SOCIOLOGIA

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UNIVERSITATIS BABEŞ–BOLYAI

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RECENZII – BOOK REVIEWS

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AWARENESS OF LIFE AND SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL ADAPTATION

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RÉSUMÉ. La relation de la satisfaction avec la vie avec le succès de l'adaptation sociale. Cette étude fait partie d'une recherche plus vaste qui traite des effets de la satisfaction avec la vie sur l'adaptation sociale, et l'influence du système des valeurs sur ce dernier. Dans cette étude, nous examinerons les rapports entre la satisfaction de vie et l'adaptation sociale, ainsi que leur interdépendance avec le confort somatique, l'auto-confirmation et l'anxiété.Nous supposons que la disposition positive et la satisfaction de vie contribue au succès de l'adaptation sociale, et elle exerce un effet positif sur le confort physique et psychique. L'étude a été effectue sur deux populations d'adolescents dans des milieux sociaux différents en Hongrie et Roumanie. Nous résultats montrent que l'adaptation sociale réussie se reflète dans la qualité de vie uniquement si elle est accompagnée d'une auto confirmation suffisante, l'harmonie intérieure, le confort somatique et une anxiété réduite.

1. The definition of notions used in the research

The present study is part of a survey on quality of life[1] of which, because of extent limits, we are going to present only the study on the relation between awareness of life and social adaptation, analysing the relationship of these two factors to anxiety and self-realization.

Since the survey sample was represented by adolescents of two countries of Central and Eastern Europe, we compared the two countries as well, presuming that the specific economic and political situation may influence awareness of life. Our examinations did not confirm the hypothesis according to which specific conditions for life may determine awareness of life or the success of social adaptation. Our previous researches demonstrated (Albert-Lőrincz, 1991) the specific motivation structures of nationality life, but this is not reflected in awareness of life.

The expectations always act upon possibilities, and the person will be content or discontent according to this. Quality of life is not the passive reflection of vital conditions. The examined country regions have similar historical-geographical

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character. The socio-cultural differences may not be so decisive as to be reflected in the adolescents' awareness of life. The characteristics due to nationality existence may appear as distinctiveness of deeper psychological strata and can be pointed out with other research methods.

Our examinations group round the central notion of *quality of life*. We acquired that definition of quality of life which emphasizes adaptation, i.e. quality of life related to health is the total of those physical and psychological characteristics that determine whether the person is able and enjoys his activities and way of life (Kopp and Kovács 2004: 12) The subjective experience of quality of life is awareness of life, sense of comfort which defines how much is one content with his life, how often he feels happy, content or embittered, gone. This depends on the fact whether the person has found his place in his psychological-socio-cultural milieu.

Social adaptation cannot be interpreted by its own, it always depends on those political and economic relations of interests that cause given social problems. The person, as member of the given society should find such adaptive answers that are acceptable at that given time and culture. He should shape, limit and regulate himself in such a way as his milieu should be his standard. If he succeeds his behaviour matches social cohabitation norms and he certifies an adaptive, conformist behaviour.

Social behaviour can be considered successful if the person 'feels at home' in each field of life, he feels that he can evolve and realize himself, and he is not regarded as a stranger by his fellow-beings.

Affectiveness plays an important role in this process. The events of the outer world provoke empathy and feelings from us. The harmony and disharmony of our spirit depends on them. Early childhood effects have a particular importance as they form the basis of the person's self relations. The maturity of the person's self relations assures the proper adaptation. Adaptation is detained by emotional imbalance, low endurance, over sensitiveness, exaltation or indifference, anxiety, aggression, etc, all of them caused by unsatisfactory self relations. In this case there will be no relationship but rather disturbance between person and his milieu, which will be reflected in behaviour as well.

The category of adaptation disturbance is wide. It comprises forms of attitudes which are considered deviant, e.g. suicide, alcoholism, drug addiction, crime, mental illnesses, sexual disorder (exhibitionism, rape, etc.) Their common peculiarity is that they deviate from the accepted rules of behaviour, they disobey the current norms.

Social adaptation may have different kind of success. According to its peculiarities we can distinguish three levels: when the person is in total harmony with himself and his milieu, we speak about *harmonious adaptation*; if the person's behaviour is symptom-free, but he has problems of emotional character – over-sensitiveness, impulsiveness, imbalance, depression- this is *adaptation loaded by strain*; if the person's emotional life and behaviour has suffered disturbance and his

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attitude breaks the current norms we face problem-behaviour or deviancy If his attitude is against law we speak about crime.

Social adaptation cannot be interpreted by its own, it always has to be analysed according to age and tasks. Teenage problem-behaviour in adolescence, the age of identity-formation, are not considered deviant, pathological attitudes, but rather a phenomenon specific for this age. Beyond risk-searching attitudes there might be incorrect attempts for solving normal psychological processes (Rácz, 1999). However, the regularity, the circumstances and the motive of the occurrence of problem-behaviour are significant, as well as the characteristics of the person's personality-state and of his lifestyle. These will determine whether problem-behaviour will be a constant problem or just a temporary one in the person's life.

Problem-behaviour in adolescence is built on the idea of disobeying the norms. The notion was evolved by (Jessor et al., 1998; Jessor, 1987; 1991; 1993) in order to explain problematic behaviour in adolescence. Factors that make us disposed to problem-behaviour are: bad achievements at school, low self-evaluation, weak self-realization, anxiety at high level, tolerance towards deviance, high demand towards self-reliance. Different kind of problem-behaviour forms may appear in strong relation with each other, for example the teenager consuming psycho-active drugs might be disposed to other risk-behaviour as well. According to the quoted authors in the background is breaking of the norms and non-convention.

Harmonious adaptation is conditioned by inner equilibrium, freedom from anxiety, self-expression and self-realization. Talking about this we think of assertive behaviour that means the realization and expression of needs and the respect of the needs of personal and social milieu.

2. The methodology of research

The aim of research: the study of relationship between awareness of life and social adaptation. Besides this we would like to make sure of what personality factors are there beside positive awareness of life that affect harmonious adaptation and quality of life.

Hypothesis of research: the success of adaptation is reflected in awareness of life, but it means positive awareness of life only if it is associated with assertive self-realization, inner peace, low-levelled anxiety.

Selection of sample: the surveyed sample is composed of 14-18 years old adolescents from Romania and Hungary The survey was done in the towns and villages with secondary schools of the following counties: Bistrita, Bihor, Satu-Mare, Alba, Hargitha, Cluj, Covasna and Mures. The examined people were chosen in such a way as to represent the different geographical and social milieu of Transylvania. The sample from Hungary was chosen accidentally from the counties of Pest and Heves. The two capitals are not represented in the sample. We would like to mention that we chose this generation because our previous researches

showed that this is the decisive age for the adolescent to choose the road to healthy life or the path of deviance.

Method of research

The self-filling questionnaires of the survey were done in classrooms. The participation was voluntary. Data processing and statistic calculations were made with SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) with the help of the following methods: frequency distributions, standard deviation, two-sample t-test, correlation estimation, Chi-square test.

At the description of mathematical instruments we refer only to those instruments that assured the exploration of the presented data.

▪ The index of awareness of life was based on information gathered from the following areas: life-satisfaction, sense of perspective, sense of control, performance-satisfaction, psycho-somatic symptoms. The value of inner consistence is 0.825 (Cronbach Alpha) which is acceptable.

▪ *State-trait anxiety* (State-Trait Anxiety Inventory, STAI-T) A STAI is a self-filling questionnary used for measuring state-trait anxiety. (Perczel et al., 2005) The inner consistency value of the STAI-T scale used by them for 18 questions in our research is 0.848 (Cronbach Alpha), which can be considered good.

▪ *Self-realizing* variable that was measured by 7 questions. The inner consistency value in the case of self-realizing factor 0.530 (Cronbach Alpha)

▪ *Social adaptation* global factor is made up of 15 questions (Competing in order to exceed others, being dominant, Trusting others, Being helpful, Searching other's company, being supportive, Establishing relationships easily, Avoiding others companion, (conversed), How much is parental realtionship satisfactory, How much is the relationship with friends satisfactory, How much is the relationship with peers satisfactory, How much is he accepted by father, mother and friends) These questions were taken from Rudas J.'s book: *Delphi's heirs* (1990: 269)

3. Results

For the characterization of quality of life we considered in the whole research the relationship of life awareness to successful social adaptation, as well as the person's value orientation. Because of length limits we are going to present in the following the relationship between awareness of life and social adaptation and certain personality traits.

Demographic characteristics of the sample

The sample used in the survey was made up by a total of 368 teenagers from the schools of different townships of Romania and Hungary. We aimed at covering a larger geographical territory. We asked 182 adolescents in Romania and 186 in Hungary about the problems examined by us.

▪ *The distribution of sample according to countries*: 50.5 % of the asked are from Hungary and 49.5% are Hungarian adolescents from Transylvania. We consider that the data of Transylvanian adolescents can be compared to the data of the adolescents from Hungary.

▪ *The distribution of sample according to sex*: 29.3% of the surveyed sample are male (N=108), and 70.7 % are female (N= 260). Data cannot be compared in this distribution, so we chose an equal number of person from the two categories (108) for the comparison according to gender.

▪ *The distribution of sample according to age:* the mean is 16.04, the minimum age is 14, the maximum 19 years old; distribution is 1.149.

We set up two age categories during data processing, in the first category belonging the 14-16 years-old (N=239), in the second category we counted the 17-19 years-old. (N=129). We worked with the same number of person during the comparison, in order to avoid distortion of data.

In the following we are going to have a look at the index of awareness of life and social adaptation and we are looking for relationship between these two factors, and we are comparing them to the index of strait anxiety, psycho-somatic symptoms and self-realization.

The indexes of awareness of life and success of adaptation in the surveyed region

In the course of the survey of global factor of awareness of life, by the realized number of points, and by means of referring to the mean value we distinguished three main categories: positive, mixed and negative awareness of life. The results are shown in Graph 1. If we refer to the whole population 31% of the adolescents have positive awareness of life, 39.4% mixed awareness of life and 29.6% can be characterized as having negative awareness of life.
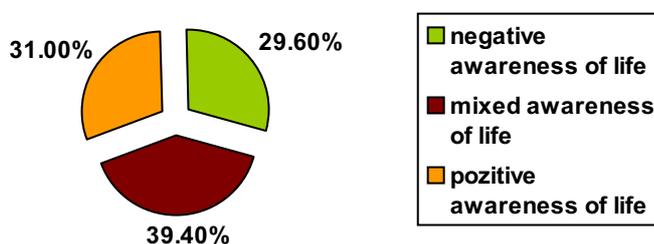
Graph 1. The distribution of the categories of awareness of life

The dominance of mixed awareness of life can be explained with characteristics of adolescence: when the image created by the adolescent, him/herself adapts to the inner and outer changes (at psycho- physiological level). This adaptation may be the bearer of much tension and ambivalent feelings. It is a warning sign that one third of the adolescents is not satisfied with his life, has negative awareness of life. They form the group of endangered.

We did not find significant differences in matter of awareness of life in the case of the two age categories (14-16, 17-19 years old)

The distribution of the categories of social adaptation in matter of the whole sample shows the following (Graph 2):
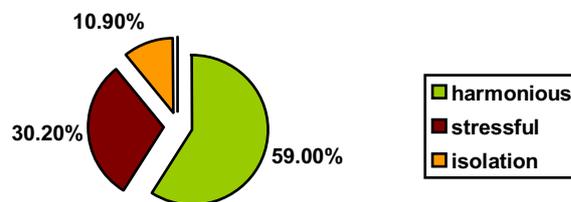
Graph 2. The distribution of social adaptation categories

Harmonious social adaptation permits assertive behaviour. These adolescents are the depositary of future, they are those society can rely on its way to democratic progress. Those who destitute calm, safety mainly belong to the group of endangered. They would need supporting intervention in order to prevent sliding to deviance. 10% of the adolescents from the examined region struggle with mild or stronger behaviour disturbances. It should be a task of special importance for supportive professionals from this region to contact them and to care for them.

The study of relationship between awareness of life and social adaptation

There is a positive correlation between awareness of life and social adaptation, the more the adolescent is satisfied with his life the more harmoniously he can adapt to his milieu ($p<0.001$ $r=0.326$) Life-affirmation, good awareness of life contributes to effective social adaptation and the success of adaptation results in psychic comfort.

Table 1

The relationship between awareness of life and social adaptation

Correlation		Awareness of life	Category of social adaptation
Awareness of life	Pearson correlation	1	0.326(**)
	Total	368	368
Category of social adaptation	Pearson correlation	0.326(**)	1
	Total	368	368

**correlation significant at 0.01 level.

We are going to analyse in the following the situation of relationships of categories of life awareness to the mean values of adaptation, and what is the relationship between successful social adaptation and mean values of awareness of life. We can state about this relationship that the better the adolescent feels himself in life the more effective his social adaptation is (m=42.31, N=114). We got lower means in the case of social adaptation of person with mixed awareness of life (m=41.06, N=145). Data show that problems with social adaptation are mainly typical of adolescents with negative awareness of life, in the category of the three types of awareness of life (m=39.84, N=109). Standard deviation is the biggest in the case of positive awareness of life, the greatest personal differences can be felt here.

Table 2

The means of social adaptation according to categories of awareness of life

Categories of life awareness	Mean	N	Standard deviation
positive awareness of life	42.31	114	9.598
mixed awareness of life	41.06	145	8.447
negative awareness of life	39.84	109	7.009
Total	**41.09**	**368**	**8.470**

In order to decide whether the correlation above is significant the data were submitted to further statistical methods. The results gained from the three groups (adolescents with positive, mixed and negative awareness of life) were submitted to standard deviation analyses. The results of standard deviation analysis are the following: F= 2.375; p=0.094. Thus, the results show that the differences among groups are not creditable enough, difference can be accidental, as well. The following

assumption can be an explanation: the endangered adolescents do not confess their real awareness of life, or those belonging to different sub-cultures really feel good among their mates. That is why it is necessary to point out those personality dimensions that may form positive awareness of life. We considered standard the assertive self-realizing ability, calmness, that is lack of anxiety in this context. The inner peace of adolescents self-realizing submissively or dominantly has suffered refraction, the difficulties of adaptation are joined by tension and anxiety. Suitable quality of life may only mean positive awareness of life if there is inner peace and the way of life is according to adaptive values.

On the grounds of the examination of the relationship between categories of social adaptation and means of awareness of life, we can state that persons with harmonious social adaptation have more positive awareness of life (m=45.98, N=217). This group is followed by the group of adolescents with stressful social adaptation, whose awareness of life is better (m= 50.01, N=111) than of those who have failures in their awareness of life (m=51.55, N=40). Standard deviation is the biggest in the case of isolated adolescents, it is this group where the biggest differences are shown considering awareness of life.

Table 3

The means of awareness of life according to categories of social adaptation

Category of social adaptation	Mean	N	Standard deviation
Tense	50.01	111	8.651
Harmonious	45.98	217	7.235
With failures - isolated	51.55	40	12.653
Total	**47.80**	**368**	**8.673**

In order to decide whether this discrepancy is significant or not the results gained from the three groups were submitted to standard deviation analysis (adolescents with tense, harmonious, failure social adaptation). The results of standard deviation analysis are the following: F = 12.92; p= 0,001. So, results show that differences among categories are trustworthy and are not accidental. We found out, with the help of Tukey-trial, that social adaptation categories significantly differ in couples regarding awareness of life. It can be stated that there is significant difference regarding awareness of life between adolescents with harmonious social adaptation and one with failure, as well as between those who have stressful and harmonious social adaptation. Level of significance in the case of both pairs is p=0,001.

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The relationship of categories of awareness of life to mean values of strain anxiety and self-realization

We are going to analyse in the following the relationship of categories of awareness of life to mean values of strain anxiety, as presented in the table below. We can state that positive awareness of life is joined by lower mean of strain-anxiety (m=30.74, N=114), comparing it to other categories of awareness of life. People with mixed awareness of life (m=36.96, N=145) have higher mean of strain-anxiety compared to those with positive awareness of life, and strain-anxiety is the highest in the case of people with negative awareness of life (m=44.74, N=109).

