Delia Cristina BALABAN*
Ioana IANCU*
Meda MUCUNDORFEANU*

Framing Obama's Re-election. A Comparative Analysis of German, French and Romanian Media Coverage

Abstract

The US presidential election is not only a politically relevant issue but also a media relevant issue in every part of the world. Therefore, the present paper aims to analyze the way print media from Germany, France and Romania comparatively covered the re-election moment of Barack Obama. The research intends to analyze to what degree there are differences between the ways in which print media from the abovementioned countries represented the re-election moment of Barack Obama from the point of view of the framing theory and of the political affiliation of the analyzed newspaper. Moreover, the paper aims to present the way the image of Barack Obama is represented within the pictures used in the media. We expect to find relevant differences both between the analyzed newspapers within a country and between the general perspectives of the selected countries.

Keywords: Barack Obama, re-election, comparative content analysis, print media.

1. Introduction

The US presidential election is not only a politically relevant issue but also a media relevant issue in every part of the world. Therefore, the present paper aims to analyze the way in which print media from Germany, France and Romania comparatively covered the re-election event of Barack Obama.

Frames are interpretational structures that work at a cognitive level. These structures have the role of contributing to the processes of selecting and presenting the information. Frames are selective points of view regarding certain themes or events. For some authors, framing deals with the selection and salience of information.

The main research questions are the following: To what degree are there differences between the way German, French and Romanian print media represented the re-election moment of Barack Obama from the point of view of the framing theory and of the political affiliation of the analyzed newspapers? How is the image of Barack Obama presented within the images used by the media?

The research method used is content analysis, the analysis of media coverage of Obama's victory in the 2012 presidential elections in the United States. The main unit of registration is *the article*. The study aims to examine the framings used by the most renowned daily national newspapers from Germany, France and Romania to cover President Obama's re-election.

* Faculty of Political, Administrative and Communication Sciences, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, Corresponding author: Delia Balaban, balaban@fspac.ro.

tion in 2012. Based on the audience relevance and on the need to include newspapers with different political perspectives, the selected items are the following: for Germany – *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Das Handelsblatt* and *Der Spiegel*, for France – *Liberation*, *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, and for Romania – *Adevărul*, *Evenimentul Zilei* and *Jurnalul Național*.

We expect to find relevant differences both between the analyzed newspapers within a country and between the general perspectives of the selected countries.

2. Priming and Framing

Since we propose a comparative analysis on the news about Obama's re-election, in what follows, we briefly introduce some of the most relevant concepts within media communication: priming and framing.

Priming means that certain themes are privileged by the media. Iyengar and Kinder explained this concept based on idea drawn from experimental psychology, according to which an individual does not judge a person considering all existing information, but only the information available to him or her. These value judgments can be influenced by the media, as it can be seen in election campaigns. When voters form an opinion about a certain candidate they do not carry out a systematic research of the whole body of existing information, but use the information selectively available to them (Jäckel, 2008, p.185).

While a consistent body of literature claims that traditional priming research focuses on the public's evaluation of the president, thus political issues, another part of the literature underlines that attribute priming focuses on social issues, political or non-political (Kim *et al.*, 2012, p. 45). Moreover, a large part of the literature on priming focuses on the way politicians, and especially US politicians, use rhetoric to create prime issues and favorable evaluation from the public (Dragojlovic, 2011, p. 991).

Within the agenda setting theory, McCombs and Shaw claim that media have the capacity to attach saliency to certain issues "by placing them more prominently in news coverage or by devoting a large proportion of the news hole to the issue" (McCombs & Shaw, 1972 in Kim *et al.*, 2012, p. 44). Agenda setting emphasizes the salience of an issue and the public issue of the moment (McCombs *et al.* 1997, p. 703). Cohen claims that while media may not succeed in telling individuals *what to think*, they thrive in telling people *what to think about* (Cohen in McCombs, 1997, p. 704).

Many times the *Second-Level-Agenda-Setting* theories, also known as *Attribute-Agenda*, have been identified with the *framing* theory. Frames are those interpretational structures that work as cognitive structures in the journalists' minds in the case of mass-media. These structures have the role of contributing to the processes of selecting and presenting information. Frames are selective points of view in certain themes or events. Iyengar and Simon, for example, allude to a preeminent figure of mass communication studies to define frames: "as Walter Lippmann noted nearly seventy years ago, we tend to know little about what is happening, why it happened and what ought to happen. But in modern times we do have pictures in our heads courtesy of ABC, CBS, CNN and NBC" (Iyengar & Simon, 1997, p. 256).

De Vreese (2005) defines framing as a communication process that includes production, content and media use perspective. A short definition underlines that "a frame is an empha-

sis in salience of different aspects of a topic (de Vreese, 2005, p. 53). In the same vein, other scholars define media frames as “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” (Tankard et al., 1991 in Weaver, 2007, p. 143). For Entman, framing appeals to the selection and salience of the information and it is a process that has several dimensions. Some themes are preferred by the media, others are downright ignored. Cognitive and emotional elements can give a certain weight to a theme. Thus, “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text (...). Frames (...) define problems – determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; diagnose causes – identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments-evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies-offer and justify treatments for problems and predict their likely effects” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Similarly, for McCombs, framing refers to the selection of certain issues and thematically related attributes on the media agenda (McCombs, 1997 in Weaver, 2007, p. 143).

According to Entman, the process of framing consists of three distinct stages. First, there is the *frame-building* that refers to both internal (how journalists and news organizations frame issues) and external (the continuous interaction between journalists and elites or social movements) factors that influence the structural qualities of the news frame. Second, the *frame-setting* is defined by the interaction between media frames and individuals knowledge on the issue and predispositions. Thus, the frames used in the news can influence the way an issue is leaned, interpreted and evaluated. Finally, the *consequences* of framing can be reached at both individual and social levels. While an individual level consequence refers to the possibility of altering attitudes based on the exposure to certain frames, at the societal level, frames may change social and political processes (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52).

While at a macro level, framing refers to patterns used by journalists or other media entities to present the information (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996 in Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, pp. 11-12), at the micro level, framing describes the way individuals perceive and use the information (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, pp. 11-12). Interestingly, while Goffman suggests that the decoder is the one who does the framing (Goffman, 1974 in Reta, 2000, p. 524), Gamson and Wolfsfeld consider the encoder to be the framer and the decoder as the target of the frame (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993 in Reta, 2000, p. 524).

Based on a sociological perspective, Goffman claims that individuals apply interpretative schemas in order to classify and interpret information (Goffman, 1974 in Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, pp. 11-12). Robert Entman (2010, p. 391) emphasizes that framing is an “omnipresent process in politics and policy analysis”. Thus, frames can have four functions: define problems, specify causes, convey moral assessments, and endorse remedies (Entman, 2010, p. 391). Entman stresses that news frames are constructed from key words, symbols, metaphors, concepts and visual images (Entman, 1991 in Reta, 2000, p. 524). Furthermore, the literature identifies two levels of framing (Reta, 2000, p. 524): issue framing (events and issues) and character framing (individuals or group of individuals). According to Tankard, there are eleven focal points for identifying and measuring news frames: headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts, and concluding statements and paragraphs (in de Vreese, 2005, p. 54).

The multidimensionality of framing phenomena must not be neglected, as there are: framing by selecting thematic aspects, framing by internal structuring, by creating links between

different aspects of the theme, and, not lastly, framing by external contextualization, by creating links with other themes, which is what the literature calls frame-bridging (Jäckel, 2008, p. 185).

3. Media and politics

Fletcher (1994) claims that media, elections and democracy are intimately related. While the concerns about the role of media in politics and in electoral campaigns are increasing in volume, a central topic in this debate is media logic (Mazzoleni, 1987 in Takens et al., 2013, p. 277). As defined by Strömbäck (2008, p. 233 in Takens et al., 2013, p. 277), media logic refers to “the news values and the storytelling techniques the media make use of to take advantage of their own medium and its format, and to be competitive in the ongoing struggle to capture people’s attention”. Thus, Brants and Van Praag (2005 in Takens et al., 2013, p. 278) argue that nowadays journalists use a more interpretative style of reporting, rather than a descriptive style, the readers’ perception being shaped by journalistic interventions.

The literature in the field discusses three content characteristics underlined in the media logic debate. The first characteristic refers to the journalists’ preference for personalized coverage (Campus, 2010 in Takens et al., 2013, p. 278). It means that a greater importance is given to individual politicians than to parties, organizations and institutions (Rahat & Sheafer, 2007 in Takens et al., 2013, p. 280). The second characteristic highlights that journalists prefer contests and game coverage (Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2011 in Takens et al., 2013, p. 278). By using a variety of terms, as horse race journalism, the game schema or the game frame, the coverage of politics is rather a political contest between political actors (Takens et al., 2013, p. 280). Finally, the last characteristic refers to the predilection of journalists to use negative coverage, to choose the negative aspects attributed to a certain person of fact (Lengauer et al., 2012 in Takens et al., 2013, p. 278). Furthermore, besides simplicity, identification and sensational, there is the idea of *elite nations* that are preferred as a news subject within the international media (Balaban, 2009, p. 72). Due to its international political, economic and military position, the United States of America is a privileged country with respect to its foreign media coverage.

As political communication is largely described as a process of personalization in which the main focus is on individual politicians (Balmas & Sheafer, 2010), Obama and Romney seems to be detached from their ideological belongingness and judged independently. While Mitt Romney is especially presented as addressing to citizens with a high economic status, Obama’s debates underline issues as abortion, gun control, and immigration (Adams, 2012 in Dickinson, 2014, p. 309), while he is primarily addressing to woman, young people and minorities (Brooks, 2012 in Dickinson, 2014, p. 309).

The first elections Obama won in 2008 enjoyed high media coverage and have been analyzed by political analysts and researchers all over the world. For instance, Camaj and Weaver (2013) have focused on the media exposure of the 2008 presidential elections from the perspective of second-level agenda-setting effects. The dominant media interpretation of the 2012 presidential elections emphasizes that Obama’s re-election is a prediction of a new electoral era characterized by cultural identity issues that contradicts the traditional economic fundamentals (e.g. unemployment rate, growth in GDP etc.) on which a large part of the political science forecast models are based on (Wilson & Rucker, 2012 in Dickinson, 2014, p.

