

ADAPTIVE FACEBOOK COMMUNICATION OF ORTHODOX ENTITIES IN COVID-19 CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT. A generalized migration of the consumers to digital channels was observed during the COVID-19 pandemic situation. In this context, the purpose of the research was to analyze the online options the consumer of religious services had and the way Church adapted its communication at the new circumstances. Questions regarding the intensity of communication, posts' type or frequency, and reactions were investigated through a longitudinal retrospective study focused on Facebook platform. More than 6,150 posts and 1.6 million reactions were included. Distinctive profiles were observed: monasteries vs. urban parishes vs. rural ones. The study suggests that the pattern of consumers' reactions was influenced by the type of the posts. The impact that online messages have, advocates for a professional approach or support in communication. The results may serve as informational input for a future unitary communication strategy of religious entities.

Keywords: religious communication, adaptive communication, Facebook, Orthodox, COVID-19

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Introduction and Review of Literature

On the 11th of March 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the COVID-19 medical situation as pandemic (World Health Organization, 2020). The new global health emergency affected most of the business ecosystems and led to even more changes in human life. The pandemic represents both an opportunity for innovation or optimization and at the same time, a major threat to all entities in terms of their strategic organizational capacity and resilience in their efforts to ensure business continuity. The need for organizations to survive forced companies to operate in different ways to successfully cope with supply chain disruptions, changes in customer demand, and health risks to their own workforce (Margherita & Heikkilä, 2021). The difficult pandemic contingency obliged companies to mitigate threats and take advantage of newly created opportunities. Four critical macro-trends shape the new business models on the market: economic impact, digital growth, erosion of confidence, and the new home hub (KPMG, 2020).

While the first 50 'Fortune Global 500' companies were investigated by Margherita and Heikkilä in terms of business continuity in the context of COVID-19 outbreak (Margherita & Heikkilä, 2021), there is a lack of research in investigating the strategies, models, and efforts that non-profit or no commercial purpose entities adopted or made. The need and desire to effectively adapt to the current global context and to continue the ordinary or traditional activities were also felt and experienced by religious entities, severely impacted on their traditional way of being.

Between March 15 and May 14, 2020, due to COVID-19 pandemic, Romania was like all other countries, under emergency state (E.S.) and the religious services were allowed only without any non-essential

participants, thus the believers were not-included as attendees. Under these circumstances, many of the religious services were transmitted online. In Romania, Facebook (FB) is the most popular social media platform, with a weekly usage rate of 82% in 2020 (Statista, 2021). The migration to the online environment was a mass phenomenon, especially for parishes, both urban and rural ones.

The communication between Orthodox religious entities and their believers via Facebook platform was considered for the research. To gain a better understanding of how online religious communication is conducted, the first concern of the study was to identify an existing standardized framework for online communication of different religious entities. Also, the authors assumed that offline notoriety can be replicated online, and in this regard, the number of followers was analysed.

The research objectives of the paper are to identify if: O1 During the state of emergency the phenomenon of online communication has intensified; O2 The type of post messages - original or shared - determines the active involvement of consumers on digital communication channels; O3 The frequency of posts influences the number of online reactions; O4 Posts that contain video and photos generate more reactions online.

Religion and Religiosity

Religion continues to play a significant role in contemporary society. The religious experience has profound personal echoes. The individual, familial, and social backgrounds modulate the perspective, expectations, development, commitment, and intensity of personal religious life (Hood et al., 2009; Paloutzian & Park, 2005) at such an extent that some scientists considered religiosity as a study field reserved to the faithful researchers (Luke of Crimea & Chiriac, 2018). At the same time, the impact of the religiosity can be perceived at community level but also in narrow areas as organisational performance and optimisation (Mathew et al., 2019).

This is why the scientific study of religious phenomena is not a common area of interest for researchers in Central or Eastern Europe. In a 2022 report of Institute for Scientific Information, focussed on 11 countries recently admitted to the European Union (EU), only Poland

was mentioned in the top of article production on this topic, despite the fact that by being part of EU, all of them had access to the same research funding sources (Adams et al., 2022).