Table 4

The correlation of strain-anxiety to awareness of life

Categories of life awareness	Mean	N	Standard deviation
positive awareness of life	30.74	114	3.828
mixed awareness of life	36.96	145	2.409
negative awareness of life	44.74	109	4.040
Total	**37.34**	**368**	**6.440**

It was shown by variation analysis that categories of awareness of life differ significantly considering strain-anxiety (F-470.35, p=0.001) so the difference is not accidental.

We could decide with the help of Tukey trial whether categories of awareness of life significantly differ in couples regarding strain-anxiety. It can be stated that there is significant difference in the case of each pair.

It is obvious that one third of the adolescents can be characterized with inclination to strain-anxiety. There is no significant difference in point of inclination to strain-anxiety and countries the adolescents come from, however adolescent s from Hungary reached higher mean values. At the same time there is significant difference in point of sex, girls are more likely to be characterised by state-trait anxiety. We can state that positive awareness of life is joined by lower mean of state-trait anxiety comparing it to other categories of awareness of life. Adolescents having the highest state-trait anxiety values are those who have negative awareness of life.

Having analysed the relation between awareness of life and assertive self-realization, it can be stated that adolescents with positive awareness of life have higher self-appreciation (m=10.94, N=114) compared to other categories. Self-appreciation of people with mixed awareness of life is lower than this (m=10.88, N=145), and the lowest is of those who have negative awareness of life, taking into consideration the self-appreciation mean of the three categories of life awareness. (m=10.19, N=109). It is to be noticed that there is little difference among means.

Table 5

Mean values of self-realization according to categories of awareness of life

Categories of life awareness	Mean	N	Standard deviation
positive awareness of life	10.94	114	2.508
mixed awareness of life	10.88	145	1.585
negative awareness of life	10.19	109	1.686
Total	**10.69**	**368**	**1.966**

It was shown by variation analysis that categories of awareness of life differ significantly considering self-realization (F=5.16, p=0.001), so the difference among groups is not accidental.

It was appointed using Tukey-trial that there is significant difference among adolescents with positive and negative awareness of life (p=0.012) as well as among adolescents with mixed and negative awareness of life (0.016). The most effective self-realization is owned by adolescents with positive awareness of life. They are the ones who recognize their needs and find the adaptive means in order to make them acceptable for their milieu.

The relationship of categories of awareness of life to mean values of state-train anxiety and self-realization

We can observe in the table below the relation of social adaptation to state-trait anxiety. It can be stated that adolescents with harmonious, successful social adaptation are less inclined to anxiety (m= 35.81, N=217). Stressful social adaptation shows stronger inclination to anxiety (m=40.45, N=40).

Table 6

The difference of categories of social adaptation regarding state-trait anxiety

Category of social adaptation	Mean	N	Standard deviation
unsuccessful	40.45	40	9.157
Tensioned	39.21	111	5.469
harmonious	35.81	217	5.844
Total	**37.34**	**368**	**6.440**

Our calculations convinced us that differences are not accidental. The result of variation analysis: F=16.81, p=0.001. It became obvious with Tukey-trial that there is a significant difference between the groups of unsuccessful social adaptation and harmonious social adaptation considering inclination to state-trait

anxiety (p=0.001), as well as between the categories of stressful social adaptation and harmonious social adaptation (p=0.001).

It can be stated that harmonious adaptation is joined with the least anxiety. In the following we analysed the differences among categories of social adaptation considering assertive self-realization. According to data we can state that the adolescent with unsuccessful, isolated social adaptation is less self-realizing (m=9.35, N=40). Those adolescents who have stressful social adaptation show higher self-realization (m=10.23, N=111). In the case of adolescents who have harmonious, successful social adaptation assertive skill can be noticed (m=11.18, N=217).

Table 7

The difference among categories of social adaptation considering self-realization

Category of social adaptation	Mean	N	Standard deviation
Unsuccessful	9.35	40	2.966
Tensioned	10.23	111	1.483
Harmonious	11.18	217	1.784
Total	**10.69**	**368**	**1.966**

In order to decide whether this difference is significant the data were submitted to statistical methods already presented. Standard deviation analysis showed that categories of social adaptation differ from each other significantly considering self-realization. F=16.81, p=0.001. Comparing the categories in pairs we can state that there is significant difference between each pair. In the case of unsuccessful, isolated and tensioned categories the level of significance is 0.029, and in the case of the other two categories: it is p=0.001.

It was proved that harmonious social adaptation is joined by the most effective self-realizing mode. The improper expression of necessities can result in inner tension and rebellious behaviour.

The relationship of elements of positive quality of life to somatic comfort

The aggregate table below shows that there is inner coherence among elements of positive quality of life. Positive awareness of life, harmonious adaptation presumes that the person is contented with his life and is not disturbed by the somatic projection of inner tension, by somatic symptoms.

Table 8

The relationship of awareness of life and social adaptation to psycho-somatic comfort

Relation among indexes		Social adaptation	How much is he contented with his life	Psycho-somatic symptoms	State-trait anxiety	Self-realization
Social adapta-tion	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	-.321(**)	-.124(*)	-.347(**)	.379(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000	.018	.000	.000
	N	368	368	367	368	368
How much is he content ed with his life	Correlation Coefficient	-.321(**)	.000	.197(**)	,413(**)	-.156(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	.	,000	,000	.003
	N	368	368	367	368	368
Psycho-somatic symp-toms	Correlation Coefficient	-.124(*)	.197(**)	1.000	.446(**)	-.113(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.018	.000	.	.000	.031
	N	367	367	367	367	367
State-trait anxiety	Correlation Coefficient	-.347(**)	.413(**)	.446(**)	1.000	-.196(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.	.000
	N	368	368	367	368	368
Self-realiza-tion	Correlation Coefficient	.379(**)	-.156(**)	-.113(*)	-.196(**)	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.003	.031	.000	.
	N	368	368	367	368	368

*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tallied); **Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tallied).

There were adolescents in the sample who talked about positive awareness of life and inner tension at the same time, the level of social adaptation is not proper in the case of these adolescents. They do not possess those samples of attitude, means of behaviour with the help of which they can realize themselves assertively, retaining the safe social net around them. The illusion of well-being does not mean positive quality of life. These adolescents have to be helped first of all in their realization that change is needed. They have to be helped to recognize their real feelings and their skills that help them to behave assertively and achieve their inherent possibilities have to be developed.

Conclusion

According to data of our research we can state that adolescents examined by us, living in Eastern European countries can be listed mostly into the category of mixed awareness of life, which is to accompany age, but it also draws attention to the fact that we have to be attentive to the evolution of adolescents' awareness of life , because mixed awareness of life can be a risky factor and negative awareness of life may lead to deviance.

We can state about the examined sample in point of social adaptation that more than half of the adolescents adapts to his milieu harmoniously, and we found unsuccessful adaptation only in few cases. One third of the examined cases can be characterized with tensioned adaptation. This group represents the endangered. We cannot speak about behavioural disorders, but the tensions due to adaptation difficulties may lead to disturbances if proper, professional intervention will not take place.

It was stated that the more the adolescent is contented with his life, the better his social adaptation is and this is joined by positive awareness of life. Adolescents with negative awareness of life suffer the most of social adaptation problems.

Positive awareness of life and harmonious social adaptation is joined by effective self-realization, low anxiety and fewer psycho-somatic symptoms.

It can be stated that the quality of life of the examined adolescents makes it possible for most of them to choose the road of health. However, greater attention has to be paid to the one third endangered ones in the case of which help given in time may contribute to healthy unfolding and avoiding deviance. Greater attention should be paid to the adolescents with deviance attitude as well, who can be turned back before maturity. Adolescence is the most proper age for corrective inner building, for disturbance stoppage.

Our presumption according to which difficulties of social adaptation and adaptation to social situations are closely related to life –satisfaction, to psycho-somatic comfort was proved, but this results positive quality of life only if the way of life is in accordance with socially accepted values.

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THE ROMANIAN MIDDLE CLASS:
A TOPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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RÉSUMÉ. La classe moyenne roumaine: une analyse topologique. Cet article analyse le degré de structuration de la classe moyenne roumaine. On pose la question suivante : comment des individus placés en situations du marché bien différentes peuvent être considérés comme segments de la même classe? Je soutiens que malgré la diversité occupationnelle en ce qui concerne les rendements financiers et les positions dans le processus de production, l'idée d'une classe moyenne unitaire ne devrait pas être abandonnée parce que d'autres critères fonctionnent comme principe de structuration. Je considère que les configurations de mariage et de mobilité sont les éléments principaux qui font de différents segments occupationnels une classe. Subséquemment j'étudierai le processus de structuration de la classe en partant des modèles d'interaction et des limites de mobilité qui seront utilisées comme indicateurs de proximité et de distance dans l'espace social. En considérant la relation dialectique entre la structure et l'action, cette approche nous permet d'établir si la classe moyenne est une réalité ou seulement un mythe de la Roumanie contemporaine.[1]

Introduction

The *structuring of the class relationships* or the *demographic formation of classes* enters the sphere of the Weberian concept of *social class*, concept meant to unify various market situations on the basis of mobility patterns. We will define the structuring of the middle class not only on the basis of the proximity of the occupational segments that compose it in the social space but also on the basis of distance from other classes. The objective of this chapter is the analysis of three dimensions of the structuring of the middle class: the processes of consolidation of class boundaries through *the homogamy of marriages* (section 1), *the processes of recruitment and intergenerational reproduction of class position* (section 2) and *the distance of the middle class from other social classes* (section 3).

As far as the proximity of positions in the social space is concerned we will say, in the first place, that we are confronted with a strong *structuring* of the middle class if there is a high degree of homogamy of marriages between the segments of the middle class. Although the term "topological" analysis found in

the title of the chapter sends us to the first phase of the sociological inquiry in Pierre Bourdieu's conception, the modality for constructing a map of the social space finds its roots in the theoretical-methodological approach of the Cambridge School, which follows the streams of thought of the interactionist paradigm. The present analysis will allow not only an initial evaluation of the degree of structuring of the middle class but also the contextual understanding of the notion of proximity in the social space through the perspective of the actors themselves.

The patterns of social reproduction, mobility and class recruitment are framed in the Weberian definition of *social class*. The operationalization of the idea of *frequent and typical mobility* represented the greatest challenge of this attempt. The solution is to understand this notion as an individual's odds of finding himself in a certain social class during his life course. Arguments in favor of this interpretation stem from the Weberian lineage (Smith: 2007). First of all, Weber himself introduced in his perspective on stratification the notion of "chance" and that of "typical chance". If *class situations* "means the typical probability of 1. procuring goods 2. gaining a position in life and 3. finding inner satisfactions, a probability which derives from the relative control over goods and skills and from their income-producing uses within a given economic order"(Weber, 1978: 302), a *social class* "makes up the totality of those class situations within which individual and generational mobility is easy and typical" (Weber, 1978: 302). These two famous Weberian definitions are the ones that led to the desired interpretation in this study as well. The first observation regards the fact that modeling the previous concepts on the basis of mobility Weber brings the problem of stratification to the level of the individual. Therefore, class situation does not mean a univocal placement of the individuals in rigid class structures but the probability that during their life course individuals find themselves in such a class situation. The logical connection of the two concepts supposes a circular and non-deterministic relationship between *structure* and *agency* on the basis of which stratification must be understood (Giddens, 1970; Goldthorpe, 1992, 1996; Tomescu-Dubrow, 2006). If class structure determines to a certain extent the probability of individuals to find themselves in a certain area of the social space- that is *typical probability* or *typical mobility*, the actual movement of these is the one that will model, in turns, the boundaries of social classes (Smith, 2007). We will thus state that we can talk about a social class in two situations: 1. when the intergenerational or the intragenerational reproduction of status is higher than 50.1% and 2. when another class losses more than half of its members in favor of the social class under discussion. If 50.1% of the members of a social class of origin enter another class, then they constitute a social class together with the members of the destination category. This percent can be considered as arbitrary as any other criterion for delineating social classes. It connects, however, solely to the notion of probability, representing a threshold for this. If there are 50.1% for an event to occur, then there

are more chances for the event to occur than not to occur[2]. It is obvious that if it is more likely for an event to occur than not to occur, than this probability is due to specific factors, the role of analysis thus becoming that of identifying and explaining this configuration of factors that lead to what we could term as a *structure of probabilities*.

The third criterion for establishing the degree of structuring is the *distance of the middle class from other social classes*. The distance between social classes is connected, first of all, to the mobility barriers between them. Ken Smith underlines the necessity of the theoretical-methodological distinction between intra-class and inter-class mobility. The moment we talk about social classes as distinct entities we become interested in the barriers that prevent inter-class mobility. We thus propose the hypothesis that today's Romanian society is a strongly stratified one on the basis of class, and the access of individuals belonging to other social classes to the middle class is conditioned by the "passage" of certain thresholds that establish at the same time the distance between classes and the hierarchy between them. These thresholds represent, actually, a map of the differences of relative chances of the individuals to attain desirable social positions. Differences of relative chances can be considered also ways of drawing boundaries between social classes, which transforms these into identifiable entities. This approach tries to minimize the deficiencies of an analysis that starts from a taken for granted class scheme and to illustrate the advantages of treating stratification systems as concrete historical realities.

Data and its limits

We have to draw attention upon the limits of the data used in our secondary analysis. Sections 1 and 2 will use Public Opinion Barometer, October 2006. For these sections of the current chapter the greatest theoretical and methodological problem is that of merging two occupational segments- managers and owners of enterprises into a single category. For the middle class but also for inferior social categories stratification analysis is forced not to take into account important differentiations regarding the market situations of different occupational categories. The market situation of intellectuals is extremely different from that of proprietors of the production means, both in terms of occupational rewards as well as autonomy in the workplace, position in the bureaucratic hierarchy or prestige. A significant limitation of the analysis stems from the small number of cases taken into consideration. Because we only took into consideration the active population, the working sample was reduced to 963 cases. Such a sample does not raise problems on the level of being representative for the whole population, but it is sure that for the poorly represented categories results will have to be treated carefully.

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[2] In the case of sample based analysis this percent will always fall within a standard error thus becoming problematic

A limit that is not due to data collection or the way of employing the occupational scheme is that imposed by the construction of the mobility table. For an analysis of the stratification system with objectives similar to those undertaken here the exclusion of the inactive is a must. The large category of the inactive population includes, however, the unemployed as well. The exclusion of the unemployed from the analysis in order to be able to represent the structure of social classes on the basis of occupation is inevitable. It has however uncontrollable distortion effects of this structure, due to the fact that not all social classes are equally affected by unemployment. The superior categories will be, therefore, slightly over-represented in the analysis. For the last section we used as a source of data the Cultural Consumption Barometer from the year 2005 because the occupational scheme used in this national research is more adequate for the objective undertaken in this part.

1. Middle class as proximity in the social space

The first step is to draw an image of today's Romanian social space. By the help of correspondence analysis we point out the boundaries of the Romanian class structure at the beginning of the 21st century, using as an indicator the marriage patterns of the individuals. Marriage is a relationship loaded with social meanings. Generally, families that occupy similar positions in the social order will share interaction patterns. The analysis of these interaction patterns marriage implies is a way of determining the way that similarity is defined in a specific social space. Studies that try to determine the borders of social classes on the basis of the election of the marriage partner (Prendy and Bottero, 1998; Prendy and Lambert, 2001; Kalmijn, 1991) start off from the idea that these borders cannot be theoretically delineated, as abstract limits, but are part of the social reality actors take into account in their interactions. Marriages are endogamous to a very large degree. Generally, they take place between partners of similar ages, same religion, race and ethnicity. Marital strategies are oriented towards the election of a partner that is equal from all points of view, those that do not follow this rule being socially sanctioned. Although there are authors that support the idea of the inexistence of a high level of class endogamy as proof of the lack of relevance of class analysis (Pakulsky and Waters, 1996), we believe that this notion of "*equality*" of occupational status is the one that delineates social classes. Moreover, similar occupations offer the opportunity of meetings, shared social circle, common interests and similar social recognition for the two partners. Analyzing the marriages of individuals the researcher will gain access not only to a simple theoretical construct but to the image of social space as this appears in the representations of the actors. The social identities of marriage partners are probably the strongest indicators of the feeling of community or belonging to a social class. On the basis of these indicators it can be established which are the borders of what social groups define as acceptable or tolerable, on the basis of a certain degree of similarity.

