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# Identities in Transformation

*A Study on the Impact of Globalization on  
Youth in the City of Cluj, Romania*

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## Abstract

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The overall theme of the thesis is the examination of the relationship between globalization, culture and identity. The study is conducted in the City of Cluj (Romania) and the students at the University there. The problem of the thesis lies partly in the concurrent relations in the locality, partly in the cultural elements coming in from the outside. Both theoretically and empirically the thesis is structured around the views and roles of the past, the present and the future – distinct but interacting – features around which identities are constructed. The questions at issue throughout the thesis are in what ways the constructions of identities are affected by globalization/ transformation, and what differences in the constructions depend on. The theoretical chapter starts with the dual experience of globalization, introducing the concepts of centrifugal vs. centripetal forces of affection and the relation between horizontal and vertical process of adaptation. Further in the theoretical chapter the role and position of culture is discussed in relation the state of globalization. Finally, the processes through which identity is constructed, is discussed, mainly through the concepts of glocalization and deterritorialization of culture. Methodologically a qualitative triangulating approach is used, combining interviews, observations and a qualitative informative survey. The empirical account focuses partly on the individuals’ context in the locality, partly on their interpretations and interactions with it. The conclusions and results of the study is that the construction of identities – based on the interactions between the individual and his/ her surrounding – revolve around the two factors; the conception of the past and the ideas and hopes for the future. The question about what the differences between individuals depend on is answered by mainly two factors. One is the ethnic conflict between Romanians and Hungarians in the area (or the relation to “the other” in general), and the factor of economy – the issue of having or not having money. Two aspects which are above all parallel and interconnected to each other.

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# 1. Introduction

One of the first statements Tomlinson makes in *Globalization and Culture* (Tomlinson 2000:1) could be suitable as an introduction for the framework of this study; “*globalization lies in the heart of modern culture; cultural practices lie in the heart of globalization*”. In broad terms this is the theme of the thesis – to consider the process of globalization<sup>1</sup> as essential for the understanding of our modern world, and how individuals conceive it. What is important to remember in the debate on globalization is that it should not be regarded as a force affecting human lives only on a global scale, forming each and everyone after the same templates. The concurrent state of the world is producing a variety of possible interpretations and explanations of the surrounding world that differs from how the world was viewed in the past. One of the main two features of globalization is the shattering force, such as high-technology and global media-networks, that reach a larger number of individuals, in perhaps very distant locations. At the same time, the other main feature is the search for answers and since individuals come from different locations the interpretations are not the same for everybody. The emergence of these “new” surroundings which globalization entail, implies new “channels” through which individuals shape an understanding of their world. These new surroundings represent new contexts through which the identifications are formed. While aspects of the identity construction could be found in a global surrounding, other essential components which are part of the same process are the past<sup>2</sup> and its history<sup>3</sup>. Understanding the local conditions are important for the understanding of how cultures spread and mix, and by consequence also the process of how individuals construct identities – how they place themselves in the surrounding.

This thesis deals with how the construction of identity is carried out in a changing or changed environment, how this “nature” of globalization is dealt with by individuals in order for them to create an understanding of the present situation. Moreover is the relation between time and space central in this context where traditions are connected with the past cultural and social surroundings and the international or global with the future. The constructions of identities are all shaped in the present and affected with reference to both past experiences and views for the future

### **1.1. Problem and definition of aim**

The overall frame of the problem in this thesis is the examination of the interconnected relations between globalization, culture and the constructions of identity. Freed from normative values, globalization could be explained as our present society in transformation through which the terms of globalization become apparent to individuals. The construction of identities, personal or collective, are shaped from the relation between the personal interpretations and the surrounding. The connections between these concepts are multifaceted, partly due to the number of definitions and explanations made by a large number of writers, partly because they “function” on different levels. Globalization “functions” on a structural/ “worldwide” level, identities are constructed on an personal level, and culture in this context is the intermediate factor giving the individual an understanding of the world. The purpose of this study is to examine how such relationships are expressed. The dialectic nature of the relationship is complex and somewhat difficult to understand just by theory.

The study is conducted in City of Cluj (Romania) on students in their twenties. The study is carried out in a particular society on a relatively small number of interviewees. The reason for choosing Cluj is partly because it is a part of a Central- and East-European region where substantial transformation has been and is occurring, especially from the early 1990<sup>th</sup> and onward. Also because the countries in the region are looking forward to a possible membership in the European Union, which would give the present members a picture of the structural, societal and the individual situation in such a society. The thesis is also part of the internet-based masters program with the cooperation of institutions and students at the University of Lund and, among others, the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj, which made the city of Cluj feel like a convenient selection.

The reason for choosing young people/ students as informants is that such group might represent future of the society. It is also a group which more than others have gotten into contact with the dynamics of globalization such as economic competition, global media, and modern technology. In addition to this, it has to be added that the aim of this study has a purely descriptive purpose, suggesting that through an explanatory manner give a picture of the present situation, and I am aware of the fact that it not possible to generalize out of the small number of students I have talked to.

Only to give an idea or a hint on what was encountered, the three first questions I got when introducing the project to the students/ informants, was: “*How much did you get for scholarship?*”. After having explained that: “*Why did you chose to come to Cluj? (of all cities)*”, and finally after telling about the subject “*What? There is no globalization here!*”.

This angle of the thesis and area of Europe and European development, has furthermore been chosen not only because I personally think it is interesting, but because I believe it is crucial in understanding our late modern society, and fundamental in the search for comprehending the future of Europe.

### **1.2. Research questions**

- In what way are the constructions of identities of the youth affected by the manifestations of globalization in the City of Cluj.
- What can and do the differences in construction of identities in this particular society depend on?

### **1.3. Disposition**

Since the dialectical nature of globalization is somewhat complex it is perhaps difficult to understand, and will therefore be elaborated with in the theoretical chapter, which makes the relationships in the frame more explicit. The theoretical chapter is divided into four sections, where the first three discuss the theoretical concepts and the fourth gives the conclusions of the prior sections. The first section deals with globalization, and its two opposing but connected processes are discussed, namely the dynamics and consequences of globalization. The following section discusses culture in the context of globalization, in how the role of culture alters in character in a globalized world and the effect this has on the locality. When culture has to have something “solid” to be attached to, the question of territorial origin makes the relation local – global essential. The third section discusses the matter of identity. The discussion here revolves around how identity is constructed in the context of changing cultural surroundings. This theoretical chapter ends with a section that concludes the theoretical standpoints that will be used further on in the analysis.

The theoretical chapter is followed by a methodological chapter which gives clear explanations of what methods I have used and how they are applied in the next-coming chapter of the empirical presentation. The empirical presentation focuses on the aspects of, on the one hand, my observations and reflections on the locality that surrounds the youth in the city. On the other hand it focuses on the impressions of the youth on the city, and how they express it. Moreover, focusing on the youth's relations to the past, present and future – their feelings about their place in their surrounding. In the paper-version of this thesis photos will be attached to describe, and perhaps to give a clearer picture of the physical surroundings of the city. Last comes a chapter that ties everything together, the theoretical frame, the methodology and the empirical information.

## **2. Theoretical frame**

This chapter will give a theoretical outline which will be used in the forthcoming chapters. The headlined subjects that are dealt with are complications around the concept of globalization, the role of culture in a globalized society and how identities might be constructed in such contexts.

### **2.1. Globalization**

Globalization is probably the most used and misused, the most seldom defined, and probably the most misunderstood and “woolly buzzword” in recent years, as Beck (1998: 36) points out. The vast variety of explanations and applications, definitions and disagreements gives us at least some clues of the complexity of the concept. At the same time a number of time-frames has been given on when and where globalization started.

Starting with the Marxist or Neo-Marxist view of Wallerstein, globalization started with the rise of modern capitalism or – with the rise of the modern world-system<sup>4</sup>. Robertson on the other hand stresses a multidimensional perspective with an “evolutionary” globalization<sup>5</sup>. According to Giddens (1996: 71ff), globalization is a prolongation of modernity, starting in the nineteenth century. Tomlinson proposes an even later initiation, with a cultural planetarization<sup>6</sup> in the 1960's as a starting date (Nederveen-Pieterse 1995: 47ff). Albrow gives a broader suggestion when he suggests that globalization could be referred to as all those

processes by which people throughout the world are affected and incorporated into the single world of a global society (Albrow 1990: 9)

This complexity could stem from the dualism of objective and subjective processes – processes that on the one hand are common for everybody and on the other hand are individual interpretations. Globalization might therefore be referring to both the compression of the world and as amplification of the comprehension of the world as a whole (Friedman, 1994: 196, Robertson, 1998: 9). Globalization has to be seen as an ongoing process. The focus of the understanding of globalization, as Robertson (1990: 20) implies, should stay on the production and the reproduction of “the world”, which is the most conspicuous structure of our time.

The dualism of the concept gives also a dialectic meaning to globalization. Globalization cannot solely be mystified into an ideology for the justification of global capitalism as it cannot fully be described as just the driving mechanisms (Albrow 1999: 94f). There has to be a middle way – an ideology that carries forward the courses of events resulting in (perhaps new) ways of looking at the world. This understanding of globalization conclude in that it is not just something that exert influence on “things”, it is also the derived results. From the idea that globalization is defined as a set of economical, social, technological, political and cultural structures and processes that has arisen from a change in character of different modes of production and consumption. Globalization could also be see as the opposite, as the alterations in the mode of production and consumption, which redefines the structures and processes in the cultural, political, technological, social and economical fields. This division is based on the duality of subjective and objective processes, as well as part of the ongoing production and reproduction of the world. While the first sub-section deals with the restructuration of economy, technological evolution and the “new world order” of global media, the second is dealing the results, the social transformation, globalization of politics and the alteration of cultural structures.

### 2.1.1. Dynamics of globalization

Axford points out three areas in which economy has been and is globalizing, the first of which is trading, and especially the trade of semi-manufactured goods. This area has given indications of a global economic integration, since there has been an increased exchange

between different and far away parts of the world, even though the global trading economy is still largely confined to the richer parts of the world (Axford 1995: 104). Another process is the globalization of finance. Different financial institutes and banking systems around the world have come to the point that they are highly, or fully, dependent upon the wellbeing of the financial global market. This globalization of finance is under an increasing risk for collapse and financial panic since the massive increase of international liquidity and financial flows that has taken place since the 1970's till today can come to an end (Axford 1995: 107, Castells 2000b: 252f). A third area of economical globalization is the global division of labor or globalization of production. A division made apparent by the uneven distribution and production of goods. While the core countries produce manufactured goods for domestic consumption the peripheral<sup>7</sup> economies primarily trade in extractive products and agriculture (Axford 1995:105). As a consequence a division of labor has occurred, which has meant the emergence of a global class structure dependent partly on what is produced, partly on the whim of the financial system (Giddens 1998: 344ff, Bauman 1999).

If the transformation of economy is described as a first dynamic of globalization, globalization could not be possible without a technological progress. The nature of global economy, as Castells (2000b: 387) implies, does not lie in the character of the capital but in the technical circumstances under which it operates. The economical process accordingly been intensified by the advances of the "soft-technologies<sup>8</sup>" in the fields of communications and information. Or as Genov points out in a more practical way, in order to be part of the global infrastructure, a society has to follow the new technological chains and the new patterns of the new division of labor (Genov 1999:21f). This suggests that it is necessary belong to the global market and in this necessity the application to these chains is crucial.

The condition for a technological development is that it has to have a field of application. One is the economical and another, somewhat closely connected, is the field of communication and media, all with the same characteristic of not being territorially based. When it comes to production, distribution, consumption and information, a progress of a widespread informational system has evolved side by side with economical transformation and technological development (Giddens 1998: 415). Carlsson (1998) stresses that findings suggest that this new order of technology-based communication causes an imbalance between world centers and peripheries. The information goes principally in a one-way direction from the center to the periphery. The opposite only occurs when there are events like wars or other

tragedies that are of interest for the center. At the same time, as Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995:37) concludes, we are surrounded by a kind of media that speaks out to us but that gives us little opportunity to speak back, suggesting that a greater quantity of media/information would not result in an increased diversity.

In this context we can confront two ways in how to look upon globalization. Giddens (1996), has the idea of globalization as an extension of a Western structure of modernity. The system of nation-states, the expansion of global capitalism, information networks and military alliances, each has the global reach as the “sign” of globalization. Robertson (1998) views the state of globalization as a shared idea of the world as a single place, suggesting that we live in a time when people have a sense of sharing the planet with others, in the way that local actions have consequences for distant others.

### 2.1.2. Consequences of globalization

No matter if one chooses to follow Robertson’s or Giddens’ standpoint on the issue of globalization, it is obvious that changes has and is occurring. These changes that has and is occurring, has to be the results of something else. The previous section discussed issues which I would like to address as horizontal changes. Not because they should be prioritized as more important, or being more descriptive of what globalization is about, but because these factors are “produced” in and by the center and affecting the periphery. Or, one could even say that these factors is what defines the center. The consequences are the factual social changes in and around the world. Considering that nothing is static, there is no one factor for explaining these social changes.

Economical, technological and communicational transformations are central in globalization. But, as the process of globalization has an affecting influence something has to be influenced. What is affected by globalization could therefore be addressed as a centripetal influence, since the way in which the factual changes occurs on different locations with differing outcomes – different outcomes addressed as vertical changes. If the first mode of affection is globally based, the second is regionally or locally.

Globalization of production and finance threatens and disables the welfare-state, because of the differences between countries and regions on the global market. Firms and companies can

choose to operate where the costs for social benefits are lower or where there are better and more profitable social regulations. This is not just a North – South, West – East phenomenon. Differences exist even between and within richer countries (Castells 1998: 252f, Castells 2000a).

The matter of globalization does affect social structures and consequently the way of life for individuals. Yet again there is not a one-factor line of change. As Mishra concludes, there is a clear discrepancy between economic goals, such as growth, and social needs, such as jobs and wages. Since the economy is increasingly losing identification to people and a certain community, while the workforce is getting more momentary or contingent, it becomes more difficult for individuals or societies to defend themselves (Mishra 1999: 33). But as Beck states, and which confirms the complex nature of globalization, there is no hegemonic power or international government maneuvering the globally disorganized capitalism in its spreading, neither in the economical nor in the political field (Beck 1998: 27). In understanding globalization, according to Beck, we cannot just focus on viewing it as an objectively increased dependence, we have to examine the transcultural production of meaning and cultural symbols (Beck 1998: 71). This is what the following two sections will revolve around.

## **2.2. Culture and globalization**

In the process of globalization, culture is simultaneously expressed in two ways according Featherstone. On the one side depicted as when heterogeneous cultures become incorporated and integrated into a dominant culture which little by little comes to take over and cover the whole world. On the other side, the image of a compression of cultures. Whereas cultures formerly were kept apart, they are now brought into contact with one another and placed side by side in the same physical environment (Featherstone 1995b: 6). But before getting deeper into these aspects of culture in a globalizing world, a definition of culture is needed.

The definition of culture has troubled social scientists for a long time. When looking at the definitions of culture, a distinction can be made between culture as patterns *for* behavior and patterns *of* behavior. The patterns for behavior refers to the patterns of life within a society – regularly recurring events and activities, material and social arrangements that are characteristic of a particular human group, and which defines it as a culture. In short, this

focuses on material culture. The other definition, patterns of behavior, refers to the organized system of knowledge and beliefs by which individuals structure their experience, perception and choices between alternatives, as culture. Culture in the second sense is defined by a common system of shared ideas, systems of concepts and rules and meanings (Keesing & Strathern 1998:16). I see culture as a more or less shared system of understanding, which is not static, and which is constructed through social interaction. Culture has to do with a perception where the central relation lies between the one who interpret and what is interpreted. Everybody does not interpret and react to the same things in the same way. There are individual differences, but as the definition of culture implies there also has to be a certain degree of shared features, which might distinguish one group from another. This is an important distinction when talking about culture in a world of globalization, since the reactions to globalization might differ between individuals, but also between different groups with shared understandings. The usage of the second definition would focus on the ideational systems. The underlying structures and the frames of references would give a deeper understanding about the circumstances of globalization in the incorporation and juxtaposition of cultures.