The transformative role of the Internet on religion received limited attention in scientific research. The use of social media in the religious area before the COVID-19 pandemic has been controversial. Despite the slightly increasing number of religious entities engaged on social media platforms in recent years, the debate over their role, effectiveness, and merits remains (Nyland & Near, 2007). Digital technologies had an impact on all aspects of human life, transforming the concepts of life, identity, time, and space; and religion is no exception (Volkova, 2021). Most people still define themselves as religious, even in an increasingly secularized society (Verschoor-Kirss & College, 2012). At global level, a major trend is represented by the Christian believers without affiliation to any religious organization, e.g. up to one third of the entire US population (Smith, 2021).

The consumer / the believer

At the same time, the reality for the consumer changed. A new client has emerged in the pandemic, with new behaviours and decision-making criteria. Marked by the decrease in interpersonal interaction and focused mainly on personal health and safety, new consumers have found digital channels as a main solution for continuity. The process of adopting digital channels has grown rapidly in the new reality. One third of clients who used mainly in-person channels before 2020 to contact brands for assistance, especially from non-food retail and banking, are now switching to digital channels. Both digital channels (18%) and digitally enabled contact channels (10%) increased rapidly in 2020 (KPMG, 2020). The same trend occurred in the religious field. Lövheim (2008) showed that in Sweden, young people seek religious experiences rather through the Internet than through local religious communities (Lövheim, 2008).

Through their affiliation to the Orthodox Church, the believers accept the official perspective on what Church is. As a theandric body of Christ, both human and divine, Church represents community, communion, and communication (Todoran & Zagrean, 2009). The communication

process is a bidirectional one, from humans to deity (e.g., prayer) but at the same time with a descendent direction (e.g., The Grace). The core element of the Christian community is the Eucharist or the Holy Communion, that presumes an active presence to a Liturgy/Mess as co-participation of the believers to the Lord's Last Supper (Staniloae, 1996). This is why the restrictions enforced during the emergency state of COVID-19 pandemic influenced in a negative way the religious life of the believers (Osei-Tutu et al., 2021). A more equilibrated point of view is formulated in a study focused on South Tyrol (Italy), that highlights the fact that digital media is perceived as having both positive and negative effects of the relationship between believers and Church (Isetti et al., 2021). In a recent study, Hodøl conclude that social media's role is to physically bring people to the church, not an arena of religious manifestation (Hodøl, 2021).

Communication

The way consumers communicate has changed dramatically. Physical distance and reduced physical contacts imposed by many countries, forced the adoption of various communication tools for everyday life. The use of online communication through social media platforms increased for social reasons. An innovative application of social networks by locating and tracking contacts was implemented due to the pandemic (Wong et al., 2021). In addition, there was a dependence on social media/networks for work and learning, highlighting the associated limitations. Even traditional services for face-to-face interactions were forced to move online (schools, universities, professional congresses and conferences, religious entities, some medical services, etc.). Various platforms such as Google Meet, Zoom™, and Microsoft Teams™ had an exponential increase in the number of users during this time (Wong et al., 2021).

According to the Romanian National Authority for Administration and Regulation in Communications, during 2020 vs. 2019, the total number of Internet connections had a positive evolution of +8% for fixed connections and +3% for mobile ones. The average monthly Internet traffic per capita increased by +51%, up to 44 GB/month for fixed

Internet, and by +30%, up to 4.9 GB/month for mobile Internet. The 2020 Report also mentions that, in the pandemic context, the gap between urban and rural areas narrowed, due to the fact that the growth rate of the number of new rural connections was much higher than for urban ones (+8% vs. +1%) (ANCOM, 2021). These data demonstrate that the online environment is a ubiquitous reality, with an increasing penetration rate across all demographics.

The influence of the tool on the communication content represents a point of interest for scientists. Volkova explored the transformations associated with the digitization of the Eastern Orthodox religious discourse in more than a quarter of a century, focusing on the attitude of the biggest Orthodox Church toward digital technologies. The research concluded on the need to adapt to the modern digital environment and emphasizes the benefit of the online environment to target and influence a large number of new digital consumers (Volkova, 2021).

Online religiosity phenomenon

Online technologies are perceived as a convenient tool for expanding religious influence (Campbell, 2020) and for reaching the hearts and souls of believers and also 'to make the religious picture of the world more expressive and plausible' (Volkova, 2021). The rise of religious phenomena in the online environment is linked to offline religious structures and practices. The consumers' adherence to the online dimensions of religion reflects their efforts to personally combine online activities with offline existences. Religious experiences were offered through a growing number of websites, chat rooms, and e-mail discussion groups. Cyber-churches, cyber-temples or online rituals (such as electronic prayer and virtual pilgrimages) have continued to emerge over the past three decades (Campbell, 2005). A 2004 report found that the Internet represented a significant environment for religion among Americans, and 64% of the surveyed population used the Internet for religious purposes. However, the results showed that their use of the Internet cannot overlap with the expectations expressed by religious entities (Hoover et al., 2004). The extensive adoption of online tools for religious purposes allowed

believers to test new optical experiences, visual representations of faith realities, facilitating a new way of participation and interactivity (Andok, 2021).

