov - (The Brothers Karamazov)</td>
<td>1957</td>
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<tr>
<td>Incolnit - (Cornered)</td>
<td>1945</td>
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<td>Infringerea/Ultima Orație - (The Last Hurrah)</td>
<td>1958</td>
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<td>Intinlire in Instanta - (Love Among the Ruins)</td>
<td>1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joe Kidd</td>
<td>1975</td>
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<td>Leul in Iarna/Leul larna - (Lion in Winter)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luptatori cu Focul/Luptatori Infernali - (Hellfighters)</td>
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<td>Marea Ocazie - (Living It Up)</td>
<td>1954</td>
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<td>Marea Speranta Alba - (The Great White Hope)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mica Printesa - (Little Princess)</td>
<td>1939</td>
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<tr>
<td>Micuta Broadway - (Little Miss Broadway)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mindru in Sa - (Tall in the Saddle)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Misiunea Speciala a lui David March - (I Deal in Danger)</td>
<td>1966</td>
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<td>Montana</td>
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<td>Monte Carlo - (Monte Carlo or Bust)</td>
<td>1968</td>
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<tr>
<td>Motanul Afurisit/Acea Pisica Blestemata - (That Darned Cat!)</td>
<td>1965</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nici un Moment de Plicteasa - (Never a Dull Moment)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oaile Aventuri ale lui Tarzan - (The New Adventures of Tarzan)</td>
<td>1935</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oamenii Guvernatorului - (All the King’s Men)</td>
<td>1949</td>
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<td>O Calatorie spre Centrul Pamintului - (Journey to the Center of the Earth)</td>
<td>1959</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ochii Luminosi - (Bright Eyes)</td>
<td>1934</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oraful FAR Masca - (The Naked City)</td>
<td>1948</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paradisul - (Fat City)</td>
<td>1972</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paravanul/Infruntarea - (The Front)</td>
<td>1976</td>
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(continued)
Planeta Maimuțelor - (Planet of the Apes) 1968
Povestea lui Buck/Chemarea Salbaticei - (Call of the Wild) 1935
Poveste din Cartierul de Vest - (West Side Story) 1961
Prima Pagina - (The Front Page) 1974
Profesorul Distrat - (The Nutty Professor) 1963
Rebecca - (Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm) 1938
Recumpensa - (The Reward) 1963
Rul Rosu - (Red River) 1948
Școala Tinerilor Casatoritori - (A Period of Adjustment) 1962
Serenada din Valea Soarelor - (Wum Valley Serenade) 1940
Sprijinii pe Șerif - (Support Your Local Sheriff) 1968
Stan și Bran Aviatori - (Flying Dueces) 1939
Stan și Bran Calatori - (Birth Marks) 1929
Stan și Bran Camarazi/Stan și Bran fac Curatenie - (Help Mates) 1931
Stan și Bran Contrabandisti - (Pardon Us) 1931
Stan și Bran Cumnați - (Twice Two) 1933
Stan și Bran Eroi Fara Voie - (Block Heads) 1936
Stan și Bran Gemini - (Our Relations) 1936
Stan și Bran in Filmul Sub Zero Grade - (Below Zero) 1930
Stan și Bran in Incurcatura - (Jitter Bugs) 1943
Stan și Bran în Permisie - (Men O'War) 1929
Stan și Bran în Țara Jucăriilor - (Babes in Toyland) 1934
Stan și Bran intr-o Noua Incurcatura - (Another Fine Mess) 1930
Stan și Bran la Lucru/Stan și Bran Dulgheri - (Busy Bodies) 1933
Stan și Bran la Munte - (Swiss Misses) 1938
Stan și Bran la Spital - (County Hospital) 1932
Stan și Bran Lupi de Mare - (Saps at Sea) 1940
Stan și Bran Profesori de Dans - (The Dancing Masters) 1943
Stan și Bran Regii Gafelor - (The Fixer Uppers) 1935
Stan și Bran Scoțieni - (Bonnie Scotland) 1935
Stan și Bran se Duc la Picnic - (A Perfect Day) 1929
Stan și Bran și Marele Zgomot - (The Big Noise) 1944
Stan și Bran și Planina Mecanica - (The Music Box) 1932
Stan și Bran Soldați - (Great Guns) 1941
Stan și Bran Studenți la Oxford - (A Chump at Oxford) 1940
Stan și Bran Toreadori - (The Bullfighters) 1940
Stan și Bran Vagabonzi - (Scram!) 1932
Țara Întinsă - (The Big Country) 1958
Tarzan în Exil - (Tarzan Finds a Son) 1939
Tarzan la New York - (Tarzan's New York Adventures) 1942
Tarzan Omul Junglei - (Tarzan and His Mate) 1935
Tarzan Omul Maimuta - (Tarzan the Ape Man) 1932
Tarzan și Amazoanele - (Tarzan and the Amazons) 1945
Tarzan și Sirena - (Tarzan and the Mermaids) 1945
Tarzan și Vinatorii - (Tarzan and the Huntress) 1947
Toamna Cheyenilor - (Cheyenne Autumn) 1964
Tora! Tora! Tora! 1970
Triumful lui Tarzan - (Tarzan Triumphs) 1942
Ultimul Razboinic - (The Last Warrior) 1969
Un Rege la New York - (A King in New York) 1957
Următire în Nord - (Northern Pursuit) 1943
Van Gogh - (Lust for Life) 1956
Vioara a Doua - (Second Fiddle) 1939
Viva Zapata! 1952
Zi Grea la Black Rock - (Bad Day at Black Rock) 1955
Ziua Delfinului - (The Day of the Dolphin) 1973
36 de Ore - (36 Hours) 1964