### 2.2.1. What happens with culture in a globalizing world

The discussion about incorporation of cultures, homogenization of cultures, or a world culture in a state of globalization, stems rather well with the first definition of culture. A view from where a world culture is defined by the characteristics of people who have the same habits and who's living patterns are similar. From this view individuals, groups and societies are becoming more alike – they have the same patterns of action. The other definition of culture does not necessarily support the juxtapositioning view on cultural globalization, because the distribution of ideas and ways of looking at the world does not come by it self. The individual, his/ her reception and what he/ she wishes to do with it is defined by the close cultural and social surrounding.

Tomlinson (2000: 81ff) recognizes the idea of an “Americanization”, “Coca-Colanization”, or a “McDonaldization of the world<sup>9</sup>” has to be considered too one-sided. But, one has to be clear of that the “traffic” of cultural symbols which produces a large-scale exchange of meaning systems, is in a way driving towards conformity. The idea of Americanization explained by Featherstone (1995b), where global culture is seen as being formed through the

economic and political domination of the USA as “it” imposes “its” culture onto the rest of the world, is more or less abandoned. The symbolic hierarchy between local cultures and homogenizing forces derives from the notion that all non-western nations, when eventually becoming modernized, will duplicate and absorb American, or Western culture, to the extent that every locality will display the same ideals, images and material artifact as of the American, or Western, way of life (Featherstone 1995b: 86ff). This implies that culture cannot be pressured and superimposed on societies or individuals, furthermore the increased global cultural “traffic” could not be considered equilateral – there is an asymmetrical order of exchange between centers and peripheries. Yet Featherstone implies that “static fictions” are created, suggesting that youth culture becomes universally available, through globalized media promoting a “life style package”, and that the traditionally local features are smoothed in order to avoid conflictual tendencies<sup>10</sup> (Bleckman & France 2001: 190). For these packages the periphery is therefore more likely to be the taker than the giver in regards to the cultural flow and the production of meaning.

Further, Hannerz proclaims the existence of a that there is a world culture, but where the global culture is recognized by its diversity rather than by replications and conformity. The world culture is created by an increased interconnectedness between different local cultures, as well as between cultures without any clear connection to a certain territory or location (Hannerz 1990: 237). Even though Hannerz addresses cultures (in plural) as sub-cultures to a more all-embracing world culture the existence of cultures comes from the differences in interpretation of what the individuals understand as their context.

But how does the role of culture fit in the process of globalization? The reason why the question arises when talking about culture and globalization is that culture, either way one defines it, is the has been closely connected common understanding of it to a certain physical domain, and that this frame of reference, more or less, has been the same for a period of time. A culture can therefore not exist without a physical frame of reference, and what is defined as culture has been attached to the same idea. An explanation could be that according to the definition of culture as a system of meanings, the sharing of a common location gives the same or similar interpretations of the same surrounding. But, as the surrounding will one time or later alter, as cause or consequence because of new input, it will produce new settings and thereby new systems of meaning. The important thing here is that what is changing is not

what originally is inside the locality but what is penetrating the locality. The next sub-section will unfold what happens when globalization is shaping these new surroundings.

### 2.2.2. A discussion on what “happens” to the place.

Robertson stresses that one should not use the same definition of culture, as when studying culture in “normal” settings, when studying globalization, because the view definition of culture is inherited from the study of culture in national terms. It becomes difficult to regard culture on a global level because the holder of culture has always been conceived to be societies as large units – that cultures are not separable from the territorial domain (Robertson 1991: 87). Tomlinson uses the term deterritorialization when discussing the relation between culture and geographical or social territories. To understand the complexity and ambivalent cultural condition which deterritorialization imposes, it is important to distinguish it from “global modernity”, as it does not regard globalization as a massifying, centralizing movement with a destructiveness towards local societies (Tomlinson 2000: 107f). But, even deterritorialization reproduces various social, economical and geographical divisions, when it only describes the experiences of the affluent, mobile and information-rich sectors in the economically developed societies of the world. (Tomlinson, 2000: 132) Could this description of the global spread of culture therefore really be seen as global? On the one hand it is possible because there is an interconnectedness between localities around the globe, on the other hand is not and cannot everybody be included. What is crucial is that this global division is transferred to affecting conditions in the locality<sup>11</sup>.

Hannerz offers the concept of creolization<sup>12</sup> to describe the interplay between the global and the local. Suggesting it as a linguistic metaphor, where cultures as languages are intrinsically mixed in its origins, rather than historically pure and homogenous (Hannerz 1991:126f). The concept also has the connotations of richness and creativity that suggests a cultural variety, were globalization does not solely have far-reaching and homogenizing effects – the increased interconnectedness of the world have heterogeneous gains (Hannerz 1996:66). Though the concept of creolization is criticized partly due to its former racist baggage of subversive debasement (Abou-El-Haj 1991: 143), suggesting that it implies something “true” and original from the past. Partly because its, in a sociological and anthropological discourse, throughout positive and essentialist connotations.<sup>13</sup>

Another way of describing, the same process of globalization is “glocalization”. It is described as complex interactions between globalizing and localizing tendencies – a synthesis of particularistic and universalistic values and frames of reference (Scott, 1997: 7). Robertson advocates the concept of glocalization, when he stresses that globalization also involves an emphasis on the local, a localization. The global can be located anywhere on the globe, and can therefore be used to explain a localization of the global. But, on the other hand, what kind of globalization does in this context not have a local impact (Robertson 1995: 35)? A benefit of the concept is that it focuses on the relation between what is regarded as global and local – the questioning of local adaptation to global products and practices. Globalization does not solely have universalizing features, it also produces particularistic cultures and practices. Local cultures are subjected to “freedom” in their global participation, a “freedom” that is particularly manifested in the social construction of traditions and identities (Robertson 1995: 39). Friedman have a slightly different view than Robertson on this matter, but still within the same frame, when stressing that a number of local and localizing phenomena such as ethnicity, nationalism and local movements can be understood as global products. Robertson implies a standardization of the local by globalization, while viewing local processes as aspects of larger global process (Friedman 1994: 198).

In this line of reasoning there is a clear connection between globalization, with its mainly homogenizing force and dynamics affecting on a global level, and globalization as an universalizing force that is not necessarily solely integrating. The global spread of cultures is in its essence local – the interpretations brought out by globalization reflects what is considered local. The question is how these local cultures are defined as the means for construction of identity. When culture is the common ideas, the system of shared ideas, systems of concepts and rules and meanings, identity is what is constructed through these interpretations – identifications with a common social and cultural surrounding, defined (or redefined) by a relocation of culture, from territorially bound to locally boundless.

### ***2.3. Identities in a changing surrounding***

This section will discuss identities in the state of cultural globalization and glocalized cultures<sup>14</sup>. The examination of the theoretical field has by this come down to another level where it has to do with the individual interpretation of his/her surrounding. As has also been stressed culture is consolidated by the ways individuals interpret and react to a certain set of

meanings, shared system of ideas, codes and rules. Zaretsky defines identity as the ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity, explaining the result as a mutual assimilation and absorption to a new configuration – identity is the interaction between the self and the society (Zaretsky 1995: 249f). Mead in his discussion on the “genesis of self”, implies that besides the relation to others, identity is constructed as a result of interplay with his/ her surrounding. The construction of ones identity often depends on the positive acceptance of the surrounding, implying that if the identifications are not approved, the validity of the construct start of diminish (Mead 1962: 153ff) What Mead focuses on as the “surrounding” in this regard are all other people “in the outside world”, in what he defines as “the generalized other”. These are not people who have their concrete faces who have also become “one”, “people” or “the society”. An other which in a way is the representation of society as an abstract person in the mind with values (Berg 1998: 159f). But, to some degree it is also possible for a “physical” surrounding to exert the role of the “outside world”. The different aspects of society interpreted by individuals are therefore reflected in the individuals search for understanding of its surroundings. In the individuals’ search for acceptance of his/ her surrounding, the state of the society is depicted as having good or bad, positive or negative, features. The individual is therefore comparing him-/ herself to an “opposite” in order to feel belonging and commonness with what is identified with – with others who have the same interpretations of the frame of reference. The way the individual construct him-/ herself to the “other” could in this context be traced to Said (1997), in the creation of a self-image in the reflection of the opposite.

Castells uses a somewhat different but connected definition, which is more related to practice, in explaining identity as people’s source of meaning and experience. He regards the shaping of identity as a process of construction of meaning on the basis of cultural attributes or sets of cultural attributes that are given priority in favor of other cultural attributes. As there are various frames of reference for individuals or collective actors to choose from, there is variety of identities for each individual or actor to take on. Though according to Castells identity has be distinguished from what is defined as roles, because these are defined by norms structured by the institutions and organizations in society<sup>15</sup> (Castells 1998: 6f). This distinction between identity and roles is argued to be a relatively new phenomena – and the importance of identity is gaining in importance on behalf of the roles. A question is though whether there are intermediating aspects of what is socially given and what is individually proclaimed. Identity could for example be seen as a way of social positioning<sup>16</sup>, a socially based role individually

constructed in order to make a social distinction. The next two sub-sections will discuss these matters, why and how construction of identities are affected by the cultural globalization and localization of culture.

### 2.3.1. Identity and glocalization.

The present societal structure is defined by the adoption of interrelations rather than, as it used to be understood, by identification through contradictions of roles and interests. Social life is in a state of globalization arranged through interpretations of meanings and beliefs – individuals who live together in a society recognize their place and position not primarily by the location of their roles<sup>17</sup> but by their identity (Friese & Wagner 1999: 101). The construction of identities cannot be independent from the social and cultural context, and globalization changes the preconditions. Both socially and culturally the point of departure for the individual shaping of ones identity has shifted. Hall stresses that there is a relation between global and local and that they are two faces of the same movement. A relocation has taken place from one stage which was dominated by the nation-state, national economies and national cultural, to something new (Hall 1991a: 27). When talking about identity and globalization we have to remember that, as Kellner puts it, modern individuals<sup>18</sup> are well aware of the constructed nature of identity and can always change and modify their identity at will. Furthermore, the modernity process involves a phase of innovation, constant turnovers and novelty (Kellner 1992: 142).

The construction of identities, as well as what identities are constructed around, still depend on a contextual influx. When the cultural framework alters, the construction of identities transform not accordingly but consequently. It has therefore to be argue that identity should be used in plural, and as Burke concludes, identities should also be considered multiple and fluid. The negotiability in constructing identities may be expressed in the way that the same individual or group chooses one identity above on other, according to the situation and the moment<sup>19</sup> (Burke 1992: 305).

According to Friedman the weakening of former national identities and the emergence of new types of identities, especially through the dissolution of citizenship<sup>20</sup> are, and will be, replaced by identities based on more “old-fashioned” loyalties such as ethnicity, race, local community, language and other culturally concrete forms (Friedman 1994: 86). Nagel stresses

further that it might still be of interest to talk about racial and ethnic identities despite signs of assimilation towards national affiliations. Identity in this case is seen as a product of actions undertaken by ethnic groups as they shape and reshape what defines themselves and their culture (Nagel 2000: 82f). The necessity of the cultural context for the construction of identities are in this way affected by the consequences of globalization. Cultural globalization gives rise to deterritorializing effects. Cultures in local contexts are reshaping and other alternatives arise as variant forms of past frames of reference. In the next subsection these effects will be dealt with, how identities are constructed in such conditions and how possible alternatives might look like. There are for example clear examples on how a distinct European identity is formed using the traditional instruments of archeology, history and linguistics<sup>21</sup>, nevertheless the same tools are used in the development towards the local, as the national and the fundamentalist is becoming more powerful (Friedman 1992: 357).

### 2.3.2. Identity in a redefined context

Generally speaking there are two different types identities; individual and collective. Both emerged and evolved through the same process. The first focuses on the search for the essence in the individual in order to find the “real” self, while the latter derives from social and cultural defined references. Bauman argues that the concept of individual identity was coined when the idea of individual belonging was given at birth and determined for life faded (Bauman 1995:145f). The collective or cultural identity on the other hand is often seen as a socially shaped construction where a cultural doctrine regulates the introduction of new concepts, languages, and symbols.

Regarding the collective form there is a corresponding understanding of the concepts identity and sameness through which members of one group are alike just in respects to which they differ from non-members outside the group (Smith 1991: 74f). But both the individual and the collective are territorially bound – the connectedness with the location being central in both cases. No matter if the individual has to fit into society or if individuals have to have a place in society, the society has always been territorially bound. The deterritorialization of culture creates a situation where the context is both in the territory and outside, which creates a dissonance from “traditional” frames of reference. Still we have to remember that the traits of identification have to be divided into “non-voluntary”, such as gender, race or ethnic origin<sup>22</sup>,

and voluntary as cultural or national identification, which are predominantly chosen by the logic of what the common conceptions in society consider as positive (Miscovic 2001: 215f).

According to Friedman there is a decline in the modern type of identity, something which has led to a new kind of search for salvation – a salvation referred to as a new emergence of religious fundamentalism or internationalist religious movements, ethnic movements or sub-nationalist movements (Friedman 1992: 356). Though the construction of identity as resistance to present conditions does not have to go as far as for Hall (1991a: 33), when he implies that the return to the local often is a response to a particular face of modernity – the confrontation with globalization results in a certain despair and uncertainty over the new and unknown.

Castells argues in a somewhat similar, but more structured way<sup>23</sup>, even though he does not stress the shift which Friedman discusses. The idea is to collect different types of identities under a roof of more general features, depending on the “reason” for their origin. One type is introduced by the dominant institutions in society in order to rationalize their domination over the members in society. He calls this type a legitimizing identity which could fit into discussions about the reason and function of nationalism, as it often is the higher societal levels that “produces” its foundations. Another type is generated by the devalued or stigmatized positions, produced by the same domination. This type he calls a resistance identity, in which a building of resistance derives from an opposition to societal institutions. A third and final type is based on the “cultural material” available for the moment. Here the construction of an identity is generated in order to redefine a position in society, and doing this it is seeking to transform the overall social structure (Castells 1998: 8). Even though these types are portrayed as collective, the individual search for belonging is always central and should not be neglected. The divisions Castells describes are indications of a transition – the traditional scope of identity construction has shifted, and the ways in which individuals deal with societal transformations, such as the consequences of cultural deterritorialization, affects the way individuals shape a specific identity. The large-scale, all-encompassing, homogeneously unified collective identities which were almost seen as singular actors such as class, race, gender and the West have fragmented and eroded into new forms (Hall 1991b: 44).

#### **2.4. Conclusions and summary of the theoretical frame.**

This section will recapitulate the conclusions of the three prior section. What the first section discussed was that globalization is far more than a one-factor process. The discussion about an essence, or presence of globalization leads to the conclusion that there is an increase in reciprocal dependency across borders and societies. To summarize the discussion globalization consists of two central and different, but not distinct from each other, processes. The centrifugal force is affecting the world independent of the place/ location. Examples of this is the globalized media and liberal capitalism – factors that are alike wherever they show up – though not necessarily having a territorial center. Centripetal force is stressed by the fact that at all different locations where the centrifugal forces reaches the affects are not the same. There are regional, local or individual reactions to the effects of the centrifugal force, and without such reactions the world would be homogenous – a world where everything everywhere would look exactly the same.<sup>24</sup>

Further, it was suggested that there is an unbalance in how a society adapt to the process of globalization. A state of adaptation explained by vertical and horizontal relationships, is taking place as s the process of globalization causes a state of unbalance on a global as well as on a locally bound level. The horizontal state of unbalance regards the global level, implying differences between how different localities adapt to global conditions<sup>25</sup>. The reasons for the unbalance are numerous, and the explanations range from historical and cultural to social and political to economical to infrastructural. The vertical state of unbalance is addressed as the ability to adapt, not between but, inside localities. Individuals or groups in a specific locality tend to react and adapt differently from each other. What is suggested is that these two processes of globalization causes a fragmentation of society – though not merely between societies but inside societies. Consequently, the bond between the territory and what defines the society – the culture – does not have the same connections as it used to have.