Social networks currently offer a conventional channel for religion, bringing a new dimension for religious entities, believers, parishioners, and the public to communicate virtually, maintain and support their community. Online religion generated wide flows and networks of resources, audiences, communities, and connections in search of valuable spiritual and social encounters (Hutchings, 2011). Verschoor-Kirss and College suggested that technology opportunities, such as social networks (e.g., Facebook) can be used by religious individuals and institutions not only for religious purposes, but also for community building (Verschoor-Kirss & College, 2012). In 2017, Lim investigated several Christian churches in south Australia and determined several effective ways to use social media, given the purpose and values/metrics of Facebook posts (Lim, 2017). A study conducted by Radde-Antweiler and Grünenthal on the mediatization within the Roman Catholic Church concluded that communication practices differ depending on the recipient. Communications within groups are slightly mediatized, but individuals mostly use the media to communicate with outsiders or people who might express interest in their message (Radde-Antweiler & Grünenthal, 2020). At the beginning of the pandemic, the primary sources of information available were via the Internet and social media. In this respect, the original content and sharing were mechanisms to provide information by social media users and to reach a wide audience (Wong et al., 2021). A Scandinavian study based on more than seven hundred Norwegian congregations, concluded that social media is often used for strategic purposes and especially for information of the believers (Hodøl, 2021). But the general perception of the religious followers is that despite the effort Church made for digital migration, they perceive the digital communication not as efficient as the direct communication they were used to (Isetti et al., 2021).

The national Orthodox churches are perceived as conservative institutions, characterized by low levels of acceptance in terms of innovation and technology and manifesting distrust regarding new digital technologies (Volkova, 2021). Still, the message His Beatitude Daniel, Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church addressed to the First

International Conference on Digital Media and Orthodox Pastoral Care (Athens, 2015), shows the interest and the prudent openness that the Church has towards new communication technologies:

Our church has the duty to understand the functioning of the informational society of nowadays in order to wisely use the means of communication so as to communicate the orthodox values and enter into the social networks in pursuance of meeting the human being of today who has become a user of new communicational technologies in the Areopagus of modernity. The use of digital media in the pastoral and missionary work requires ecclesial responsibility and pastoral wisdom, because even though a new technology offers new development opportunities to people, it can also bring new challenges or dangers as regards preserving the traditional spiritual cultural and social values of persons and people. (His Beatitude Daniel, 2015).

The official communication channels of the central structures, for example television, radio or news agency, are supported at a local level by online communication tools: blogs, web pages, and Facebook accounts/profiles. The present paper investigated online communication between Orthodox churches and their believers on Facebook.

Material and Method

After the restrictions imposed on the services of the Church due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the presence and the development of technology and social media platforms make it possible for people to participate online at religious ceremonies and to access religious content in an easier manner.

The aim of the research is to underline and analyse the changes in the communication process regarding the digital transition caused by the coronavirus pandemic for Romanian Orthodox religious communities in Cluj area. The main aspects took into consideration were the context of the communication, the type of content and the frequency of delivering content to the community. The study creates an overview regarding how often the religious entities are posting new content on social media

platforms, what kind of content they are transmitting to their community and how engaged is the community with different types of content they received.

The present research is based on a longitudinal retrospective study, focused on communication, via Facebook, between Orthodox religious entities and their followers, before, during and after the COVID-19 pandemic state of emergency. A number of 25 monasteries, 78 urban and 79 rural parishes in the Orthodox Archiepiscopacy of Vad, Feleac and Cluj (one of the biggest orthodox dioceses in Romania, with more than 750.000 members) were the subjects of the study. The data were collected for three periods: December 2019 – March 2020 (120 days before the state of emergency); March – May 2020 (60 days of emergency state due to the COVID-19 pandemic) and May – November 2020 (180 days after the end of emergency state).