309). While the accuracy of the electoral Time-for-Change forecasting model is discussed and appraised by Abramowitz (2013), another article claims the importance of economic indicators as predictors during elections (Erikson & Wlezien, 2013.). In addition, there are articles that discuss inaccurate models, such as the Fiscal Model of presidential elections, which failed to predict that success of President Obama (Cuzan, 2013). Thus, in spite of a weak economy and of initial predictions, Obama wins a second mandate. A possible explanation is that a large number of voters have not found the Republican Mitt Romney an appealing alternative, and have voted based on racial and cultural concerns (Dickinson, 2014, p. 309).

This paper seeks to add to the existing literature on the 2012 US elections. It brings a rather new and comprehensive perspective by comparatively emphasizing the way media have presented the results of the elections in three European countries: Germany, France and Romania.

4. Methodological Design

The study focuses on the way in which the Obama re-election event, which happened on the 7th of November 2012, is presented in the international media, namely in the German, French and Romanian newspapers.

The paper aims to answer the following research questions. Firstly, to what degree are there differences between the way print media in the three countries covered the re-election moment of Barack Obama from the point of view of the framing theory and of the political affiliation of the analyzed newspapers? Secondly, how is the image of Barack Obama presented within the pictures used in the print media?

The research method used in answering the abovementioned questions is content analysis. All the articles appearing on the day the election results were covered by the main daily national newspapers from Germany, France and Romania will be analyzed. Based on the audience relevance and on the need to include newspapers with different political perspectives, the selected items are the following: for Germany – *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and *Der Spiegel*, for France – *Liberation*, *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, and for Romania – *Adevărul*, *Evenimentul Zilei* and *Jurnalul Național*. The unit of analysis is the article. The analyzed articles are published on the 8th of November. Due to different time zones, although in America the date of Obama's re-election was the 7th of November 2012, in Europe the newspapers presented the news only on the 8th of November 2012.

The analysis is constructed around three sets of variable. The first category is related to the analyzed newspaper: the number of articles on the analyzed issue and the political affiliation of the newspaper – declared or perceived. Hallin and Mancini (2004) present three models regarding media system and its political affiliation: Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model, Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model, and North Atlantic or Liberal Model. Each model can be translated into a political parallelism. Thus, while the first model talks about politics-over-broadcasting system, the second model talks about politics-in-broadcasting systems with autonomy, and the last model talks about professional model of broadcast governance. Considering that the analyzed media coverage are from France, Germany and Romania, Hallin and Mancini claim that France belongs to the first model and Germany to the second model of media systems (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Romania is not part of their analysis. However, we claim that the political ideology of the newspapers in Romania is not that clear. There is no such thing as a profound overlap between political par-

ties' belongingness and the newspapers' profile. The overlapping is rather at the level of ownership interests and based on the dichotomy pro or against the leading party.

The second set of variables is related to the article itself. Thus, the variables can be grouped into three sub-categories: the *type of the article* – editorial or not, the section the article is presented in, the length, the position within the page, the use of pictures; the *title* – key words, the size, and the length; the *article corpus* – the general opinion of the author, the optimistic or pessimistic view of the article about the perspectives of the U.S. and of the world, references to the previous mandate of Obama, the view of other political personalities within the country or from abroad on the result of the election, the approach of the analyzed issue in the context of a certain international theme, the presence of specific cultural elements from the country, and the impact of the re-election on the international politics, economy, European Union and analyzed countries.

The third category of variables refers to the pictures used within the article: characters, non-verbal communication elements, background, and celebration elements.

5. The Analysis of the German Newspapers

On the Election Day, the 7th of November 2012, the German newspapers did not publish many articles about Obama, because the election results were not known yet. Although the results were made public later that day, the newspapers were printed early in the morning without this news. On the other hand, during that day, hundreds of articles were written in the online editions of the German newspapers, which we will not consider in our study. Thus, we will analyze the way the printed editions of the most relevant German newspapers wrote about the results in their editions from the 8th of November 2012.

The following table offers a summary of the articles from the three analyzed newspapers.

5.1. Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

Die Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, short F.A.Z., is a national German newspaper, founded in 1949. It is published daily in Frankfurt am Main and it has a circulation of more than 300,000 daily copies. It has the legal form of a GmbH; the independent FAZIT-Stiftung (FAZIT Foundation) is its majority shareholder (93.7%). The F.A.Z. runs its own correspondent network and its editorial policy is determined cooperatively by five editors. It is the German newspaper with the widest circulation abroad, with its editors claiming to deliver the newspaper to more than 100 countries every day.

Its political alignment is liberal-conservative.

The FAZ wrote on the 8th of November 2012 about Obama being elected president of the USA on the following pages: 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7. All the articles are written in the context of a certain national problem, which is the splitting of the American nation and Obama is presented as the one who has the mission of reuniting the country: on the first page, the first article *Obama Wants to Overcome the Splitting of America* talks about the fight of the parties in the Congress regarding tax increases and spending cuts. This is the national problem frame regarding the different political opinions existing in the USA. The second article *The Good American* talks about the high level of trust the Germans have in Obama. 92% of Germans would have voted for him and because of this, the Chancellor A. Merkel wrote a congratula-

Table 1. The German articles by newspapers.

Newspaper	Title	No. of pages/ percentage	The position within the page	Type of article/section	Photo (yes/no)
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Obama Wants to Overcome the Splitting of America	40%	1st page, upper left	Editorial	yes
	The Good American	10%	1st page, upper right	Editorial	no
	Obama II	20%	1st page, left	Editorial	no
	Obama: Overcoming the Split	10%	2nd page, right	Politics	yes
	Blacks, Latinos, Women, Unmarried and People Living in Cities. Almost Exclusively White Men Have Turned Their Backs on Obama	20%	2nd page, right	Politics	yes
	Presidential Election on the 7th of December	5%	2nd page, lower side	Politics	no
	Voices of Others	30%	2nd page, lower side	Politics	no
	After the Re-Election of Obama: the Domestic Peace Mission of the President and the Needs of the Republicans	10%	3rd page	Politics	yes
	The Second Life of Barack Obama	50%	3rd page, 1st half	Politics	no
	How Much Tea Party Can It Be?	40%	3rd page, 2nd half	Politics	yes
	Empty Voting Stations	10%	4th page, left side	Politics	yes
	Berlin Can Wait	30%	4th page, middle	Politics	yes
	More Women in the Senate – There Are No Other Changes	20%	4th page, right side	Politics	yes
	Netanyahu and the Fear of Obama's Revenge	20%	4th page, middle low	Politics	no
	Joseph Biden: Familiar Helper with Loose Tongue. Bill Clinton: with Charisma and Saxophone	20%	4th page, right low	Politics	yes
	Russia and China Show Their Enthusiasm	10%	4th page, left low	Politics	no
	A Temporary Home	50%	7th page, 1st half	Germany and the world	yes

Süddeutsche Zeitung	Obama Must Now Reconcile America	80%	1st page	Editorial	yes
	With Flowers and Scalpel	50%	2nd page, middle	US election	yes
	On Your Marks, Get Set – Wait!	20%	2nd page, right	US election	yes
	Nice Gesture for the Big Guest	30%	2nd page, low	US election	yes
	Everything Remains Differently	100%	3rd page, entire page	US election	yes
	Hope, Second Attempt	20%	4th page, right up	US election	no
	The Price of Luxury	20%	4th page, middle	US election	yes
	The New York Times: the Newspaper Analyzes in Its Online Edition the Election of President Obama	5%	4th page, left	US election	no
	Strategy and Fate	60%	6th page, 1st half	US election	yes
	The Blockade Remains	40%	6th page, 2nd half	US election	yes
	The Best Is Yet to Come	100%	7th page, entire page	US election	yes
	Merkel Does Not Want to Get over the Moon When It Comes to Obama	10%	8th page, left	US election	no
	Great Relief	30%	8th page, up middle	US election	yes
	Vengeance of The Lord. Israel's Government Has Supported the Wrong Candidate	15%	8th page, left down	US election	yes
	The Lesser Evil. The Arab World Was Afraid of Romney's Israel-Friendly Fury	15%	8th page, middle down	US election	no
	Yearning for Democracy. Young Chinese Followed the U.S. Election Campaign with Great Interest	15%	8th page, right down	US election	no
	Bitter End	50%	9th page, 1st half	US election	yes
	Paths from the Dependency	20%	10th page, right up	US election	no
	Spirit of the Class Struggle	20%	10th page, right down	US election	no
	On the Brink	60%	10th page, middle	US election	yes
Der Spiegel	A German Love. Why Obama Is Worshiped Nowhere as Much as in This Country	30%	11th page, left up	US election	yes
	The Zeitgeist as Election Workers	20%	11th page, right up	US election	no
	Spanish for Beginners	4 pages	p. 96 (out of 178)	International	yes (4)
	The Election Lends New Power	3 pages	p. 100 (out of 178)	International	yes (2)
	Charisma – The Gift that Makes People Seducers	8 pages	p. 150 (out of 178)	Title	yes (11)

tion letter to him, inviting him to Berlin. Here we have a frame regarding the international relations of the US, in this case, with Germany. The next article *Obama II* makes reference to the first mandate of the president and to the fact that the situation of that nation had changed since then. Obama, although elected by people who had been hit hard by the financial crisis, a vast majority of whom being unemployed, did not receive as many votes as four years before, consequently the article reminds the readers about the splitting of the country and about the fact that the president's mission is to reunite it through his political, social and economic measures. This is the electorate frame. The image which governs the first page shows the winner alone, smiling in a shower of confetti.