The long-lasting idea of an organic relationship between a population and a specific physical territory – the certain form of political organization and culture – is no longer pre-eminent. Through globalization the relationship have altered in importance, perhaps both in theory and in practice. The direct connectedness between culture and a certain location, as it used to be, is not necessarily the most eminent. Following Tomlinson (2000: 141) the idea of a global culture being a hybrid culture follows directly upon the concept of deterritorialization, because the traffic and the connections between cultures suggests a decomposition between

the links of culture and location - an abandonment of prior cultural practices that should create new forms of hybrid culture (Tomlinson 2000: 141).

Contrary to a world-system approach of a center – periphery perspective, hierarchical divisions are not charged with the same import. The spatial boundaries have less concordance as the division is more capable of comprising unequal distributions within as well as between nations and regions (Abu-El-Haj 1991:143). Talking about globalization of culture we have to agree, that there is a hybridization of culture. Cultures mix and blend through an increased interconnectedness between diverse cultures from different localities, even though some of these spreading and mixing cultures, do neither have a territorial homeland nor an essential origin. But, as Friedman stresses, the cultural fragmentation and modernist homogenization are not two opposing arguments or opposing views on what is happening in the world today but two fundamental and crucial trends of global reality (Friedman 1990: 311). The deglobalizing effects of globalized modernity, such as global compression through intense global flows could therefore be expected to generate nationalistic, ethnic or fundamentalist reactions involving strong assertions of local or “traditional” cultures (Featherstone 1995:177).

The movements of identity constructions are shaped mainly through the vertical processes, in the way individuals adapt or deal differently with new surroundings. From this line of thought three structures in which identities could be constructed are possible in this context<sup>26</sup>. The first, “going for the traditional”, suggests that identities are built on what is already known for the individual in the new surroundings, since even in a transforming society not everything is new. The second type, “the mixing”, suggests an eclectic identity construction created partly on what has come into the locality by a global influx, partly out of the cultural traits – traditions and history – already existing inside the locality. The third type, “the adaptation of the new”, suggests that there is a total denial of the traditional culture and what previously was<sup>27</sup>.

Though one has to remember that, especially when collecting the material, there are discrepancies in theoretical explanations of concepts and how regular people define them. Both globalization, culture and identity are concepts which in a modern society are known, referred to and defined by individuals (Mihailescu 2001: 111ff).

### **3. Methodology**

The chapter deals with the course of procedure through which the collection of data was conducted, including how, what and why certain information was collected. Alasuutari (1996: 39f) stresses that material collected in this kind of social scientific research should never be treated as results but as clues, which should be interpreted in structured schemes to get behind the surface of the material. As it still might seem arbitrary – that through certain observations a number of possible truths may be derived – the choice of procedure is the tool with which structure is received.

#### ***3.1. Steps in practice***

The question that first comes to mind is whether one should use a quantitative or a qualitative approach for the collection of data<sup>28</sup>. The choice of a qualitative approach is in this case obvious, since the aim is not to generalize out of statistical data but to get an idea of how individuals think, act and interact with their surrounding. Something which will also demand an elaborate structure. With this focus three methods of data collection used; Surveys, interviews and observations. The main purpose of using different methods is that they overlap<sup>29</sup>, which welcomes a necessary flexibility, and which gives a broader picture of the subject to be studied<sup>30</sup>. Even though there is a need for flexibility, strict guidelines are necessary to keep the study focused<sup>31</sup>.

The initial step in the collection of data was to hand out surveys<sup>32</sup>. I visited three groups of students of different ages, gender and ethnicity<sup>33</sup> after regular lectures. The language in the surveys was English, and made as simple as possible, though I had to give explanations on the questions at occasions. The purpose of the survey was to give a somewhat broader idea of the views and opinions of the students before doing the interviews and observations – as a “pointer” for the continued collection of information.

The selection of the interviewees was made through the help from the other students at the Master-course living in Cluj – as gate-keepers – with the only criteria of the interviewees to be students at the University. The plan I had was to make the interviews<sup>34</sup> in the end of my stay in Cluj because with more knowledge of local conditions I would have a better base<sup>35</sup>. Six interviews were made<sup>36</sup>, with four female and two male students. The youngest 19 and the

oldest 24<sup>37</sup>. Three Romanians and two Hungarians<sup>38</sup> and one student with parents of each ethnic belonging. The average time for each interview was a little over one hour, and were located in different places; at their home; at a café; at one of their friend's place ; or a parents' home. The composition of the interviews also differed; one had to be made with an interpreter; another with two interviewees at the same time; the rest where one on one conversations. The same guideline was used through all of the six interviews<sup>39</sup>, though the questions where not put exactly in the same way or order, or with the same emphasis<sup>40</sup>. On three interviews a tape-recorder was used, at the other occasions it was not possible due to disturbing noise or the lack of consent from the interviewee. In these cases the conversation was written down as soon as was possible after the interview had taken place<sup>41</sup>.

The third approach was the observation<sup>42</sup>. The observations took place in two different types of locations where a predisposed structure was as important as while doing the interviews<sup>43</sup>. The same theme, or “down-beats”, was emphasized especially, following the observation guide<sup>44</sup>. Besides getting an overview of the town – the students physical surrounding – observations where made to sort out the town's possibilities for spare-time activities, as well as in how and where the students lived<sup>45</sup>. An outsider perspective was also aimed at in order to get to see the everyday structures which might be passed on as “normal” if viewed from the inside.

Observations and notes where made in cafés, Internet-café, Bars, Nightclubs, Fast-food restaurants, Restaurants, Music stores, Department stores, Malls and at the student's homes. While “observing” at these places I talked to other students, and if they fit the frame of being students, what they said was taken into consideration. Both while doing interviews and observations, the problem of the need of having an open mind and methodological frame was encountered<sup>46</sup>, or at least a frame that is open to flexibility. Plans that were thought of as possible before arriving showed up to be not that simple, as in the case with doing the interviews at the interviewees homes<sup>47</sup>.

### **3.2. How information is dealt with**

Since the collected material in it self does not contain meaning, the act of interpretation – or the analysis – has the objective of bringing meaning to the data and to display it to the reader. The analysis of the data is, according to Marshall & Rossman, a process of bringing order and

structure to the mass of collected data. But beside it being messy, ambiguous and time-consuming it is supposed to be a fascinating and creative process (Marshall & Rossman 1989:112). The basic idea of this analysis could be described as a category based strategy, where the aim is to find salient themes, reoccurring ideas or language patterns that link individuals together (Marshall & Rossman 1989:116). The search for processes, reoccurring events or structures are important, as they are recurrent in the whole material, showing the connection between the different categories in the material in relation to the theoretical frame (Holter 1996: 17f).

When it came to how and what to categorize, what was to be incorporated into the categories was made with a “discursive” strategy. To regard the material as a text is the main principle for the discourse analysis. Whereas discourse as a concept is theoretically complex the strategy that was used had a simple form. In suggesting that texts and speech, as well as different forms of action, has a connection to “a way of thinking”, discourse analysis focuses not only on what the texts express but it also reflects how it ties and restrains our thoughts. The thoughts are tied partly to the “groups” we belong to, partly to our prior presuppositions, which leads to “compulsory” conclusions (Sahlin 1999: 88f). Everything that is said by an individual is said because it is believed to be obvious, given and logic – and this is what constitutes the discourse. Discourse is the reconstructive unity of words, ideas and realities, where language and speech convey a meaning, which produces a state of action concerning subjects and identities. A change in one of these aspects causes changes in all the other (Alasuutari 1995:115).

#### **4. Presentation of the clues**

The complexity of the locality has shone through regarding theoretical conditions as well as the historical background. It appears that the past not only affects and complicates individuals’ views of the present conditions, it also affects the present physical conditions. But it is not only the past that affects these surroundings – globalization – has a solid grip of the locality. If we think about globalization as both an expanding and restraining process in which people relate to their surrounding world, the interplay between conceptions of the past, the present and the future, are important factors. The past is for the individual a cultural referent to the locality – events, injustices and anecdotes from the past are the only direct connections between the individuals’ present situation and the locality – the territory. The

present state of things is for the individuals the solid factor in their lives. Everything is in time and space related to construction of the individuals' conception of their present situation.

#### **4.1. Local and Global surroundings**

I realized rather soon after I had arrived in Cluj that there were two general features parallel to the larger processes of globalization and cultural transformation, which are essential for the understanding of the situation. The first division is between different ethnical groups in the area, principally between the two larger ethnical groups of Romanians and Hungarians, divisions that not only became apparent through the views of the people living in the town, but also as central aspects of the urban landscape. These groups have other groups to distinguish themselves from and which mutually unites them – the Roma<sup>48</sup> and the Jews. The rather clear-cut distinctions are central in the understanding of the relation between the territory in this location and the culture – the common conception individuals have of their selves and their position in the surrounding. The other feature is that of economy – in having or not having money – coming down to the same distinction. If one does not have money one is stuck in the locality, or the other way around, being stuck in the locality implies not having money. Having money implies a possibility of taking part of the outside world, or the other way around, being part of the globality involves having or getting money. Even though there is not a connection between ethnicity and economy the features appear frequently.

##### **4.1.1. First impressions**

Actually it was not the first time I visited Cluj. It was in June of 1997 and I sat in the car with my parents on the way to Bucharest. My impression of the town was that of gray dullness that meets visitors from the West travelling through Eastern Europe. Perhaps it was just because the heavy rain that made it feel depressing, or because of the fact that we were just passing through one of the concrete block suburbs on the way south. So, when I first, for the second time, entered the town I did not really know what to expect. I had read about the region's history and I had a lot of theoretical concepts that could explain what might be encountered. Walking around in the town during the first days I found that there were a lot of things that I had not expected.

The perhaps most salient feature in the town was the domination of the colors red, yellow and blue, the colors of the Romanian flag, the flags appearing on each and every lamppost, on the larger roads leading into town and on most of the central streets. All park-benches and flagpoles were painted in the same colors. All of this was made even more explicit around the Hungarian historical monuments and the days before the Romanian national day the 1<sup>st</sup> of December. It seemed to me that the paintings obviously were made for symbolical ethnic or nationalist reasons, telling the people that wherever you go and wherever you wish to sit you will see and sit on Romanian ground. The center of town is defined by the central square *P-ta Unirii*, which is surrounded by eating-places, shops, cafés, bars and banks. The buildings on the right side of the square, facing north, are occupied by banks while the opposite side is the so called “business street” – where the black market affairs take place in public. On the north side of the square the large *St. Michael’s Cathedral*, the Catholic church, is located and on the opposite, south side, there are two square shaped “archeological” excavation showing foundations of ancient Roman settlements.

#### 4.1.2. Possibilities

Many of the students seem to think of Cluj as too big, with too much traffic, a lot of noise and by consequence it is also too polluted. As it is a “University-town”, and the only town with a University in a rather large area, many of the students come from other towns and villages. The views they have of the town are therefore often compared with and related to their hometowns. Even though they have lived in Cluj for a couple of years, the hometown is often referred to as home. It is also quite common for students to go home to their parents and families over weekends and holidays, depending on how far it is and how much it costs to go there. The positive aspects of Cluj are also compared to the hometown. Cluj has a larger choice of entertainment. For many it is also described as the “*cultural center*” of the region, that “*you feel you are in the center of events*”, and that there “*are many places where you can hang-out with your friends*” so “*there are many ways of spending your time*”. All this makes it also “*...possible to meet a lot of new people*”. The fact that the town has a rather large University makes it a place “*...with great opportunities*” and that is good because “*you can find here an ‘opening’ to the outside, you can see that we are not quite far away from European civilization...*”. I rather soon realized that this is one of the most commonly expressed views. The search of a way out is often the way through the University, both as a chance for exchange-programs and that an education leads to greater possibilities, often seen

as an opening for a new life compared with what one could expect in the hometown on the countryside.

#### 4.1.3. Where to go and what to have there

Taking the rather nationalistic decorations in the town into consideration, I also noticed that there were quite a few international elements. Though when stressing this “fact” to the students it was often shrugged off with a “*what? I don’t think so!*”. My observations were based on the fact that there are for example a number of *McDonald’s* restaurants in the town. But also a large number of pizzerias (I would guess well above 20), middle-eastern fast-food places, Chinese restaurants even an Indian and a Greek restaurant. There are also a large number of cafés and bars around town, all with international connotations in differing ways. Even though one has to know what to look for, regarding “global signs”, the thing is that even the so called local places have international features.

##### 4.1.3.1. Eating places

For example there are two eating places that I would like to compare in regard to this matter. One of them is named “*Meteor*” which is the restaurant compartment of the hotel Meteor located on one of the central streets (*Bulevardul Eroilor*). The place was recommended to me by a lady at the University’s international office as traditional, nice and cheap. The 20 or more tables of Meteor are usually full mostly with students eating/ studying and regular working-class people on lunch-break. Every time I was there, older men were sitting at a table sharing a bottle of *Stalinskaja* (the local Romanian vodka) smoking – talking about (a wild guess since I do not know Romanian) memories. Smoking is nothing particular for old people, since everybody smokes everywhere always. On the menu, in Romanian and English, of Meteor one could find most of what one might consider local dishes. Different kinds of meat in different shapes; fried; boiled; grilled; or in a soup served with fried or mashed potatoes. When ordering one has to go to the end of the room at the “self-service” counter. The different dishes lie behind a glass counter through which one has to point to the waiter, who stands behind it, what one wishes to order. When having received the ordered dishes one has to go to the check-out counter and show what has been ordered and thereafter pay. The prices are rather modest. The restaurant is decorated with two large “indian-rubber trees” resembling plants. On the walls of the rather vapid and smoky locale there are four rather large landscape pictures, of the kind that are illuminated from the backside which gives them a three-

dimensional impression. Through the stereo-system a low volume stream of “elevator music” pours. A tune that stuck to my mind after having heard it at least three times – which also gave me the impression that it was a tape – was Irving Berlin’s “God Bless America”.

Another widely popular eating place is named “*Acapulco 2000*”. It is located in the center of town.. Acapulco 2000 is open, serves hamburgers and delivers pizza, day and night as it says on the glass door. The place is referred to as a middle-eastern fast-food restaurant because it has “traditional” middle-eastern dishes such as Kebab, Falafel and “Arabic bread”, besides the owner is from Lebanon. There is always a youthful feeling about the place, both regarding the customers and the waiters and the “*Manele*”<sup>49</sup> played on a high volume. The inside of the restaurant looks like every typical fast-food place, with mirrors and decorative dried flowers on the walls. Simple plastic tables with menu-holders. On the right side the stairs lead up to the second story. On the left on the wall behind the counter there is a counter with a large, all in Romanian, Coca cola “menu-board”. The counter is also where the hamburgers and the French-fries are prepared, and where the rotating “kebab-machine” is placed. People seem to come to Acapulco 2000 at all hours, often in groups of friends, families with children and couples.

Even though these two first examples are both inexpensive, the issue of money is an important matter. I got the impression that it is more of an unwritten rule that when ordering something you go for the less expensive. As the price is less for a “chicken sandwich” at Acapulco 2000 than it is for a hamburger, the impression was that people preferred to order the chicken sandwich, though they might just have preferred chicken over meat. The waiters reacted quite surprised once when I ordered a coca cola and a bottle of mineral water as the custom seemed to be to have just what is necessary.

#### *4.1.3.2. Cafés, Bars, Pubs and Nightclubs*

When it comes to Cafés, Bars, Pubs and Nightclubs in Cluj there are a quite a few, though they expose their local and/ or global features in different ways. A quiet trendy example of a bar is called “*Crema, bar and club*”. A place where the “up-town people” seem to go with the main goal to be seen and to drink drinks. By night the place works as a nightclub. I once went there during the day partly to have a coffee, partly to have a look at the local mafiosi - parking their cars just outside where parking normally is forbidden – as they came inside through the

glass door in the all-glass facade facing the central square (P-ta Unirii). Coming in usually in small groups of three, the mafioso in a dark suite, with him a young often blond woman, and a third man in sport-shoes, jeans and a too large jacket. The man in suite and the woman having drinks smoking cigarettes while the third man is “observing”. It is almost always jammed with people around the small round steel tables – on which the cell-phones are placed after arriving – with matching designed steel chairs. I also got the feeling that it is a place where people come to look at others, from the way the people who enter are gazed at for a while and the way it seems that the places at the window facing the sidewalk are the most popular. It is basically a bar that could be found in every other metropolitan areas in the world. The atmosphere is stylistically pure but soft, youthful but experienced.