The analysed urban and rural parishes form the two Orthodox Deaneries of Cluj-Napoca, the second most important city in Romania. The 25 selected monasteries for monks and nuns represent all the monasteries in the Orthodox Archiepiscopacy of Vad, Feleac and Cluj, 15 of them being located in Cluj County and 10 of them in Bistrița-Năsăud County, as shown in the following table.

Table 1. Profile of monasteries included in the study

County	Type		Total
	Monks	Nuns	
Cluj	9	6	15
Bistrița-Năsăud	4	6	10
Total	13	12	25

Source: authors' calculation

The research relied on one main data source, the Facebook pages of each entity, this channel being the most important tool for communication, during this period of time, being, as well, the most accessible environment for the members of religious communities. Only the entities found active on Facebook were included in the final analysis. Data regarding the frequency

and type of posts (text, photo, video or live broadcasts), and consumers' feedback (comments, sharing, reactions) were automatically collected from public pages, using the Facepager application, which is based on Facebook Graph API (Application Programming Interface), this being the primary way to get data out of the Facebook platform, to query data, for three successive stages: 120 days before the state of emergency, 60 days of emergency state due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and 180 days after the emergency state, this last stage divided into three periods of 60 days each, as mentioned in the following table.

Table 2. Time periods of the study

Periods	From	To	Duration
Before	15.11.2019	15.03.2020	120 days
Emergency State (E.S.)	16.03.2020	14.05.2020	60 days
After 1	15.05.2020	13.07.2020	60 days
After 2	14.07.2020	11.09.2020	60 days
After 3	12.09.2020	10.11.2020	60 days
Total	15.11.2019	10.11.2020	360 days

Source: authors' calculation

More than 6,150 posts and 1.6 million reactions were included in the study. The data was gathered from Facebook using Facepager (Facebook Graph API) and quantitative analysis was performed using SPSS-Windows version. Spearman correlation coefficient was calculated with an acceptable error threshold of $p < 0.05$.

Results and Discussions

The study investigated how religious entities used social media for communication before the emergency state, during the emergency state and after this period, what type of content they published (text, photos or videos) and what type of information they posted (original or shared).

The Facebook pages of the analysed entities, from the perspective of their digital presence or absence and of their activity or inactivity, is very diverse. They range from an extensive presence, but with high levels of inactivity (monasteries), to a moderate presence with a higher degree of involvement (parishes), as shown in Figure 1.

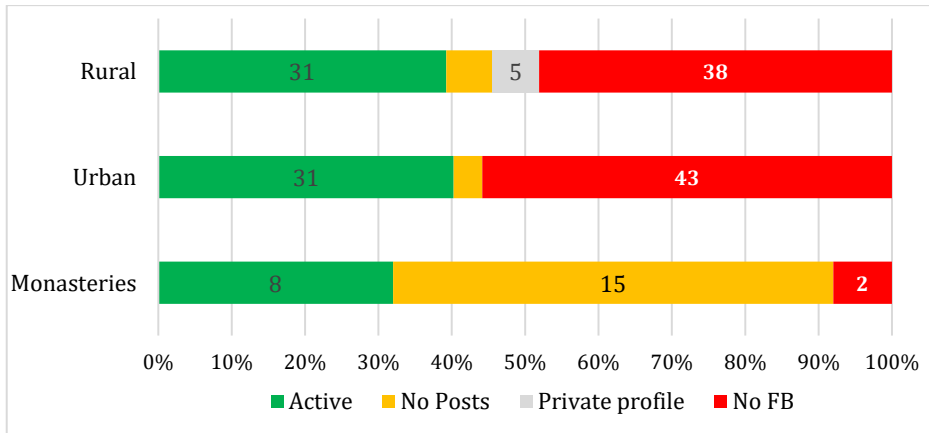


Figure 1. The Facebook (FB) profile of the entities

Source: authors' calculations

The evolution of the average number of the posts of an entity before the emergency state and during it, shows an increase of 62% for rural ones and of 54% for urban ones, as it is mentioned in Figure 2. There is a weak correlation between the type of the religious entity (monastery, urban parish and rural parish) and the frequencies of their posts ($r = 0.10$), directly proportional and statistically significant ($p = 0.01$). This could be relevant for each religious entity independency and for the own vision regarding digital communication.

The average number of reactions for each post, before and during the emergency state increased for every type of entity. The variation in the average number of reactions was very different, from an increase by 65% (68%) for urban (rural) parishes to an increase by 681% for monasteries' posts, as shown in Table 3.