Almost the entire second page, the section dedicated to politics, reports about the results of the American elections and reminds the readers of the different kinds of splits in the country, again the national problem frame. The articles report that Obama was elected mostly by women, African Americans and Latin Americans, while Romney was elected mostly by Caucasian citizens. These facts are also represented in the paper through graphs and charts. The title of one of them is highly suggestive: *Blacks, Latinos, Women, Unmarried and People Living in Cities. Almost Exclusively White Men Have Turned Their Backs on Obama*. As we have seen in previous articles the electorate frame is being used again. Another article refers to the fact that it will be again very difficult for Obama to pass laws through Congress due to the conflict between the ruling parties. The second half of the second page is a visual representation of the country's political split, depicting a map of the United States colored in red or blue, reflecting the votes of the Electoral Colleges in every federal state.

The newspaper also has a section where it briefly presents the reports of important newspapers from other countries, such as "The Times" (London), "The New York Times" (New York), "Liberation" (Paris) or "De Standaard" (Belgium) about the most important news of the day. All these newspapers reported about the fact that Obama might have inherited the country in this problematic state and that his mission of healing it would be a tough one, yet another article depicting the international opinion regarding the winner of the elections.

The third page depicts a photo of Romney together with his family, dressed in red, next to a picture of Obama together with his family, happy and wearing blue. Family and its role in the life of a leader play here an important part. The article writes about the president's speech about the importance of unity, and addresses national, but also foreign policy problems in this regard, such as the strained relationship with the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

The fourth page is written under a general title: *After the Re-election of Obama: Berlin Hopes, Israel Is Concerned, Russia and China Are Pleased* and a huge photo of Obama's grandmother from Kenya decorates the page. One article reports about the congratulatory telegram Merkel sent to Obama, containing also an invitation to Berlin, despite the different views of the two countries on several political aspects. Another article reports about the future cooperation between Israel's leaders and the USA regarding the safety of the Israeli citizen. The third article reports about the appreciative words of Russia's and China's leaders regarding the election of Obama as head of state and their good cooperation with him. All journalists of all these articles are using the international frame.

5.2. Die Süddeutsche Zeitung

Die Süddeutsche Zeitung, short SZ, published in Munich, is the largest German national subscription daily newspaper. It is read throughout Germany by 1.1 million readers daily and boasts a relatively high circulation abroad. Some of Germany's best known journalists either work for the SZ or spend considerable parts of their careers working for the paper.

The political alignment of the newspaper is liberal.

Die Süddeutsche Zeitung wrote on the 8th of November 2012 about Obama being elected president of the USA on the following pages: 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. One interesting aspect about this issue is the fact that on that day, the newspaper changed its format by replacing all sections with one called "*Die US-Wahl*"¹.

The first page is governed by a picture of Obama, his wife and his two daughters from the night of the elections, showing the image not only of a political winner, but of a perfect, happy family.

One of the first articles talks about the changes that Obama would have to make before starting his second mandate, for example replacing some of his counselors, such as Hillary Clinton who had announced her wish to resign. The article names some possible candidates, among whom Condoleezza Rice. Choosing her would not be the best decision, according to the article, because of her association in people's minds with the so-called *Genocide Chicks*. The elections are depicted here from the point of view of past and future political strategies of Obama.

The fifth page is dominated by a large picture depicting Michelle Obama hugging her husband, the elected president of the USA. This whole page is reserved for one large, well-documented article presenting a comparison between the first and the second campaign of Obama, with inspired or not so inspired actions, but rather focusing on the things the president had learned from his first mandate and had used during the race for his second one, such as making moderate promises this time around and presenting himself also from a human perspective, that of not always being rigid and untouchable. There is a pattern in the journalistic style in this newspaper, which is reflecting on the political strategies of the president.

The German newspaper quotes the election evaluation done by the New York Times, saying that Obama's victory was based on the fact that people appreciated his financial policies, which focused on the labor market, on the health reform, tax increases and reducing the budget deficit. Nevertheless he was elected by the poor, while the rich voted for his opponent. The electorate frame is used again.

Page eight shows the attitude of some of the world's presidents towards the new winner. Among the states supporting Obama there are Germany, Belgium, Italy, China, but also Russia, through the president Putin, despite the differences between the two countries. Egypt was not one of his supporters, but saw him as the smaller evil, compared to Romney. Consequently, the Egyptian president, Mohamed Morsi congratulated the elected president of the USA, early in the morning. On the other hand, Israel is presented as one of the countries not supporting Obama, because of the different points of view Obama and Netanyahu have. The international opinion is playing an important role also in this article. One of the pictures on page two shows that there is skepticism also in the USA. The photo shows a large crowd of people protesting in New York's Times Square, using large puppets depicting Obama holding money in his hands. The protesters tried to raise awareness about the fact that Obama is not any different than Romney, in that they are both ruthless capitalists.

One of the last articles talks about the high level of popularity Obama has among the Germans and tries to explain the various reasons for that, ranging from his social background, the color of his skin to his Harvard degree, arguments accompanied by a picture of him as an adolescent, wearing a white hat and smiling light-heartedly.

5.3. Der Spiegel

Der Spiegel is a German weekly news magazine published in Hamburg. It was launched in 1947, and is one of Europe's largest publications of its kind, with a weekly circulation of more than one million. It is known in the German-speaking sphere for its distinctive, academic writing style and its large volume of approximately 200 pages for every issue. It has an independent editorial staff.

This news magazine is not known for having a specific political alignment.

On the cover of this famous German magazine there is of course a large picture of Obama smiling, holding his wife's hand. Among the 178 pages there are only three articles about the elections (pages: 96, 100, 150), all presenting and commenting on the elections from a social point of view, rather than from a political or economic one. The key word of the first article is "*Latinos*" as an umbrella term for the minorities voting for Obama and explains how attracting the minorities on his side had been a well-documented strategy from the very beginning. The second article focuses on the key word charisma and talks about famous people who had or have this attribute. There are portraits of course of Obama, of his wife and of other personalities such as Mother Theresa, Angelina Jolie, Fidel Castro, Hugo Chavez or Hitler. The presentation creates a contrast between the president of the USA and the German chancellor saying that charisma is an attribute the latter is and will always be lacking. The third article is an interview with John Podesta, the former chief of staff of Bill Clinton and an important figure in the oval office. The respondent is optimistic, talks about the power the re-election has given Obama, about a tough but bright future and about imminent policies.

5.4. Brief Conclusion on the Analysis of German Newspapers

The German newspapers presented the American elections from 2012 in a very elaborate way, from various points of view, through several articles of various journalistic genres, dedicating almost entire issues to this event. Most of the articles are very optimistic, reminding the readers of certain problems, but putting them in a favorable light, predicting a bright future. There were either comparisons with the past campaign or mandate, or predictions, or the great importance of the elected American president for the USA and for other countries around the world, especially for Germany. The future seems to be bright in the eyes of the most important German magazines and newspapers.

The frames used by the FAZ are national political problems or different political views, the international relations of the USA, especially, the electorate of Obama, consisting of the minorities of the country with Germany and the family frame.

The frames used by SZ are similar to the previous ones, which are family, electorate, international opinions and relations, but the main focus lays on the discussion around the past and future political strategies of the reelected president.

Der Spiegel is practicing rather investigative journalism and therefore has a different style than the other two analyzed German newspapers. The US elections are presented here from

the perspective of the minorities of the country, the staff of the White House and rather from a general perspective, that of a special attribute a leader has to have, that is charisma.

Because the political affiliation of the analyzed newspapers are not very different, all having a rather liberal orientation, the frames which are used are not very different, but they are themes and perspectives which are in accordance with the liberal doctrine.

6. The Analysis of the French Newspapers

Before starting the analysis of the media coverage of the American presidential elections, it is relevant to mention some characteristics of the French media system and particular of the French newspapers *presse quotidienne nationale*. One of the leading theories on the comparison of media systems, that of Hallin and Mancini, included the French one in the Mediterranean, Polarized Pluralist model together with countries like Spain, Greece or Italy and the German one in the Northern European or Democratic Corporatist model in the company of countries like Switzerland, Norway, Sweden or Austria (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

Even if half of the French population is reading newspapers on a daily basis, compared to other European states, France is not on the top of the list concerning newspaper reading. In Europe, called by media analysts the *continent of the newspaper*, 1000 inhabitants read only 160 copies of newspapers in France, compared to Germans who use 308 copies or to Norwegians, the world leaders who use 626 copies. (Thomaß, 2007, p. 95). The French buy their newspapers, having only few subscriptions (about 15% of the circulation). This is why the selling at the kiosks, the so-called *vente au numéro* is important for French statistics. This influences the layout of the papers that have to be attractive and have big pictures on their first pages: „French newspapers have to find new forms to advertise for each buyer (Weber & Woltersdorff, 2001, p. 33). Nevertheless there is a difference also in the journalistic style between France and other countries such as Germany. There is no rigorous delimitation between information and comment like there is in the Angle-Saxon journalistic style.

The present analysis is focused on three France newspapers: *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde* and *Liberation*. The following table summarizes the entire range of articles from these three newspapers from the 8th of November 2012.

6.1. Liberation

Liberation was founded in 1973 by the famous French writer Jean-Paul Sartre. Its circulation is of more than 160,000 daily copies. The first page of the November, 8th edition, a day after Barack Obama's victory, has a big page with the newly elected president and his wife carrying the title *Obama Is Restarting the Fight* and the subtitle *During His Second Mandate the American President Has to Reunite a Country that Has Never Been as Divided as It Is Now*. All the articles on the subject are in the first pages of the copy under the section called *Special. American Elections* thus highlighting the importance of the event. On the second page of the newspaper there is a first article called *A Difficultly Obtained Second Chance* with a picture showing Obama's supporters feeling happy about the victory of their candidate. In the lower side of the page, pictures of the elected American presidents are showed in a timeline with the percentages of their votes. The next page is full of pictures with strong symbolic value: Mitt Romney and his wife leaving the scene and two American flags are right

next to them. The other picture shows an African American having two American flags in his hands and looking happy.

Table 2. The French articles by newspapers.