American Films Acquired by Româniafilm in 1978
(New and Reissued)

New Acquisitions

Silver Streak
Mr. Quilp
A Bridge Too Far
Moving Violation
Another Man Another Chance
Wild West (montaj)
New York, New York
The Prince and the Pauper
Scarlet Buccaneer
Capricorn One
Domino Principle
Coming Home
Wilderness Family

Reissues

Adventures of Robin Hood
Adventures of Don Juan
Gentleman Jim
Sea Hawk
Jezebel
Adventures of Mark Twain

American Television Serials Broadcast in Romania
January 1976-September 1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Baretta</td>
<td>14 episodes</td>
<td>July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bewitched</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Jan-Dec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Columbo</td>
<td>Bi-Monthly</td>
<td>Aug-Oct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daktari</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Jan-May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gentle Ben</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Aug-Dec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hound Cats</td>
<td>13 episodes</td>
<td>Nov 75-Jul 76</td>
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</table>

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>The Kingdom of It Could Be You</td>
<td>16 episodes</td>
<td>Jul-Oct</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kojak</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Mar-Jun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Magoo</td>
<td>5 episodes</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McCloud</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Jan-Feb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Out of the Inkwell</td>
<td>13 episodes</td>
<td>N.A.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Popeye Cartoons</td>
<td>30 episodes</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rockford Files</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Nov-Dec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walt Disney</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>1972-1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Bewitched</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brady Bunch</td>
<td>4 episodes</td>
<td>Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Columbo</td>
<td>Bi-monthly</td>
<td>Mar-May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flintstones</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Feb-Jul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gentle Ben</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Jan-Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kojak</td>
<td>Bi-monthly</td>
<td>Jan-May/Sep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laurel &amp; Hardy</td>
<td>40 films</td>
<td>Spring/-Dec</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lucas Tanner</td>
<td>4 episodes</td>
<td>Jun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McCloud</td>
<td>Bi-monthly</td>
<td>Jan-Feb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pebbles and Bam Bam</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Jul-Nov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police Woman</td>
<td>3 episodes</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shirley Temple</td>
<td>12 films</td>
<td>Winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tom and Jerry</td>
<td>16 episodes</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>3 episodes</td>
<td>Sep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yogi's Gang</td>
<td>15 episodes</td>
<td>Jul-Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Brady Kids</td>
<td>3 episodes</td>
<td>Jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hilarious Hundreds</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Jul-Sep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rich Man, Poor Man</td>
<td>32 episodes</td>
<td>Began Jul</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woody Woodpecker</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Jan-Sep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N.A. = Information Not Available*
Figure 5. Number and Percentage of American Films Selected for Theaters and for Television
Record doborit

În numărul trece, am reușit despre cineva văzut americană, Farrah Fawcett, locotă de unele sândace grea artași și de un stil protagonist. Acesta este, în termeni, un stil decadent, în secolul al XIX-lea. Membrii acestei societăți se reuneau în sălile de dans pentru a danza la muzica cântată. 