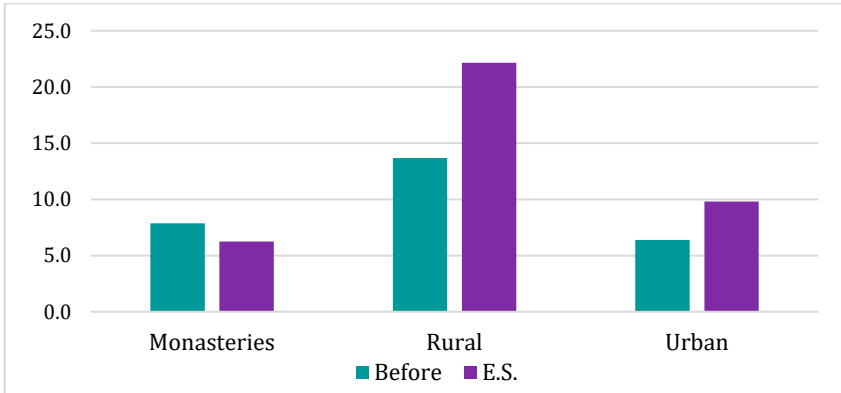


Figure 2. Average number of posts of an entity / 60 days

Source: authors' calculations

Table 3. Average number of reactions / posts

Entity	Before	E.S.	Variation
Monasteries	1.120	8.755	+681%
Rural	22	37	+68%
Urban	98	162	+65%

Source: authors' calculations

The dynamics of the number of posts, reactions, and the average reactions/ post for all five periods is mentioned in Table 4. A higher level of reactions of the consumers can be observed for the monasteries' posts. The correlation between the type of the religious entity (monastery, urban parish and rural parish) and number of reactions for their posts is weak ($r = 0.02$), directly proportional and statistically significant ($p = 0.01$). There could be other factors involved in making people reacting and being engaged in what religious entities are posting.

Table 4. Data regarding the number of posts, reactions, and averages

		Type of entity		
		Monasteries	Rural	Urban
Before	No. posts	7.9	13.7	6.4
	No. reactions	8,822.6	303.5	624.2
	Average reactions/post	1,120.3	22.2	98.0
E.S.	No. posts	6.3	22.2	9.8
	No. reactions	54,719.1	828.5	1,584.2
	Average reactions/post	8,755.1	37.4	161.5
After 1	No. posts	5.1	16.4	5.1
	No. reactions	37,041.3	514.3	897.6
	Average reactions/post	7,227.6	31.3	177.2
After 2	No. posts	6.3	14.2	3.8
	No. reactions	35,726.5	506.4	669.5
	Average reactions/post	5,716.2	35.6	177.4
After 3	No. posts	3.1	17.7	4.0
	No. reactions	30,243.8	412.2	486.1
	Average reactions/post	9,678.0	23.3	121.5

Source: authors' calculations

A similar pattern of the average number of reactions for each post can be observed for both types of parishes, showing the fact that the implication of the consumer became more intense during the emergency state. It remained at high levels and immediately after, for the urban parishes, as can be seen in Figure 3. There is a weak to moderate correlation between the type of the religious entity (monastery, urban parish and rural parish) and the number of reactions generated by their posts ($r = 0.29$), directly proportional and statistically significant ($p = 0.01$).

From the total number of 6,155 posts 5,070 are original, representing 82.37% and generating 94.98% from the total reactions' number. In 'After 3' period, 94% of the reactions to the shared posts (36,000) are connected to the posts of a single monastery. These results showed that the original messages collected much more reactions than