Newspaper	Title	No. of pages/ percentage	The position within the page	Type of article/section	Photo (yes/no)
Liberation	A Difficultly Obtained Second Chance	100%	2nd page, entire	Special election America	yes
	Barrack Obama in Front of the Great Capitol	100%	3rd page, entire	Special elections America	no
	Obama, the Second Time	100%	4th and 5th page, entire	Special elections America	yes
	The Country Faces the Separation Lines	50%	6th page upper side	Special elections America	no
Le Figaro	Barack Obama Appeals to the Nation to Overcome the Differences	60%	2nd page, entire	American elections	yes
	Opposition Maintains Control over the Chamber	25%	2nd page, entire	American elections	no
	The Republicans Begin Self-examining	50%	3rd upper side	American elections	yes
	Obama Has to Reinvent Himself as a President of Reconciliation	100%	4th page, entire	American elections	yes
	A Democrat Elected Thanks to the Minorities	50%	5th page, upper side	American elections	yes
	Europe Has Greater Expectations from Obama II	25%	7th page, left up	American elections	yes
Le Monde	Barack Obama Having a Strong Position	75%	1st page upper side	The American Elections	yes
	We Are Not so Divided	25%	1st page lower side	The American Elections	no
	Suddenly, the Press Center of Columbus Ceased to be the Center of the World	75%	2nd page, lower side	The American Elections	yes
	M. Romney, Defeated by Demography and by the Extremism of his Supporters	80%	3rd page, upper side	The American Elections	yes
	The Mobilization of the Afro-Americans and Latin-Americans Defied the Republican Strategy in Florida	20%	3rd page lower side	The American Elections	no
	Twitter on the Front Line	30%	5th page upper left	Today	no
	Obama, the Miracle of the Crisis	40%	6th page lower side	International	yes
	The Markets Remain Neutral, Indicating the Future Time Frames	30%	13th page, upper right	International	yes
	Brussels Does not Hide Its Relief	30%	13th page lower left	International	no
	Barack Obama and the Iowa Bet	100%	12th page	Event	yes

Barack Obama in Front of the Great Capitol is the title of the next article on the issue of American elections. It is written by the Washington correspondent of *Liberation*, drawing a picture of the political situation of the newly elected president and trying to indicate the differences from the situation in 2008. Even if there is a new Democrat majority in the U.S. Senate the relationship with the House of Representative is still complicated due to the Republican majority; the international political situation is also facing some difficulties, such as the situation in the Middle East. The article presents some facts and some important points from Obama's agenda in this second mandate: *reducing the deficit, fiscal reforms, changing the immigration politics, reducing the dependency on foreign oil*.

Obama, the Second Time is the next large article written by the New York correspondent of the newspaper. A big picture of the president (80% of the page) with Obama smiling is endorsing the message of the subtitle *Four Years after His First Election, the President Gained Experience and Realism. Endorsed by His Success He Knows that the Opinions of the Americans Changed*. The article focused on the differences between the first and the second mandate. His image shifted from a more symbolic figure of hope as the first African American U.S. president to a strong pragmatic, decision-making, cerebral, and a little solitary political figure.

The last article on the subject is an analysis of the structure of the votes carrying the title *The Country Faces the Separation Lines*. Who votes for Obama is the main question that the article deals with. The answer is that there is a strong division among the population regarding the votes. The majority of the Latin-Americans (70%), the Asians that are 3% of the U.S. population, 93% of the African Americans, 60% of the young voters (18-29 years old), 55% percent of the women voted for Obama.

6.2. Le Figaro

The French newspaper *Le Figaro* was founded in 1826 and is the oldest newspaper that is still published in France, with a circulation of almost 400,000 copies each day. *Barack Obama Appeals to the Nation to Overcome the Differences* is the title of the first article from the special section called *American Election* starting from the second page of the November 8th edition of the newspaper. A picture of the presidential family celebrating the victory in Chicago in front of their supporters is printed on the page. The elected president was backed by his family and especially by his wife during the election campaign; this idea is expressed in the article by using both pictures and words. The article contains a map of the United States and the votes of the electors of each state. In the lower right side of the page there is an article with the title *Opposition Maintains Control over the Chamber*; having the purpose to present in a larger context the political situation of the second presidential mandate.

The Republicans Begin Self-Examination is an article that presents an analysis of the failure of Obama's opponent Mitt Romney, failure that tends to reinforce the tensions between the moderates and the ultra conservatives in the Republican Party.

On the fourth page there is the article written by the Washington correspondent of the newspaper: *Obama Has to Reinvent Himself as a President of Reconciliation*. The message of the article is complemented by the picture published in the upper side showing Barack Obama on his desk on the presidential plane having a conversation on the phone. The reconciliation message was delivered during the Chicago speech: the nation is not so separated as the politics. The campaign was hard, emphasizing the social, racial and economic differences.

One of the main ideas of the first speeches of the newly elected American presidents is that of restoring the unity of the nation, idea that was present also in Obama's Chicago speech.

A Democrat Elected Thanks to the Minorities is the title of the article that focused on the structure of Obama's voters. The demographic changes within the structure of the population of the USA had a positive influence on his re-election. The increase of the Latin-American population and that of the Afro-American population together with the strong support of the female voters were only one of the few advantages mentioned.

Finally, on the seventh page of the edition, also in the special section the article *Europe Has Greater Expectation from Obama II* emphasized the impact of the result of the American elections on the European Union and on NATO. Apart from the official messages of congratulations coming from the president of the European Council, the European leaders hope to have an American president that is more strongly involved in solving international conflicts. Further articles on the same page presented the congratulations from the Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu that emphasized the strategic partnership with the USA.

6.3. Le Monde

Le Monde was founded in 1944 and has a circulation of about 360,000 copies each day. The November 8th 2012 edition also contained a special edition called *The American Elections*. A special correspondent from Chicago wrote the article. The re-election of Barack Obama has no longer a strong symbolic value but a political and a pragmatic one, the same idea that was presented in similar articles from the other French newspapers. It is the second time in American history, after Bill Clinton, that a Democrat president was reelected. Obama's victory was obtained thanks to the help of his campaign staff and was based on the largest budget ever for a political campaign (1 billion US dollars). The results of the elections in some of the states are listed. As a result of this victory the author considers that the president can approach his political work with the Republicans from a different position. The last time it was a delicate issue.

On the lower part of the page there is an article called *We Are Not so Divided* presenting a part of the Chicago speech from the night of the re-election. The main message is that of unity.

Suddenly, the Press Center of Columbus ceased to Be the Center of the World is the title of the article from the next page of the special part of the newspaper. On the upper side of the page a large picture with the presidential family celebrating the victory on stage is printed. Obama's victory in the state of Ohio and its implication is the main subject of the article. The car industry and minorities issues were in the center of the campaign in this state.

On the third page of *Le Monde* there is an analysis of Romney's campaign, trying to find an explanation for the failure. The arguments are the same as they were presented in similar articles on the issue from *Le Figaro*. A picture of Mitt Romney with three American flags on the left side is printed on the upper right side of the page. The article on the lower side of the page entitled *The Mobilization of the Afro-Americans and Latin-Americans Defied the Republican Strategy in Florida* presented the structure of the votes using the same figures that were mentioned in articles from other French publications.

The media coverage of the event made by *Le Monde* is larger than the coverage of *Liberation* or *Le Figaro*. And there are also other perspectives or implications that are analyzed. According to the article *Twitter in the Front Line*, the message 'Four more years' announcing the victory was the message that was shared the most in the history of the social network-

ing site. An editorial from the section *International* presents the re-election from the perspective of international politics and the article below: *Obama, the Miracle of the Crisis* presents the context and the implication of the election from the perspective of the economy and especially from the point of view of the dynamic unemployment figures.

6.4. Brief Conclusion on the Analysis of French newspapers

The American elections are an important issue for the French media, this fact being showed by the volume of the media coverage of the issue and by the position in the newspaper in special parts called *American Elections*. U.S. correspondents of each newspaper wrote the main articles. One of the media frames that were identified in several articles was that of Obama being a unifying figure of the American politics, the newly elected president, who, after a hard campaign, now has the mission of reconciliation. The structure of the voters showed once again a split. The support of the presidential family was expressed with the help of picture and words.

The majority of the articles have pictures, a distinguishing element of French newspapers, as it was mentioned before. There are several types of pictures: pictures with Obama in the victory night with his family on stage in Chicago, pictures with Obama at work, on his desk in Air Force One talking on the phone or in the presidential limousine talking on the phone as well, pictures with Obama's supporters celebrating the victory. This last type of pictures also displays people from ethnic minorities. And there are also a few pictures with Mitt Romney printed on pages where analyses of his failure are presented. The family frame was often drawn by the French Media, Obamas's victory was never the less a family victory, the candidate being highly endorsed especially by his wife. Cultural frames were identified in the articles that were analyzed, social, racial and economic differences between voters that were voting for the two candidates were mentioned in all the publications besides their political orientation.

7. The Analysis of the Romanian Newspapers

The content analysis within the Romanian context is conducted on three national newspapers: *Adevărul*, *Evenimentul Zilei* and *Jurnalul Național*. The table below summarizes the articles related to Barack Obama's victory from the 8th of November 2012, for each of the analyzed newspapers.

Comparing the above mentioned sets of titles, one can stress that each newspaper is emphasizing a different issue. While *Adevărul* is associating the re-election with the contribution of poor, Hispanics, young and women voters, *Evenimentul Zilei* gives salience to the electoral strategy and the reforms that remain to be made. In the same respect, *Jurnalul Național* is framing Obama as a social network president and presents the events prepared in Bucharest for the election moment. One might conclude that the key words within these titles are "the poor Americans", "strategy of Obama", and "the 2.0 President".

Except one article from *Adevărul*, *Obama's Success*, all the analyzed articles were published within the international or foreign sections. Based on the dimension of the articles, there is one major article in each newspaper. The majority of the articles have attached photos with the main actors of the elections. Each photograph is going to be analyzed within the section dedicated to the respective article.

Table 3. The Romanian articles by newspapers.