The *similarity* of social segments will not target first of all the market situations of these but the way and the extent to which social actors recognize as

equal or similar members of other occupational segments. "*The method presented here does not start off with the assumption of a hierarchy of social groups that can interact more or less but from the opposite direction, that is from the very patterns of social interaction. Instead of measuring the way through which class structure gives birth to social groups, we ask ourselves: what is the social space- the pattern of social relationships - in the interior of which occupations are placed? Using very simple information* [those relationships that derive from the marriages of subjects] *an image of the social space in which these marriages occur can be built. Without any assumptions regarding the nature of this space, we can produce a model of the hierarchy between occupational groups and their relative distance from one to another*" (Prendy and Bottero, 1998: 2).
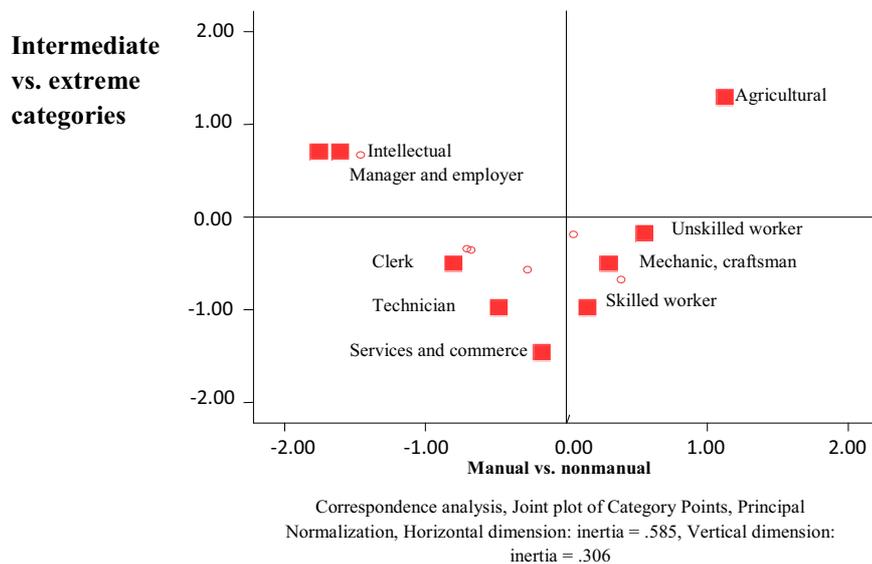
The homogamy of marriages is an indicator employed on the theoretical line of the Cambridge research. The theoreticians involved in the CAMSIS project understand class structure as fluid, continuously formed and retransformed by the interaction patterns of individuals. These interaction patterns are seen as indicators of proximity in the social space. It is not a completely new idea. Historians have often intuitively used the possibility that a person from a certain category marries with a person coming from another category as an indicator of the disappearance of social barriers during periods of transition in history. Of course, the research of the Cambridge group takes into account several variables that finally shape the network of individuals' interactions. On the basis of the available data we can, however, analyze only marriages in order to determine what "*proximity in the social space*" means in contemporary Romania.

Data and method

We will use, in this study, the version of correspondence analysis proposed and developed by Michael Greenacre, the *correspondence analysis of square asymmetric matrices*. Square tables like the mobility or marriage tables are, generally, tables in which the association is strong and consequently a large share of individuals is grouped on the main diagonal of the table. Correspondence analysis will, inevitably, reflect the effects of the agglomeration on the diagonal (which means, in our case, social reproduction or perfect homogamy of marriages), hiding, on the other hand, a large share of the association or distance patterns that may appear in the other cells of the contingency table. The solution is decomposing the table into its two components: the symmetric and the asymmetric that can be then separately analyzed. The advantage rests in obtaining a clear image of the association patterns from the *offdiagonal* cells of the table. In our analysis, the symmetric component will be a measure of the homogamy of marriages or social reproduction. Each correspondence analysis can be, however, represented in two graphs. On the graphic of the symmetric component, the occupations between which frequent exchanges exist will belong to the same group whereas those between which few exchanges occur will be represented as distant occupations. The graph of the asymmetric component will reflect only deviations from symmetry- that is what is opposed to homogamy and social reproduction in the current system of stratification.

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Results

The first results of the analysis are meant to offer an image of the structure of social classes in contemporary Romania, as the actors themselves define it on the basis of interaction patterns. Available data allows us to look only at their marriages, but the research of the Cambridge School takes into account a larger number of relationships established between social actors, their marriage strategies represent the most important indicator of the way in which class structure is defined in a society at a given point. The symmetric part of correspondence analysis explains over 99% of the inertia, the level of homogamy of marriages thus being very high. The social classes thus defined are: the *middle class* or the service class consisting of intellectuals, managers and employers; *routine non-manual workers* composed of service and commerce workers, functionary, foremen and technicians; the *farmers*, and the *working class*. For this last class we preserved the distinction between *skilled* and *unskilled workers*. The necessity of this distinction is argued upon the basis of the great difference between the market situation of unskilled workers and skilled ones, on the basis of the lack of the stability of the vicinity of these segments in the social space and the opportunity of a class scheme that can be compared to studies that employ the Goldthorpe scheme

Correspondence analysis, Joint plot of Category Points, Principal Normalization, Horizontal dimension: inertia = .585, Vertical dimension: inertia = .306

**Graph 1. Correspondence analysis- symmetric- occupation husband-wife**

The way occupations are grouped in Graph 1 is a representation of the proximity of positions in today's Romanian social space. Following CAMSIS model, in the line of the interactionist paradigm, interaction patterns are those that shape the stratification system of a society, or, more exactly, reflect its class structure. The distribution of the occupational segments is extremely revealing. A dial represents the working class, comprised of skilled workers, unskilled workers, and mechanical workers together with craftsmen, thus the grouping of manual labor occupations being formed. In another dial the farmers alone are represented, marking urban/ rural separation. Other segments located in the vicinity are the clerks, foremen and the workers from the service and commerce sector. The self-employed, who would probably fit in the same area of the social space are absent from the occupational schema used by POB. In the last dial we find grouped the segments of the middle class, the intellectuals and the heads of enterprises and employers.

The way of grouping the occupations could be easily assimilated to a five leveled Goldthorpe schema, if the occupational scheme employed in the Public Opinion Barometer would take into consideration important distinctions between various market situations. The limits of this research imposed by the data available for secondary analysis have been addressed in the beginning of the article. It is important however to note that the way in which the occupational scheme from the Public Opinion Barometer is constructed constrains the structure of the social classes to look as such, thus being impossible to separate the effect of the construction of the scheme from that of the structuring itself. The grouping tendencies are, however, strong enough to continue with a scheme of social classes that is delineated by the very pattern of interactions of the social actors. The grouping of the occupational segments did not clearly distinguish between skilled and unskilled workers. In the class scheme we will employ in the following chapters we will keep the distinction between skilled and unskilled workers due to three reasons. First, the results will be easier to compare with those obtained in other countries on the basis of the Goldthorpe five-leveled scheme. Second, the differences between the market situation of skilled and unskilled workers are very big as far as the security of the social position is regarded. Unskilled workers are a lot more exposed to the risk of unemployment and their declassing, and for them declassing means entering a specific area of the social space, that of the *underclass*. Third, the border between qualified (skilled) manual labor and unskilled labor has been blurred only in the last decades and we cannot draw conclusions regarding the decrease of this social distance solely on the basis of the available data.

On the basis of Graph 2 we can analyze those marriages that cannot be said to be homogamous in relationship with social class. Those who marry outside their social class can be said to manifest themselves some interaction patterns that can offer us information regarding class structure. As such, the centre of the graph indicates the categories between which frequent exchanges, or in our case, marriages, occur. The centre of our graph is not, however, dominated by an agglomeration of occupational

segments (in the centre only the farmers are located). The occupations that are far from the centre will present the greatest deviation from symmetry. The pattern of marriages will tell us in what social classes do individuals who do not marry within their own social class tend to marry. Identifying these models is done through the imagined tracing of triangles between the point that represents the center of the graph and two occupations for which we can identify the entry through marriage into a social class (clockwise) and whether these marriages occur with a high frequency. The area of the drawn triangle is the one that tells us whether between two occupational categories more or less marriages occur. We can notice that the area of the triangle that can be drawn between the center of the graph and the occupational categories of the middle class is rather small, pointing again towards the closeness in the social space of the two categories.
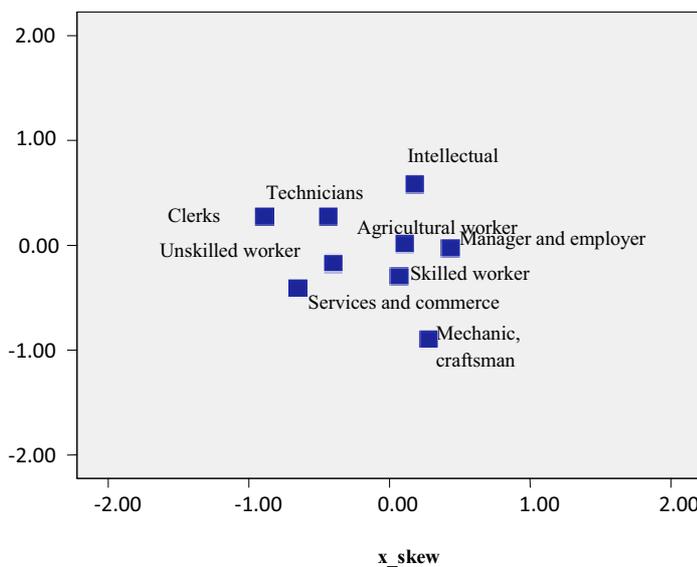
Correspondence analysis, Joint plot of Category Points, Principal Normalization, Horizontal and vertical dimension: inertia = .41536

Graph 2. Correspondence analysis- skewed- occupation husband-wife

The 3rd Graph points quite clearly towards how the homogeneity of class relationships has a relative stability. Because the fathers of the respondents cannot be analyzed as a social structure per se, we will not jump to conclusions such as

that these patterns are specific to a certain period. We can, however, claim the stability of these patterns in time, that is during the socialist period and during the transition period. However, the structure of social classes is, at the same time, fluid to a certain extent, confirming the results of the CAMSIS research.

Correspondence analysis, Joint plot of Category Points, Principal Normalization, Horizontal dimension: inertia = .249, Vertical dimension: inertia = .506

Graph 3. Correspondence analysis- symmetric- occupation father-mother

If currently the line of demarcation between workers and the routine non-manual workers is clearly the manual/non-manual distinction, for the parents couples of the respondents the line of demarcation between classes appears to rely more on the skilled/ non-skilled distinction, qualified workers, mechanics and craftsmen being located in the same social class with those who posses medium qualifications and carry out routine non-manual labor. As far as the middle class is concerned, we observe that intellectuals and managers represented a social class in the generation of the respondents' parents too. We can consider the category of employers absent in the socialist period so it could not count much for the analysis.

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The homogamy of the marriages between the mothers and the fathers of the respondents explains 93% of the inertia, supporting the claim according to which the social class of the partner is one of the variables taken into account in the marital strategies of social actors.
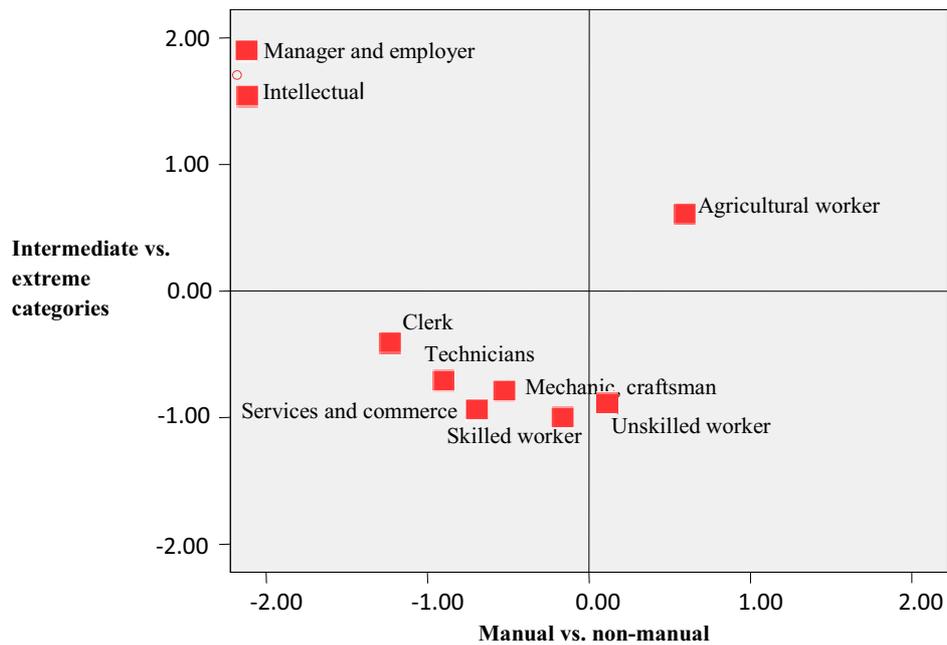

Horizontal and vertical dimension:

If a category is far from the graphic center its members tend to marry outside this category

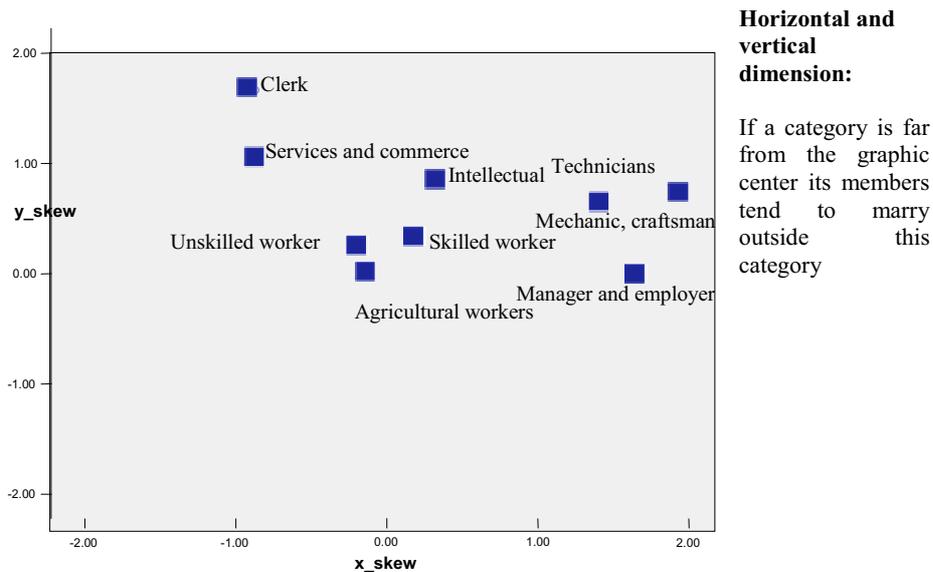Correspondence analysis, Joint plot of Category Points, Principal Normalization, Horizontal and vertical dimension: inertia = .04885

Graph 4. Correspondence analysis- skewed- occupation father- mother

As we were saying, the occupational categories that are closest to the centre of the graph are those between which the most exchanges occur. Between unskilled workers and farmers marriages occur frequently. Comparing this graph with the one that represents the asymmetric component for the marriages of the respondents (Fig. 2) we observe that the distance between the segments of the middle class – intellectuals, managers, employers- decreases. The explanation proposed for this decrease in distance is related to the changes in the social context in the last decades. In the first phase of communism, formal cultural capital was not required in order to gain a position as head of an enterprise, that is why the distance from intellectuals is bigger, relying on the distinction made by superior qualifications. In the second phase of communism, cultural capital becomes more and more important, positions become ever more related to educational qualifications and high positions in the organizational hierarchy start being occupied increasingly by intellectuals. After

the Revolution this link tightens, privileged positions now becoming dependent not only on formal cultural capital but also other qualifications, abilities etc. It is likely that the decrease in the social distance between the segments of the middle class is due to these successive changes in the ways of access to a superior hierarchic position in enterprises.