Smith, 520 de milioane de telespectatori... Nu mai e nevoie să fie emisă în direct, sau să-și ofere spectacol, în secolele acole de urmă. Smith și Cheryl Ting a făcut acest lucru eșuat în urmă cu câteva ani, dar s-a întors în parc sau plajă, în urmă cu câteva ani, și a vrut să facă un film-discó. 

Figure 6. Sample of Revista Cinema (Commentary on American Personalities)
APPENDIX C

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR ROMÂNIAFILM'S PUBLIC SURVEYS

Stimate spectator,

Completând cu atenție răspunsul la fiecare întrebare și depunând formulareul la casa de bilete, ne ajutați să cunoaștem opiniile dvs. privind această circumscripție a filmului, păreriile și propunerile asupra repertorului cinematografic, astfel încât în anul 1971 să putem veni mai mult în întâmpinarea preferințelor ce le aveți în ceea ce privește vizionarea filmelor. Răspunsurile le veți complete fiind încercând cifre de control, fie încercând citate, răspunsul cuvenit,

1. Unde locuiți? (localitatea,strada).
2. Care este locul dvs. de muncă?
3. Care este vârsta dvs.?
4. Care este sexul dvs.?
5. Câte studii aveți (superioare, medii, elementare)?
6. Sinteți căsătorit?
7. Câți copii aveți?
8. Aveți televizor?
9. Care cinematograf este mai aproape de locuința dvs.?
11. Cum la cât timp mergeți la cinematograf?

- zilnic
- o dată pe săptămână
- de două ori pe săptămână
- de patru ori pe săptămână
- de cinci ori pe săptămână
- o dată pe lună
- de două ori pe lună
- de trei ori pe lună
- de patru ori pe lună
- de cinci ori pe lună

(continued)

Figure 7. Sample Questionnaire
Figure 7 (Cont'd)

12. În care zile ale săptămânii, de preferință, mergeți la film?

- Duminică: ...
- Lună: ...
- Miercuri: ...
- Joi: ...
- Vineri: ...
- Sâmbătă: ...
- Duminică: ...
- Sâmbătă: ...
- Duminică: ...
- Lună: ...
- Miercuri: ...
- Joi: ...
- Vineri: ...
- Sâmbătă: ...
- Duminică: ...

13. Lăsă cine crezut că preferați să vizionați filme?

14. Ce vă place mai mult la cinematograful preferat?

15. Ce obiective aveți la artă în care sănătate servit ca spectațoar și la funcționarea cinematografulor din localitate?


17. Care actor, din cei văzut de dvs, pe ecran în 1970, îl considerați cel mai bun?

18. De ce acest actor îl considerați mai bun? Părea de cine?

19. În ce mod afișați dvs, de obicei, despre un film care rulează?

- Prin ziar: ...
- Le locul de muncă: ...
- De la prietenii: ...
- În familie: ...
- Le cinematograf: ...
- Le vizitarea din oraș: ...
- Prin programul "Ecran Prahoven": ...

20. Dacă un prieten sau coleg vă împărtășește o anumită părere despre un film, dvs. o temă și sau mergeți la film să vă convinceți personal?

(continued)
21. De unde și în ce mod ai decis să alegeți filmele de viziune? De apropiere variat de acest scop?

22. Care filme din sezonul mai 1970 și dori să revedei în 1971? Ce urmează să vedă?

23. In ce mod ai obținut bilete la locurile preferate la filmele mai mult solicitate?

24. În ce mod ai obținut bilete în viitor la filmele preferate? De propuneri în acest scop?