Newspaper	Title	No. of pages (%)	The position within the page	Type of article/section	Photo yes/no
Adevărul	Barack Obama, the President of The Poor Americans	50%	8 th page, upper side, left	International	yes
	Obama Saved by Hispanics, Young People, and Women	50%	8 th page, lower side, left	International	yes
	The Film of the Elections	15%	8 th page, lower side, left	International	no
	Difficult Cohabitation with the Legislative	15%	9 th page, lower side, center	International	no
	Spots of Color at U.S. Elections	33%	9 th page, right	International	yes
	Obama's Success	20%	10 th page, center	Opinions	no
Evenimentul Zilei	The Successful Electoral Strategy of Obama	90%	14 th page, upper and lower side	Foreign news	yes
	The Economy at the Forefront	10%	14 th page, lower side, right	Foreign news	no
	The Democrat Administration Does Not Lack External Political Challenges	66%	15 th page, upper side, left	Foreign news	yes
	The Economic Reforms Remain the Forefront of the Obama Administration	33%	15 th page, lower side, right	Foreign news	yes
Jurnalul Național	"Four More Years", the Historical Post of a Winner. Barack Obama, The 2.0 President	66%	10 th page, right	Foreign news	yes
	How to Lose with Dignity. The Nation Has Chosen Somebody Else. Let's Pray for Him	30%	11 th page, upper side	Foreign news	yes
	The Signal of Obama's Re-election Given In Bucharest At Midnight	1 and ½ pages	12 th page, upper side, and 13 th page entire	Foreign news	yes
	Băsescu Congratulated Obama. He Hopes to Meet Him Soon	25%	12 th page, lower side, left	Foreign news	yes
	"Queue" to Congratulate Obama. Russia Cheers as Well	25%	12 th page, lower side, right	Foreign news	no

The following subchapters present the specificity of each newspaper. After the individual analysis, a comparative conclusion is going to be drawn.

7.1. Adevărul

Adevărul daily newspaper was founded in 1888. Being suspended by the communist regime, the newspaper is re-born after the Romanian revolution from 1989. However, it is said that it had never stopped being the guarantee of democracy. In 2006, *Adevărul* was bought by businessman Dinu Patriciu, member of the National Liberal Party (*Adevărul* 2012). It has an average circulation of more than 23,000 copies in 2012 (*Ziare.com*).

In the *Adevărul* edition from the 8th of November 2012, there are six titles on the issue of Obama's re-election. From these ones, *Barack Obama, the President of the Poor Americans* and *Obama Saved by Hispanics, Young People, and Women* can be considered the main ones. The first page of the newspaper combines the two titles: *Barack Obama, the President of the Poor Americans. The Leader from the White House Was Reelected with the Massive Support of the Hispanics and the Low Income Population*. Except the article *Obama's Success* which is presented at page 10, all the other articles are presented within the International section at pages 8 and 9. The entire space within these pages is dedicated to the issue of Obama's re-election.

The article *Barack Obama, the President of the Poor Americans* emphasizes the fact that the re-election event is actually an event marked by a few records. The first one is that since President Roosevelt won the elections in 1940, no one except Barack Obama has won in a context characterized by a high unemployment rate. Second, since 1816, it is the first time when three consecutive Presidents each win two consecutive mandates at the White House. After presenting data on the vote differences between Obama and Mitt Romney and on the key states that were adjudged to Obama, the article goes on discussing his future plans. Being keen on social measures, Obama declared that he aimed to solve the problem of the millions of illegal immigrants by giving them legal status. In the same respect and strongly related to the main title, the summary of the article gives salience to the fact that the re-election of Obama is mainly due to his social reforms made especially for the Hispanics and citizens with low incomes. The Presidents' discourse is further evoked by explicitly highlighting the bright future: "*For the United States, what is best is yet to come [...] In spite of all our differences, the majority of us have hope for the future of America*". The ideas of differences between people and of the need of being united are strongly emphasized within Obama's discourse. It is very interesting the way the article is using different concepts as "*victorious discourse*", "*deliriously adherents*", "*that have applauded during the entire discourse*" that aim to intentionally augment the dimension of Obama's victory. Although the article is written in an objective way all the above mentioned concepts indirectly express support for Obama.

As in almost all the news presenting the re-election of Obama, the image of the President's family is also used in this article: Barack Obama, holding the hand of their youngest daughter Natasha, and Michelle Obama, holding the hand of their oldest daughter Malia. There are also pictures of them crossing the stage in order to thank people for their support. While everybody is smiling, Barack Obama is the one that salutes the supporters with his hand raised. The image of supporters that applaud the President is presented in the background. From a non-verbal perspective, the entire photograph can be summarized in a few words: happiness, unity, love and responsibility. Within the picture, the following text is written: "*Barack Obama celebrated his victory with his family and his supporters in Chicago*".

Next to this picture, there is another one representing an African-American woman that stands, most probably in Time Square, wearing a dress with Obama's face on it. In the background, other citizens celebrating the victory can be seen. This picture is emphasizing the emotions with which the Americans had waited the results of the elections in the street.

In a similar fashion with the above described article and continuing it, the article *Obama Saved by Hispanics, Young People, and Women* is giving a wider range of details regarding Obama's re-election. It is very interesting how the entire perspective of the news is changing and becoming more critical. The three subtitles used within the article are eloquent in this respect: "*The lowest score within the pale of white people*", "*Hispanic boom*", "*Obama-care has worked*", "*Investors are concerned*", and "*The dollar is undervalued*". The article begins by recognizing the victory of Obama in spite the fact that he had disappointed the Americans a lot, "*Barack Obama succeeded in winning the second mandate, although he disillusioned a lot in respect to the immense promises he made to Americans four years ago*". The issue of winning in a context characterized by a high level of unemployment is again emphasized. Considering that after the Second World War, no American President had won the elections with a 7,2% unemployment rate, Barack Obama is the only western leader that survived the economic crisis within democratic elections.

The article is also underlining the way the American electorate has recently changed. While the influence of white electorate is diminishing, the Latin-American voters are becoming more and more visible. Compared with Mitt Romney who won 60% of white votes, Barack Obama won only 38% of white American votes. By referencing history again, the article mentions the year 1984 when Ronald Reagan won the elections with a similar score regarding the white voters. The key voters that contributed to Obama's success are: *young people, women, Hispanics, non-married, African Americans, low income urban citizens, union members and citizens that have benefited from health reforms and federal help for auto producers*. The article makes references to the fact that the analysts had predicted that the Latino citizens, the population with the highest demographic growth, would have a great impact on the final results of the elections. The results showed indeed that Hispanics and Asians impressively voted for Obama, although "*his integrationist reforms have not been satisfactory for them*". The article even stressed that Obama had recognized that "*his biggest failure was the lack of a comprehensive reform for immigrants*". An innovative perspective of the article is that of presenting different opinions of young voters. Among the most important aspects of the campaign, they mentioned the issue of youth, of minorities, and of health reform.

The negative results of Obama's victory are also presented and highlighted: "*the middle class and the investors have no reason to be happy*". Jim Rogers, from the Quantum investment fund, declared that it was likely that the prices would raise and the dollar would depreciate. The article actually claims that the dollar had already depreciated as a result of the speculations that the victory of Obama would contribute to the implementation of monetary policies of economic stimulation that tend to undervalue the American dollar. By constantly presenting the fact that Obama's victory, in a context of high unemployment rate, is mainly due to young people, women, and Hispanics, this article is mostly underlining the side effects of Obama's re-election. Written in an objective and critical manner, the article presents a rather skeptical perspective of the American future under President Obama.

The article is accompanied by an image that represents an online image taken from The Huffington Post. Besides the face of Obama, there are a few bolded and enlarged words that need to be mentioned: "*Viva Obama!*", "*The divided States of America*", "*Drudge Report*".

In contrast with the content of the article, the presented image tends to rather sustain the victory of Obama. However, it seems to be a message that represents the Spanish voice of the American voters that supported Barack Obama and contributed to the changes within the structure of the electorate and to the division of the American people.

The article *The Film of the Elections* presents chronologically the results of different exit-polls from the moment the voting process was closed in different states (from 2 a.m. to 6:30 a.m. Romanian time). Beyond the fact that different exit-polls declare different winners at different moments or even a tie between Obama and Romney, the main part of the discussion is concentrated around the results from Ohio. Emphasizing the fact that no republican had ever won the presidency without winning the state of Ohio, the article names a possible victory of Obama as a “*symbolic victory*”. In the same respect, the article stresses the fact that Obama won the state of New Hampshire that is traditionally a republican state and is on a par with Romney in Florida, a sensitive state due to the situation from the 2000 elections. Having a voting system based on electors, different data for the number of won electors are presented at different moments. The last two inputs of the article are underlying the victory of Obama in Ohio, a victory announced by different channels, such as CNN, NBC, ABC, and CBS. Although written in an objective manner, using exact data and information, the article is using several expressions that tend to decode the support of the publication for President Obama: “*a symbolic victory that does not forespeak anything good for Mitt Romney*”, “*his supporters started to dance*”, “*the Empire State Building from New York is lit with blue, the color of democrats*”.

The article *Difficult Cohabitation with the Legislative* mainly talks about the consequences of the Democrats’ and of Barack Obama’s victory. With a context characterized by a majority of Democrats in Senate and a majority of Republicans in the House of Representatives, a political impasse is very likely to happen mainly referring to the public debt and *fiscal cliff*. The article is underlining the need of American politicians to reach an agreement in order to avoid recession. Written in a worriment style, the article ends by stressing that these elections are marked by the coming back into the Congress of “*the most famous political dynasty from America*”, the Kennedy dynasty, the nephew of John F. Kennedy, Joseph Kennedy, becoming part of the House of Representatives. Apparently with no connection with the rest of the article, this last information is meant to stress the importance of political stability and of the responsibility of the entire political class.