Hanging on the orange painted walls are four large pictures (photo-replicas) all with 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century motifs. One of them a painting of channels and gondolas in Venice (*Canaletto*), another portraying a 17<sup>th</sup> century priest (*Rembrandt* or some other Dutch painter), the third from the same period portraying a landscape with ruins of roman buildings and columns. The fourth picture, placed where it is most lit up closest to the entrance, portrays some kind of medieval oriental warriors negotiating, as the man (occidentally dressed) in the middle of the picture is signing a paper. The Canaletto painting is also found on the menu, which starts with a page of teas and coffees on the left side and with of 20 or so “Cocktails” on the right. The following four pages display a large number of different kinds of drinks, under the captions; Shots, Long drinks, Scotch, Whiskey and Champagne (among others *dom Perignon*). The music played have rather hard Techno character, though the volume stresses it as background sound, it feels definitely how “up to date” would be expressed.

Another quite frequented place is a café on the opposite side of the square from “*Crema*” called “*Café Unirii*” after the square. The overall style inside is not that stylish. A large glass counter takes up the right side going almost half the way back in the premises. A glass counter full of creamy cakes, piece of pastry, meringue cakes along side different kinds of biscuits and “Danish pastry”. On the opposite side of the counter and in the back small tables are placed with small bouquets of plastic flowers. Rather young people sitting at tables, often in couples, are having coffee or a soda taken from the Coca cola cooler which stands in the back of the room. The sound level is quite low since there is no music on, and the ones having their coffees or sodas are talking to each other in a low voice. There are no pictures, though

mirrors and plastic plants in baskets hanging, on the walls. Young deaf-mutes regularly come inside selling pictures with sacred motifs, pens and lighters.

A very traditional looking place/ Pub is “*Alex*”. Located in the area between the student campus and the center it seems to attract mostly students. From the outside it looks like a combination between an “alphytte” and a saloon from a western-movie, with Alex written on a large sign outside on the wall. The atmosphere is the same as one could imagine from the outside. On the wooden paneling hangs old beer and local juice commercials. As well as the tables the chairs are made of heavy wood. The music that streams out of the stereo system sounds like some kind of light American rock/ pop from the late 80’s. The dominating thought that gets into mind is that it is a place where mostly students go to drink. Behind the counter, which is placed on the right side after entering, there are a large number of different kinds of local vodka – for extremely modest prices. Apart from the selection of vodka brands there are also the local Romanian beer *Ursus*, and *Carlsberg*.

In all of these places there is in some way an international touch. As this is often expressed through different brands, types of beverages or the dishes at the restaurant, the common features are that such are more expensive than their local alternatives. The traditional or local dishes and beverages that are served often seem less expensive than the “international. Besides the local Cluj-brewed beer *Ursus* and the local coffee brand *Il Cafe*<sup>50</sup> there are not much that promotes local beverages. It is for example possible to choose between the more expensive Italian coffee brand “*Illy*” and the Romanian “*Il Caffe*” at Crema though the price of the Italian coffee is more than the double. The economical factor seem to have firm impact since people in general, and students in particular, who do not have a lot of money still differ in their choices on what they have and when they go from the ones who have. This was also expressed as I asked a student if she used to go to Crema: “*No I never go there, a coffee costs 20.000!*<sup>51</sup>”. The same person also stressed that, considering this matter, one could rather talk about economical distinctions rather than ethnical<sup>52</sup>.

On the menus at bars and nightclubs, drinks and cocktails with international names and origins<sup>53</sup> are offered, which are much more expensive than regular local beer or wine. I think also that it is used as a distinction marker especially in the trendier places, both from the side of the customer and from the bar or nightclub as they wish to have a certain image. An international facade with international features, such as cocktails and a “global menu”, draws

a certain kind of people – people who have money or want to show that they have money – which I have realized is made quite apparent in this town

#### 4.1.3.3. *Shopping*

When talking about shopping the buying of clothes. In the town there are principally three types of shops in where to buy clothes. There is a large number of “second hand” stores throughout the town. On every street in the center of the town there is at least one such store, and the thing is that they are widely frequented and, as I have understood it, also popular. These shops are as full of clothes as they are full of people rummaging through them. The walls are covered by clothes-hangers the hat-stands over them covered with hats, mufflers and gloves. In the middle, coats and jackets take up the little space that is left between the people trying things on and the people poking in the boxes of odd spares. I also noted while jostling into and through these shops that they are almost always full and are rather inexpensive.

There is also a larger mall in town, a place some of the students have talked about as something important - a place where one “go[es] to the mall”. The place is called “*Centrum*” and is a three story building with escalators connecting each floor, close to the center of the town. The different floors are shared by different shops, though more as “modules” with movable partitions, making it look more like an office than a mall. Entering from a side door the ground floor is occupied by shops selling crystal figures, vases and glasses, giving a museum-like impression since everything is placed inside locked glass showcases. The other two stories are occupied by stores selling clothes under cardboard signs (in English) pointing at different departments indicating adventure, men, women, kids.

The only international global chain-store in town was Benneton, located on the central square (P-ta Unirii). When entering the shop it is like entering into another world, at least another world of clothing shops. The composition of this store is as every other Benneton store, the props are all there. Though perhaps with the exception that the framing here points at it as a high-fashion store, where few samples of the same type are placed on sets of low white shelves, and where the clerks outnumber the customers and are standing on alert meeting you at the door. The atmosphere is cool and trendy, yet toned down, empathized by the trendy music played at a low level. Though it has to be added that the concept of shopping seem to

be more popular than actually doing it, and when talking about shopping it is often implied as buying clothes.

#### 4.1.3.4. Music

More or less everywhere is music played, the music style is an important part of the experience. Different music is played on different locations throughout town. I did not get the impression that people<sup>54</sup> firsthand chose where to go because of the music that is played. What music to find and where to find it are interesting questions when it comes to cultural consumption. There is one larger music-store in the center of the town, where most kinds of music could be found, selling both CD's and cassettes. The other type are the street-vendors selling mainly cassettes. These sell what could be referred to as Folk-music and Ethno-pop, and in a stand one could find cassettes with music ranging from Polka to Hungarian and Romanian folk-music to Gypsy music and "Oriental" (cassettes with Arab alphabet) to Manele. These are just examples of the composition – there is a broader spectra of categories if one is more familiar with the categories. Even though the music store have CD's the majority are cassettes. Going through the content of the music in the music-shop I would say that it is mostly music and artists that were popular, in the West, in the 80's and beginning of the 90's on cassettes. But, there are also some of the more "up to date" music though with a clear difference between the prices comparing with the ones of the older type which is quite cheaper. At the same way there is a difference in prices between local or Romanian groups and artists and the international ones. The street vendors on the other hand sell cassettes in portable stands around the market and outside "*Centrum*", having small stereos in order to let buyers listen to the music before buying. Music pouring out throughout the streets therefore promotes the main supply of *Manele* to the passersby and would be customers.

#### 4.1.4. Ways of contact

When walking up and down the streets a feature which appears is the possibilities for international and other types of connections. There are many smaller shops, besides the larger companies<sup>55</sup>, in the town selling cell-phones, sim-cards and subscriptions, new or second hand. Another feature is the large number of internetcafés, places which are full more or less day and night. Most of which have not emerged earlier than three years ago. The internet is seen as a major source for connection with the outside world. It is also relatively cheap for the students in the town to use the computers. The internet is acclaimed mainly for the use of, as

have come forward through the surveys and the interviews, e-mailing and chatting. Having spent quite some time at several of these internetcafés another major usage of the internet, though exclusively among males, seem to be the surfing on pornographic- and other related web-sites with macabre contents. Yet, another feature, having to do with the issue of connectivity is the large number of travel agencies. Often located in smaller premises on the ground floor around town, promoting travels mainly to Western Europe, especially to Italy and Spain, but also to USA and Canada.

#### 4.1.5. The home

The home of a person could be the place where the personality is expressed at the clearest. I had some problem getting access to the homes of the students. Partly when it came to confronting the students about wanting to see how they lived, partly regarding the structural conditions the students have to deal with. Many students live at the University campus, but getting a place is rather difficult. To start with, the admission to a place at the campus is based on the achieved results at the exams<sup>56</sup>. At the campus almost all of the students share rooms. They are between two and five in each, rooms of about 25 square meters with one kitchen and bathroom on each floor. I have interpreted this as a sort of restriction on the possibilities for personal expressions.

One of the students I visited lived with his parents and his grandmother in an apartment house in the semi-periphery of town. I would consider the apartment as rather large with four rooms. One that was his own, one belonging to his grandmother, a third was where his parents stayed a living-/ dining-room and a kitchen. The whole apartment was spartanously decorated, with not much on the walls. There were pictures of the family in the living-/ dining-room and a glass-showcase/ cupboard with nicer glasses, figurines and plates. He was happy to have his own room he said so he could make what he wanted with it. Having entered from the hall the bed is on the right side, and on the left side there is a bookshelf. At the end of the rather small room a desk with school-material is facing a wardrobe on which he had placed trophies and diplomas achieved from folk-dancing contests and festivals around Europe. Above the bedside-table over stereo and CD's a tapestry hangs, covered with badges and pins also them from his tours. I notice that the only thing that could be related to a picture or painting in the room is a Benneton cardboard-poster placed on the floor depicting a young woman. More or

less everything in the room has got some sort of international connection and at the same time it all comes from the very traditional Romanian folk-dance.

Another home I visited was shared by four students. The apartment had two rooms. Two Romanian girls shared one of the rooms and two Hungarian girls shared the other. The room where the Romanians lived was very spartan, it was completely clear of pictures on the white walls. Moreover they shared one bed where both slept. In the room there was a desk that looked more like an un-laid table on the other side of the small room facing the window. Next to the door there was a large wooden wardrobe. The two Romanian girls had moved in two month earlier, and came from the same village east of Cluj as the two Hungarians, who had offered them a part of the apartment as they had already lived there for over two years. The room where the two Hungarians lived felt much more inhabited than the other room still there where no pictures on the walls. Two beds are standing on each side of the room and two writing-desks with adherent bookshelves standing on each short-side facing the window. Both the two writing-desks were both more or less covered with school material. The only things on the walls were paper sheets with a handwritten vocabulary in English attached with tape.

## ***4.2. Expressions and impressions***

While the last section was more based on observations, this one will have an emphasis on the interviews and conversations with the students. As conversations with other students outside the interview scheme took place, these have also been taken into consideration. The section will be divided into sub-sections concerning how the students express and interpret their past, present and future.

### **4.2.1. Influences of the past**

When talking about their past, childhood came up as an initial topic. Among the students I felt that the backgrounds differed quite a lot. Their families came from different parts of the country, had different economical status and social classes and a differing ethnical background, and I believe that the differing backgrounds affect how they view their surrounding world. Their views and values were also in many cases transferred from and affected by the views and values of the prior generations. I have interpreted how the students

talk about their past and the views of it as connected to the locality, as a way in how traditions and ideas are carried on through generations from the past to the present.

#### 4.2.1.1. *Earlier locations*

Many of the students in Cluj come from other towns or villages, which are often portrayed rather idyllically, as in: “*Arad /.../ is a very beautiful city, just a little bit dirty. I like very much Arad, is famous city, because it find one big beach, where I go there every day in summer with my friends.*” Besides, the people in the hometown is often depicted as friendlier, and that there is “*...much [more] love between people and everyone is [not] preoccupied by his own life*”. It is also quite common to go home to the hometown over weekends and longer holidays depending on how far it is and how much it costs.

#### 4.2.1.2. *Past generations*

Most of the students said that they had a good and happy childhood. One of them told me that his grandmother took care of him and brought him up. She was very strict, but even though she used to slap him when he did not do as he was told, he afterwards appreciates it. He was even happy about it. He also said that he had realized that she had influenced him in the way he thinks about certain things. He remembered that in his childhood she used to tell them that the Hungarians were very hard on the Romanians during their time of rule. He therefore had to have this in mind considering the increased influence of the Hungarian population in the region. Implying that she had taught him to stand up and to not give in to Hungarian pressure.

The influence of earlier generations are also apparent in other cases. One of the Hungarian students said her that father was a minister of a Reformed church. She was also involved in the same church, and explained that, even though she thought that religion would have played a central part in her life whether or not her father was a minister, he had had an influence on her beliefs. Dramatic childhood events have also an effect how they are tied to their parents. The events following the revolution in 1989<sup>57</sup>, have affected one of the Hungarian students, and the way she looks on Romanians and Romanian society in general. She told me about her father with a certain pride: “*...the Romanians threatened to poison our water and burn down our house, my grandmother moved back to Budapest, she was born there, but my father said that ‘I will not move! This is my country too, we can’t give up everything!’*”. With this in her

mind she still harbor negative feelings against Romanians and a belief that it is not wise to give in.

The close connection to the parents also becomes apparent when you consider how historical “events” were passed on to one of the female Romanian students. She told me that she very much looked up to her parents, she even wanted to become like them when she grew up. Her father had once told her that “...*Arab people and Greek were bad people they abuse women, not respecting...*”. She said she therefore decided not to date them. Though once she had, but had soon realized that her fathers view were correct. Nowadays she does what her father says “...*because now he gives me money and I have to do what he says...*”. Another Romanian was upset over an Italian exchange-student she had talked to. “...*he complained about all the Romanian Gypsies coming to Italy stealing, he thought the Gypsies came from Romania. I told him that Romanians and Gypsies are not the same people /.../ look at my skin! I am not brown, it's a shame, that he don't know about his own history*<sup>58</sup>”. Feeling a bit uneasy in these types of conversations because of the lack of “political correctness”, as one might be used to, I realized that the connection to the past is influenced by their parents or grand parents. At the same time as ideas are connected with the past, they have to be sustained by something in the present. Dependence on the parents and families is strong, and it is hard to tell whether they have already had any kind of “youth revolt”. There is more of an aim to be like the parents and their lifestyle rather than opposing to it.

When I asked whether events and general views of life separated them from their parents and their generation, most of them stressed that they more or less had the same views of life. The exception is that they think they spend more time with friends, are more acquainted with modern technology and have the future in front of them. A thing that is complained about is that the parents and grandparents are stuck in some kind of communist mentality. That the parents have learned to cope with and use the corruptness of the communist system. This is a mentality which is supposed to be widely spread, and making the post-communist system even more corrupt. This is expressed as the reason for the hopelessness over what has come after 1989. There is a feeling that the past has caused that there is nothing to do about the present, because it is too corrupt, resulting in the “fact” that the no future inside the locality is viewed negatively.

#### 4.2.2. Thoughts of the present

The way the students think about their present situation is closely connected to, on the one hand what has been, and on the other to what they expect of the future. When I came to questions involving how they view their present situation, I realized they work a lot. Many have jobs, even full-time jobs, or different full-time jobs, on the side of their studies. I felt that this workload was seen as needed in order to achieve the top five positions of their class. It was also expressed as the only way to become something regarding the hopelessness of the situation – the expedient is to work and study a lot. But still, due to the corrupt system from the communist era, connections are seen as more important than education. Moreover, in order to succeed, one has to know least a couple of languages<sup>59</sup>. The connections are viewed as necessary in order to get a good job and the knowledge of languages to be able to go abroad.

##### 4.2.2.1. Social conditions<sup>60</sup>

The social conditions and the society that surrounds the young are viewed upon with a certain sort of scepticism. Starting with their questioning of why the questions on the social conditions are asked, I got the impression that in their minds the present situation is neither interesting nor important. When I asked how and why social economical or cultural differences in society affected them, most of them are well aware of that there are differences and stresses the extremity of the Romanian society. *“You know, here in Romania there are only two classes, one upper and one bottom!”*, and that society is divided between *“...the very rich and the poor, and there are many poor...”*. But it is still not regarded as essential for their way of life - it does not seem to bother them. One explanation that more or less everyone has is the corruptness in the political system. There is a clear dissociation from the “ruling” segments of society often explained by post-communist ruling political and economical elite coming directly from the top of the former communist regime.