Discussions

The results show a high degree of structuration of class relationships in postsocialist Romania. However, an important source of de-structuring of the middle class is the appearance in the social segment of employers. If during the socialist period intellectuals were forming the Romanian middle class, the surfacing of the occupational segments and of those who possess economic capital obviously turn this class into a less homogenous one than during the period before transition. Kocka considered the frequent marriages between the cultural bourgeoisie and the economic one an indicator for the formation of the middle class during the 19th century. We were claiming, in the same discussion, that the last decades are actually the moment of birth of the Romanian middle class in its true meaning. We can thus compare, from a distance of over one century, the formation of the middle class in the European space, with the nowadays formation of the Romanian middle class, on the basis of the marriage patterns of the individuals, observing the similarity of the positions of cultural capital owners and that of economic capital owners in the representations of the actors. The two forms of capital shape the Romanian middle class, being united by *class awareness* (Giddens, 1975) that lies at the foundation of action.

Shaping the image of the social space on the basis of interaction patterns is specific is characteristic to the theoretical-methodological perspective of the Cambridge school. Unlike other relational class schema (like the CASMIN project or the Erik Olin Wright schema) the Cambridge scale has as a declared objective obtaining "a general and hierarchic measure of material and social advantage" (Stewart et al, 1980: 28), this measure being connected, however, both with the notion of class as well as with the one of status. One of the theoretical stakes of the construction of the Scale is precisely that of proving the theoretical inefficiency of the class/status-group distinction.

The current study has undertaken the Weberian line of separation between the concepts of *class* and *status group* supporting the importance of maintaining this distinction. For us, the association patterns of the various occupational segments identified in the available data point precisely towards the explanatory power the concept of social class has. If the structuring principle of contemporary Romanian society would be status, the marriages of individuals should follow the lines of demarcation of occupational segments as such. However, the data offers a different image over the actors' representation of the social space: *the similarity of several occupational segments*. It cannot be denied that many of these can constitute themselves into professional status groups. The logic of the subjects takes into account, however, two essential aspects: the distinctions produced by the market and the level of the formal cultural capital of individuals. If we see in the marital strategies

of actors a reflection of the groups and real social barriers, we can observe how the shaping of these is related both to the ownership of economic capital and the educational level. Our analysis points out the fact that the class structure has a relative flexibility, showing that the distance between employers, managers and intellectuals has been decreasing in the last decades. However, this flexibility must be understood as intra-class structuration and not as a loosen of inter-class borders.

This type of analysis of the social space offers an image of this structuring process exactly in the understanding employed by Giddens, that of the moment in which economic relationships transform into social relationships (Giddens, 1975). The decrease in the distance between occupational segments found in such different market situations constitutes, for us, a clear indicator of the structuring of the relationships between these segments as *class relationships*. We observed that the occupational homogamy is very high, the symmetric part of the correspondence matrices explaining almost fully the patterns of choosing the marital partner. Also, educational homogamy is very strong. Studies from the last two decades (Blackwell, 1998, cf. Prandy and Bottero, 1998) point towards the fact that in western societies (USA, in this case), age, race or ethnic endogamy is slowly decreasing, whereas educational endogamy is slowly and constantly increasing. In the Romanian society the force of this connection can be also traced back to the privileged position of formal cultural capital in the last phase of socialism, in the absence of social differentiation on the basis of economic capital. Rejecting the theoretical lack of distinction between status and class on the basis of the previously presented arguments, we must note, however, that we cannot accept without empirical evidence the presupposition of a purely economic conditioning of the social endogamy of marriages. Consequently, we cannot separate the influence of status groups from that of market situations upon the decision of choosing a partner. There is a limit that is inherent any analysis based on occupation as a main indicator.

From the moment the Cambridge Scale was constructed, empirical studies have shown a similarity of the interaction patterns of individuals (marriage, friendships) in the western space (Hout, 1982; Mitchell and Critchley, 1985; Blackwell, 1998). Comparing the results of studies on the CAMSIS track with those that analyze mobility and reproduction patterns we can see that social mobility and social interaction are aspects of the same structure. The extent to which the two overlap is another indicator of the degree of structuring of a class or even a society. The comparison must be done on the basis of the very recruitment of social classes and their reproduction.

2. Is middle class a *social class*?

If the patterns of the individuals' marriages offer us an image of the current class structure, the degree of structuring of these classes can be determined through the analysis of social reproduction and the recruitment patterns of the middle class. The second step is that of testing the hypothesis according to which the class structure resulting from the analysis of individuals' marital strategies is a social class structure in a Weberian sense.

The degree of structuring of the Romanian middle class will also be followed by the help of a classical mobility analysis. We will follow both the intergenerational reproduction as well as the middle class recruitment process, process that is important under the conditions of a massive structural growth of this class. If the interaction patterns of individuals shape the current class structure, the degree of *structuring of class relationships* is determined on the one hand on the basis of the static attachment to certain positions and, on the other, the *recruiting process* that characterizes the middle class- that is social reproduction and the origin of the members of the middle class. We will therefore pose two questions: first of all, what percent of the members of the middle class manage to reproduce their social position and second, what is the origin of the members of the middle class? It is obvious that the degree of structuring of the middle class will be higher as the proportion of those who manage to reproduce their social position will be higher and as the proportion of those who come from the middle class is higher.

The two questions can be answered on the basis of a classical analysis of the mobility table. The first thing we notice is the high level of mobility between social classes. The observed mobility is close to 60%. Structural mobility represents approximately 32% from the total mobility whereas social fluidity represents 68% of the observed mobility. The first observations concern the larger sphere of mobility. Looking at the data from table 1 we can make some remarks regarding the level of mobility in the class structure manifested in the Romanian society.

Table 1.

Intergenerational mobility table – absolute frequencies

	Service class	Routine non-manual	Agricultural workers	Skilled workers	Unskilled workers	Total
Service class	39	10	1	2	0	**52**
Routine non-manual workers	39	21	5	19	1	**85**
Agricultural workers	21	37	138	126	24	**346**
Skilled workers	62	88	31	181	28	**390**
Unskilled workers	7	14	6	49	14	**90**
Total	**168**	**170**	**181**	**377**	**67**	**963**

Source of data*: Public Opinion Baromètre, May 2006

Currently in the Romanian society the phenomenon of recruitment is profoundly marked by emerging structural changes. In the case of the middle class

we are witnessing an approximate tripling of it. It is obvious that recruitment from heterogeneous environments will have a destructuring effect. We can see, however, that individuals choose partners not from their origin class but from their destination class, which leads to a stabilization of the middle class in time. An extremely important aspect of our analysis is the expansion of the middle class during the last decades. The proportion of the active population is almost tripled (from approximately 5.4% to 17.5%). This expansion is due to the structural sources of the formation of the middle class, analyzed in the previous chapter.

The problem of the heterogeneity of the social environments from which the middle class recruits its members has been mentioned in the literature (Goldthorpe, 1992, 1996; Giddens, 1970) as a factor in the destructuring the middle class. This lack of stability of the middle class is even stronger during periods dominated by major social changes as the present transformation of the Romanian society. Table 2 presents the phenomenon of recruitment of the middle class. It can be noticed that out of the current members of this class, only 23% come from the middle class. Additionally, the recruitment is made from all the other classes: non-manual routine workers -23%, farmers - 12.5%, skilled workers- 36%, unskilled workers- 4%.

Table 2.

The recruiting of the middle class in percentages

Origin	Percent
Service class	23
Routine non-manual workers	23
Agricultural workers	12,5
Skilled workers	36
Unskilled workers	4
Total	**100**

Source of data : Public Opinion Baromètre, May 2006

The fact that the *demographic formation* of the middle class is affected by the necessity of recruitment from other classes (Goldthorpe, 2000) does not find its foundation in our analysis. If we think of social class in terms of the individuals' probability to find themselves in a social class during their life course, we will calculate the relative chances of the members of the middle class to remain in the middle class as compared to the other social classes. As such, it is four times more difficult for non-manual routine workers to reach the middle class than it is for those who are part of the service class, almost 20 times more difficult for skilled workers and 40 times more difficult for farmers. Moreover, the phenomenon of recruitment of the middle class is related to the greatest extent to the forced mobility introduced in the stratification system the changes from the last decades.

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We were saying in the beginning that we will use as indicators of the degree of structuring of the middle class its degree of reproduction and the possibility of over half of another class to enter the middle class. Both hypotheses can be tested on the basis of a table of absolute chances of mobility (Table 3).

Table 3.

Absolute chances of mobility in the structure of the social classes

	Service class	Routine non-manual workers	Agricultural workers	Skilled workers	Unskilled workers	Total
Service class	**75.0**	19.2	1.9	3.8	0.0	52
Routine non-manual workers	45.8	24.7	5.8	22.3	1.1	85
Agricultural workers	6.0	10.7	39.8	36.4	6.9	346
Skilled workers	15.8	22.5	7.9	**46.4**	7.1	390
Unskilled workers	7.7	15.5	6.6	**54.4**	15.5	90
Total	168	170	181	377	67	963

Source of data: Public Opinion Baromètre, May 2006

On the basis of Table 3 we can state that in the current context of stratification the middle class is the one that reproduces to the highest extent. 75% of the members of this class manage to transmit their status to their sons, as compared to 24.7% of the non-manual routine workers, 46.4% of the skilled workers, 39.8% of the farmers and only 15.5% of the unskilled workers. These percents point towards the fact that in the present the middle class is a social class in the Weberian understanding. Surprisingly, with the exception of the middle class, the only social class that is shaped on the basis of mobility patterns is the social class of skilled workers. This social class is shaped on the basis of the *mirrored* criterion, because 54.4% out of the sons of unskilled workers become skilled workers, forming a social class, together with the sons of skilled workers. The other categories, although relevant as different positions in the social space and as market situations, are destructured, in the sense that neither their reproduction, nor the mobility patterns do indicate a high probability (over 50.1%) of belonging of the individuals to a social class.

Discussions

We were stating, in the beginning of this chapter, that one of the great advantages of addressing stratification both on the basis of social interaction as well as on the basis of reproduction is the reclaiming of the recursive relationship between agency and structure. This relationship cannot, however, be addressed in the absence of assuming a model of rationality of the social actor. Any theoretical

model of social action is founded upon such a model, even if implicitly. In this analysis the notion that refers to both structure and the type and degree of rationality of the social actors is that of "*class awareness*" (Giddens, 1975). This concept implies the acceptance of a cluster of attitudes, beliefs, norms which have the root in a certain lifestyle which is common for the members of a class but it does not imply neither that these members are conscious of their class affiliation or the distinction from other class nor that a the common characteristics they have constitute a foundation for their political organization (Giddens, 1970). If Marx defined *classes* on the basis of *class consciousness* and on the basis of its transfer into organized political action, *social classes* are identifiable on the basis of the action patterns of the actors- various types of interactions, mobility strategies or reproduction. *Class awareness* presupposes a subjacent model of limited rationality of the actors, in the sense that these, although they do not have the explicit objective of maintaining class position or reaching a superior one, they act in the light of these objectives, that can, however, be reformulated by the researcher in terms of class. The present analysis allows us to state that if there is a pattern on the basis of which social actors act in the sense of the reproduction of the social class they are part of, then it means that social class exerts on the one hand exterior constraints and on the other it constitutes a reserve of socially accountable resources for the individuals. Class position can be understood then in the sense of one of the dimensions of Bourdieu's *habitus,* linking the possibility of thinking in a certain way to the social position of the individual.

In the analysis of the educational strategies of social actors Goldthorpe (1996) uses a rather strong version of the rational choice theory in order to explain the reproduction and the mobility of individuals in terms of the decision on the basis of the cost/benefits ratio. We believe, however, that we cannot disregard the constraints of the class structure, precisely because of the horizon of expectations social positions brings into the life of individuals. Goldthorpe ignores the fact that in any decision taken on the basis of the cost/benefits ratio, the specific way in which this ratio is perceived is strongly determined by class position. For example, social reproduction can be regarded as the decision that involves the least costs and is the least risky for social actors. We must, however, consider the fact that both costs and risks are determined by the class position of individuals, these not being identical (as Goldthorpe also states) for all social classes.

If we address mobility from this perspective, we notice the fact that for the Romanian society of the last six decades we can identify two distinct models of the reproduction strategies or social mobility, depending on the costs and risks involved. During the socialist regime, the social and economic risks associated by the members of the western working class with the long time spent in school are significantly reduced, due to the security of the job. "Losses" in the case of school failure are a lot lower and can be quickly minimized. The low variation of incomes, the safety of a job that is independent from the fluctuations of the market as well as

the absence of a labor market where the actual years spent in schooling matter make the decision of following a higher form of education a lot more attractive. Nonetheless, the cost of education is reduced and can be supported under the conditions in which in most of the families there are two wages. After the 90s the situation is dramatically altered. All the mentioned tendencies are reversed. However, the value of cultural capital on the labor market, the demand for qualifications on the labor market and the structural increase of the economic sectors in which qualification is required, as well as the mass growth of higher education lead to an increase of the proportion of those with higher education. We can thus observe that the educational strategies of individuals are not aimed only at reproducing their own status, but that, at least under conditions that support mobility, these take into account the real possibility of upward mobility in relationship to the family of origin. Moreover, these profound societal changes are followed by consecutive changes in the decisional processes of individuals.

The research question regarding the degree of structuring of the middle class can be reformulated on the basis of the Weberian definition of social classes. We decided to consider the middle class as a shaped social class operationalizing the classical Weberian concept of *typical* and *easy mobility* by the help of the idea of probability of the individual to find himself in a certain social class (Smith, 2007). The crux of the definition of social class offered by Max Weber has constituted the starting point for three somehow different operationalizations: the first one is the one of John Goldthorpe, who, addressing mobility as a process taking place within class structure, has highlighted the importance of the intergenerational social reproduction of a social class. The second, that of Gosta Esping-Andersen, highlights, in addition to the criterion of reproduction the criterion of the high level of exchange mobility between occupational segments contained by the same social class. Finally, the operationalization chosen by us, that of Ken Smith, keeps the criterion of intergenerational reproduction and introduces the criterion of unidirectional mobility (recruitment, actually), uniting them in the sphere of the notion of probability. We found this perspective by far the most advantageous because of several reasons. The disadvantage of Goldthorpe's approach is that of considering class structure as a static reality, leaving aside, basically, and the occurrence of social groups out of mobility patterns. This deficiency is important especially in the analysis of the middle class.

The criterion of the high level of exchange mobility taken into consideration by Esping-Andersen is deficient due to three reasons: first of all, the author does not establish what *high level of exchange mobility* exactly means; secondly, the reciprocal exchanges of the same magnitude between occupational segments are so rare in the social reality that on the basis of these we cannot establish major empirical regularities; thirdly, on the basis of high exchange mobility between two occupational sectors borders are established that might just as well be related to status hierarchy. The most important deficiency of Esping-Andersen is, however,

the result of the fact that taking into consideration only exchange mobility, we exclude from the analysis all the other mobility patterns that shape class structure, supposing an extremely high level of social closure for defining classes. Ken Smith's operationalization brings to the foreground the notion of *probability*. Due to the presence of this notion in Weber's definitions, the shaping of the structure on the basis of the probability of the individuals to find themselves in a certain class during their life course seems to be very close to the Weberian spirit.

The degree of structuring of the Romanian middle class has been determined first of all on the basis of social reproduction, understood both as occupational and educational reproduction. On the basis of the criterion of social reproduction, *the middle class is the only class in the Weberian sense*, due to the intergenerational reproduction of status that exceeds 50.1%. The "*ceiling*" effect of the mobility table could be brought up here, bringing the argument that the members of the middle class cannot be upwardly mobile within class structure and that the reproduction of status is the only alternative to downward mobility. In table 1 we can observe, however, that both downward mobility as well as immobility is higher than upward mobility (as number of absolute frequencies). We cannot therefore assume that a large share of the intergenerational reproduction of social position is due to this effect although this must be taken into consideration.