The last article on this page is referring to the *Spots of Color at U.S. Elections*. The article presents different non-political events that are, in a funny way, connected to the American elections: “Obama has outperformed even Justin Bieber” – a picture of Barack Obama hugging his wife became the most popular post on Twitter; “Donald Trump upset” – the businessman, angry with the victory of Obama, posted on Twitter the message “*We are watching a true comedy. We are not in a democracy*”; “Ready to give birth in the polling place” – a future mother stopped to vote on her way to the hospital; “The voting machine that prefers Romney” – a voter filmed the electronic voting machine registering the vote for Romney, although he had voted for Obama; “Dead and reanimated at the polling place” – an old man was resuscitated at the polling place and his first fear was if he had managed to vote; “The last words of a man sentenced to death” – a man died only one hour before finding the results of the elections; “Celebration in Kenya” – the native village of Obama’s father celebrated the re-election of the “son of the country”; “What else have the Americans legalized” – in Colorado and Washington cannabis and marihuana were legalized for recreational purposes, in

Wisconsin, for the first time, an openly-gay woman was elected for Senate,, in Maine, the same-sex marriage was legalized. This article aims to present an inedited perspective of the American elections. Either funny or sad news, this information puts the entire background of the election into a different and more common light.

The article is accompanied by the picture of Barack Obama hugging his wife, the picture mentioned above. It is well known that in the United States there is a tradition regarding the presence of the First Lady in the public sphere in the most important moments. Beyond the fact that this photograph met with a great success on Twitter, it represents the values that characterize any family: love, dedication, devotion and respect.

The last article referring to Obama's re-election from *Adevărul* is *Obama's Success*. Created as an article published in New York Times, it emphasizes the way the electorate had been divided between the two competitors "*Obama's re-election is not a sign that a fragmented nation has been unified on the Election Day*". On the contrary, while richer and white Americans voted for Romney, the poorest, the African Americans and the Hispanics were more prone to voting for Obama. This gap between different categories of people is mainly due to the policies the two candidates supported. On the one hand, Obama insisted on job creation, health reform, moderate policies regarding immigration, abortion, and same sex marriage. On the other hand, Mitt Romney militated for a free market, for a strict policy against immigration, against abortions and marriage between individuals of the same sex.

In conclusion, based on the analysis of *Adevărul's* articles, there is a balance between different opinions regarding Obama's re-election. In the majority of the cases, the facts are objectively presented and are accompanied by data. In addition, a slightly pro position for Obama is immediately diminished by a criticism of his policies. However, one can observe a generally optimistic perspective regarding Obama's re-election. Although there are no specifications referring to the impact of the elections worldwide, the articles presented in *Adevărul* are trying to make an objective and holistic description of facts.

7.2. Evenimentul Zilei

Having a circulation of more than 15,000 daily copies (*Ziare.com*), *Evenimentul zilei* was founded in 1992 (PressEurop) and bought by Ringier Switzerland Group in 2003 (Hotnews). With a very unstable history, with a lot of resignations and changes within the board, it has been either accused of criticizing the Social Democratic Party, or it has been said that this party aims to buy the newspaper (Mediapedia).

Evenimentul zilei from the 8th of November 2012 presents four articles related to Obama's re-election. Together, all these articles cover the space of page 14 and 15 from the newspaper. All of them contain pictures and are included in the foreign news section.

The largest article is *The Successful Electoral Strategy of Obama*". The summary of the article emphasizes that Obama won due to the large support of moderate voters, women, and minorities especially from traditional Democratic states and undecided key states. Starting by objectively presenting the numbers of the victory, the article focuses afterwards on the context of the re-election. Both the positive and the negative aspects of Obama's governance are underlined. On the one hand, Obama is presented as a very good strategist. Using red, larger and highlighted words, the author of the article is referring to the fact that the most efficient electoral machines from the United States were Obama's offices from the undecided states opened one year before the elections. By dedicating the victory to the citizens of the United

States, Obama is presented as a very hopeful President: “*We know in our heart that for the United States of America what is best is yet to come*”. The role of this already famous quote is that of motivating the electorate and of allowing them to hope again. As in the summary of the article, the reasons beyond Obama’s re-election are stated again. The strategy of Obama is presented as being concentrated on “*the new demographics and the old economics*”. The main voters were the Hispanic population, gay people, women, immigrants, and people supporting marriages between same sex individuals, abortion and contraception. The novelty of the article lies in emphasizing that Obama had managed to make people forget about the economic difficulties. Moreover, Obama is presented in the Financial Times as a “*champion of the middle class*” who succeeded on his own.

On the other hand, the article constantly reminds us of the need for further changes that Obama must carry out. President Obama is quoted with his thank you speech in which he emphasizes the difficulties that must be overcome: “*The nation will move forward, although the battle for the desired changes will continue to be difficult*”. Obama himself is presented by being aware that this re-election implies enormous responsibility. In addition, the idea of winning in a hostile background and with a lack of sufficient reform is mentioned. The first African American President of the United States, Obama took power four years ago with the slogans “*hope*” and “*change*”. “*In spite of a poor review especially on the economic issues*”, he succeeded in convincing the citizens again, especially in a context characterized by a high unemployment rate.

The article ends with a quote of a Republican sociologist: “*If Obama wins, it happens because he has overcome all the drawbacks of history*”. The victory of Obama is characterized by a permanent surprise. He unexpectedly won especially given the economic situation. However, as stated before, this article presents Obama as a strategic person that had prepared his path long before elections and that had targeted a very influential electorate.

There are three pictures presented within this article. The first one shows the entire Obama family. While Barack Obama and his wife are having a large smile on their faces, their daughters seem a little bit shy being on the stage in front of a numerous audience. Barack Obama is the only one that salutes the people. The other two images represent the two candidates for Presidency. While Mitt Romney is presented looking down as a symbol of his loss, Obama is presented talking to people and making very convincing gestures. These two opposite images are underlining the results of the elections.

As a fluid continuation of the above analyzed article, *The Economy at the Forefront* gives even more details of the elections. Although it does not occupy a lot of space, the article places Obama as being usually behind Mitt Romney on the sensitive economic issue. Although he entered the electoral campaign with the handicap of not being the President of “*hope and change*” anymore and of being the President who had gone through “*the nightmare of the economic issues*”, Obama had a very efficient strategy. By offering governmental funds for helping companies like General Motors and Chrysler and advocating taxes for millionaires and billionaires, Obama won undecided states and positioned himself as a defender of the middle class. This article emphasizes the importance of having a well thought out strategy in an electoral campaign in the United States especially in an economic context characterized by crisis. In this respect, although written in an objective manner, the article is mainly focusing on the strategic qualities of Barack Obama.

The third article presented by *Evenimentul Zilei*, *The Democrat Administration Does Not Lack External Political Challenges*, gives salience to the foreign challenges of Obama’s ad-

ministration. The article presents nine external priorities of the United States: a possible collapse or civil war in Afghanistan after NATO's pullback estimated in 2014; a possible implosion or explosion in Iran meaning the need for negotiation, using nuclear weapon or diversion in a context of isolation and of economic crisis; the Islam Fraternity emancipation; the risk of cybernetic attacks that can lead to more national and international chaos than the bombardment of a city; the Israel attack on Iran; China, a growing economic and military power; Russia under Putin who aims to re-gain the glory from the Soviet period; the dispute with Pakistan; and the re-birth of Al-Qaida. By enumerating all the above mentioned external challenges, the article is emphasizing the important role and responsibility of Obama within the international context. Being the leader of the greatest economic and military power, Barack Obama is facing delicate and hard decisions. In contrast with all these international challenges, the picture adjoining this article represents a child holding a paper with the text "*Forward*". Under this word, the website of Obama (barackobama.com) is written down. In the context of the article, a possible interpretation of this image is that of making the most appropriate decision for the future of humankind, a decision that implies moving forward wisely.

The last article, "*The Economic Reforms Remain the Forefront of the Obama Administration*", underlines the need for economic, fiscal and political reform in the United States. Within the second mandate, Obama must solve the problems related to unemployment, low average income, and country deficit. Among very exact statistics presented in this article, one piece of information is especially marked: "*16 trillion dollars is the external debt of the United States and the country is heading for a fiscal cliff in 2013*". Based on these data, the article presents the measures Obama plans to take. Creating jobs through measures that will encourage companies to move the production to the United States, reducing by half the energy imports, or reducing expenditures are only some of the mentioned plans. With bolded letters, the following text is written: "*By inheriting an economic crisis, Obama has promoted an economic stimulus package, a new health insurance law, measures that regulate companies on Wall Street and he has tried to avoid a new crisis*". Based on this description, Obama is constantly presented as a very important actor within the process of reform. However, having to take so many overwhelming measures, he can be also perceived as a victim or as an entity that needs help. In this respect, the article ends with David Boren's suggestion of bringing together the Democrats and the Republicans. The picture of this article is specific for the presented subject: an image from the international stock exchange with an Asian in the foreground. In the background, on screen, the image of Obama winning is visible. Naturally, the main idea is that the entire economic field had expected the results of the elections.

In conclusion, the articles from *Evenimentul zilei* present the re-election of Obama in a different manner in comparison to the other two Romanian newspapers. While emphasizing the successful strategy of Barack Obama, the articles are framing this victory in an international context characterized by war, instability, and constant economic issues. Keeping an objective perspective, the authors of the articles are drawing the attention on the measures that need to be urgently taken by the President of the United States of America.

7.3. Jurnalul Național

Jurnalul Național has an average daily circulation of more than 17,000 copies (Ziare.com). It was founded in 1993 and it is part of the Intact Group (Jurnalul Național). The founder of the newspaper is Dan Voiculescu, the ex-leader of the Conservative Party.

Among the analyzed newspapers, *Jurnalul Național* is the one that has the highest number of articles. In addition, in contrast with the other two newspapers, it also gives more importance to the impact of Obama's re-election in Romania.

The first article, "*Four More Years*", the *Historical Post of a Winner. Barack Obama, the 2.0 President*", has a very intriguing title. By using a post made by Obama on a social network, the President is seen as a very modern person, keen on new technologies and aware of the preferences of the youth. The entire article is actually based on the novelty of using the Internet to such a large extent in an electoral campaign.