Other attempts to explain the situation involve more or less large conspiracy theories. One of the students shocked me a bit by seriously explaining that the Jews and the Masons, together and on purpose, are keeping Romania from rising and becoming powerful because of its geographically, militarily and politically strategic position in Europe, as it happens to be right between three continents. These “dark forces” do this to Romania by exerting their economical power on “buying” the country’s already corrupt politicians. Not all explanations

are this extreme, not even close. But, despite of this I feel there is a certain admiration of the West, of which Romania and Romanians are part of, it is felt that they through history belong to a European culture, and thereby have a superior right to take part of it. One of the students expressed that it was not right for countries in the European Union to take in “...*Negroes and Arabs, they are not part of the same culture as us...*”.

During my stay in Cluj, and during conversations with students I felt that there was especially one issue that they did not really like to talk about – the ethnical relations in the area. I felt as they had opinions on the matter but did not at the beginning want to reveal them. I guess it was because they did not know “where they had me”, at the start. Because further on in the conversations what they really thought shone through. In the beginning of the conversations the dichotomies were often renounced as “...*I don't think there is really a conflict /.../ I think it is made up by the politicians...*”.

Language is central in the unfolding of this matter, since everything in the Romanian society is expressed in the Romanian language, which even the Hungarians have to know. The problem arises when Hungarians speak Romanian with an accent. Since there is no visual differences between the two groups, the language, and the accent reveal ones belonging. One of the students told me that when he and his friends went to nightclubs it had happened that he had told people “...*speaking Hungarian too loud to talk quieter or go out*”. It came to my realization that due to individual experiences or “...*just the way it is*”, there always seem to be problems or complications when individuals from the two groups interact with each other, and they do not have valueless opinions about each other. But, as always there are exceptions, as was the case with the student who had a Romanian father and a Hungarian mother. His views on the issue differed a lot from the other as he did not express any express myths and prejudices in order to portray one side favorable over the other.

Another way of dealing with the rather extreme social conditions is to turn to religion. In a way I think it is both a way of coping and a way of reinforcing the discrepancies. Many of the students seem to take part actively in Christian activities, either they belong to the Catholic, the Reformed or the Roman Orthodox church, and it seems to be a general theme among young people throughout society. They either take part in the religious ceremonies, or take part in other kinds of activities related to the church, or of course both. It is also obvious that the belonging to a certain church is associated with a certain ethnic belonging. Religious

affiliations from both the Romanian and the Hungarian side is also pointed at as explanations for the other's mentality and way of life. One of the Hungarian students said for example that *"...the Romanians' mentality come from the Orthodox way, /.../ standing in line waiting for kissing the feet of the priest. That's why they are so lazy, they don't have initiative..."*. From the Romanian side both the Catholic and the Protestant church is expressed as a threat coming mainly from Hungary. The expansion of the Catholic and especially the Reformed protestant churches especially among young people is viewed as a deliberate attempt to incorporate the region of Transylvania to Hungary.

#### 4.2.2.2. *Circumstances of consumption*

The issue of consumption has been touched upon in prior sections, though not from the students points of view. I felt, when the issue of consumption arose that being "up to date" with the latest does not seem to be prioritized over having or doing what is reasonable and practical. When I asked about this it was implied that they had everything they wanted. Though I later realized that the question of economy is central. The father of one of the students had his own business and made *"...good money."*, he even bought her a car<sup>61</sup>. Still she did not think she bought things that her friends could not afford just because she had the money. The "not so well off" students, who consider themselves a majority, do not think of consumption as important in their lives. When these sentiments were expressed it felt like they, the students, were resigned over the fact that they did not have money. The degree of "cultural consumption" seem through its limitations to be more of a distinction marker than actual consumption. The negative feelings towards the *Manele* is pronounced harder than the appreciation of another kind of music, though when asked what kind of music they listen to they give varying names of groups or categories. The case with magazines and television differ to some extent since there are no clear negative opposites as the *Manele* is in the music field. From the answers I got "educational channels"<sup>62</sup> on television seem to be the most popular, and when it came to magazines most of the girls answered different kinds of "teenage-magazines", very similar in their content to what could be found in Western Europe. The lack of economical resources and the lack of products they wanted made them focus on the future instead of dreaming of things they could not buy.

### 4.2.3. Hopes for the future

The major goal for the future, above all, is to go abroad and earn money. Though I felt as it sometimes was expressed as a kind of self image. Implying that everybody are well aware of the fact that a large number of students in Romania wish to move out. When I ask them they said at first that their main goal is not to move abroad, but they have friends, siblings, relatives who have been, are or will go to Western Europe, America, or Australia. Hungary is also considered, though mainly by Hungarians, as a first step on the way to the West.

#### 4.2.3.1. Plans for life

The aim many of the students have is to get abroad, and with this in mind I have encountered three types of related future life-plans. The first characterized by a wish to stay in Romania or in Cluj. Some even wished to return to the village from which they came, their hometowns. This wish often seemed to come from a sense of need for some kind of stability in their lives, as the lack of stability in Cluj is expressed among those who wish to move back to their hometowns when they have finished their studies. The feeling is mainly expressed by the ones who have just moved to the town to study. In other cases, the students feel that they either have a stable life with a good job and a career possibility, or that they have a family, with their own children or if they feel their parents or grandparents depend on them. Some of them also plan to get married within a near future – starting a family and having children. Opposite to what I thought about the Hungarian students they do not wish to get out of the hostility of Romania.

The second type is characterized by a to return to Romania or Cluj after having been abroad for a semester or a couple of years of studies or work. As many of the students have friends who either are abroad or have been there, they see them as having it much better nowadays after the return. The general idea is that they have better jobs and better wages, and that they get the much wanted employment's in foreign firms located in Cluj or Romania. The reason for this "urge" is often expressed as a feeling of not being able to "...realize ourselves in Romania". Another said that "... I don't think that the situation will change in 5 years, and that things don't go so good.. In another country I think I will have more chances than here". Another reason why there is a wish to come back after having spent some time abroad is the prospect of having earned money – hard currency – to use and perhaps "show off" when they return. It is also stressed that many see themselves as the generation that can make things

change in the country – that they have a great opportunity. The reason they wish to work or study abroad is to a great extent because they think they can bring back and use their experience to build a better society.

The third type is characterized by the plan to move to another country permanently. It seems though that this type is commonly expressed as a wish or a dream, more than there actually are many young people moving out permanently. The connections to Romania, the hometown and to the family are strong. It also seems like that it is the family that “have the task” of holding them back while their friends stands for the influence and inspiration to leave the country, as they might have the same ideals and dreams. Common for all these types of future plans is that they are not formally expressed as dreams, but as plans made long a time ago. Some even said that they decided to go abroad 10 years ago. One of the students I talked to explained that *“I decided to go to Canada when I was 11, there are great opportunities there, maybe I get married and live there...”*. The dreams are in this way often expressed as plans that are expected to be carried through.

## **5. Summing it up**

The collecting of the material – the handing out of surveys, interviewing and observing – came to consist of a reciprocal process between on the one hand the theoretical frame and on the other hand my experiences in the locality. The theoretical frame was constantly in my mind during the stay in Cluj, as it was written in the beginning of this project. What I experienced could therefore give both strength and weakness to my preconceptions and to my theoretical frame. While some aspects gave weight to my theoretical standpoints, others decreased or dismissed them. This is of significant importance and should therefore not be neglected.

### **5.1. Reflections on theory and material**

The cultural frame of reference and its territorially based traditions are a central part of the local everyday experience, yet, impressions that are not locally bound to the territory are equally preminent. I would therefore say that the discussion on glocalization<sup>63</sup> is applicable in this context. Though, one should look at it in two different ways; the concurrent processes of globalization and the strife for locally/ physically bound connections; and from a cultural

point of view, from which the search for identity could be found in both local and global surroundings. The first way refers to what could be observed in the physical surroundings in Cluj – the presence of international and traditional/ local features appearing side by side. The second way refers to the way in which individuals combine the connection with tradition and the opportunities of the global – as could be expressed in the practicing of traditional folk-dance with the aim to go on “European tours”.

While individuals are experiencing social, ethnical and religious conflicts in the locality, the criteria for the individual’s shaping of a belonging – what makes them feel acknowledged in their society – has much to do with their relation to the past. The construction of “borders” between segments in society are defined by cultural standards – a territorially based cultural belonging – which, when met by external cultural traits from globalization causes reconstruction and redefinition of purpose and aim for the individual<sup>64</sup>. The questions that arise for the individual is whether an economically “prosperous life” abroad or “traditional life” is prioritized – well, as it seems, both ways could be possible. What adds to the conflict are the factors surrounding the individuals in the locality that works both as impediments and facilitators in both directions. In both the physical and cultural surroundings there are factors pulling in either direction. For example, there are the rather non-subtle nationalistic symbolic expressions in the town such as the ecological toilets in front of the monument of the Hungarian king on P-ta Unirii. What is inside, and even present, in the locality functions on both sides of the ethnical dichotomy as a fortifier of attributes for local belonging.

The patterns of locally defined cultural affiliation seem to be inherited. Reflections and interpretations of the past are to a great extent given to the students by past generations. There are symbols and stereotypes which are carried forward from one generation to the other, often characterizing ethnic or religious groups as an “evil other”. Myths are becoming reality and spiced up realities are becoming myth. There are for example stereotypes about gypsies such as that of the gypsy woman who attacks the police officer for having tried to stop the husband from beating his wife (the gypsy woman), and about the Romanians being lazy and lacking in initiative which is also the reason why the whole country is going down. There is also myth about Hungarians in “Judapest<sup>65</sup>” who are planning to reattach Transylvania to Hungary “...you know in Hungary, they use maps with Transylvania as a part of Hungary, I have seen them myself...”. These reinforcements of structural realities in the local society confirms to a great extent Friedman’s point<sup>66</sup> of a replacement of the idea of the nation with “old-

fashioned” identities. The current conditions brings out and increases ethnical, local, racial and language based forms of identity – matters of distinction. Yet they are to a great extent carried forward from parents and grandparents.

The views of the past are often related to different historical “stages” thematically referred to as a pre-communist, a communist and a post-communist period<sup>67</sup>. The question of what comes first in priority does not really feel relevant in this context, as individuals tend to create their current sense of belonging on what happened to their parents, grandparents and past generations. To a great extent there seems to be lacking a “youth revolt” in favor of a close admiration of their prior generations<sup>68</sup>. The past seems in a way to be a strengthener of their current explanations and views of the locality. What is important is that within these three periods, different events are brought forward to enhance the present situation. In the pre-communist times there are the conflicting ideas of belonging in the Roman (Ancient Rome that is) heritage and the influence and presence of the Hungarian and later the Habsburg Empire. Walking around with Hungarian students in the town they tend to point at the many Hungarian churches, and the Hungarian architecture of most of the buildings in the center. They do this while frowning at the National Museum and the Opera House, which were originally Hungarian, and at the Roman excavations on P-ta Unirii that “...*firstly it is Dacian, and secondly Napoca*<sup>69</sup> [which was the ancient Roman colony town] *lies a couple of kilometers East of town*”. The communist and the post-communist period have equally dichotomizing expressions, and still with the same connotations that it is now in the present that the oppositions are formed. The past have the functions of being the source for the process of molding in the present. Language is also such an issue derived from the past creating distinction in the present. This is exemplified by the notion that the Hungarians in Romania both are viewed as “outsiders” inside Romania because of their accent and because of the same accent when they visit Hungary.

#### 5.1.1. A global theme song...

The deterritorial aspects are thus connected with an objective aspect of globalization – the centrifugal force – which implies that individuals react and adapt differently. Following Mishra<sup>70</sup> globalization and its forces produce difficulties for the individual to create a “valid reaction”, which in the extension will lead to a certain sense of hopelessness of the current situation. The thing is though, that the students I interviewed are affected equally by the

relatively international frame of the locality of Cluj. At the same time the common goal is to get out. But, while the principal source of identification still seems to be what is territorially defined as local – their ethnic belonging – the common aim lies in the future. As the factors can work in both directions – with a local or a global focus – the individuals' current situation in society is of central relevance.

What globalization has caused is an increased stream of connections between societies and cultures. Following Albrow<sup>71</sup>, on a rather general level, one could say that individuals are to a greater extent incorporated into a larger “world” society, an example of this might be the frequent visits to internet-café's. Since there used to be a certain relation between a territory and a culture – constituted by the frame of reference of a certain group – a consequence globalization<sup>72</sup> has are the connections and affections which could only be seen from the viewpoint of the “exposed” locality. That is, one can only see how one's own culture and society is affected, how it is altered by “alien” influences. What becomes apparent for the individual is that what is new “because of the evidence” – that the local/ traditional surrounding is being affected – is an upcoming “new” frame of reference. The idea of an “Americanization of the world”<sup>73</sup>, and similar theoretical descriptions, could therefore be regarded as salient in the individual reception but not from the viewpoint of the outside observer. The subtle interconnections between the centrifugal and centripetal forces do thereby become apparent as different individuals and different segments of society adapt differently to the new input, though while still having the same goals. This also creates a disconnection from the present conditions in the forms of conspiracy theories, inequalities and injustices in society, all having a clear connection with the past in the creation of future plans for a presumably better life.

### 5.1.2. ...with a local refrain

While the social and cultural surroundings always seem to be present in the minds of the people, with close connotations of the past, the thoughts and dreams of happiness, a good job, family and money are closely connected with what is expected from the future and consequently found on the outside of the locality. Although the international market and the global impressions<sup>74</sup> are the reference to which the local culture is made apparent, and perhaps even stressed, it is quite clear that what the students view as global or local are not opposites but concurrent features that have to be dealt with. Something which relates quite

well to Robertson's definition of glocalization<sup>75</sup>. At the same time as a person can be really determined to go abroad in order to create a better life for him/ herself, he / she can be really firm on what defines his/ her cultural and social belonging. The common idea when it comes to defining cultures, whether it is a "Romanian", "Hungarian", "Gypsy" or "American/ Western", one of them always seem to entail more opportunities for the future than the other. In this regard there is no dual conception, the duality comes from their actions and not from their thought..

The belonging is connected with a certain territory through a certain culture, but due to a deterritorialization the gates are open for new experiences and possibilities. It could at least be implied that this dual composition of belonging can also be seen as a way through which individuals try to take advantage of their situation. The corruptness of the present social locality – with the lack of money as the main concern – is to a great extent regarded as a heritage from the communist period, inherited through the last generations to the extent that it seems to be incorporated into a new frame of reference. The strong connections to past generations, a connection which to a great extent is the base of the identification process, even have the negative aspect of being part of a corrupt locality – a locality which oppresses the possibilities for a better life. The idea for many of the young people is to go abroad and to earn money in order to come back with a better life standard. The connection with the locality is strongly related to the dependence of their parents and families – and thus the belonging to the locality, expressed by culture and ethnicity, is not only a restraining force.

The local connection to the global, or international, aspirations are always related to an imagined idea of the opposite of the present situation. The cultural belonging to an ethnic group or church, which are by far the most eminent frames for identifications, goes side by side with the search for a better life and an escape from the present conditions. These two identifications are constant and simultaneous and they are also a reoccurring feature both from the students' perspective and from the physical surroundings in the town. As the case with the student who practiced traditional folk-dance while using it as a way of getting contacts abroad, so he one day could leave. It is thereby difficult for individuals to do something, by themselves, about the cultural mix – the contacts between different localities – which they are affected by. The accentuation of the cultural heritage of the locality does therefore become a means through which it is possible to individually uphold its frame of traditions in the competition. When it is argued that the situation in the locality, which has been affected by a

global compression, would generate nationalistic, ethnic or fundamentalist views, involving assertions towards local or “traditional” cultures, it is not only stated in theory but now also empirically<sup>76</sup>.