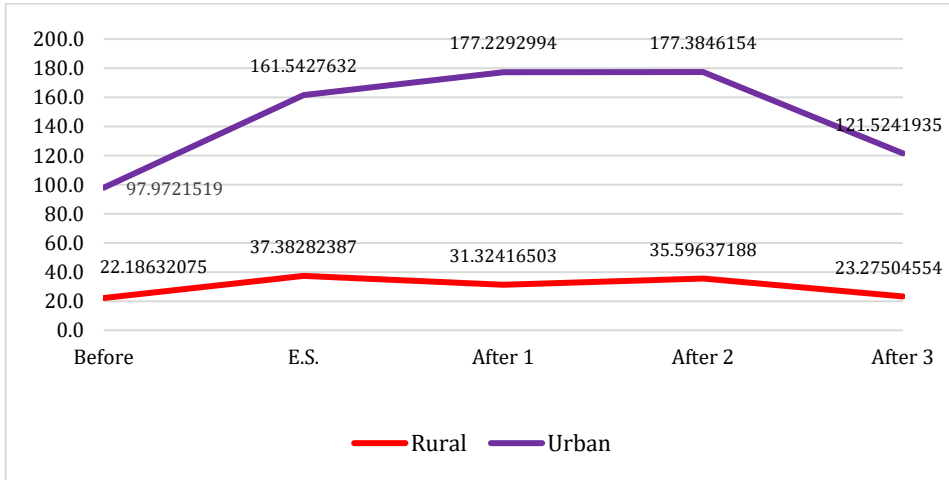


Figure 3. The average reactions/post for parishes

Source: authors' calculations

the shared ones (Figure 4). The correlation between the type of the posts (shared and original) and generated reactions is weak ($r = 0.12$), directly proportional and statistically significant ($p = 0.01$). Moreover, using the t-Tests for Unequal Variance in this situation provides a statistically non-significant result ($p > 0.05$) meaning a difference in the structure of reactions for original and shared posts, the users being more interested about the content itself.

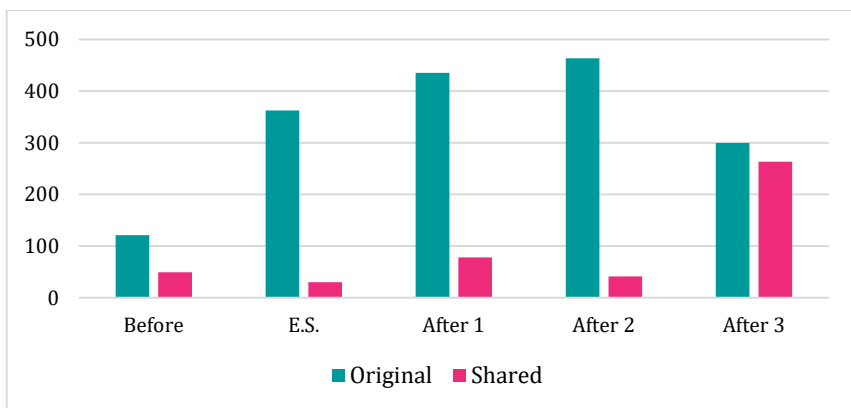


Figure 4. Average no. of reactions for each type of posts

Source: authors' calculations

An analysis that took into consideration the reactions to each type of the post revealed the fact that the videos are by far the posts that induce the highest level of reaction, as seen in Figure 5. There is a weak to moderate correlation between the content present in the posts (photo, video, text) and the number of reactions for these posts ($r=0.24$), directly proportional and statistically significant ($p=0.01$). Moreover, the correlation between the entity type and the content they use is weak ($r=0.06$), directly proportional and statistically significant ($p=0.01$). Trying to validate the structure of the reactions based on the content used in posts by applying t-Tests for Unequal Variance, provided a statistically non-significant results ($p>0.05$) meaning a difference in the way the social media users relate with different kind of content, this being a very personal and subjective aspect, without a common rule. The content types identified were: information regarding the operation of the churches, the schedule of online religious ceremonies, live broadcast of religious events, biblical quotes, and other life advices.

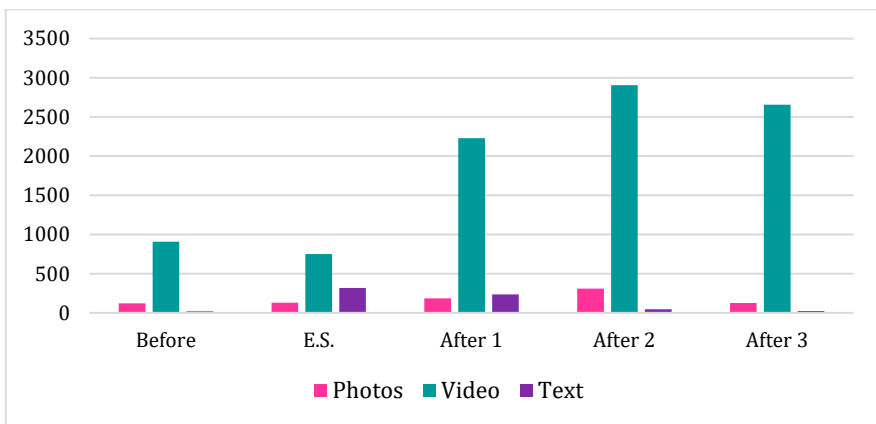


Figure 5. Average no. of reactions / type of the post

Source: authors' calculations

Regarding the offline/online notoriety, the Monastery of Nicula, the most famous one in Transylvania, is by far the leader of the online environment both as number of followers and as number of collected reactions, as shown in Figure 6.