The article begins with a quote from Obama's victory speech: "*We are an American family and we rise or fall together as one nation and as one people. Tonight, in this election, you, the American people, reminded us that while our road has been hard, while our journey has been long, we have picked ourselves up, we have fought our way back, and we know in our hearts that for the United States of America, the best is yet to come*". In this part of the speech, there are three aspects that are underlined: unity, determination and hope. Based on this quotation, the author of the article is stressing that even if this part of the speech had been the entire discourse, the discourse could have been considered perfect. Moreover, he declares that there are no other better suited words in order to get to the hearts of the Americans. Starting with these statements, the article positions itself as very supportive for Obama's re-election. The entire team of the President is praised: "*Obama and his excellent campaign team have found the words and have transmitted them within a discourse delivered with calm and warmth in front of an enthusiastic audience*".

By using France Press and Wall Street Journal as sources, the article continues by defining the context in which Barack Obama won the elections. In spite of an economic crisis and of a very high unemployment rate, Obama succeeded in convincing the Americans to vote for him again, thus becoming the second Democrat, after Bill Clinton, to win a second mandate after the World War 2. The article presents a part of Obama's biography stressing the he was raised by a single mother and went to a prestigious school in Hawaii. At the same time, there is an important emphasis on the idea that, with the re-election of Barack Obama, history is being written: "*historical discourse*", "*historical post*". The entire campaign had been focused on social networks. That is why Obama announced his victory on Twitter and on Facebook. The Internet had been used during the entire campaign in order to advise young people to vote and even after the results. In this respect, the article claims that the presidential elections had become the most mediated political event of all the American history that evening: "*We are witnessing the first real presidential elections on social networks*". Besides the immense role of the Internet, Obama is presented as winning the elections due to the way the Democrats had managed to organize themselves in different states, due to the high number of voters that had been contacted by the party and that had thus been mobilized, and to the great attention given to the demographic changes.

Insisting on the important role of social networks, the article underlines the messages Barack Obama posted: "*All these have happened thanks to you. Thank you! We are all together. That is the way we have made campaign and that is what we are. Merci. bo*". Beyond the content of the post, that signals again the idea of unity and of responsibility, the end of the message and the signature emphasize the way social network can contribute to the closeness even between a President and common people. However, the article highlights the fact that the message that will remain in history is "*four more years*", accompanied by the picture in

which Obama is hugging his wife. This message had become the most popular of all times, being shared and liked by a million individuals.

There are two pictures showed with this article. The first one depicts young people celebrating the victory of Obama in the street. The second one shows Barack Obama, Michelle Obama, Joe Biden (the Vice President) and his wife holding their hands and raising them. They all have smiles on their faces and they seem eager to show their happiness after an important fight. Confetti is flying all around in order to accentuate the celebratory atmosphere.

This article is produced as a contemplation of Obama, of what he is, of what he has done and of what he is going to do. With no reservation, the author of the article is emphasizing the importance of Barack Obama's victory and the way the entire campaign had been built on new technologies.

Among the analyzed newspapers, *Jurnalul Național* is the only one that dedicates an article to Mitt Romney, the loser of these elections. This approach is even more innovative since the above described article is glorifying Obama, the competitor of Romney. The title of the article is *How to Lose with Dignity*. "*The Nation has Chosen Somebody Else. Let's Pray for Him*" the victory of Obama. Beginning with the title, the article underlines the idea of losing with dignity and of offering the entire support to the winner for the good of the country. Mitt Romney accepted the defeat and congratulated Obama. The article makes references to the fact that Romney had previously and optimistically announced that he had finished the victory discourse. Continuing the idea from the title, Obama's counter-candidate is presented as a politician who had focused on cooperation between Republicans and Democrats: "*in a moment like the present one, we cannot afford gags and partisanship*". Half of the article talks about Romney's political career that is probably close to the end: "*after the failure in the presidential elections, the ex multimillionaire business man ends a successful professional career, characterized nevertheless by political breakdowns especially due to the opportunist image he has never managed to shake off*". Father and grandfather, Harvard graduate, and Governor of Massachusetts, Mitt Romney failed twice in politics, first losing in 2008 to John McCain and in 2012 to Barack Obama. The article ends in a skeptical manner by stating that it is unlikely that his wife and the electorate would give him a third chance.

The picture used for the article shows Mitt Romney symbolically walking between two American flags, looking down and having a small smile on his face. This very well chosen picture manages to summarize the entire content of the article. Although confident in the victory in the elections, Romney was faced again with failure. Without a clean image of a business man and a good political strategy, he failed in becoming the President of the United States.

In contrast with the articles from *Adevărul* and *Evenimentul Zile*, the article from *Jurnalul Național*, *The Signal of Obama's Re-election Given in Bucharest at Midnight*" presents the victory of Barack Obama in the context of an event organized in Bucharest in order to celebrate the elections. The article focuses on the message delivered by Mark Gitenstein, the American ambassador to Romania: „*Thus, the message of America is: if there is quality and courage, anybody can succeed*". He organized an American party, "*the Night of elections*" in order to celebrate Obama's victory. The list of guests was diverse: from mass-media representatives to ministers and ambassadors. Although he had refused to position himself for or against one of the candidates, Mark Gitenstein declared that the impact of the 2012 elections could be compared with the elections from 1961 when J.F. Kennedy was elected. In his discourse from the beginning of the party, he briefly described the complex election system in America and the enormous amount of money spent for the campaign. The article also talks

about mock-election held during the event from Bucharest. The winner was the same as the winner from America. In the end of the article, the importance of social networks is mentioned. The post of Barack Obama "*four more years*" is considered memorable due to the high number of shares and likes it received. The article is complemented by pictures that focus on the celebratory atmosphere from the American party in Bucharest. While the images show the people invited to the event, the background of the pictures is made up of big screens with Obama and Romney.

The article *Bășescu Congratulated Obama. He Hopes to Meet him Soon* presents the message the President of Romania, Traian Bășescu, shared in order to congratulate Barack Obama. The entire discourse of Bășescu is characterized by a visible support and respect for the President Obama and for his measures. Known as a constant partner of the United States, Romania expresses, through the voice of its President, the joy brought about by Obama's victory: "*Both your successful campaign for the re-election and your determination to focus on a new vision for America in which prosperity is given to everybody, have been noticed by Romanians and by nations all over the world. Your re-election comes in a very good moment for the Romanian-American strategic partnership. The progressive relationship, built step by step, has always represented the dynamic force of our bilateral partnership*". Thus, the friendship and the strategic partnership are constantly emphasized. At the same time, by mentioning future cooperation, especially at the military level by the implementation of the Defense system against ballistic missiles, Bășescu stresses upon his belief that the dialogue between the two states will continue. In a context in which an image of the Oval Office from the White House is showed together with the article, Bășescu's hope to meet Obama in the near future is even more underlined. In the end, President Bășescu once again congratulates Barack Obama.

Continuing in the same manner, the article *Queue to Congratulate Obama. Russia Cheers as well* focuses on the reaction of Russia and of the entire world to the victory of Barack Obama. The article starts by emphasizing that since Mitt Romney, who declared Russia to be the number one enemy of the United States, lost the elections, the re-election of Obama should be a positive sign for Russia. Vladimir Putin, the President of Russia is presented congratulating Obama and expressing his hope for a strong cooperation between the two countries on the international arena. The article goes on presenting the congratulations from the international partners of the United States. While China hopes for a "constructive cooperation", Germany and France invite Obama to act together with Europe against the economic crisis ("*an open and sympathetic America, fully engaged within the international arena and aware of the planet's challenges: peace, economy and environment*"). While Israel strongly supports and congratulates Obama's re-election, the Palestinian leader expresses his hope that the President of the United States will continue his peace effort in the Middle East. The entire article is an overview of the world's reactions to Obama's re-election. In this respect, some of the world's issues are underlined and are presented in the context in which Obama is one of the main actors on the international stage.

In conclusion, *Jurnalul Național* chose to approach Obama's victory from a different perspective, a more informal one. Although without being subjective and without deeming the Democrats' victory as either 'good' or 'bad', the newspaper might be considered as slightly in favor of the re-election of Barack Obama. Compared with the other two newspapers, there are three innovative aspects mentioned in *Jurnalul Național*: the intense focus on the role of social network in the results of the American elections, the presentation of the reactions of

different countries regarding Obama's victory, and the description of the event organized in Bucharest in order to celebrate the elections from the United States.

7.4. Brief Conclusion on the Analysis of the Romanian newspapers

All in all, based on the above analysis, one can conclude that the facts regarding the re-election of Barack Obama as the President of the United States of America are objectively presented in the Romanian written press. Although there are contextual differences, the main pattern of news is comprised of exact data regarding the results of the elections, the hostile economic context, the role of new media in the elections, the international economic and political context that needs to be faced by the new President, and different international reactions to Obama's victory. Although while *Adevărul* focused more on the demographic groups that elected Obama (poor citizens, women, young people, Hispanics etc.), *Evenimentul zilei* emphasized more the national and international challenges, and *Jurnalul Național* had a more informal and relaxed way of presenting news, none of the newspapers can be characterized by being pro or against the results of the American elections. This can be partly explained by the geo-strategic position of Romania. Being a permanent ally of the United States of America, Romania has a friendly perspective regarding the results of the elections.

Moreover, analyzing the political affiliation of the newspapers, no signs of bias can be noticed. Although the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights claims that Romania has a polarized media landscape, influenced by the political affiliation of the major broadcasters (OSCE/ODIHR), this cannot be said to be a determining variable as far as the American elections are concerned. While *Adevărul* Holding belonged to Dinu Patriciu (Liberal National Party – PNL) until 2012, *Evenimentul zilei* is owned by Bobby Păunescu (Social Democrat Party – PSD) and *Jurnalul Național* belongs to the Intact company founded by Dan Voiculescu (Conservator Party – PC) (Preoteasa, 2004, p. 606). It is very interesting to notice that all the above mentioned parties belong nowadays to the same political alliance: Social-Liberal Union – USL. Being formed of right-wing and left-wing parties, this alliance cannot be properly positioned within the political spectrum. Thus, we may conclude that the political affiliation of the analyzed newspapers has zero or minimum impact on the way the news regarding Barack Obama's re-election was covered.