The largest part of the reproduction of the middle class is the result of the stability of the positions of intellectuals. The stability of this segment is tributary to the privileged status of cultural capital during the socialist period, being the only form of capital (with the exception of the political one) that could be transmitted to the children and that could be, at the same time, converted into social or symbolic capital. Cultural capital was the one that structured so strongly the nucleus of the middle class during the communist period, and its reproduction resulted in the strong borders of the analyzed segment. Socialist politics has direct effects over the stratification of society. Besides the material rewards and the prestige associated ideologically with manual labor (skilled) (Parkin, 1971; Giddens, 1973) at least in the first phase of socialism there is an effect upon the intergenerational reproduction of classes. We notice the fact that intellectuals reproduce their status to the highest extent. If in a first phase of communism upward educational mobility was "*forced*" in an ideological line, through the system of the "*educational quotas*", the theorists of the second stage of communism (Giddens, 1973; Parkin, 1971; Simkus, 1980) draw attention upon the reversibility of these egalitarian policies in the second stage of socialism. It is also characteristic of this stage what Djilas called the *new class* (Djilas, 1954; Konrad and Szelenyi, 1979), having a high degree of structuring on the basis of the criterion of status reproduction by the help of the transmission of cultural capital

3. The middle class as distance from the other social classes

The theoretical approach proposed in this study started off from the classical Weberian concept of *social class*. In the first chapter we tried to place this

concept among other concepts of the German sociologist, *status group* and *class*. We claimed, further on, that this concept has the theoretical advantage of allowing the transition from the *paper based class* to the *real* one that is from *structure to agency*. In the previous sections we have showed in what way occupational segments that are different from the point of view of their market situation come close one to another in the social space and maintain their positions by the help of educational and marital strategies, forming, on the basis of inter and intragenerational mobility, the social classes, particularly the middle class. As far as the choice of the marital partner is concerned, we borrowed the basic idea of the developers of the CAMSIS schema that transforms social class into a reality that results from daily proximity. We tried to connect social class with the existence of what Giddens called *class awareness*, which proves on the epistemological level the continuous relevance of class theory even in the absence of *class conscience* in the Marxist understanding.

If social classes now appear as intermediary social realities, between artificial groups and actor-groups, they represent not only the *closeness* in the social space but also their *distance* from members of other social classes. This hypothesis, of the formation of the shaping of the middle class through distance from other social classes will be analyzed in this section. After we analyzed the degree of mobility between the segments of the middle class and we interpreted marital strategies of individuals belonging to these segments in the sense of the tendency of reproducing their own social position, the next step consists of the attempt to see whether there is a significant distance in the social space between the middle class operationalized as such and the other social classes. Moreover, we will try to quantify this distance so that our image of the Romanian middle class is complete.

The starting point of this approach consists of the reverse of the idea of "*typical and easy mobility*" presented in the Weberian definition of the social class, idea through which we operationalized the *proximity* in the social space of the occupational categories of the middle class. The distance between social classes will be, logically, one connected with mobility barriers. This section proposes the hypothesis according to which middle class is shaped also on the basis of distance from other classes in the social space, not only in the basis of the proximity of occupational segments traditionally included in this class in the specialized literature of the last few decades.

Data and method

Social distance has been operationalized on the basis of the individuals' relative chances of mobility. In order to have the most comprising possible image over mobility patterns associated with class positions we modeled the data by the help of loglinear analysis. The class schema was adapted to the source of the data used, maintaining, however, the borders defined by the social actors themselves on the basis of the homogamy of marriages analyzed before, because the Cultural

Consumption Barometer does not offer information regarding the wife's occupation. Using this data source brings the benefits of an occupational schema that takes into consideration market distinctions of particular importance for the middle class.

The first step consisted of selecting the model that best represents the reproduction and mobility patterns of our data. The choice of the model was done through de model proposed by Treiman, testing concurring hypotheses through the estimation and comparison of models that represent them. Treiman shows that the selection of the model can be done in two different ways. The most common is the one in which we start off from a relatively simple model and its degree of complexity is increased, until the model becomes adequate enough for the data. For our analysis we chose the second approach, a lot more grounded in theory, that of testing theoretical hypotheses through the estimation and comparison of models of loglinear analysis and of choosing, in the end, the model that best reflects the relationships from the association table. The models obtained on the basis of this interpretation are understood as *topological models*, in the sense that they offer images of the social space obtained on the basis of mobility patterns.

Results

The first hypothesis that we will test is that of the independence of the two variables. If the variables are independent, we can state that there is no relationship between the occupation of the father and the occupation of the son.

The next tested hypothesis is that according to which although there is social reproduction, for the individuals who distance themselves from the social position of the father mobility is not constrained by other structural forces. In other words, the quasi-dependency model assumes that under the conditions in which a share of individuals reproduces the social position of the father, the individuals that are mobile move freely in the social space without encountering mobility barriers. This lack of mobility barriers implies the fact that individuals can reach any social class disregarding their class of origin.

The third tested hypothesis is that of the perfect exchange mobility between social categories. This hypothesis is tested taking into account both social reproduction as well as eliminating the effects of it in the model that takes into consideration solely the *off-diagonal* cells. The symmetry model of exchange mobility tells us that if a cell loses one individual, the "*mirrored*" cell increases by one. The quasi-symmetry model refers to the entire mobility table, unlike the symmetry model that offers us information about exchange mobility at the level of the cells of the table. This model covers an important problem in the study of social mobility, that of fluidity. The quasi-symmetry relationship tries to test whether eliminating the effect of marginal frequencies- that is structural mobility, the relative chances of upward mobility and downward mobility between categories are symmetrical. Under the constraints of this model the odds ratios that characterizes upward mobility (above the diagonal) equal the relative inequality of odds that characterized downward mobility (under the main diagonal).

We started from the initial hypothesis of the existence of mobility barriers between social classes in Romania. The last evaluated model is *crossing*, model that shows us how many times more difficult it is for an individual from an inferior class to reach a superior one as compared to an individual from a superior social class. As we can observe from this description, the *crossing* model offers precisely an image and a measure of the social distance between classes.[3] In table 1 we present the estimation of models of analysis of social mobility. The models have been estimated and compared on the basis of L^2 but also on the basis of the BIC and Δ.[4]

The first observation refers to the extent to which the models that do not eliminate the effect of the mobility table diagonal are fit for the data. We observe that the first two models, independence and symmetry, are not adequate for our data, no matter what coefficient we use to test this adequacy. The BIC, Δ and L^2 coefficients indicate the fact that the effect of social reproduction is strong and hides the mobility patterns of individuals in the social space. The first hypothesis taken into consideration, of the independency of the social class of the son from that of the father is rejected both on the basis of the significance level as well as on the basis of the BIC and Δ coefficients. Also, we can reject the hypothesis of the symmetry of exchanges on the level of the cells of the table both in the presence of social reproduction as well as in its absence.

The first model that matches the goodness of fit criteria is the *crossing* model. On the basis of the BIC coefficient, crossing is strongest topological model tested, confirming the hypothesis that rests at the foundation of this loglinear model, that is the existence of mobility barriers between social classes. The main hypothesis proposed in this chapter states that between the social classes from Romania there is social distance, expressed in unequal relative odds of mobility. These differences in the relative odds of mobility are the ones that establish not only the distance between social classes but also their hierarchy. This model has a by far stronger explanatory power than the models tested so far. Even under the conditions of eliminating the effects of social reproduction the *crossing* (*off-diagonal*) model remains strong model that fits the data and supports our initial hypothesis. We can thus state, on the basis of this analysis, that the Romanian stratification system is structured by the principle of social class as an entity identifiable on the basis of mobility patterns.

The other models in which the effect of reproduction is eliminated (*off-diagonal models*) are generally more adequate for our data. The quasi-independence model, that starts off from the theoretical assumption of the lack of

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[3] "Suppose we were to take the occupational categories…as representing "social classes" with boundaries that constitute barriers to mobility. Suppose further that, in analogy to movement across physical space, it is necessary to "cross" each barrier between adjacent classes to achieve mobility between non-adjacent classes" (Treiman, 2002:67)

[4] For loglinear models BIC=L^2- (df) [ln(N)] and Δ=the sum of residuals in absolute value/2

mobility barriers for those who manage to avoid social reproduction is not validated by our analysis. The individuals that manage to be mobile cannot reach any social class, but the trajectory and amplitude of their mobility is related to their origin class. On the basis of the quasi-symmetry relationship we test whether eliminating the effect of marginal frequencies, i.e. of structural mobility, and the effect of social reproduction, the relative odds of sunward and downward mobility are symmetrical. As we can see, the model fits the data both on the level of L^2 as well as on the level of the BIC and Δ coefficients. This model reflects with the greatest precision the relationship between the variables.

Tabel 4.

Goodness –of fit Statistics for topological models of intergenerational mobillity in Romania

Model	L^2	d.f.	p	BIC	Δ
Independence	243.853	16	.000	140.124	147.275
Simmetry	246.958	14	.000	156.195	149.35
Crossing	13.239	12	.352	-64.558	30.919
Models + offdiagonal					
Quasi-independence	47.052	11	.000	-18.202	46.1
Simmetry offdiagonal	139.431	10	.000	80.109	74
Quasi-simmetry offdiagonal	4.925	6	.553	-30.668	6.636
Crossing offdiagonal	8.312	9	.503	-45.077	16.102

Data source: Cultural Consume Barometer, 2005

Conclusions and further implications

One of the main questions of this research targeted the degree of structuring of the Romanian middle class. In our paper we addressed various sources of the structuring of class relationships. It has been shown how the odds of mobility and marital strategies are at the same time cause and consequence of class relationships, as relationships between found in proximity in the social space. On the basis of our analytical approach we cannot truly separate the effects of the socialist period from those of transition and we cannot quantify the degree of structuring of class relationships according to the historical period. The comparative loglinear models offer us, however, an image of the level of crystallization of class structure in the present. This section indicates the strength of the mediated structuring process for the Romanian social classes due to the

effects of social closure and to the reproduction of class experience over the generations (Giddens, 1973).

The current attempt has not established as a goal identifying the effects of the transformation from the communist period over the structure of class relationships. On the basis of our results we can point out, however, what is *not* the consequence of the socialist system upon the Romanian stratification system. Almost two decades away from the 1989 Revolution, on the basis of the unequal mobility odds, the image of a strongly stratified and marked by structural inequalities Romanian society arises. For the countries from Eastern Europe, located in the area of influence of the Soviet Union, the half of a century that followed meant an experiment of social "*destratification*". Together with other studies from the field (Szelenyi, 2005; Eyal, Townsend and Szelenyi, 2001) this analysis suggests that the "*Romanian destratification experiment*" has failed. One of the conclusions of is that Romanian society is a strongly stratified one on the basis of the principle of class, class structure being a reality that constrains the actions of social actors-marital strategies or mobility ones. We can also state that in Romania the middle class has a high level of structuring, both on the basis of the endogamy of marriages as well as on the basis of the social reproduction and mobility patterns, if analyzed as a social class and if the sources of its unity are searched not only in the market situations of the individuals.

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EMPATHY AND INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION

MARIA DIACONESCU

RÉSUMÉ. L'empathie et la communication interpersonnelle. L'étude represente le premiere pas dans une recherche dont s'agit la manière lequelle la communication interpersonnelle et la comprehension émpatique se develloppe dans le context de la globalisation. La globalisation de culture entraine des ethics conflictuelle qu' approfondent les conflicts des valeurs dans la relations interpersonnelle et entre les groups. Dans cet ouvrage j'explore la contribution de pragmatique de la communication humaine à l'évolution de l'entendement et de la communication interpersonnelle, dans le facon qu'elles sont apliquées dans la psychotérapie et travail social.

Introduction

Communication's function of empathy has developed amazingly rapidly. In several academic papers it is mentioned very frequently, while other works bring it into discussion as a matter of course without mentioning what it is about. I am amazed how often the term is used within the Internet especially in commercial fields, in marketing, in managerial fields or even in entertainment. It almost gets the meaning of a tranquilizer in such an extent that the pharmaceutical industry could go broke. The fact that in our country so little has been translated and researched on the subject amazes me as well. The fact that in the social human faculties this subject is treated superficially and is practiced so little is sad. The subject seems a little bit dusty. I claim that empathic understanding and communication of this understanding represent one of the most efficient and durable instruments in order to disarm interpersonal and intercultural conflicts. Moreover, transforming conflicts into innovational and developmental opportunities is hard to imagine without this kind of understanding and especially its communication. To say nothing of its importance in preventing emotional violence that is installed almost in every relationship represents to ignore one of the main functions of interpersonal emphatic communication. And last, but not least it can be one of the ways to avoid the trap or seduction of gossip.

In this study I start from a few pragmatic communication concepts worked out by Watzlawick and Bateson in order to bring into discussion their contribution to the evolution of empathic understanding and communication as they are practiced today in social work and psychotherapy. Then I 'invite' Gerard Egan, Martin Buber, Marshall Rosenberg, and others to an imaginary interdisciplinary dialogue, trying to find out together with them the adventure of interpersonal understanding and communication in the actual context of globalization, when and

where people in the entire world get into an ever-closer contact to one another; negotiate definitions and meanings, following rules established on a common ground or rules of those who hold a greater power of conviction, of purchasing or seduction. They wave at each other with symbols or bank accounts; appeal to violence in order to settle their conflicts; target each other with bombs or flags.

This new world disorder or globalization, in which we live today, is an evolution with no precedence in the history of humanity. I would call it diversity without unity, although there are already signs of an incipient unity in the diversity of languages, cultures, politics and economies.

Ulrich Beck (2003) differentiates globalization from *globalism*, and *globality*. The later refera to the fact that we live for a long time in a world society in which national state policies can no longer integrate or influence social relations, while globalism is the ideology of neo-liberalism.

The domination of world market which marginalizes or replaces political actions and influences in a particular way the interstate and interpersonal relationships, doesn't make the focus of this paper. I am giving attention to the fact that notions have lost their content, they are empty of content, they do not longer stir emotions, and they do not enlighten, they bring no enthusiasm, as Beck states. Maybe one of the reasons of the grey in which the earth has sunk is in the mould of words, which seems to be already a sundown and could become the sunrise of the second modernism on condition of eliminating dogmas that have lead to the failure of the first modernism. These are some of the arguments and hopes expressed by Beck when he sustains that the project of modernism has failed. Dogmatisms – traditional, modern or post-modern – bring the pocess reification[1] into my attention. I suppose that these are those, which embarrass and troubles languages and interpersonal relations at Watzlawick, and the image of man as a person, conscious and autonomous subject at Foucault (Codoban, 2001).

Bateson and Watzlawick bring into attention the fact that human interactions fall under the incident of reification anytime communication partners stop or refuse to ask questions with refer to the relationships in which they are involved, and the reciprocal effects of their expressed messages in different situations. Watzlawick et al. (1967) start the discussion from the classical thought according to which a number means a perceivable size. Once with the development of new mathematics, the concept of variable was born, and it is considered that the number has lost the meaning of its own. Variables are significant only with reference to one another, one in relationship with the other, so that relations constitute the concept of function. This mathematic analogy is used in order to suggest a parallelism between the mathematical concept of function and the

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[1] The process in which the social relations become object relations; even the human being - from a conscious doer of the social process - turn him/ herself into an object, instrument of these social process – *Dicționar de neologisme*, Marcu, F., et al (1986)

psychological concept of relationship. Although the experimental psychology has a sophisticated vocabulary in its scientific language, the Aristotelian conception on the mind perpetuates. The mind is still conceived as an arrangement of properties and characteristics with which an individual is gifted in a certain amount, a smaller or larger amount, just as he would have a slender or heavy body, red or blond hair. Although such terms as functions, variables or interpersonal context are used in psychology, concepts as sensations, perceptions, attention, memory, and so on, have been and are still studied in an artificial isolation and without the smallest reference to their evolution[2]. The language of psychology has remained monadic. Concepts such as leadership, dependency, extroversion, introversion and many others have become the object of detailed studies. Watzlawick warns that all these terms assume a pseudo reality of their own, if they are thought and repeated for long enough time, and eventually 'leadership' becomes 'leadership', a measurable quantity in the human mind which is conceived in its turn as a phenomenon in isolation[3]. Once this reification has taken place – he goes on – it is no longer recognized that the term is but a short expression for a particular form of a relationship, which evolves or develops. The author brings as argument the sensory and brain research, which demonstrated that just relationships and patterns of relationships can be perceived, and form the essence of experience. Any perception implies a process of movement, change and scanning, which is relation. A relationship is established and tested as much as this is possible, and a similar abstraction to the mathematic concept of function is obtained, as the Palo Alto researchers hold. Consequently, not the 'things', but the functions build up the essence of our perception and the functions are not isolated sizes, numbers, or whatever, they are signs representing connections. Thus, Watzlawick comes to the conclusion that even the human being's awareness of him/herself is essentially an awareness of functions, of relationships in which he/she is involved, no matter how much he/she may subsequently reify this awareness[4].