### 5.1.3. Identities of yesterday and tomorrow

The individual adaptation to the vertical processes of globalization is to a great extent the key to identity constructions in this context. If following Mead<sup>77</sup>, the general picture of the construction of identity is that it is made in relation to the surrounding. But the surrounding cannot in this context be regarded as the only present conditions and position in which the individual find him-/ herself in society. It has also become clear that the relation between the individual and the surrounding is not in singular. The aspects from which identification is drawn offer a variety of interpretations, and a number of identities are shaped. However, the own identity is constructed in relation to other individuals as well as to cultural, social and economical factors in the present surrounding locality. Interpretations and comprehensions are shaped in relation to events happened in the past as well as with reference to the possibilities in the future. The dissociation for surrounding elements is a central issue in this discussion. An example of this is the mutual disliking – over ethnical borders – of the *Manele*. Both Romanian and Hungarians frown at it. Romanians say it is “Gypsy music” making a mock of the Romanian language, and Hungarians say it is Romanian and expresses the real Romanian lifestyle of superficial extravagance.

The three types of identity structures could be regarded as present at the same time, and by the same individual<sup>78</sup>. The point is that more or less everybody has the same opinion of the local society as corrupt and not functioning. The “real” local culture which is aimed for – wanting to belong to – could be regarded as a “positive other”. This could for example be a certain religious affiliation, a historical event or myth from the past – something which is not represented by the corruptness of the system – and, is therefore the only thing left that cannot be affected by the outside factors. The local culture could even be seen as being carried forward by the students themselves from the past generations – the other individuals in their surrounding. At the same time as what is seen as new is regarded as harmful, it should and could not be rejected. What is new – the global and international – is by far the only road for a better life. Inescapably it is also here the economical factors sets in, and in the long run even the cultural factors through an increased consumption of “new” and more expensive habits and products.

Even if there is a total conviction to fully go for what is new and global, what is considered as local or traditional is always present as it is viewed as the hopeless opposite of the future. The total denial of the past is therefore not possible even though it might be wanted. The connection between the past and the future is salient in every feature – connections conditioned by the concurrent social and cultural situation.

## **5.2. Conclusions**

To start with, and what might seem rather obvious, we have to say that the construction of identities is affected by surrounding circumstances. A point that also has been made is that what is happening now – referring to the impact of globalization – has its roots in the past of the locality. As globalization is the increasing connections between localities, the actions and reactions in the locality is central in the “outcome” of globalization. The construction of identities – based on the interactions between the individual and his/ her surrounding – revolves around the two factors; the conception of the past and the ideas and hopes for the future. How these conceptions and ideas evolve depends on where the individual is found in the social and cultural surrounding in the locality. Where he/ she has grown up, where his/ her parents and grandparents came from and what they have experienced affect how they search for belonging. The belonging in relation to economical standards and ethnicity is the result of what is transmitted from prior generations. Furthermore, the belonging is defined by where he/ she defines him-/ herself in the present surrounding, introducing the deterritorial factors of globalization, as well as the individuals’ possibility and ability to adapt to the centrifugal forces and the vertical changes. Hence it comes down to the individuals present surroundings – the conceptions of the impossibilities of the locality compared with the possibilities of the global arena.

In the case with the students in Cluj, there are two major factors, apart from the individual experiences, that defines individual and collective identities. One factor is the both mentally and physically salient ethnical conflict between Romanians and Hungarians – a conflict sprung from the past, being apparent and amplified in the present and constituting a fear for the future. The matter is though that both sides have experienced the same events and have created the same – but opposite – feelings about each other, still having differing views of situations and still referring to the same feelings and worries about the conflict. The other

major factor is economy, a factor that goes above ethnic borders. Since it is central in the students' way of living, it is central in the views they have of what has created the present situation. When this is affecting their present situation, it consequently affects the way they are planning for the future.

### **5.3. Future areas of research**

As has been made clear is validity not one of the central aims in this thesis – the population as well as the geographic location of the study was limited to a single group in a single locality. In this aspect it is an explorative study and as such, it could/ should work as a guideline for further research. Therefore I would like to stress an expansion of the scope, resulting in a facilitation of coming studies in the field and area – a presentation of the pros and cons of the content as I have composed it. To start with, I have realized that the usage of different methods in the collection of information has been awarding, though I think that the mode of procedure could be even more structured. Apart from a firm but flexible structure, I have in retrospect realized that the applied outsider perspective has to a great extent been fruitful. Through the process it has become clear that this has enabled me to come closer both to the informants/ interviewees and the local surrounding than might otherwise have been the case if I had had to study my own environment<sup>79</sup>, or do it from the “inside”. The relevance of a historical knowledge is to a great extent essential, though only in relation to the present and in the eyes of the subjects/ interviewees, that is, their perspective of history. But of course both aspects are necessary – having an “objective idea” of events and the “subjective varieties” – while having a reflexive approach. An aspect which I have left out more or less voluntarily is the gender issue. Nonetheless the importance of the matter, a broadening of the scope would have been made on expense of focus. Another area worthwhile focusing on is the composition of youth-culture in the era of transformation, especially in this region, and placed in relation to ethnicity and the construction of identities. Take the issue of *Manele* for example, and the role of music in the definitions of the opposite. As when discussing the conception of Eastern versus Western culture. Yet in a society where there is a lack of economical means, the idea of consumption tend to be prioritized over the actual consumption.

While being firm on the disassociation from normative issues on this matter – what shall we do to make it better, or, what went wrong? – the issue of what will come out of this concurrent situation might be interesting and important. What I regard as important in this matter is the demographic results of “great escape” to the West<sup>80</sup>, implying the consequences this might

have on the composition of the family. These structural alterations might even have social and socioeconomic consequences since it inescapably effects welfare systems both inside and outside the locality.

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# Appendices

## *Appendix I: Survey*

Hello!

This survey is a part of a masters thesis. A thesis that is a final stage of an internet-based international Masters Course named “Transformation in a Comparative European Perspective”, that focuses on globalization and social transformation in Europe. Seven Universities in four countries (Bulgaria, Germany, Romania and Sweden) has given the course in collaboration.

*A short description of the study:* The study focuses on the relationship between globalization, culture and identity. The theme of the study revolves around an idea that globalization is a process that *transforms* our societies and *effects* our lives wherever we live. Culture on the other hand is what *defines* how we chose to live our lives. The question that remains is how we, as individuals, *react* and/ or *interact* with these circumstances.

I would really appreciate if I could take 10 – 15 minutes of your time. The information you give will be dealt with strict confidentiality. If you feel that there is not enough space for your answers please feel free to write on the back of the paper.

Thanks in advance!

Sincere regards,

Nils Gärdek.

[1] Gender:

Female

Male

[2] Year of birth:

19\_\_

[3] Describe your living environment. (*Whether you live with your parents, by your self, or if you cohabit etc.*)

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[4] For how long time have you been living in Cluj?

a) All my life

b) A major part of my life

c) Last five years

d) I do not live in Cluj

[5] During a normal day what takes up most of your time? (*No. 1 as what you do most and no. 5 what you do least.*)

① \_\_\_\_\_

② \_\_\_\_\_

③ \_\_\_\_\_

④ \_\_\_\_\_

⑤ \_\_\_\_\_

[6] How would you wish the order to be? (*No. 1 as what you wish to do most and no. 5 what you wish do least.*)

① \_\_\_\_\_

② \_\_\_\_\_

③ \_\_\_\_\_

④ \_\_\_\_\_

⑤ \_\_\_\_\_

[7] Regarding “popular culture” what are your favorites when it comes to:

- Movies \_\_\_\_\_
- Television \_\_\_\_\_
- Music \_\_\_\_\_
- Internet \_\_\_\_\_
- Magazines \_\_\_\_\_
- Other areas \_\_\_\_\_

[8] *(If you answered a) or d) on question no. 4 go to no. 9)*

How would you describe the place where you lived before coming to Cluj?  
Describe it shortly in your own words and from your own perspective.

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[9] How would you describe the differences between Cluj and other cities, villages, “the countryside”. Describe it shortly in your own words and from your own perspective.

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[10] What do you consider to be the major positive and negative aspects of Cluj?

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[11] Where do you see yourself in 5 years? How come do you think so?

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[12] Where do you wish to be in 5 years? And, what do you wish to do?

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*Thank you for you time and patience!*

## **Appendix II: Interview guide**

When doing qualitative interviews a prewritten questionnaire is not used. On the other hand should the interviewee to as a great extent as possible guide sequence of the interview, and choices of aspects in the interview. That an interview should not be structured does not mean that it should not be planned and organized. As a consequence a list or guide should be made on areas that should be regarded in the interviews and that has a connection to the research problem. The list should be short but at the same time it should give account for large areas of what is to be examined.

The first step, and what has to be present in the background during the interviews is the connection to the “large” research questions.

- ① How is the construction of identities expressed through the implications of globalization/ transformation, and constituted by individuals?
- ② What does the differences in construction depend on?

These “large” questions are thereafter divided into sub-categories. In order to have a more apparent connection between the overall aim of the study and the areas that are to be examined. That the object of the study is to be focused on a more precise area. This is also important to have in mind when conducting the interviews. The “smaller” research questions are divided into six areas. Where the first three are directly connected with the theoretical frame and the latter three are connected more generally to the problem at the same time as these are important to have in mind during the interview as well as when the interviews are to be analyzed.

- ① Is the construction of an identity caused by some sort of “revolt” against something that has been in the past?
- ② Could the construction of identities be caused by structural factors, such as social conflicts in the society, where it is important to “take sides”
- ③ Could the construction of identities be seen as a “means” for self-fulfillment?  
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- ④ Do the informants actively know what kind of identity they are/ is created?

- ⑤ Do the informants actively take part of the process?
- ⑥ To what extent are the informants aware of transformation/ globalization, and how it could / if it do affect their society?

These “smaller” questions will forms the base for the for the interview topics. When defining the topics it is important to hold on to the connection to the “larger” questions as well as to the “smaller” questions. The connectivity is important because it enables an analysis based on the interviews that is connected to the research questions, the theoretical frame and the methodology.

The structure or the theme of the questions will revolve around three areas. The issue of what has been and what will come, the present society as it comes to daily habits, and the view of who “the self” is. The structure of the interview will follows a timeline where reflections has to be made in both directions in time, as well as the role of the location. Three themes with collected interview topics have been derived from the “smaller” questions. From these a concrete interview guide will be presented.

- a) How the family live. History of informants parents. The view of the informants childhood. Concrete events that separates the informants from their family/ parents/ siblings. The relation between what the informants do now and what they did before. Do the informants have a sense of what they will be doing/will be living in 5, 10 or 20 years. A theme focusing on differences in time.
- b) The importance for the informants of societal conditions, the role of the surrounding. The relation between ethnic groups in society. The weight of large social, economic and cultural differences in the society. The search for distinction. The culture of consumption. Cultural tastes as distinction-markers, (television, music, internet, etc.). What to do and where to do it on spare time. The theme focuses on the importance of the present surrounding and the differences there within.
- c) Do the informants have “life-plans”. Whether the surrounding (friends/ family) is of importance. If there could be an essentialist idea of “self-fulfillment” and an idea of individual development. If there are “goals” are in life. The theme has its focus on the individual.

As noted some of the topics are overlapping, something that should not be considered a failure because firstly these topics will work as a template for the interviews, secondly will the analysis of the answers be based on other criteria than these themes. The format of the interview guide will therefore be as follows. When these interviews are not structured the same questions will not necessarily appear in all interviews, the informant will to a great extent be the one that “design” the questions asked in the interview. Therefore should this guide be considered.

- Family background
- Relation to the past
- Thoughts of the future
- Societal conditions
- Cultural consumption
- Spare-time activities
- Life-plan/ goals in life
- Individual development

A guide that might appear loose, as well as that the themes seem to be overlapping. Though this one of the objectives, it is intended to produce nuances and follow-up questions connected to the larger questions and to the research problem as a whole.

### **Appendix III: Observation guide**

The first step in narrowing down what to observe and to take into account is the choice of locations. This step comes before the second step of relating what to observe to the research questions, for one central obvious reason, that one hypothetically could find events and circumstances related to the research questions in all locations, locations that might not be relevant to the research questions. The location is therefore chosen out of two preconditions. The first is based on locations where, theoretically speaking, different types of identities are expressed and at the clearest. The second is based on the construct of the rest of the study, implying the research questions, the theoretical frame, and the other methodological strategies. This has narrowed it down to two locations. Concrete objects for observation will be dealt with below.

- ① The first location is planned in accordance with where the interview is to take place. The interview is to take place (as mentioned), at the home of the informant. A place where the identity has a great possibility to be expressed through choices made by the informant. Personal choices suggesting preferences, tastes, a “facade” or intentions.
- ② The second location(s) is planned on the basis of where the spare time is taking place. Meaning a place where the informant is not at home, and not where he/ she has to be (the university). The location(s) in this case are bars, cafés, and other places of encounters and recreation. Personal choices here are based more or less on the same factors, but a more public appearance is stressed, how individuals wish to be seen and expressed in public. Above the latterly mentioned choices – choices made of location might express social economical or/ and cultural belonging through a certain mode of consumption.

When it comes to concrete objects for observation they have to be divided into these two different locations. As it is in the interviews, it is important not to have too many factors that later has to be taken into account, when doing the analysis. Therefore it is important to have few but essential “downbeats”. The home location ① and the spare-time location ②.

①

- Musical preferences
- Pictures/ paintings
- “Ornaments”
- Magazines

②

- Music style
- What there is to drink
- Trademarks
- Pictures/ paintings

A central factor in the observations will be the location of the different “downbeats”. Where the different things are placed, to what extent one could talk about whether something is placed in the saliently in the front or in the background. The overall impression is also important as well as the connection with the informant in the interview. The different “downbeats” will be structured both according to their symbolic spatial and chronological belonging. This as a means for enabling distinctions to be made between what could be considered traditional, present or global in its character.

# Footnotes

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## Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup> The concept of globalization have the general signification of an *increasing communication between different localities around the world* throughout the thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Identity is to a great extent constructed in the relationship between the conception between past the present and the future. Or to be more accurate in the case with the situation in Cluj, the relation between a frame of reference that is culturally deterritorialized and a frame of reference which is territorially bound. This could for example be expressed as an obsession with Western pop culture, which could be expressed in the “Michael Jackson cult” in 1992 described by Sampson (1995:164ff) A Western obsession could also appear in formal economical demands and informal pleas that the West ought to provide more aid, or the paranoid feelings that the West or foreign countries like Hungary or foreign forces like the Jews are conspiring against Romania (Sampson 1995: 166). Or/ and as an overemphasis of what is local or traditional. If global culture represents the new in the local surroundings, the past is represents what is traditional or local. How the past is interpreted by individuals is hence a matter of course. Considering the importance of these two aspects, of past and present, the way individuals perceive their immediate surroundings at the present should not be prioritized over the conception of the past as they are interacting.

The regional history will be divided into three chronological stage, derived from conclusions made after conversations with the people in Cluj. As the periods are based on field experiences, they could not be seen as a conventional historical theory. Depending on who they are and where they come from people have different opinions about aspects in all these three stages. The divisions are based on two major events affecting Romania and the peoples living there nowadays; the introduction of communism, and the retirement of communism with the revolution of 1989. The first period is the *pre-communist*, lasting from “ancient time” to the introduction of communism after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. The second is the *communist*, from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World war until the revolution of 1989. After that the last period, the *post-communist*. Nowadays aspirations are made throughout all levels of society to proclaim the “historical truth” within each one of these three stages. The central feature in the search is infected by the same conflict it is about to portray, implying the explanations to a great extent emanate from the present conditions. The resulting is a “historical truth” which is a definite construct – issues are selected and angled to fulfill the means of the correct solution. The historical context could therefore be seen as a cultural “past surrounding” that functions as a frame of reference in the identity constructions in the present.

<sup>3</sup> A common view about the region in the pre-communist period is that it was a place of cultural variety – where differences lived in relative harmony side by side with a continuous mixture of ideas and cultures. But, it has also been a part of the European continent where during centuries wars, genocides, and ethnic cleansings has been salient. Coexistence of people throughout the region have been far from spotless (Törnquist-Plewa 1998: 104ff). Without reaching back to the Great Migration, and earlier, the conflicting situation could be narrowed down to two opposing processes. These could be seen as the general feature for how the period is viewed at in the region – that is the processes of the building of larger units, often described as colonialism or imperialism. Of which the perhaps most important for the region, the conflicting interests of on the one side the Habsburg Empire on the one side and the Ottoman Empire on the other side. See for example Delanty (1997:79), Gerner (1997: 367ff ).