25. In ce mod și dori să obținăți bilete în viitor la filmele preferate? De propuneri în acest scop?
### Appendix D

**Perceptual Index Results**

De unde vin încălțările? Vădă în Statele Unite

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<td>Emissioni T.V.</td>
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<td>Agentii de Voiaj</td>
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*Figure 8. Perceptual Index Sample*
### Table 25

Children's Sources of Ideas about Life in the United States: Numbers

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<th>Unimportant</th>
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<td>Friends</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Family</td>
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N = 49 children from 7-11 years
M = males = 27
F = females = 22
### Adolescents' Sources of Ideas about Life in the United States

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**Table 26**

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<th>A = 12-14 years = 32</th>
<th>P = females = 37</th>
<th>B = 15-16 years = 21</th>
<th>N = 78</th>
<th>C = over 17 years = 25</th>
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<td>T 7 13</td>
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APPENDIX E

REPERTORIAL GRID MATERIALS

Table 27
Romanian and American Actors and Actresses

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<td>Stella Popescu</td>
<td>Julie Andrews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marga Barbu</td>
<td>Jane Fonda</td>
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<tr>
<td>Margareta Pogonat</td>
<td>Ingrid Bergman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gheorge Dinica</td>
<td>Marlon Brando</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colea Rautu</td>
<td>Charles Bronson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toma Caragiu</td>
<td>Charlie Chaplin</td>
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<td>Irina Petrescu</td>
<td>Faye Dunaway</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mircea Diaconu</td>
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<td>Mircea Albulescu</td>
<td>Gene Hackman</td>
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<td>Silvia Popovici</td>
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<td>&quot;Veronics&quot; (Lulu Mihaescu)</td>
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<td>Ilarion Ciobanu</td>
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Figure 9. Grid Sample
Table 28
Qualities Selected by Adolescents

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P = females
M = males
T = total
A = 12-14 years
B = 15-16 years
C = 17+ years
### Table 29

### Repertorial Grid

Relationship between the Quality and "Am"

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**Legend:**
- R = Romanian
- M = male
- A = 12-14
- C = 17
- P = American
- F = female
- 3 = 15-16
- T = 51
Table 30

Repertorional Grid

Relationship between the Quality and "Would Like"

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R = Romanian  M = male  A = 12-14  C = 17+  P = female  B = 15-16  T = 51
### Table 31

**Repertorial Grid**

**Relationship between Nationality and Qualities**

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</table>

R = Romanian  M = male      A =12-14  C = 17+
A = American   P = female    B =15-16  T = 61
APPENDIX F

RESEARCH PROBLEMS

In the middle of the research period, when all apparently was progressing smoothly, a string of misfortunes occurred which made us doubt that we would ever complete the entire research project. In the first place, the Haiducii, an American-Romanian folk dance group from the Ohio State University, arrived for a long-scheduled tour. The advisor to the tour, Rodica Botoman, was a long-time friend and my Romanian professor. She desperately needed two more Romanian-speaking Americans to help make the tour and performances progress smoothly, so we were absent from Busteni for approximately two weeks.

I anticipated getting back to the research immediately upon my return, but caught a virus at the seaside two days earlier, that kept me bedridden for a week. I was quite surprised that few students came by during that week, as visits had been quite common before our departure. We later learned that the Jipas had told some who came during our absence that we had returned to the United States. One gullible six-year-old was told that we had left for the moon, and had spread the word throughout the neighborhood.

Even when we started again to encounter students on the streets and set up meetings, we experienced some difficulty. We had numerous "no-shows," and on the fourth day when not a single student had showed up for agreed-upon meetings, I was frantically trying to figure out why. Even more puzzling was the avoidance of us by some young people we met on the street. For example, we would recognize a young student who, on seeing us approach, would turn to head in the other direction. Perhaps the students who did not show up for the meetings could have been explained by the often casual attitude many Romanian young people have for punctuality and getting involved in summer "work" situations. The overt avoidance on the street, however, suggested a different problem. There are only three explanations which seem possible to explain the seemingly abrupt change in our status:

1. The Haiducii members, while staying in Busteni, had not behaved correctly, and we, by our association with them, were to be avoided.

2. Some kind of friction between Americans and Romanians had occurred on an international level, of which we were not aware, and hints to avoid us had been made throughout the community.