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[2] Nowadays, the cognitive theories and studies go on this way of doing research in psychology. The so called "new" evolutionism and adaptation concepts try to extend the limited vision or "philosophy" of cognitive theories and researches taking in consideration also problems such as adaptation, surviving, communication in couple relationships, and so on. Does it look like an applied Darwinism in Psychology? For more information please get to: Pléh Csaba (2001), *Lélek és Evolúció....*; Buss, D.M. (1999) *Evolutionary psychology....*;

[3] I notice similar "happenings" in other fields: "the second modernism" turns into "The Second Modernism" at Beck, or "me and you" turns into "I and You" at Martin Buber. I realize that also "empathic understanding and communication" may in danger to turn into a kind of Xx... Yy... Zy...

[4] In order to avoid the confusion in using the comas, I choose to put them away when I mention an author. I consider it makes no great difference if I resume or paraphrase the ideas of an author or if I reproduce them exactly. Anyway I obviously recognize them belonging to the mentioned author. In order to differentiate my contribution from the ideas of the mentioned author I use "I": "I notice…, consider…., or it amazes me…"

The Palo Alto researches initiated by Bateson and Watzlawick, as well as the following developments in the systemic family therapy, put between brackets the intentions and motivations of those who communicate. They also replace the question of *why* with the question *what for* or *what purpose*, and focus on behavioral answers immediate to the expressed messages *here* and *now*, trying to grasp the way in which the messages expressed influence each other with no difference whether these behavioral effects coincide or do not coincide with the intended effects. I would translate these approximately in the following manner: it matters less 'what you wanted and what came out of it', or 'where you hit and where the hit goes'. It counts 'where the hit goes when you hit, doesn't matter where', or 'what came out with no difference whether you had intended that or had not intended that respective outcome'. The first axiom of pragmatic human communication formulated by Watzlawick tells us: not only that we have the freedom of communicating – paradoxically enough – we cannot afford not to have this freedom. We communicate wherever we are, in any moment, with no difference if we meet or do not meet someone. Any person carries a dialogue, even if that person is alone carries an imagery dialogue with his/ her own fantasies, own existence, own awareness, following approximately the same rules by which the face to face interpersonal dialogue functions. Anyway, we have the freedom to decide *what, how, what for* we communicate, no matter how limited this freedom may seem. This is what I shall try to find arguments for throughout this paper.

Watzlawick et al. (1967: 49, 75, 78) sustain that all behaviors in a given situation of an interaction have the value of a message, of communication. This is where he uses his well-known axiom regarding the impossibility of not communicating. One cannot 'not communicate', no matter how much someone would be trying that. Activity or inactivity, words or silence, all have the value of a message and influence others. The others cannot 'not to answer' to these acts of communication; they communicate in their turn if they accept the communication, and they communicate even if they decide to reject or disqualify the communication. Even symptoms like 'madness' have the value of a message. The so-called 'madness' may be the only possible answer in a given communication context which is absurd, hard or impossible to bear, and the unbearable situation takes too long. And the psychosomatic symptoms are conceived, in the theories of communication and psychotherapy, as nonverbal or analogue messages. And this is not about simulation, says Watzlawick. In the simulated invocation of a power or reason, which is beyond control – headache, dizziness, any defect or inability - there is an inconvenient: the person who invokes these symptoms knows that he or she actually is cheating the other person. But, as soon as the person has convinced him/ herself that he or she is at the mercy of forces beyond his or her control, the person is freed up in this way from censorship of the significant others or the pain or suffering of the own awareness. 'I want to do this but it's out of my control. I'm prevented by my disease / alcohol/ my wife/ kids or whatever'.

What and how we communicate

The question *what for* or *what purpose* we communicate invites me to meditate on the sense or the goal of existence, of everyday existence. The life philosophies, and the philosophical paradigms of scientific research and of different social practices account for this question in a larger or smaller degree. Anyway, they offer basic meanings to answering questions: *what* and *how* we communicate. The last two questions send us to another two axioms out of pragmatics of human communication intimately tied to one another: the content and the relational aspects of communication (Watzlawik et al., 1967: 51-53, 80-86), respectively digital and analogue communication (Watzlawik et al., 1967: 60-67, 99-106). The researches of Palo Alto demonstrate that the content aspect of communication is digital nature: words or arbitrarily manipulated signs in accordance with a logical syntax of a language. While the relational aspect is predominantly transmitted in an analogical way: movements, mimics, gestures, postures, intensities and rhythms or frequencies in which words are expressed. What we know today under the name of nonverbal communication or body language is described as analogue or relational messages by the Palo Alto school, invoking the relationship and consequently suggestions regarding future rules of relation. By my behavior – suggests Bateson mentioned by Watzlawick – I can mention or suggest love, hate, fight, and so on; it depends by you to attribute or give to my intentions positive or negative future truth value or interpretations to my, and this with no doubt is the source of a countless interpersonal conflicts. The translations between analogue and digital are accompanied by errors, dilemmas and paradoxes similar to the famous logical mathematical paradoxes. And, we have many analogue messages to be translated into digital.

Only 7% of our messages are digital or verbal, according to the study of Mehrabian mentioned by Egan (1994). Mehrabian has started his study from the question: what indexes are used by humanity in order to identify sympathy or antipathy towards others? The words would contribute to this identification of messages only at a rate of 7%. Sounds would contribute at a rate of 38% and facial expressions at a rate of 55%. In addition to that, when facial expressions are inconsistent with regard to the expressed words, the facial expression is that which is given the greatest credibility. Anytime the central theme of communication is the relation – says the research team at Palo Alto – we realize that digital language is almost meaningless. Children, clowns, and animals have always been credited with a particular intuition, with regard to the sincerity or insincerity in human attitudes because it is easy to verbally pretend something but it is difficult to carry a lie in the field of the analogical. In existentialism – I notice – this phenomenon is known under the name of *authenticity* and in psychotherapy, at least in the Carl Rogers' psychotherapy, under the name of *congruence*. This is the overlapping between analogue and digital messages, or putting it in a simply way, overlapping between what we think, what we say and what we do in relation with one another in a given situation.

A message does not transmit only its content, information which is true or false, valid or invalid, which answers to the question *what.* It transmits at the same time a behavior, which defines the relationship between the partners of communication. To my understanding the behavior defining the relationship answers to the question *how* they refer to each other, *how* they express the *what.* To simplify, I would say that any message send an attitude. The same informal content can have different meanings in different relationships, different contexts, and different periods of time – if we take into consideration the dimension of time or the evolutionary aspects of the relationship, as well. The relational info about info or meta communication can be expressed verbally, so to say, 'this is an order', or 'this is a joke'. Most of the time, it is expressed nonverbally, like crying, smiling, laughing, etc. The relationship can be understood in a clear way from its context in which it takes place, for instance a couple relationship-partners in a psychotherapy session or a classroom. In a couple therapy meeting, one of the partners – illustrates Watzlawick – discovers and formulates in his own words the difference between the content and relation aspects of communication 'ok, you may be right, but you are wrong because you are fighting me'. The relational aspect of communication is given here in terms of who is right and who is not, who has the right to scold or to fight with the other person or to yell to the other person and who has got not this right. In other communication situations the relation can be given by terms of who has got the right to take initiative without consulting the other or who has or has not the right to take decisions regarding all sort of things. At relational level the persons do not communicate about facts outside of the relationship, they transmit to one another the definition of their relationship and implicitly of themselves, of their own. Watzlawick mentions in this sense the studies of Cumming: the function of *constant reconstruction of concept of self* takes place by the fact that the person offers to the others this concept with the purpose to get its ratification and in its turn the same person accepts or rejects the concepts of self offered by the others. If we are for existing as human beings and not as objects, the concept of self reconstructs itself continually and this fact takes place in the action of communication. Thus, the prototype of meta communication will be: 'This is the way I see myself in relationship with you in this given situation'. To this self concept offered by a person in a communication situation to his or her partner of communication, the other partner can respond by confirming, rejecting or disconfirming the concept of self which is offered to him/her. The disconfirmation or disqualifying is very different from the rejection of the concept of self. While the rejection is reduced to the message 'you are wrong', disqualifying says 'you do not exist', it denies the reality of the person as the source of definition or self-conceiving. As I understand, the meta communication appears from the need – evidently, a human need – of clarifying, defining or redefining a relationship with the other and consequently the identity of owns.

I observe that the ability of meta communication is somehow similar to assertiveness which is so dear to social work and especially to psychotherapy, a context in which the body language has the chance to be translated successfully into verbal messages, a process which is not simple at all. Assertiveness refers to the ability to name and express honestly – with no trace of violence or seduction – the feelings and meanings experienced in the relationship with the partner of communication. It seems to me very important to set it very clearly by now that this ability develops in relationships in which empathic understanding and especially communication of this understanding is present. The ability of meta communication, as Watzlawick puts it, is intimately tied to the problem of self awareness and the awareness of others, and what existentialists call *encounter* – and other forms of high awareness, as well – is hard to conceive without the capacity to communicate about communication. And communication at this level, the second order of communication, can be accepted, rejected or disqualified, as well. In the following lines I'll put in connection the acceptance of meta-communication with the empathic understanding and communication, and the rejection of meta-communication with the barriers of communication.

Meta-communication

In order to better understood, I'm going to illustrate the prototype of *meta communication*, i.e. >this is the way I see myself in relationship with you in this situation<; when the *communication at this level is accepted by efforts of empathic understanding*, no matter how approximate or imperfect it could be at the given moment. Let's take for instance the following message presented by Egan (1994): '*Do you know why he took the maximal grade at the exam? He took my notes and disappeared with them. I wasn't able to read them and I have never told him anything.*' If I'm regarding this message in a 'detached' manner or I put this message between brackets – as probably the phenomenologist would say – it seems to be a prototype of gossip. If I'm regarding this message in an 'attached' manner, in the terms of Watzlawick, it becomes a meta communication of the type >this is the way I see myself in relationship to him or her< most often present in the relationship of friendship, family, psychotherapy, social work, etc. In order to get to the empathic understanding (Egan, 1994) of the key messages from the account to which I made reference above, Egan suggests identifying the following three aspects: *how* does the person experiences *here* and *now* (1) the experience experienced *then* and related *now,* including the meaning of the related experience (2), and *what* did the person do *then* (3). The feelings experienced by the person *here* and *now* are mostly expressed nonverbally and represent the core aspect of the empathic understanding. Without this core aspect we don't sense the related message, we have an understanding without affective resonance or intuitive connection to the message. In this condition we get rather just a paraphrase of the message, just a cognitive understanding of it. Certainly, *how* does he or she

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experiences *now* the related situation or event can be different from *how* he or she did experience *then.* The core aspect of empathic understanding is *how* he or she does experience *now* the related situation. This aspect is sensed from *how* the experience is related, from the story of *here and now* which goes behind words. The identified feeling in the account above can be reflected back in words this way: *You feel angry.* Key experience refers to the situation, event, or happening related especially to the meaning, which the person ascribes to the related event. The key experience in the mentioned account could be put it this way: *because he stole your notes.* The third aspect is the behavior manifested by the person in the related situation, verbal and nonverbal behaviors, what did the person do, what vegetative changes did take place in the related situation: *You let him go away.* As it is easily to observe, the first identified and reflected aspect >*how* does he or she experience *now* the related situation<, the core aspect of the empathic understanding address to the relation of communication, the same 'relation' of Watzlawick. The last two related identified and reflected aspects address the contents of communication. What about >this is the way I see myself in relation with you right now<*?* The prototype of this type of meta communication is to be found best illustrated in *Nonviolent Communication – A language of life.* Marshall Rosenberg (2003) the author of the book, relates:

> I was presenting Nonviolent Communication in a mosque at Deheisha Refugee Camp in Bethlehem to about 170 Palestinian Moslem men. Attitudes towards Americans at that time were not favorable. As I was speaking, I suddenly noticed a wave of muffled commotion fluttering through the audience. "They're whispering that you are American!" my translator alerted me, just as a gentlemen in the audience leapt to his feet. "Murderer!" Immediately a dozen other voices joined him in chorus: "Assassin!" "Child-killer!" "Murderer!" Fortunately, I was able to focus my attention on what the man was feeling and needing. In this case, I had some cues. On the way into the refugee camp, I had seen several empty tear has canisters that had been shot into the camp the night before. Clearly marked on each canister were the words "Made in U.S.A". I knew that the refugees harbored a lot of anger towards the U.S. for supplying tear gas and other weapons to Israel. I addressed the man who had called me a murder:

I: Are you angry because you would like my government to use its resources differently? **He:** Damn right I'm angry. You think we need tear gas? We need sewers, not your tear gas! We need housing! We need to have our own country! **I:** So you're furious and would appreciate some support in improving your living conditions and gaining political independence? **He:** Do you know what it's like to live here for twenty-seven years the way I have with my family - children and all? Have you got the faintest idea what that's been like for us? **I:** Sounds like you're feeling very desperate and you're wondering whether I or anybody else can really understand what it's like to be living under these conditions. Am I hearing you right? **He:** You want to understand? Tell me, do you

have children? Do they go to school? Do they have playgrounds? My son is sick! He plays in open sewage! His classroom has no books! Have you seen a school that has no books? **I:** I hear how painful it is for you to raise your children here; you'd like me to know that want you want is what all parents want for their children – a good education, opportunity to play and grow in a healthy environment…**He:** That's right, the basics! Human right – isn't that what you Americans call it? Why don't more of you come here and see what kind of human rights you're bringing here! **I:** You'd like more Americans to be aware of the enormity of the suffering here and look more deeply at the consequences of our political actions?

Our dialogue continued, with him expressing his pain for nearly twenty more minutes, and listening for the feeling and need behind each statement. I didn't agree or disagree. I received his words, not as attacks, but as gifts from a fellow human willing to share his soul and deep vulnerability with me. Once the gentlemen felt understood, he was able to hear me as I explained my purpose for being at the camp. An hour later, the same man who had called me a murderer was inviting me to his home for a Ramadan dinner.

The empathic attitude works like a mirror – obvious, like an imperfect mirror – which reflects the honest acceptance and understanding of the other in terms of his or her feelings, of the other human needs, and of the other own meanings. The key is *to be present in relationship here and now*, a kind of philosophical hermeneutics applied to interpersonal relations in the sense given by Heiddeger, in which understanding is primordial to interpretation. Thus, this is not about interpretation, not about psychoanalytical hermeneutics or any other hermeneutics, although it is obvious that the obtained understanding is later integrated in different philosophical paradigms of interpretation. All these efforts of understanding and its reflections are not immune to interpretations, misunderstandings, and errors of translations from analogical into digital, projective interferences and barriers from the person, which tries to understand empathically. The immediate answer of the person, who relates the experienced situation or event – the verbal feedback and especially the nonverbal - to the empathic response, offers clues with regard to the accuracy of empathic understanding. The more the immediate feedback the person which relates the experience is an honest feedback – in terms of existentialism, more *authentic* – the better the chance of the emphatic message of getting closer to the related message. In professional relationships, such as psychotherapy and social work, it is important to identify the levels of profoundness in empathic understanding. The level of profoundness depends indeed on how present the love (Codoban, 2004) in the relationship is, and by love I understand here an honest acceptance of the other. Even if empathic understanding is profound, I sustain that not always it is that important that the message should be profound. In my opinion it is far more important that understanding should be expressed and the empathic message should be first of all the expression of profound and honest

respect, in this way the person to which we empathically relate will feel safe, accepted and understood. The naming of all the feelings and the discussion of actual feelings *here and now* can be perceived as threatening by certain persons, especially if they do not clearly know[5] what happens afterwards with the understanding the professionals obtain. The profound and honest respect, without we cannot obtain - not even the vague - empathic understanding, originates in the confirmation of the person. Confirmation of what the person is and what the person may become represent an important concept in the all great religions reveled to the world or in philosophies which still extract from them a lively inspiration, like existentialism of Martin Buber (1996). As we have seen in the account of Marshall Rosenberg this confirmation or acceptance addresses to the entire human being which exists uniquely in its becoming without that this acceptance should mean expressing accord or disaccord to the feelings, to the meanings, or to the human needs expressed, without being necessarily to praise or criticize them.