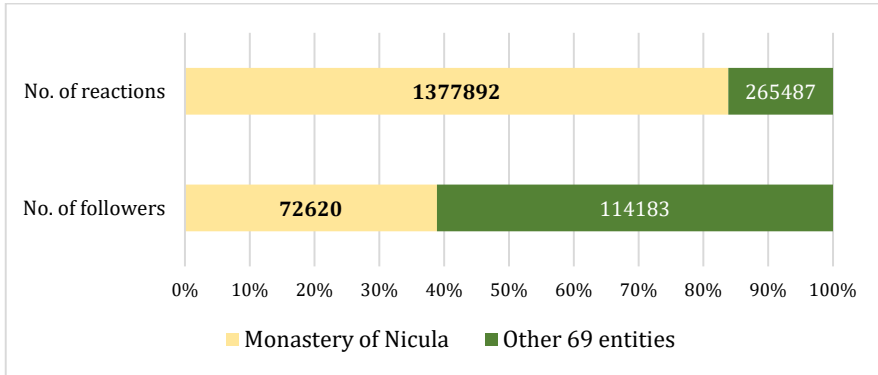


Figure 6. Monastery of Nicula vs. all other (69) entities

Source: authors' calculations

For both monasteries and urban parishes, the frequency of the posts after the emergency state is smaller than before it. The monthly average number of the posts created by each type of entities in all five periods of the study is mentioned in Figure 7.

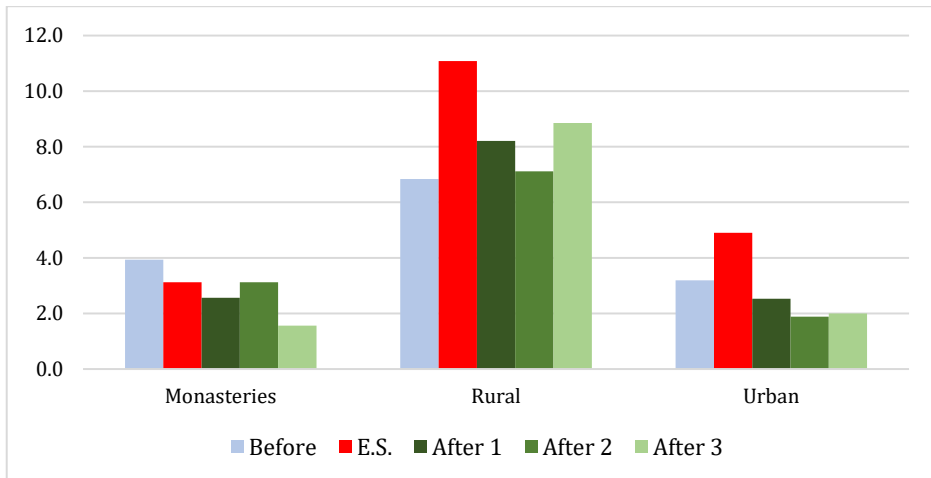


Figure 7. Monthly average number of posts

Source: authors' calculations

The polymorphic pattern of entities as Facebook actors, both in terms of their online presence and their activity, as well as the disparities between them, could be explained by some factors. First of all, the lack of an official online communication strategy of the Romanian Orthodox Church applied at the very basic level of monasteries and parishes, makes the digital communication (Facebook) a very subjective and provider dependent one. At the same time, there is a risk of misunderstandings about the importance of online communication. Orthodox national churches are often seen as traditional and conservative institutions, that do not easily embrace new trends and technologies. The average age of clergy and church believers makes them digital immigrants rather than digital natives, which raises questions about their ITC skills and capabilities. However, in the pandemic context, the main actors on the religious stage are not the central structures of the Church, but the local entities, as previous studies highlight (Cooper et al., 2021).