3. We had somehow unintentionally slighted someone important, had asked an insensitive question, or made a remark which had somehow resulted in the suggestion that Romanian students not associate with us.
Regardless of the possible reason(s) involved, the results were a depressing and isolating experience for both of us.

Furthermore, a second component of the methodology which I had initiated was going poorly, and soon had to be eliminated altogether. I had brought a Kodak Instamatic camera to give to the students so that they could take pictures of the most typically Romanian and most typically American objects found in their community. I asked each student to take three shots of each category, so that I would have the work of two students per roll of film. I hoped to eventually make a scrapbook of the Romanian and American objects photographed and record discussions held with the students on their rationale for selecting each object.

This new game met with enormous enthusiasm from the students, most of whom had never closely examined a camera or taken a picture. The simplicity involved in the use of the Instamatic seemed ideal, as all that was required was pushing a lever to advance the film and pressing a button to take the shot. The Tri-X film made indoor and outdoor pictures possible, although I cautioned the students about under- or over-exposing. I carefully explained that each student should take the three most inherently Romanian objects in Busteni, and the three most inherently American, but no more than six pictures.

The first roll I got back from a sixteen-year-old boy had eleven of the twelve exposures taken. Not a single "object" had been photographed; the footage had been entirely used to shoot his friends horsing around at school. The second roll, given to a fifteen-year-old girl, came back several days late, with over eight exposures. Again, school friends had been the focus of the pictures; my instructions had been totally disregarded. I gave the camera to some older students, both female and male, without any apparent problems. Then a group of thirteen-year-old girls came by, asking for their turn to make some photographs. I entrusted the camera to one girl who was supposed to pass it on to the other girls, but failed to do so. After I sent word that I wanted the camera back, another girl returned with it. Again, ten pictures were exposed. This time, however, the elastic wristband was wrapped around the camera, and as I removed it to extract the film cassette, the back of the camera fell open. Someone had pried the back open and irreparably broken the camera.

In spite of the fact that this segment had to be cancelled, I felt some relief in the fact that I had seven completed rolls of film that would at least provide some examples of the symbols which I was seeking. It was, therefore, extremely disappointing to receive the developed film and learn that only four prints had come out. Apparently, the first user of the camera had opened it and caused major damage before the other students ever had a chance to use it. My assumption is that this endeavor of the research design should be limited to older students and/or to those who appear responsible, although this is a difficult judgment to accurately make. I did not make this discovery soon enough.
I did have a chance to discuss with the students the pictures which they had attempted to take. Apparently, the most frequently photographed Romanian "object," besides friends, was the colorfully-embroidered "ie" or blouse, which almost every Romanian girl possesses. Plates and woodcarvings, as well as other cultural artifacts, were also popular. Other pictures which had been incorporated into student samples included:

1 "Dacia," the only type of car made in Romania
1 statue of Eminescu, the national poet of Romania
1 Carpathian bear, which the photographer said was only found in Romania
1 Casa Pionierilor, the Young Pioneers' Clubhouse, which is a favorite hang-out of the young.

The American objects photographed fell into much more stereotyped categories; American cigarettes, American whiskey bottles, and American blue jeans predominated. Only three other items were even mentioned by the photographers: the window of the Cinema Progresul, where a poster for an American film was being displayed, an older American Ford, which belonged to someone in town, and some pictures of Disney characters, which served as decorations in a room.

The third "disaster" which hampered the research was a car accident in Bucharest that severely damaged our small Renault. Although we were not responsible for the accident, the ensuing insurance and repair complications, as well as the difficulties involved in carrying thirty pounds of camera and research equipment around the mountainous community, resulted in a substantial loss of research time. Perhaps the sole benefit from the entire experience was that we became more aware of how the majority of Romanians, who cannot afford cars, get around. We began to understand the time-consuming nature of commuting by bus, by train, and on foot, and consequently developed a more realistic idea of the pace of life in Romania for the majority of the people.