The partner in communication can decide to reject meta communication either because he or she does not know what would use it, refuse to negotiate or change the conflicting relational rules, it is to difficult to bear or it is perceived as a threat to the concept of self. This way, according to Watzlawick, the vicious circle of communication that would have a chance to break away by meta-communication remains intact. Rejecting the meta communication and implicitly – the concept of self proposed – no matter how painful, says Watzlawick, supposes at least a limited recognition of what is rejected and following does not deny necessarily the reality of the vision of one person self. Hurrying to treat meta-communication and its disqualifying manner, its pragmatic and pathologic implications, Watzlawick does away very quickly the attitude of rejection of meta-communication. Certain forms of rejection, he goes on, may be even constructive, for instance the refuse of the psychiatrist to accept the concept of self of the patient in the situation of transference which the patient tries typically to impose upon the therapist its relational game. In rest, I don not clearly understand what he understands by rejection meta-communication and I am not surprised. He mentions only in one single item the difference between rejecting and disqualifying meta-communication: 'you are wrong', as a type of rejection, 'you do not exist' as a type of disqualification. The Western culture, especially the American culture, in which the pragmatic of human communication was developed still is fascinated by criticisms, which are perceived probably as being part of the game of the West, in so called natural order of deconstruction. In order to bring into discussion the destructive effects and constructive effects of criticisms by deconstruction of the excessive deconstructions Watzlawick had to make an effort to distance himself from the culture in which he

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[5] in social work and psychotherapy these aspects are clarified as soon as possible: confidentiality, negotiated and agreed goals of intervention; something similar it happens or is implicit in other relationships, as well.

has developed the theory of pragmatic of human communication. If he had lived in a society governed by Islamic laws, by Hindu laws or Zoroastrian laws, I suppose his theory would have not been even called 'pragmatic'.

Prototype of rejecting of meta communication which is suggested by Watzlawick <you are wrong> may count for: <you have to change, I do not agree with you the way you are>, <you should do this in another way>, <it's your fault that this has happened>, <you've got a problem>, messages belonging to body language like a harsh tone, an indifferent or a bored tone, rising you eyebrows with a critical look, giving your opponent a look of sarcasm, etc. All these messages have in common one shade of criticism and one shade of blaming, which – in actual psychotherapy and social work (Hepworth et al., 1997) – are called barriers of communication, which transmit messages of non-acceptance or conditional acceptance[6].

Most of the barriers encountered in communication reflect the most frequent attitudes of tolerance towards violence in society: excessive or destructive criticism, blaming, putting label on somebody, using questions inadequately, minimizing the traumatic experience and justifying violence. If we want to reach tolerance zero towards any form of violence then I think it is necessary to admit first of all that no matter what a child, woman or other person would do or say, nobody has the right to use violence in order solve any conflict (Diaconescu, 2004). I would remark that the most frequently encountered barriers in communication – especially criticism, blaming, putting labels, critical interrogatory – are part of the arsenal of emotional or psychological violence. Without these weapons as reply to difference, without these destructive answers to the different other, the conflicts would become creative sparks, interpersonal and intercultural clashes as sources of innovation, of learning and evolution, because 'There is unity in diversity. Each sets off and enhances the other's beauty'[7]. Hepworth et al. (1997) attract the attention on the fact that the barriers of communication prevent the person that listen a life story to remain in contact with the other, to be present in the relationship[8], and to understand the other's verbal and nonverbal messages here and now.

I call escalation of the barriers in communication what Watzlawick (1967: 54-56, 93-98) calls unsolved discrepancies in the punctuation of communicational sequences which could lead directly into relational obstacles in which case the two

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[6] In social work and psychotherapy the unconditional acceptance or regard of the other person is an ideal, a high standard; in order to move closer and closer to it, the future professionals are trained to recognize and avoid barriers in communication, and to develop empathic attitude. The personal relationships – as friendships, couple, family – are preferential relations, in which the partners of communication express far more frequently different degree of the conditional acceptance: sympathy, accord or disaccord, praises or critics, gossip, etc.

[7] Isabel Fraser Chamberlain: *Abdu'l-Baha on Divine Philosophy* (manuscript)

[8] Even when these are just thoughts without being expressed. An anonym wisdom says: take care of your own thoughts because they will become your words, take care of your own words because they will become your deeds, take care of your own deeds because they will become your character or nature, take care of your own nature because it will become your destiny.

accuse each other of madness or evil or anything else. The escalation of the reciprocal criticisms and blames, mutual labels and generalization could strengthen the negative prejudices and unjust discriminations. Hepworth et al. (1997) attract the attention on the fact that misunderstanding of the cultural significances with regard to identical messages of body language can make it considerable harder to achieve interpersonal understandings especially if it is excessively centered on own ego, ethnicity or gender. The authors illustrate this potential conflict with a conflict laden trans-cultural situation bringing in discussion a body message present in all cultures: avoiding eye contact. For most Americans avoiding eye contact would mean that the other person is trying to get away with something or is not trustworthy. An the other hand, most Native Americans, Black Americans, perceive eye contact as an intrusion in owns intimacy and in order to show respect they reduce eye contact to a minimum. Thus who know just this latest cultural significance will not admit that for the person that regards intensely this may mean attention full of consideration and respect. Likewise, avoiding eye contact can be perceived as a sign of disrespect, lack of honesty or as a sign of respect for intimacy and non-intrusion depending on the cultural significance of the message. Furthermore, understanding is complicated if we take into consideration gender differences. Women and men can be regarded as coming from different cultures, says John Gray (1998) men from March and women from Venus. The paper presents many illustrations of misunderstandings and of escalading the barriers of communication, which are reciprocal between women and men. The paper illustrates, too, their effort to accept 2nd order communication, meta-communication efforts engaged to overcome discrepancies in their punctuation of communicational sequences. As Gray puts it, many marital conflicts, and not only, are in fact reciprocal misunderstandings starting from wrong suppositions that the other one has the same needs in the same time and the same context. Thus, each one is trying to offer the other one what in fact he or she would like to get, a misunderstanding of the millennium message: 'love thy neighbor as thou love thyself'.

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"CLUJ IS US!": RIVALRY AND SYMBOLIC CONFLICT AMONG FOOTBALL SUPPORTERS IN CLUJ-NAPOCA[1]

FLORIN FAJE

RÉSUMÉ. "Cluj c'est nous!". Rivalité et conflit symbolique entre les supporteurs de football de Cluj-Napoca. Dans cet article, j'explore la rivalité entre les supporteurs des équipes de football Universitatea et C.F.R., toutes les deux de Cluj-Napoca, et aussi la compétition symbolique qu'ils entretiennent. En utilisant le matériel de mes recherches sur le terrain avec les supporteurs de Cluj-Napoca pendant la saison 2006/2007 je présente quatre dimensions de cette rivalité. Également, j'utilise le schéma des quatre types de conflit symbolique théorisée par Harrison afin d'interpréter les manifestations symboliques des frictions parmi ces supporters.

A brief history of the football clubs and of the social dynamics of the city

Studies from the domain of symbolic anthropology draw attention particularly upon the importance of the cultural, social, economic and political context in the interpretation of symbols and symbolic manifestations (Klatch, 1988; Ortner, 1973). Some information regarding the history of the football club Universitatea Cluj and the social dynamics of the city of Cluj is useful for understanding the meanings attached to the symbols employed by their supporters.

The prewar period can be characterized as a period of institutional organization for the football competitions in Cluj. During this period, the preferences of the residents of Cluj were related to other sports, with football being far away from the later gained popularity. After 1945, the basis for the national football championship is set, and the new political regime will favor a new closeness between football clubs and various state institutions. In the case of Cluj Universitatea remains, of course, the club of the University, and C.F.R. the sports institution of the regional administrative unit of the Romanian railways.

The club Universitatea Cluj was founded in 1919 by the Sports Society of University Students (*Societatea Sportivă a Studenților Universitari*) that mostly consisted of medicine students, among whom the players would be also recruited.

Until 1940 the team takes part in various regional and national competitions, with the competition system being in a period of crystallization. From 1940 to 1945, following the Vienna Diktat, the team moves to Sibiu, with the explicit purpose to keep playing in the Romanian championship. After the national championship is reinstalled, in 1946, the team will oscillate between the first and the second divisions. The greatest accomplishment of the team is winning the Romanian Cup (*Cupa României*) during season 1964-65[2].

Today's CFR football club[3] is the "heir" of the K.V.S.C. club (*Kolozsvari Vasutas Sport Klub*) founded in 1917 by the Hungarian railroad workers from Cluj. K.V.S.C. takes part in its first years in the city championship, and from 1910 in the newly founded Transylvanian championship (*Campionat al Ardealului*). The name C.F.R. Cluj dates back to 1919-1920, taken up in the context of the instauration of the Romanian administration. During the interwar period C.F.R. takes part in various championships of the time (second and third leagues, the district championship). After World War II the club suffers various transformations: in the 1947/1948 season it merges with Ferar Cluj, but keeps its name; in 1960 C.F.R. merges with Rapid Cluj. The new team will bear, for a short while, the names C.S.M. Cluj and Clujana. In 1967 the name C.F.R. Cluj will be reinstalled. Two years later begins the best period of the team during the socialist regime. The team advances to the first division, where it will remain for seven years, the best accomplishment dates from 1973, fifth place at the end of the championship. After the 1976 relegation C.F.R. will play in the second and third divisions and as a consequence of reorganization the club will become Steaua-C.F.R. in the 1982/1983 season. This last name will be kept until 1990. In the first decade after the fall of the communist regime, the club is confronted with great financial difficulties. The investments made after the year 2000 determines the ascension of the team, which will move into the first division in 2004, and at the end of the 2005-2006 season it will match its own best performance, finishing the championship on the fifth place.

If we take into account the dynamics of the city's social development[4] the most significant event for the postwar period was, probably, the rapid increase in the number of inhabitants during 1970-1980, as a consequence of the accelerated industrialization policies promoted by the communist regime. Part of the population from the rural areas of the Cluj County was drawn to the city. The consequences of this policy were far reaching: the reversal of the ethnic ratio[5], the transformation of the specificity of the city - from a university city, mostly bourgeois, Cluj is

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[2] Information available at http://www.sepcile-rosii.com/istorie.htm

[3] Information available at http://www.cfr-ecomax.ro

[4] I here present information taken from the symbolic anthropology course from 14.10.2006, professor: Marius Lazăr

[5] The afflux of population from the rural to the urban is not the sole factor explaining the reversal of the ethnic ratio but is one of the important factors. The process of decline in the number of Hungarian ethnics has its own dynamic especially after the instauration of the Romanian administration, dynamic that is also influenced by other important factors, but which do not constitute the object of our analysis.

transformed into a predominantly working-class center. At this moment begins the construction of new neighborhoods: Gheorgheni (in the 1960s), Grigorescu (built in two phases in the 1970s and 1980s), Mănăştur, through the dislocation of the former village (its construction began in 1968 and continued until the end of the socialist regime, in 1989 (Petrovici, 2006), Mărăşti (built in the 1980s, in three consecutive phases: the Piața Mărăşti area, then the Aurel Vlaicu Area, followed by the Între Lacuri area).

The logic of the production of these spaces followed the distinction between production and consumption or investment and spending. As such, industrial areas were regarded as investment because of their importance in the production system, whereas residential areas were regarded as "squander" necessary for supporting the economic activities through the accommodation in these areas of the labor force. Residential areas were also modeled by the specific mechanism of the distribution of the housing stock: the actors better placed in the socialist hierarchic structures, who had the power to influence the distribution of houses ensured for themselves apartments in better areas, thus supporting the distinction between the neighborhoods inhabited mostly by intellectuals and technocrats and the working class neighborhoods (Petrovici, 2006). As long as the leisure practices are concerned, the neighborhoods did not offer too many alternatives, the stadium and football games will become an attraction for many of the city's residents.

This built urban space will favor the appearance of numerous social problems. A look over the neighborhoods Mănăştur or Mărăşti in the 1980's and the 1990's shows a rather somber image: poor illumination, homeless dogs, and street gangs. We will see that the inhabitants of these areas provide the majority of support for the Universitatea club.

Returning to the Universitatea football club, we notice a differentiation between the social class of the actors who founded the club and were its main supporters - professors and students - and that of the actors who become attached to the club - migrants from the rural area transformed into workers. Universitatea's group of supporters will become a social space characterized by the heterogeneity of its members. The hypothesis I propose is that of the apparition of a conflict between the members pertaining to different social categories which make up the group, a conflict already traceable at the level of the smaller groups of supporters and upon the denouement of which the next orientation the taken by the group depends.

The question that is even more important is why is it that the preferences of the new workers were not oriented towards a club with a working-class background, such as C.F.R? Our hypothesis is that the orientation of these preferences was the result of two distinct factors: first of all, the relationship of subordination between the two clubs during the communist period (the strong advantage of the Universitatea club) and the marginal, neighborhood specificity of the C.F.R. club.

The rivalry

In order to explain the rivalry between the two clubs, Universitatea and C.F.R., I find useful the concept of *"two-club city"* introduced by Giulianotti (1998). The concept aims to capture the dyadic relationships in football that operate on all levels - players, team, club, and nation - and are truly embedded in the social ontology of the game (Giulianotti, 1998). In other words, through its very form of organization football implies the rivalry between groups of players. The identity of the clubs is defined through rivalry and opposition. Moreover, on a local or regional level the rivalries have been strengthened by more profound cultural and historic divisions. Eric Dunning, in the debate regarding hooliganism in football, highlights a similar idea that it is unlikely that the phenomenon of hooliganism has identical social roots always and everywhere. It is reasonable to advance the hypothesis that the problem is fueled and delineated by, among others, what Dunning calls the major "lines of cleavage" of particular countries (Dunning, 2000). Although Dunning discusses this aspect on a national level, I believe distortions do not appear if we maintain the same logic on a local level.

Richard Giulianotti enumerates and exemplifies the various foundations of these rivalries: class antagonism, such as those that lay at the foundation of the rivalry between Galatasaray - team of the elites, Besiktas - the proletarian team, and Fenerbahce - the middle class team, in Istanbul; political divisions, such as in the case of the Israeli clubs: those that are called Hapoel are associated with the political left, with the sickle and hammer as a distinguishing sign on their emblems, whereas those called Maccabi are attached to the conservative, nationalistic vision, integrating David's star in their flags; the discourse upon economic inequalities: the popular clubs like Schalke 04 in Germany or Fiorentina or Napoli in Italy admit that no matter how many supporters they will have or how great their financial power will be they will not be able to equal that of the great rivals Bayern Munchen, Juventus Torino or AC Milan (Giulianotti, 1998). On the level of an urban community, the smaller club can counterbalance financial weakness claiming that it represents the spirit of the city: AC Torino is supported by the residents of Torino, whereas Juventus Torino is supported by an industrial colossus and enjoys support on a global level (Giulianotti, 1998). Rivalry between football clubs can constitute an adequate space for expressing nationalistic tensions: For example, "*the Catalan and Basque identity are synonymous with Barcelona and respectively Athletic Bilbao, both mobilize in the confrontations with Real Madrid (the team of Castile and Franco)*" (Giulianotti, 1998).

To sum up, the "*two-club city*" sends us, on the one hand, to the ever present opposition in the world of football, and on the other, to the social actors' capacity of using this opposition to make it serve other purposes.

Cluj-Napoca has only recently begun to be a two-club city. Although the clubs Universitatea and CFR have a long history, being founded in 1919, respectively

1907, they rarely met[6], and maybe even more importantly, the social, economic and political context did not allow the apparition of a relationship of rivalry.