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The other, the process of disintegration of these larger units – a process working for cultural, national and ethnical unity – in other words: nationalism. Where the real conflicting tendencies became emphasized from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and forward. For a great exposition on the relation of modernization and the rise of nationalism in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, read Sugar (1997: 91–120).

Either way, both the unifying processes or the reactive processes used identical arguments and excuses to make distinction and to create a spirit of community. The instruments that were used was first of all language, a factor which could be used for both distinction and unity. (Barbour 2000:9ff). The complexity could for example start with whether a language is a language or a dialect. A matter of distinction for Serbs and Croats as well as for Czechs and Slovaks but of unification for Germans (Törnquist-Plewa 2000: 218f). Apart of language, religion has a close connection with a third factor of importance; ethnicity, which is often regarded significant for the connection between a people and the territory. The formation of an ethnic affiliation can on the one side emphasizing on an extensions of already existing affiliations and on the other side be a narrowing down the scope of the own group (Eriksen 2000: 89f).

The issues that were viewed differently in the first period concerned the right to the territory. After centuries of pending of borders large-scale demographic transformations shaped a mosaic of interwoven population and migratory patterns creating large areas inhabited by ethnically and culturally mixed populations (Bideleux & Jeffries 1998: 39). A group could become a majority in relation to another local group, meanwhile being in minority in relation with the state (Chlebowczyk 1980: 28f). The conflict as it is viewed at nowadays, arises from the acclaimed right to the territory, and lies in how a certain group who had the right, in a given time, treated the group who did not. The communist period on the other hand is viewed at as the time when, what Brubaker explains as, an un-mixing of people took place (Brubaker 1996: 148ff). The conflict has become concrete and lies now principally between Romanians and Hungarians. The relation does not have to do with the communist regime by it self, but with what was acclaimed to have happened before – a Magyarization in the pre-communist period interchanged to a Romanization. A more general feature of the communist period is the “creation of a mentality”. The heavily centralized regime created besides a dependency on the state, a cult for the nation and the leader. Standardization of taste and culture and society causing a etatization of social life, “teaching” people to be individuals *of* the state, and not *in* the state (Verdery 1996: 48ff, Deletant 2001: 36ff, Light 2001:68f). The post-communist period is to great extent affected by the “search for truth and justice”. History has once again to be rewritten – characterized by a “coming to terms” with the past – and perhaps consequently the creation of new truths. Politicians and political groups struggling in the seeking a “truth” of what really happened, which they (and everybody else in society) know will corroborate with their interpretations of the events, (which creates a prominent sense of corruption), (Siani-Davis 2001: 19f). The elucidation of the past with the preconditions of the present. Meanwhile there is an aim of creating the future that did not exist under the communist regime. Bauman expresses for example that post-communist regimes often find themselves in a void between borrowed models not being backed by the interests of the people, and local interests that are not realizable (Bauman 1993:18). The issue of collective and individual identity is important and essential in understanding the situation, following Geertz (1973: 243ff) with the search for both essentialism and epocalism - to follow the past or to go with the future.

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## Chapter 2

<sup>4</sup> In this theoretical alignment the modern world arose with the industrialization, urbanization and secularization of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. The trade started to be reach further than within the borders of the locality, And as there where an increased number of connections between different locations not only goods but even ideas and understandings followed the new routes.

<sup>5</sup> Robertson's view on globalization could be defined as evolutionary because he stresses that it has evolved in "steps", and that only certain parts of earlier systems are carried forward to the following "step"

<sup>6</sup> Suggesting a division with more or less clear-cut lines between different cultural directions.

<sup>7</sup> The core countries are in the world system approach defined or described as the countries of the western world, implying Western Europe and North America. While the periphery is defined as the non-western world, implying most parts of the Asian, African and South American countries.

<sup>8</sup> I am here implying principally computer software.

<sup>9</sup> See for example also Ritzer (1996: 30ff)

<sup>10</sup> This is because the patterns of consumption are important considering what kind of music people listen to, what they read, and watch on television (Slater 1997: 83ff). The choices made about what to consume are to a great extent related to the choices and demands made in the interaction with ones surrounding in the construction of identity. Actually the issue consumption is essential in the discovering of the underlying processes. The case in Cluj was though that the issue of consumption was not prominent, as there was a lack of goods and money.

<sup>11</sup> One of the important issues of this thesis concerns just this, the sorting out individuals' exclusion and inclusion in the locality provided individuals' exclusion and inclusion in the global.

<sup>12</sup> The point that is made, and perhaps a point that has to be explained, with the introduction of the concept of creolization is that nothing changes, and therefore should nothing be considered as solid.

<sup>13</sup> For further critique of the concept see for example Friedman (1994: 208f).

<sup>14</sup> In this context localized culture could be defined as a sort of national identity, as it is described in for example Smith (1991).

<sup>15</sup> Examples of these kind of socially given identifications are professions, class, ethnicity. But, these roles given by society can, and do, of course transform into different of individual and collective identities. Implying that the shaping of identities is not only a product of the one way relation by the individual and its surrounding, but also in the fact that social structures has an important role in the process of formation.

<sup>16</sup> See for example Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction* (2000), on the discussion on how social positioning actively and perhaps unconsciously is used by individuals in relation to their surrounding and society, and with cultural, on the side of economical, belonging as important and essential factors or goals.

<sup>17</sup> The distinction between roles and identities is made a it separates what are given from society and what has been constructed in a process with society. But the line is of course floating as for example ethnicity given to a certain group in a campaign of "identity politics" could easily be transferred to an identity constructed with it conditions of having been achieved in interaction with society.

<sup>18</sup> Even though one could question whether this awareness defines the modern individual or whether it is the opposite, that the modern individual has shaped the awareness of his/ her own constructivity of identities.

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<sup>19</sup> This is not only theoretically important, but also methodologically, which will be discussed further in the methodological chapter.

<sup>20</sup> Citizenship as the membership in a territorially defined and state-governed society.

<sup>21</sup> Which will be exemplified and described further on in this thesis.

<sup>22</sup> Both gender, race and ethnicity can of course be regarded as being achieved through voluntary action. There are numerous examples which are not necessary in this context, as the discussion of “acquired characteristics” versus “natural” requires a whole discussion of its own.

<sup>23</sup> But still in a more practical manner, and not on the same theoretical level. Even though Castells’ characteristic of having an equality between of empirical and theoretical material.

<sup>24</sup> The concepts of “centrifugal” and “centripetal” forces have not any reference in the literature, as far as I know, or have found. Though the concepts could be referred to Robertson’s discussion on globalization, re-globalization and de-globalization (Robertson 1998: 10f).

<sup>25</sup> A state described by for example Tomlinson as global modernity (Tomlinson 2000:60ff).

<sup>26</sup> An idea based on the dichotomy stressed by Clifford Geertz about, between the “re-invention” of indigenous traditions and culture as the basis of the “new” collective identity. The somewhat opposing relation between “essentialism”, and “epocalism”. Or between emphasizing of what has been and the desire to be part of the spirit of the age and to share the achievements of the present world (Geertz, 1973: 243ff),

<sup>27</sup> This last type could be referred to what Steven Sampson (1998:154f) explains as a transformation from a communist condition to a post-communist or to a perhaps more extreme post-post-communist condition. I stress the argumentation that the past could preferably be divided into three stages of historical conception and reference. Namely a pre-communist, a communist, and a post communist, and that the identity construction process of identifying with the past focuses on different aspects from these stages depending on the origin of the subject.

### **Chapter 3**

<sup>28</sup> The perhaps biggest difference between a quantitative and a qualitative approach is the level in which theoretical preconceptions, in how the theoretical frame and personal experiences are used. (Holter 1996: 13). As argued in the theoretical chapters, what will be studied is the mode in which the construction of identities is carried out, and through a theoretical frame establish how such a phenomenon is expressed and what characteristic features it has. Wallén argues further that when something may be considered as vague – with various meanings or multiple possible understandings, as the area this study revolve around – and where subjective experiences and attitudes are examined a qualitative approach is a necessity. What might be considered not precise, in this type of studies, should mainly depend on the nature of the problem, and only partly on an underdevelopment of the methods (Wallén 1996: 73). It is therefore important to develop a method which makes the study as precise as possible. Another purpose with the choice of a qualitative method is the importance of understanding the hidden – what is perhaps not obvious and apparent.

<sup>29</sup> As mentioned is the connection between theory, problem and method essential in order to get valid and reliable results. The interview is here placed first because it is supposed to give most weight to the study, nonetheless the combination is central. The choice of methodological procedure, is therefore as important for the

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cross-checking between methods as it is for the whole picture. The interview is a demanding data collecting procedure, and not only for that interviewee, as one might imagine. The interviewer has to have an ability to place oneself into and understand how the interviewee experiences a situation. Moreover has the interviewer to understand “problem areas” and follow up what the interviewee is telling, in order to get interesting and relevant information without transferring own apprehensions to the interviewee, dilemma that demands an openness a flexibility in the interview situation (Holme & Solvang 1996:105).

<sup>30</sup> The study requires an examination of contexts, processes and how the individuals interact with their surroundings. The objective is through sensitivity pick everyday “facts” about social structures in order to get a broader picture (Marshall & Rossman 1989:105). A problem regarding the sensitivity, one has to consider before choosing research strategies, as Burgess stresses, is that a too strict or rigid adherence to any method, will give the researcher a “confinement in the cage”. Implying that when in the field situation one have to look beyond the defined limitations (Burgess 1997:143).

Flexibility in relation to theoretical and methodological problems is also important but such position often leads to accusations of subjectivity, being impressionistic or biased. The reason could also be that the used theories could be “out of date”. Moreover, theories may be popular in the locality, which could make the interviewees ready in having a perception of the field, suggesting that they might reflect and interpret the questions from a different perspective. A solution to avoid questions about external and internal validity is to combine different types of data collection approaches. As a combination of strategies might solve such problem, it does not necessarily imply, as stressed by Alasuutari (1995: 20f), a combination between qualitative and quantitative strategies, between observations and statistical data. But, with a combinations of different strategies within and outside the discipline.

Burgess argues for a “methodological triangulation”, implying the usage of the same methods on different occasions as well as of using different methods in relation to the same subject of study (Burgess 1997:145). The emphasis is placed on a combination of methods, that the data can be collected from different perspectives, in order to get a broader picture and to provide more validity to the study. The success lies though in the integration of method, theories and data. For example could different methods been used to focus on the same object of the study or to examine different aspects, at the same time could the same methods be used on different aspects. The broader the scope of the investigation is the more complete the will the picture become, remembering that the focus is always distinct and constant throughout the process. Further, similar cross-checks can be made between observations and interviews, and it is only when different types of strategies are combined “that the full potential of multiple field strategies are realized” (Burgess 1991: 164).

<sup>31</sup> See Appendices I, II and III

<sup>32</sup> The survey is planned as a complement to the other strategies, in asserting a deeper understanding of the conditions. The survey might also have an illustrative purpose that will be used as a starting point for the in-depth interviews and observations. The initial and primal objective is not to imply ambitions of generalization, or on showing correlations. The survey is be divided into two groups of questions, where the first focuses on factual questions, regarding objective information designed to elicit the respondents background, current status, and environments. The second group of question are a number of open-ended, described by explained by Frankfurter-Nachmias & Nachmias (1996) as having the aim of learning more about how the respondent has arrived at a certain point of view. Moreover, the open-ended questions are to prefer when one have respondents

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who do not have crystal clear opinions, while it might produce an response that should be more revealing than if the questions would have been close-ended (Frankfurter-Nachmias & Nachmias 1996: 224f).

The open-ended questions will be grouped in a way that I hope will give an orientation of identification processes in the locality, how individuals act and react to their surroundings. The questions will be structured around three themes. The first theme revolves around how the respondents view their past, involving childhood and adolescence, considerations regarding cultural conditions and circumstances etc. The second focus on how they regard their current situation, preferences and dissociations. The third theme focus on thoughts of the future, how they see themselves in an eminent or remote future. When surveys normally have a quantitative touch or inclination, the aim with this, as implied by the focus on open-ended questions, is to get a qualitative foundation. Hopefully will the survey reveal an inlet to how identities are constructed. (For more concrete descriptions see appendix II).

<sup>33</sup> As it came out a majority of the students answering the surveys where between 19 and 21, at their first year of University studies. A majority of the students where female (about 75%), which could depend on that the surveys where handed out at the Department of Social Work, at the Babes Bolyai University, (which is also involved in the Master-course). The ethnical division between Hungarians and Romanians where more or less equal.

<sup>34</sup> The interview is much more carried out like a conversation than a formal “structured interview”. It could be describes as a conversation with a purpose, with an aim to collect as much information as possible from the interviewee that is reliable and valid, and that is relevant for the objective of the study. The technique can vary depending on to what extent the interview is structured beforehand and on the amount of latitude the interviewee is able to respond to the questions, (Marshall & Rossman 1989: 82), this could also vary depending on how the interview is developing, whether it is on the “right track” or not.

The flexibility of the interview is one of its advantages. The interviewers wording of the questions, the order through which he/ she are presenting her-/ himself can be altered according to the situation, clarifications of what is unclear, and the generation additional information creating an openness necessary for an in-depth understanding of the conditions of things. The point with the interview is to get the individuals beliefs and attitudes, though it is important to check whether the interviewee has any beliefs about the topics in question. The flexibility that is necessary and the openness of the questions should allow the interviewees to choose their terms (Silverman 1995: 91f). Implying that it mainly should be the interviewee that who steers the direction of the interview, what is talked about should be on the premises of the interviewee. Through this strategy the chance of getting the thought and attitudes of the interviewee high.

Another advantage stressed by Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, (1996) is that the interviewer can collect additional information about the interviewees, including background information, personal characteristics, and the environment in which the interview is taking place, if combined with a participant observation. Moreover such interview could yield spontaneous reactions that might be useful in the stage of the analysis. The positive benefits of the interview has obviously to be placed against the risk of bias, (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996: 237f), that the interviewer unintentionally may affect the interviewees answers, and the lack of anonymity implying that the interviewee might fell threatened or intimidated by the presence of the interviewer or by the situation in it self. As Alasuutari (1996) points out, can the interviewer follow the behavioral patterns during the interview that are learned more or less instinctively following a representation of his/ her gender and cultural

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group. In this aspect the interviewer could not be considered detached from the outcome of the interview but through his reactions constituting parts of the research data (Alasuutari 1996: 87). An important consideration that has to be made in the analyzing stage.

<sup>35</sup> This aim was to a great extent attained, as five of six interviews were carried out during the last week of the three weeks.

<sup>36</sup> Mason stresses a theoretical sampling to deal with the starting-points of selecting. Implying a selection of groups or individuals on the basis of their relevance to the questions at issue (research questions), the theoretical frame, meaning a construction of the sample while doing the study (Mason 1998: 94). The problem with this strategy is that, if misused could work as confirming the theoretical starting-points. To avoid this the mentioned flexibility is important, both in the methodological and theoretical aspect, suggesting that the prewritten frames has to have a possibility to be altered and changed in accordance to the findings. Following Liedholm, it is impossible to beforehand decide the number of interviewees. This because it partly lies in the nature of the qualitative research, partly because the aim is to find informants that can help and develop the knowledge of the area that is to be studied. How far this search for “completeness” has to go is decided by how complicated and multifaceted the subject is and what distinctions and delimitation one chooses to make (Liedholm 1999:169). The reason for this is that when starting, there is little possibility to exactly know what to find, and therefore it is either impossible to beforehand precisely know how many the interviewees should be. But, in retrospect I would say that the six interviews I made covered the completeness of the task. Partly due to the feeling of having a picture of the “overall” situation clear, partly due to the fact that the interviewees did not come up with anything “new”, in the way they did not contribute with unknown aspects. This could of course depend on the chance of picking interviewees who said almost the same things.