A final problem involved some problems we encountered trying to complete one of the student's films at the B.T.T., the student hostel. The film was an innocuous boy-meets-girl episode that was to take place in the B.T.T. disco, yet when we arrived to film we were denied permission to use the disco. No relevant explanations were forthcoming, although I was told by an employee that foreigners were allowed to shoot Super-8 films there but were not allowed to make them with Romanians. When I explained to him that the Romanian government expected me to make these films as part of a research grant, he just shrugged and nothing changed. Time did not permit us to complete this film prior to our departure.
### APPENDIX G

**MATERIALS ON USE OF AMERICAN FILMS IN THE BUȘTENI REGION**

**Table 32**

Scheduled American Films in Theaters near Bușteni
(Feature Films listed in Ecran Prahovean)

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<th>Azuga</th>
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<td>The Corsair</td>
<td>Evadati în Viitor</td>
<td>Gentleman Jim</td>
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<td>Express</td>
<td>New York, New York</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Tentacles</td>
<td>Vâlcea Prafului de</td>
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<td>Săpada în Viitor</td>
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<td>Pusca</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Aventurile lui</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tobin Hood</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6/78</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Another Man</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Din lumea filmului din alta data</td>
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<td>Another Chance</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4/78</td>
<td>Porunca</td>
<td>Melodiile</td>
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<td>Broadway-ului</td>
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<td>Attack against</td>
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<td>Romel</td>
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<td>3/78</td>
<td>The Quiet Man</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Micul Indian</td>
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<td>A King in New</td>
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Vizionați în ursul lui noiembrie

CINEMA "MUNCITORESC" FLOREȘTI
31 – 4 "Observații de pe străzile Bucureștiului" (RUS)
3 – 13 "Bătrânească" (RUS)
21 – 4 "Olive" (FR)
22 – 3 "Episoade de din ce în ce (RUS)
24 – 4 "Mama Mia" (RUS)

CINEMA "POPULAR" FLOREȘTI
30 – 4 "Regina" (RUS)
3 – 4 "Gărița" (RUS)
21 – 4 "Stațiune" (RUS)

CINEMA "23 AUGUST" FLOREȘTI
30 – 4 "Filmele românești din anul 1930"

CINEMA "VICTORIA" FLOREȘTI
30 – 4 "Doi copii" (RUS)
13 – 1 "Lumea noastră în societate" (RUS)
21 – 1 "Luna" (RUS)
23 – 1 "Familia" (RUS)
26 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)

CINEMA "MUNCITORESC" COMARNIC
21 – 1 "A după copii" (RUS)
24 – 1 "A după copii" (RUS)
25 – 1 "A după copii" (RUS)
26 – 1 "A după copii" (RUS)

CINEMA "PROGRESUL" SIMAN
31 – 1 "Auferit" (RUS)
3 – 1 "Mama Mia" (RUS)
22 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)
25 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)
26 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)

CINEMA "CLUB C.F.R." FLOREȘTI
30 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)
3 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)
22 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)
25 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)
26 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)

CINEMA "PROGRESUL" HUȘTENI
31 – 1 "O zi în viața unui bătrân" (RUS)
3 – 1 "O zi în viața unui bătrân" (RUS)
25 – 1 "O zi în viața unui bătrân" (RUS)
26 – 1 "O zi în viața unui bătrân" (RUS)

CINEMA "MUNCITORESC" BACOI
1 – 1 "Deschiderea" (RUS)
3 – 1 "Bătrânească" (RUS)
20 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)
22 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)
25 – 1 "Gânduri" (RUS)

Figure 10. Sample Bulletin of Ecran Prahovean
APPENDIX H

SAMPLE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ADOLESCENTS' FILMS

Some of the films that were included were:

- PEACE AND FREEDOM was established in the end.

The violence in the

Most striking element:

that the films were dramatically the

dramatic of the subjects.

Most positive aspect:

that the child feels it was duty
to protect their town's people.

Most negative aspect:

the violence

Most striking element:

that these children understand

meaning so well.

Some of film: love is

Most positive aspect: the dialogue immediately.

Most negative aspect: that the child is related to animals.

Most striking element: that the symbols represented actions
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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<td>Browne, Don R.</td>
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<td>DeFleur, Melvin</td>
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