When it comes to the frames used within the analyzed newspapers, the main conclusions are the following. *Adevărul* presents the news of Obama re-election by emphasizing three main perspective: socio-cultural frame and the importance of the reforms made for poor, young and Hispanics; family frame, in which Obama is visually presented as celebrating with his wife and his daughters; and economic frame that underlines the Obama's re-election in spite of a high level of unemployment and of economic decline. *Evenimentul zilei* uses three important frames: socio-cultural issues in a context of a very well developed winning strategy; economic issues in respect of the future measures that need to be taken; and international frame regarding the foreign challenges and responsibilities of Obama's administration. *Jurnalul Național* presents a rather different set of frames. While the economic frame is still present, the emphasis is mainly on the social media frame and the role the new communication platforms have had during the electoral campaign. In addition, while there is a large space dedicated to the loss of Mitt Romney, the US-Romania partnership frame is highlighted by presenting the Romanian celebration of Obama's victory and by underlying the importance of the geo-strategy between the two countries.

8. Comparative Perspective: German, French and Romanian Newspapers

A comparative analysis over the media coverage in the three different countries should take into consideration some differences in the media systems of them. There is a relevant element of comparative media system analysis according to Hallin and Mancini called the political parallelism. Thus France and Germany has a strong political parallelism with a strong quality paper segment that has traditional political orientations that were mentioned in the analysis of the media coverage of each country (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). The Romanian media system is the exception from this point of view. Even if we included newspapers with different political orientation the victory of the reelected US president was the top issue in terms of priming in all the countries.

Regarding the extent of the media coverage, German and French media presented the issue in a broader way than the Romanian media. Also the perspective of the media coverage, the related issues were much more diversified in the case of German and French media than in the case of the Romanian one. Generally the German and French quality papers have a broader coverage of international news, also in the daily issues, so the focus on the results of the presidential elections in the US was no exception.

With respect to the frames that were identified, the family frame was present in the three countries. The main pattern of news included in German, French and Romanian media the figures related to the results, the hostile economic context in the US, the role of new media in the elections and partially the international economic and political context that needs to be faced by the new President. Other frames that were identified are socio-economic and cultural ones.

In contrast to what had been expected, the political affiliation of the newspapers had minimum impact on the way the news on Obama's victory was covered in the three countries. As mentioned before, this might be due to the influence of the general geo-strategic position of the countries. In spite of specific divergence between Germany, France and Romania on the one side and the United States of America on the other side, all four countries are part of political and economic partnerships. That is the reason why, regardless of the political inclinations of the foreign publications and of the results of the American elections, the position of the print media from the analyzed countries is that of support, confidence and expectation.

We expected a brighter media debate on the implications of Obama's election for each country to be part of the media coverage. This was not the case. It is possible that this type of analysis to be part of the newspaper issues that followed the day one after the US elections and those were not included in the study.

9. Discussion and Conclusions

This study is a comparative analysis of the way in which print media from three European countries, Germany, France and Romania, covered the event of Obama's re-election in 2012. Based on a content analysis of the articles related to the issue of Obama's victory, the research has tried to emphasize the frames in which this issue was presented in different countries and in publications with different political affiliations.

In contrast to what had been expected, the political affiliation of the newspapers had minimum impact on the way the news on Obama's victory was covered in the three countries that

were subjects of our analysis. As mentioned before, this might be due to the influence of the general geo-strategic position of the countries. In spite of specific divergences between Germany, France and Romania on the one side and the United States of America on the other side, all four countries are part of political and economic partnerships. That is the reason why, regardless of the political inclinations of the foreign publications and of the results of the American elections, the position of the print media from the analyzed countries is that of support, confidence and expectation.

From the point of view of the priming theory, an interesting conclusion is that in Germany and France, in comparison with Romania, the news on the results of the American elections is given larger space. In some of the analyzed newspapers, the space dedicated to the subject of Obama's re-election covers almost the entire publication. However, considering the large amount of articles in all three countries, one may conclude that, as expected, the future of the most powerful nation is important for the entire world. Moreover, if something important happens in the United States of America, it is very likely that it will appear in the worldwide news as being equally important, especially when the consequences of that particular event can be internationally significant.

Going deeper into the review, it is very interesting to observe that all of the analyzed publications use similar frames in order to cover the event of Obama's re-election. The main common themes are the following: the divided electorate, the need for unity, the positive impact of Obama's economic reforms on women, young people, or Hispanics, and the international context awaiting quick measures. Furthermore, in spite of natural differences between the ways in which the event is presented in different publications from different countries, by highlighting different aspects of the same issue, the similarities are highly visible. By using American correspondents or citing American publications, thus having a common source, the information exhibits similarities.

Even if our analysis is limited to three European countries, we envisage a generous avenue for future research in the field. America will probably always be an important player on the international stage. Therefore, anything that happens there is likely to have a worldwide echo.

Note

¹ Engl. "The US elections"

References

- Abramowitz, A. I. (2013). Election forecast: A Look Back at the Time for Change Model and the 2012 Presidential Election. *Political Science & Politics*, Volume 46, Issue 01, 37-38.
- Adevărul. (15 August 2012). "Adevărul" scrie istorie de 124 de ani. Retrieved from http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/adevarul-scrie-istorie-124-ani-1_50aec9c47c42d5a663a06c10/index.html, last accessed July 2013.
- Balaban, D. (2009). Comunicare mediatică. București: Editura Tritonic.
- Balmas, M., & Sheafer, T. (2010). Candidate Image in Election Campaigns: Attribute Agenda Setting, Affective Priming, and Voting Intentions. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 204-229.

- Camaj L., & Weaver D. H.. (2013). Need for Orientation and Attribute Agenda-Setting During a U.S. Election Campaign. *International Journal of Communication*, Vol. 7, 1442-1463.
- Cuzan, A. G. (2013). Fiscal Model Failure: A Measurement Problem? A preliminary Assesment. *Political Science & Politics*, Vol. 46, Issue 01, 42-43.
- De Vreese C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal, Document Design*, 13(1), 51-62.
- Dickinson, M. J. (2014). The 2012 Presidential Election: Taking the “Fun” Out of Fundamentals?. *Political Science & Politics*, Vol. 47, Issue 2, 309-312.
- Dragojlovic, N. I. (2011). Priming and the Obama Effect on Public Evaluations of the United States. *Political Psychology*, Vol. 32, No. 6, 989-1006.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a Fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 43, Issue 4, 51-58.
- Entman, R. M. (2010). Media framing biases and political power: Explaining slant in news of Campaign 2008. *Journalism*, 11(4), 389-408.
- Erikson, R. S., & Wlezien C. (2013). Forecasting with leading economic indicators and the polls in 2012. *Political Science & Politics*, Vol. 46, Issue 01, 38-39.
- Fletcher, F. J. (1994). Media, elections and democracy. *Canadian Journal of Communication* Error! Bookmark not defined., 19(2Error! Bookmark not defined.), 131-150.
- Hallin, D., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics*, Cambridge University Press.
- Hotnews. (December 2004). BBC: Evenimentul zilei – o scurta istorie. Retrieved from <http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-arhiva-1607435-bbc-evenimentul-zilei-scurt-istoric.htm>, last accessed July 2013.
- Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. (1997). News coverage of the Gulf Crisis and Public Opinion. A study of Agenda Setting, Priming and Framing. In Iyengar S. and Reeves, R. (eds.) *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters and Reporters in America*. Thousand Oaks.
- Jäckel, J. (2008). *Medienwirkungen. Ein Studienbuch zur Einführung*. 4th edition. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Jurnalul Național. Anunțuri Jurnalul Național, <http://www.anunt-jurnalul-national.ro/>, last accessed July 2013.
- Kim, S.-H., Miejeong H., Choi, D.-H., & Kim, J.-N. (2012). Attribute agenda setting, priming and the media's influence on how to think about a controversial issue. *The International Communication Gazette*, 74(1), 43-59.
- McCombs, M., Llamas, J.P., Lopez-Escobar, E., & Rey, F. (1997). Candidate Images in Spanish Elections: Second-level Agenda-setting Effects. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74, 4, 703-717.
- Mediapedia, *Evenimentul zilei*, Retrieved from http://www.mediapedia.ro/wiki/index.php/Evenimentul_zilei, last accessed July 2013.
- Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. (January 2013). *Romania. Parliamentary Elections – 9 December 2012*, OSCE/ODIHR Election Expert Team Final Report, Warsaw. Retrieved from <http://www.osce.org/odihr/98757>, last accessed July 2013.
- Preoteasa, M. (2004). Media ownership and its impact on media independence and pluralism. Retrieved from http://www2.mirovni-institut.si/media_ownership/pdf/romania.pdf, last accessed July 2013.
- PressEurop. *Evenimentul zilei*. Retrieved from <http://www.presseurop.eu/ro/content/source-information/880-evenimentul-zilei>, last accessed July 2013.
- Reta, M. C. (2000). US Media Coverage of the 1994 Elections in South Africa. *Gazette*, Vol. 62 (6), 523-536.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 9-20.
- Takens, J., van Atteveldt, W., van Hoof, A., & Kleinnijenhuis, J. (2013). Media logic in election campaign coverage. *European Journal of Communication*, 28(3), 277-293.
- Thomaß, B. (ed.). (2007). *Mediensysteme im internationalen Vergleich*. UVK Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, Konstanz.
- Weaver, David H. (2007). Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing, and Priming. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 142-147.

- Weber, T., & Woltersdorff, S. (eds.). (2001). *Wegweiser durch die französische Medienlandschaft*. Schüren Presseverlag, Marburg.
- Ziare.com. Tirajele ziarelor românești continuă să scadă – mai ales presa quality. Retrieved from <http://www.ziare.com/media/ziare/tirajele-ziarelor-romanesti-continua-sa-scada-mai-ales-presa-quality-1171036>, last accessed July 2013.