The study revealed that in respect with the posts' frequencies of the religious entities during the periods studied, for the number of reactions received by posts based on the used posts type (original or shared) are obtained very weak correlations. Contrarily, other relationships such as posts' type (original or shared) and religious entity, posts content (photos, videos, text) and religious entity and posts' type and posts content demonstrated strong statistical signification. The research showed that using photos and videos in social media posts would increase the number of reactions, while the use of text posts would bring a slightly lower number of reactions. These results could be explained by the diversity in term of posts' type (original or shared), used content (photos, videos, text), and the posts frequency fluctuations, among these types of entities (monasteries, urban and rural parishes). Also, no intentional marketing strategy focused on audience engagement for generating reactions and interactions was identified.

The paper concludes that only parishes, both urban and rural, increased the number of posts during the emergency state and, thus, the level of activity. At the same time, the reactions to the posts increased significantly for all types of entities, with average values between +65% (for urban parishes) and +681% (for monasteries). An insightful observation is that, although the monasteries did not intensify their activity, the level of reactions to their posts reached record levels. The fact that each post of

the monasteries generated a reaction ten times higher than the posts of the parishes, entitles us to state that the religious consumer perceived the monasteries as the guiding lighthouses during the emergency state.

The study showed that the type of message influences the level of consumers' involvement. The original messages determine a much higher level of implication in comparison with the shared posts in all the studied periods. In half of the four-time analysed intervals, excluding 'After 3', the reactions were ten times more intense for an original message than for the shared ones. During this period, a shared message attracted on average only 8% of the reactions that an original message attracted. These findings highlight the high expectations of followers or believers regarding the originality, relevance, and customization of the posts. For the public, the legal interdiction of attending the religious services in the emergency state of the pandemic, was reflected in such a record level of involvement. When face-to-face interaction is prohibited and religious tourism and pilgrimage cannot be practiced, it seems that social media communication can be a tool for 'business continuity' even in the religious field, especially valued by consumers of the phenomenon.

According to the research results, the frequency of posts did not directly influence the number of online reactions. It seems that believers were significantly more looking for qualitative rather than quantitative communication.

On average, for the complete 360 days of the period studied, a video generated 1,377 reactions, much more than about 150 reactions for photos or text. Even though the number of the posts decreased after the emergency state, the average level of reactions increased from 750 reactions/video message during the emergency state to more than 2,500 reactions/video message after it. The result can be interpreted in the light of the fact that, after the end of the lockdown, the number of believers who physically attended the public religious services in churches did not increase to pre-pandemic levels. Consequently, believers remained connected to the online medium, seeking information, connection, and belonging in a secure environment.

Even if the involvement patterns of religious believers in communicating with different religious entities have specific profiles and frameworks, the results of the study allow us to state that the monasteries remain the most followed religious entities in online environments and

with the highest level of reactions. Religious entities with a high notoriety offline, such as the Nicula Monastery (Cluj County), continue to have the largest number of followers online and with a high level of involvement.

To our knowledge, there is a lack of research on the online communication of these Orthodox religious entities, especially in Romania, so that a comparison with similar studies could not be established. All these aspects highlight the innovative nature of the study and its originality.

Conclusions

The results of the study contribute to a more proper understanding of the involvement of local Orthodox religious entities in Facebook communication and of the reactions the believers manifest in the online environment. The findings of this research are congruent with the previous studies in some aspects: the speed of digital transition was accelerated during the COVID-19 emergency state, technological opportunities previously unnoticed become main tools for communication and at the same time for maintaining the feeling of community between the members of the Church. The lack of a unitary digital communication follows the general trend of resolving the pandemic situations rather at local level than at central one.

The study provides data to sustain that the offline notoriety of a monastery is duplicated in the online environment. Due to the importance of monasteries as influential entities, the need for a professional approach, business-like training or at least professional consultancy is strongly recommended for PR/online communication, with an extension to all local religious entities. At the same time, in the context of artificial intelligence development and its future ubiquity, priests, monks/nuns and other church employees should actively improve their digital communication skills.

A similar analysis from an interconfessional perspective could reveal at the institutional level, some differences in communication behaviours, both for organisations and for online followers. A content analysis of the posts and comments could highlight the dominant themes, concepts and ideas posted on the Facebook platform and the relationship between them.

The study has its limitations, due to the regional studied area and the mono-confessional group. The limited sample size does not allow an extrapolation to a national scale. Predominantly in the case of monasteries, there is the risk of multi-pages followers, that has not been taken into consideration.

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