<sup>37</sup> What has to be made when doing the fieldwork, is to consider the aspects and implications of the study of youth and youth culture. Another consideration is the gender issue, in how gender might affect the way individuals view their surrounding. When the qualitative method in general builds in substance on the Weberian “Verstehen” tradition it stresses the understanding of human action through subjective definitions individuals themselves ascribe their own and others behavior. This is an essential starting point as youth is the category in society that changes its habits in relation to fashions and trends the most (Cwejman 1990:59). Arising the importance of being “up to date” when doing the research. The consequence, or the result, (depending on how one sees it), is the effects modernization, or globalization by that matter, causes. Ziehe (1992:154) stresses for example that transformations in social structures (as was for example described in chapter 2) starts as small changes but ends up with profound alterations in lifestyles, everyday-life patterns and interpretations of surroundings. Though we have to remember that differences in how individuals change do not necessarily depend on new structural factors such as economical, technological or social frames of reference, the causes might also lie in latent circumstances such as gender roles. The first reason for making these considerations is that a generation- and language barrier has been deconstructed through the process of modernization, a larger surrounding has evolved, combined with the development of technology. The second reason is that youth, perhaps more than others as they are in an initial stage, have individual interests and motifs, and the construction of identity has therefore to be placed in relation to this larger surrounding (Ziehe 1992: 149ff). This is important in a methodological aspect not only because one has to adjust to the up to date trends and fashions, but also one has to have a clear understanding of the surrounding and the cultural context where the informants live. It has

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become a matter of understanding the local context while understanding the local context through individuals who are attempting to do so themselves.

<sup>38</sup> When talking about “Hungarians” I imply individuals or groups with Hungarian ethnicity living in Romania.

<sup>39</sup> In order to make the study as “correct” as possible the issue of how selecting the interviewees is crucial. When the aim of the study is to provide close-up and detailed views of particular units, that may constitute processes, types categories which are relevant to appear in a broader spectra, Mason (1998) stresses that one need to select just units for detailed scrutiny, such as a geographical or spatial location (Mason 1998: 92). The reasons for selecting more than one unit are for demonstrating in a detailed manner particular social processes in a specific local context, rather than examining surface patterns that could be generalized to a wider population

<sup>40</sup> The inspiration of this interview guide is borrowed from Trost (1993: 25ff). He also stresses the importance of not trying to “take in” everything in the interview. Partly, because the collected data has to be dealt with in a later stage, partly because the informants should not be bothered with too many questions. The structure of the interview guide is borrowed from Mason (1998: 47ff). This when it comes to how the concrete guide has been evolved and derived from, first of all the purpose of the study, but also the stress of connectedness between the different parts and levels of the thesis as well as inside the process of interviewing.

<sup>41</sup> It has to be added that most of my conversation and interaction with people during my stay in Cluj has been, and has had to be, taken into consideration, both as it gave an increased understanding about the situation so that I could get more out of the interviews, but also that it could not be neglected that everything encountered in one way or another is taken into account in the analysis.

<sup>42</sup> Observations as a method is as Frankenberg (1991: 50) expresses it, on the boundary between sociology and social anthropology. In order to succeed one has to combine the awareness of definitions and methods of the sociologist and the unity of purpose and group consciousness of the social anthropologist (Frankenberg 1991: 50). The object of the observation is to study small-scale situations in the participants daily life, situations that expose events that make interpretations possible for the researcher (Burgess 1991: 45). One objection to the observation as a method is that it can only be made on a small group that it may not be possible to draw general conclusions. But one point that has to be made, besides that the objections is correct, is that individuals in general tend to participate in society through smaller groups. That the observed pattern and characteristics may be seen as how individuals act and react with their surrounding. Above this is observations an essential part of the idea that cross-checking information through different methods increases the understanding and deepens the weight.

Considering the aim and purpose of this study one do not have to go as far as described by Gans (1991) in the transforming oneself into a participant of the daily actions of the observed. The main reason of the observation is that I am interested in the individual actions and reactions to the surrounding and not only how groups work in society. Gans still points out some important issues that are worth having in mind. The entry could be the first major source of problem, implying when coming as a researcher into a new environment, the issue is whether becoming accepted as an observer or if one wish to not be paid attention to. Gans stresses that data is gotten on the basis of the ability to be adapted to the situations one wants to study (Gans 1991: 57ff). The issue of entry should not mainly be considered as a problem because the observation should be incorporated in the interview situation, and therefore could the issue of acceptance be important.

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In order to make the observational part of this study as complete and useful as possible it has to be combined with the interview. But as the observations should not solely be considered part of the interview situation the role the as observer could as Gold (1969) explains take three forms. As the participant-as-observer the researcher the does not reveal that research is being conducted, here it is in favor if the researcher more or less becomes part, or member of the group of individuals that is being studied. It is important in this case not to jeopardize the roles. Moreover having in mind throughout the fieldwork that ones origin the relation to the new context. The second form Gold call the observer-as-participant, a role that used in studies involving mainly interviews. Involving a more formal observation, and entails a lesser risk of going “native”, because of the more systematic approach to the studied that could be made. The third forms is the complete observer, implying a complete removal of the observer role from any social interaction with informants. The objective of this form is to observe people in ways which make it unnecessary for them to take him into account, because they do not now that he is observing them or that they are serving as his informants (Gold 1969: 33ff).

The focal point of using these three forms of observations is to enable an examination of how individuals act on different levels of society. The first form possibly involving a smaller group, the second would principally be a one-to-one interview, and the third would give a larger perspective of how individuals act and react in relation to their surrounding. The observations should in this study, considering the aim and purpose of the study, work as explanations and to give clues to phenomena encountered in the other methodological strategies. A reason for using not only, or as detached, observation is, as Bryman suggests, a way to draw conclusions and find clues in one strategy that can be followed up in another (Bryman 1997: 60f).

<sup>43</sup> The process of observing was be divided into two phases. The thought of observational research as being divided into stages or phases is borrowed from Strauss et al. (1969: 24ff). The content of the different phases has slightly been altered to fit the purpose of this study. The first phase is characterized by the discriminations between what may be theoretically important and unimportant. An initial phase of “testing” the relevance of a number of hypothesis, hunches and guesses ( which in this case have been based on the survey and the interviews. Preconceptions may be left behind or strengthen, as the observations focus on asserting the meaning of events and circumstances and to place them in a initial social order. The second phase is characterized by the structuring of these events and circumstances as a way to make sense of the which otherwise would create a massive flow. In order to get to the second phase from the first phase a structure is a necessity. Even though one observes, a perhaps, unstructured chain of events and circumstances which also is the point, what is to be analyzed has to be narrowed down. Partly because only decimating possible focal points, partly in order to observe only what is important for the research questions.

<sup>44</sup> See appendix III

<sup>45</sup> Even though there where some complications in getting to see how the interviewees lived (for reasons described in the following chapter) two of the six interviews where made in the interviewees homes.

<sup>46</sup> When it comes to the concrete strategies is it in advance difficult to have a clear idea on how to carry out the observations. As mentioned are the interviews and the observational methods are closely connected. Therefore they will the strategies concerning the observations to a great extent be applied on while interviewing. A first situation is the location of the interview. The plan is to have the interviewee to chose location, to make him/ her feel comfortable, and to examine the location as a statement, where the sense of security could be seen as a

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source of an action of identification. Another stage of the observations will be an attempt to see how some of the informants live.

A more overarching strategy for the observations is the concept of framing. The concept of framing allows, according to Silverman (1995:50), the observer to generate important questions, because instead of underlining what happens it stresses what does not happen or seem irrelevant. Alasuutari stresses the examination of frames because they shed light on phenomena from different angles, depending on what frame one is using. The analytical procedure of using frames is based on the idea that interpretations of meanings are regulated by frames existing within the cultural context (Alasuutari 1995: 111ff). Implying that individuals are using different frames, possibly simultaneously, in order to act and interpret actions, to produce meanings. As one has to consider the interview situation as a frame, where the interviewee throughout the conversation knows exactly, in his/ her frame of reference, what is going on. Alasuutari implies that there is no interview there the interviewees will not one time or another give some thought over the purpose of the questions (Alasuutari 1995: 90). The recognition of the existence of how frames work goes in two directions, as a methodological approach to get a deeper understanding and as something to have in mind in the interaction with the informants.

<sup>47</sup> Many of the students I got into contact with in the beginning of my stay backed out when I told them that the interviews preferably should be made at their homes – where they lived.

#### **Chapter 4**

<sup>48</sup> “Roma” is the perhaps more accurate naming of the commonly named Gypsy, a naming which will be used in following occasions. As has to be noted do this ethnical group have a few more or less politically correct names, often depending on where they are and who is writing about them. There is also the spelling “Rroma”, which is stressed by Culic & Horváth & Lazar (2000), which might be considered emphasizing a perhaps local spelling, perhaps even in order to put emphasis on the distinction from the Romanians.

<sup>49</sup> Manele is a widely popular kind of music, which could be defined as a mix of ‘oriental’/ ‘Arabic’ folk-music and folk-music from a more ‘European’ tradition. While the melodies are definitely oriental the texts are in Romanian. The music is referred to as portraying a extravagant lifestyle, surface comes before content. Something which is also made clear on the cassette-covers. It is all about fast cars, semi-dressed woman, glamorous costumes and jewelry (a parallel to American hip hop culture one might even say). Romanians see the music as degrading the Romanian language as it aims for an grammatical incorrectness, and view it as basically a Roma phenomenon. The Hungarians on the other side view it as typically Romanian. Still, though most of the students I have talked to frown at the music-style it is widely popular and played almost everywhere, most extensively at fast-food places but also at nightclubs and bars.

<sup>50</sup> Interesting, and something to have in mind about this is the Italian spelling, as the connections to Italy often is expressed as something positive.

<sup>51</sup> 20000 Romanian Lei which is about half Euro, and the price of this coffee is about what one could get a hamburger and a soft drink for at a fast-food restaurant

<sup>52</sup> That is, one do not chose where to go and where not to go because it is “Romanian” or “Hungarian”, or whether Romanians or Hungarians use to go there. The principle order of selection does not follow these criteria.

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<sup>53</sup> It could be expressed both through the brands on the menu with different types of alcohol, different kinds of Whiskey, Gin, Vodka, Rum etc, and even through the names of different drinks and cocktails.

<sup>54</sup> Regarding the answers in the survey the ranges is wide including 'Blues', 'Pop-music', 'Classic', 'Christian music', 'Hispanic' or 'Latino', 'International', 'Rock', 'Ballads', 'House', 'Rap', 'Folk-music' and 'Hungarian music'. The impression was of a rather dichotomized division of the music scene, where it is either "traditional" music or "international", the only "hybrid" variant that I encountered was the Manele. Though I heard of other variants from my interviewees but I was not able to listen to it. Other types might not have been as forwarded as the Manele.

<sup>55</sup> The larger Romanian cell-phone companies that is, such as 'Dialog' and 'Connex'

<sup>56</sup> The allowance system which is paying for the University cost is based on the same principle. It is also usual for students, with good grades who have been granted room at the campus, to rent their place to other students and then chose to live at home with their parents. The allowance system causes also that students with not as good grades either have to look for places to live, by them selves, sharing apartments in town with friends, or if their families come from or live in Cluj live at home with their parents.

<sup>57</sup> Most of the student I have talked to did not remember much about the time before and around the Revolution, at least not enough as they felt they could give details about how they felt about the events.

<sup>58</sup> Here she is referring to the history of the ancient Rome, which is considered an important part of Romanian History. Implying that Romania once was a Roman colony, and even though this statement was a bit extreme, the connection to Latin countries, especially Italy but also France and Spain is often stressed by the Romanians. At the same time Hungarians I met tend to frown at such connection as invented.

<sup>59</sup> It is more common that you are asked "*How many languages do you speak?*" instead of "*What languages do you speak?*".

<sup>60</sup> With social conditions I imply the conditions individuals experience in society, it differs from the definition of cultural conditions as the first concerns the more factual experiences in the locality while cultural conditions refer to present but not observable experiences in the locality.

<sup>61</sup> Something that, have to be said, is not very common.

<sup>62</sup> With "educational channels" they mean mostly American channels they receive via satellite, such as National Geographic channel, Discovery, Animal planet, and other channels showing documentaries. This might seem like a surprise as an expected answer would be MTV or something similar. Considering the presuppositions of youth cultural consumption and the choices made regarding what magazines are the preferred ones.

## **Chapter 5**

<sup>63</sup> See the discussion on Robertson and the relation between globalization and localization in the sub-section 2.2.2.

<sup>64</sup> The question is to what extent in relation to this discussion one could talk about deterritorialization. The important issue to remember, and which makes Tomlinson's argument (See section 2.2.2.) useful, is that through a globalization of culture there has occurred an eminent detachment of culture as frame of reference and the "traditional" physical surrounding.

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<sup>65</sup> Insinuating on the estimated high number of Jews in Budapest. Making the connection between the Hungarians and the Jews as well as the idea of the ideas conspiracies of threat towards Romania.

<sup>66</sup> See sub-section 2.3.1. on Friedmans discussion on the future characteristics of identity constructions.

<sup>67</sup> See note 2 and 3 in the introduction (chapter 1).

<sup>68</sup> This is the core of the rather complex dual condition. On the one hand, the complaints about the earlier generations' inherited communist mentality, and on the other hand there is an aim of trying to be like them. At some point this could be caused on the economical dependency the students are under. The family represents perhaps the only stable and secure points in the students everyday life.

<sup>69</sup> The current "accurate" name of the city is Cluj-Napoca, the name found on up to date maps.

<sup>70</sup> See sub-section 2.1.2. on the "consequences of globalization.

<sup>71</sup> See section 2.1. on the different definitions of what globalization is about. As might have been noted not many words have been spent in the summary on what definition is the most valid of globalization. The most general and perhaps in most cases most useful have therefore been used in order to facilitate the usage of the concept.

<sup>72</sup> The technological development and boom in Cluj the latest 2-3 years are of course essential factors for the individual reception of present. This is more or less depicted in 4.1.4. "Connections". But it also touches upon the topics of music and shopping. The ideas and conceptions of what is outside travels through the mediated technological channels. Television is one central feature (which I have not brought up in this study since I do not understand the language, and that I did not have access) another the internet. Following Carlsson and Sreberny-Mohammadi (see sub-section 2.1.1.) there could be said to be both an unbalance between centra and peripheries and that the communication channels to a great extent does not give the opportunity to speak back. Though regarding the "chatting" as intercultural communication and with little purpose to exchange useful information.

<sup>73</sup> I have to say that the more or less negative pictures of the current state of the world (see sub-section 2.2.1.) cannot be regarded as valid on a global scale. The perhaps dystopian scenario might be a reality in some localities more than others, but in Cluj and among the students I have talked to one cannot speak of a complete takeover of foreign patterns and ideals.

<sup>74</sup> The relation to the theoretical discussion on the dynamics and consequences of globalization – globalization of finance, and trade a global division of labor and development of technology – has been difficult to examine empirically. It lies also outside of the scope of the study. What is present is though the thoughts the individuals have about these aspects of the global market and the international influence. The underlying comprehension of globalization and the causing of vulnerability to Romania is a distinct feature. One could even say that it is a sort of collective memory of "the present" being a dual interpretation of the current state.

<sup>75</sup> See the discussion on Robertson and glocalization in section 2.2.2.

<sup>76</sup> See section 2.4. on the discussion on cultural fragmentation and modernist homogenization, and the results of such concurrent forces.

<sup>77</sup> See section 2.3. on the discussion about Mead and his theoretical reflections on how identities are constructed.

<sup>78</sup> I would consider Castells three types of identity constructions relevant, but only to a limited extent. By them self, directly applied on the empirical data they do not fit the conditions encountered in Cluj, but brought together to a theoretical discussion they have a certain relevance. Implying that the principles for having different "groups" in which different types of constructions are sorted under, is a way to structure the conclusions. See section 2.3. and 2.4. on the background discussion.

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<sup>79</sup> An example is the way the people I talked to viewed the presence of globalization in their locality. When discussing the matter many of them dismiss the presence of “globalization”, but after have had explained my definition it is conceded that Romania is part of such processes (see for example 1.1.). This is though closely connected with the matter Mihailescu (2001:111ff) expresses (section 2.4.). The conception of theoretical concepts differ from a “scientific” point of view and the view of people affected by them.

<sup>80</sup> The question is of course if there will be an great migration to the West, but going after the general convictions there will be one if it not already is.