Up to this point we have sketched the general frame in which the relationship of rivalry appears. This socio-cultural context is responsible for the characteristics that can be interpreted and reinterpreted by the supporters in order to support their own position in the detriment of the rivals.

If we claimed that we can talk about Cluj as a city with two clubs only during the last period, we must analyze the reasons due to which the rivalry between the two clubs is accentuated. In order to support the previous statement we will analyze the dimensions around which the relationship of rivalry is constructed.

We have identified four dimensions of the rivalry between the supporters of the football teams in Cluj. The "cleavages" between the two groups of supporters are constructed around the results of the two teams, around a specific understanding of ethnicity, around the tendency of attracting members of the groups from different social categories and the different perception about what it means to be a supporter. Moreover, the distinguishing element of rivalry in the space of Central and Eastern Europe is given by the involvement of politics, during the socialist regime, in the competition between the clubs, involvement with a strong impact upon the process analyzed here (Hadas & Karády, 1998).

The social categories of supporters and rivalry

At their founding moment, the clubs Universitatea and K.V.S.C. (today C.F.R.) had a well defined target group. The club of the University will attract mostly Romanian intellectuals, whereas K.V.S.C. was the team of the railroad workers. The accounts of the older supporters of "U" highlight the fact that this social composition is maintained until 1989, the supporters being mainly "*doctors, professors, lawyers*", thus members of high social categories[7]. On the other hand, the relationship between the team and the supporters favored the supporter with this type of social background, both the players and the supporters being connected with the university environment.

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[6] The competition system is organized under the form of divisions (termed leagues starting with the 206/2007 season). Premier league (former Division A) has a national character being the most important; League II (former Division B) is composed from two series with regional character. League III (former Division C) is composed of eight series. After World War II Universitatea played mostly in Division A, since 1999, that is seven years in Division B and one year in Division C, being the longest absence from the "main stage". CFR has mostly played in Divisions B and C, the longest presence in Division A being of seven years, between 1969 and 1976.

[7] I here refer to those social actors that were part of the group, actively supporting the team. The stadiums built during the socialist regime reserved a restricted space for these supporters, an area surrounded by fences usually located at the centre of the stand across from the covered stand. As such, on the one hand the number of active supporters cannot be that large, and on the other hand the access to the group was significantly made more difficult.

"Then there was battle and indeed the team represented the university world and there was a period in 65-70 when there were only lawyers, doctors in the team, so it was indeed a students' club." A.S., U.

"...during the 60s, 70s [CFR] was clearly the team that gathered, so to say, obviously, the football related sympathies of those from the working class environment, so generally it was perceived as the workers' team, under the conditions in which U was perceived as the team of the intellectuals, we could say of the intellectual elite, and it was indeed obvious during that period the intellectual character of the team, students played in the team, university cadres played, these are things that due to the transition to a professional team have vanished, this type of representation does not exist anymore, but for a long time this, let us call it representation has existed, and it was clear...it gathered around itself the intellectuals and the elites and CFR was the team that awakened support in the working class." M.D., C.F.R.

On the other hand, the negative evaluation, on the part of elderly supporters, of the behaviors that have appeared after 1989 can be seen as an indicator of the social transformations of the group. The new younger actors represent another class, with associated specific attributes: the use of vulgar language, an increased propensity towards violence, in other words a decreased level of "*civilization*":

"Now the phenomenon of supporters has diluted, just like this society it has started going downhill, but beck then the supporters of U were among the most respected from the whole country...the atmosphere they created, and the civilization they transmitted, and seeing the group of supporters made me want to get there, but it was very difficult: I had to go with two hours in advance and if I managed to get the corner of a bench I was very happy and took pride in that: look, I had managed to stay there, the older ones came there, and no, not anybody could stay there..."

Q: How is it that the group of U's supporters was different then? You were saying that it used to be more civilized...

A: Yes, they did not use to swear as they do now, not only in our case, but generally, they sang, we used to have some songs, we were the most innovative group of supporters from the whole country, we were singing songs that today few sing, slowly, slowly, they are beginning to forget them, just us, the older ones, who also keep to the degree of civilization, of culture, back then probably these students were also something else. We have gone downhill..." C.M., U.

On a higher level of generality we can observe this social dynamic of the supporters of Universitatea in relationship with the position of the members of the working class during the communist regime, on a discursive level presented as the most important class, but in reality always repressed (Lazăr, 2003). The hypothesis

that can be formulated is that after the fall of the communist regime the members of the working class finally had the possibility of being present in the public space, and the stadium was one of the accessible spaces for expression.

K.V.S.C. is founded in 1907 as the club of the railroad workers. In the period close to its founding it benefited from the support of those who constituted it, but the historical events following the year 1918 and the transformations that have marked the Hungarian community from Cluj influenced the team and its base of support. The reorganization and the successive re-naming, but also the unofficial position of subordination to Universitatea in the second part of the communist regime, have hindered the appearance of groups of supporters. However, today's supporters draw attention upon the fact that there have always been small groups of supporters, especially from the Gruia neighborhood.

"We, the supporters of C.F.R., had frequent periods of subordination…the clubs were subordinated…to the club Universitatea, all financial efforts were directed towards them, we were frequently the nursery whether we liked it or not, we also had our periods of frustration, but even then we knew how to manifest ourselves, generally, a lot more civilized than what's happening today and generally in a lot more civilized fashion than anything that has ever happened on the other side. […]

Of course we did not manifest identically when we were in C, although we were supporting the team then as well, we did not manifest identically when we were in B, although we were then as well…of course now we manifest ourselves in different ways, we are many, the atmosphere is different because we have results, so that results bring supporters, the increased number of supporters brings the atmosphere, but we have always been, if you want to, contaminated, once we had tasted the show." M.D., C.F.R.

The recent investments made by a Hungarian businessman have so far become visible especially at the team level and have led, in 2002, to the apparition of a the group of supporters called Commando Gruia and a couple of other smaller groups. Data from interviews and from observations among the groups of supporters direct us towards the following interpretation: the group of C.F.R. supporters has managed to draw fans through a type of manifestation that is rather specific to the middle class[8], those for whom supporting Universitatea had ceased to be an alternative in the context of the changes on the level of the group of supporters previously described.

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[8] The concept of "class" must be understood here as a "principle of classification" that influences both the self positioning in the social space, as well as the way in which the other actors are distributed into categories. See: Bourdieu, Pierre, *The Reality of Representation and the Representation of Reality*, in Joyce, Patrick (ed.), *Class*, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 1994

"Q: *So I should understand that from the moment CFR started having results you did not even consider going to any other place?*

A: Not necessarily, but seeing the attitude those from U had adopted, especially those from the group of supporters, of cursing CFR that meanwhile had become better and better... [...]

...and there was nothing they could do they had to play in this series and they saw we are better than them and ahead of them in the ranking, then the swearing began, the scandals and the slander, the violence, less back then, but progressively they noticed that they could not face us in Division B either and that at us they made massive investments, increased fighting, more and more swearing, greater differences between the clubs, up to street fighting and others. [...]

A: Yes, there was a time when Universitatea had a beautiful group of supporters, they used to sing Gaudeamus, they were, simply, normal people. Now it is made of, I don't want to insult them or offend them...

A2: Hooligans.

A: Hooligans, people without a workplace, without education." C.B. and C.C., C.F.R.

Thus, we are witnessing a reversal of the social areas for recruitment of the supporters of the two football clubs. On the one hand, the most active supporters of Universitatea tend to come from lower levels of the social hierarchy, unlike their predecessors, whereas CFR attracts actors that are better placed in the social hierarchy, in a social space that tends to be structured rather in agreement with middle class tastes.

The ethnic dimension of rivalry

One of the important social processes that took place was the change in the ethnic composition of the city of Cluj. During the course of a century, the number of Hungarian ethnics dramatically falls, whereas the number of Romanian ethnics increases. If we take into consideration this process and the historical realities marked by the divergences, especially political, between the two ethnicities, we can state that these have had an impact on the cultural level. Observations among the supporters of Universitatea and C.F.R. send, according to the typology of prejudice suggested by G.W. Allport, to its first level: *verbalization* (Horváth, 2007). Verbalization is defined as "the use of stereotypes, the invoking of ethnic clichés, discussions with close persons regarding the group/groups prejudice is held against" (Horváth, 2007). For example, the term "*ungur*" (Hungarian), with a rather pejorative connotation, is used by the supporters of Universitatea in the context of legitimizing their superiority. I do not insist here upon this aspect, to which we return in the analysis of the symbolic competition between the two groups of supporters.

The performances of the two clubs

The clubs of Universitatea and C.F.R. have never had major performances at the national or international level. The best performance of University's club was the triumph in the Romanian Cup in 1965 and a third place in the first division in the season 1972/1973. C.F.R. finished fifth during the same season, a performance likely to be improved this season. The "tradition" is significant in this context, the association in time of the clubs with certain division in which they activated for longer periods. Universitatea's supporters emphasize the first division tradition of their club and rapidly underline the tradition as a second or third division club in the case of their rivals:

"They disturb us now, maybe they are financially over us and try by any means to make themselves seen, but they can't make it. People go to see Steaua, Dinamo, Rapid, for them go but a few. If it were for us to enter in the first division they would be nobody, they would be nil, people would stop going to them and I'm sure they would return in C [third division] where is their place, for thirty years nobody has heard of them, maybe if they were in town when I was young and they were fighting with the "heavies" of the country I would have been with them, but what was beautiful from generation to generation, everybody knows just "U", do you think that they can make it." M.C., U.

"… you know that a while ago, my father and others told me, there was no rivalry, it was C.F.R. in the second division and U in the first, or U in the second, C.F.R. in the third, there was no rivalry, it was that team and nobody cared about it, only now that Paszkany came they see themselves as big and strong and is a big rivalry, and it really is big because we even hate each other, until then they were in B [second division], nobody cared about them, they were how many they were C.F.R.'s nobody cared about them, now that they've entered in the first division and for us is more difficult." T.P., U.

The perspective of C.F.R.'s supporters regarding the sporting performances of the two clubs is tied with the way in which the political interventions during the communist regime have influenced the results of the club and, in time, the rivalry with Universitatea.

"…before everything was on one side, in a different boat, but now… we C.F.R.'s have often had periods of, let me say subordination, the clubs were subordinated… to the Universitatea club, all the financial efforts were directed towards them, all the support went for them, we were usually a junior level [pepinieră] club whether we liked it or not, we also have had our periods of frustration, but even then we knew how to behave ourselves, generally, I'd say much more civilized then what is happening today and much more civilized then what has ever happened on the other side." M.D., C.F.R.

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"Q: And why did you give up if you both went to the games of Universitatea at the beginning?

A1: Because at that time C.F.R. hadn't have important performances, they were in the second divisions and they did not really count and because of the system before 1989 they were not taken into account, Universitatea was the only team to care for…

A2: There was this communist system if there was a good player here, go to Universitatea because it is a team, there is a team… Through this the ones here were kicked in the head and they were staying somewhere always the same place and they were to tell it with commas…

A1: A kind of "satellite".

A2: A kind of "satellite". Not only us…

Q: All this, although officially it has never been…

A1: No, never officially and is not only about C.F.R. because there were also good players in Turda, in Câmpia Turzii and everything that was good was brought to them. Party order: tomorrow you present there. You can imagine that no matter how supporter or fanatical you were, of course, we would come to matches, when there was a home match in the third division, we were coming, I only had to cross the street, it was close, so we did not miss it back then but it was not them same in the third or the second division as in the first division." C.B. and C.C., C.F.R.

Our data allow an interpretation consistent with the one advanced by Hadas and Karády. Studying the evolution of Hungarian football clubs they have discovered the impact the communist regime had on the organization and functioning of the football competitions. The clubs were distributed to different state institutions, thus there was a team of the army, a club of the police, a club for the textile workers etc. (Hadas and Karády, 1998). The results of the teams were directly influenced by the budget and the ideological importance of the institution (Hadas and Karády, 1998).

C.F.R.'s supporters being directly affected by this system, are those who stress this fact. To maximize the sporting performances of the Cluj County on the national arena a hierarchy is devised, although never officialized, according to which Universitatea was the first to benefit from the existing resources. The best example are the players: those proving their talent playing for clubs around the County were directed towards the University's club. The title "the representative team of the County" (*echipa fanion a judetului*) was set up during this period.

Different ways of being a supporter

The fans of Universitatea and C.F.R. assume different ways of being a supporter. We were able to observe that U's fans take up the model of *ultras fans*, while the majority of C.F.R.'s fans reject this model in favor of the role of *active*

fans. The various characteristics attached to these two ways of being a football fan mark the manner in which their rivalry is expressed.

From the perspective of the actors defining themselves as ultras the rejection of this mode of being a supporter by their rivals combined with the taking over of a different mode deserves only contempt and is seen as an opportunity to cast doubts about their quality as "*true fans*". This context provides the means to understand U's supporters' depreciative charges towards their C.F.R. rivals. According to the former C.F.R. fans receive money to support their team and are subordinated to the club's management, thus they do not have their own, autonomous voice.

C.F.R.'s supporters, identified as *active fans*, by refusing the label "ultras" and some of the attributes of this role, emphasize the "civilized" character of their own behaviour. In turn, they negatively evaluate the behavior of their rivals seen as being animated by aims other than providing support for their team.

The manifestations of rivalry. The club and the city as symbols

Once we have sketched the main dimensions of the rivalry I advance an analysis of its manifestation. In other words, I look at the way the relation of rivalry between the supporters of these two football clubs is reproduced and maintained.

In order to analyze *the city as a symbolic vehicle* for the supporters of Universitatea I use the analytic tools devised by Simon Harrison. Harrison (1995) advances a theory of politic symbolism through an analysis of symbolic conflict. The use of concepts taken from the area of political analysis to analyze the symbolism of football supporters, a community lacking what we usually call politic power, may appear risky. I have to note that I will use the term as defined by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu militates for a broad understanding of political power as "the power to impose and to inculcate a vision of divisions, that is, the power to make visible and explicit social divisions that are implicit" (Bourdieu, 1989: 23). Thus understood, the political dimension is inherent to all group-making. In the case of football fans this dimension is amplified by the opposing, conflicting character rooted in the constitutive ontology of football (Giulianotti, 1999).

Harrison defines symbolic conflict as "that dimension of political conflict which focuses on the manipulation of symbols. […], is a type of competition for what Bourdieu calls symbolic capital, and that it can take four prototypical forms" (Harrison, 1995: 255). The symbolic competition may endorse: the valuation of symbols, the production of symbols, the property over symbols and the survival of symbols as a mark of political affiliation (Harrison, 1995: 255). I now turn my attention to the manner in which the image of the football clubs Universitatea and C.F.R. and of the city of Cluj-Napoca is symbolically manipulated by football supporters following these four types of symbolic conflict.

The competition for valuation

The issue at stake in a competition for valuation is the hierarchical ordering of the symbols defining the identity of competing groups according to various criteria: prestige, legitimacy, etc. In the case of U's supporters the issue is to promote the "U" brand, while degrading the brand "C.F.R." Harrison (1995) identifies two tactics inside this type of competition: a positive and a negative tactic. A negative tactic used by the supporters of Universitatea to decrease the value of the symbols of their rivals is to stress their counter-performances:

"Q: Where does the rivalry with C.F.R. come from?

A: Rivalry? This rivalry is older than the one between Steaua and Dinamo, of course they are older [mai vechi] and we are older, than Dinamo-Steaua… the rivalry does not exist because we are not curious about them, I cannot be curious about C.F.R., because… where were they, I have only one question for them: where were they for the la seventy years?" M.C.

Or

"They [C.F.R. supporters] want to become what they will never be. No matter how much they try, how many performances they have… they have some merits, that's true, but you cannot buy the love of Clujeni with these performances, for the time being… Maybe if they'll have the same performances for another 30 years, us crawling in the same mud, maybe the power balance [raportul de for□e] will change, but for the time being in the soul of Clujeni embittered as they are now, but… the spirit and this, although to others might already seem obsolete… Sometimes tradition and this spirit is worth more than a pile of money." C.M.

C.F.R.'s supporters refer to the same context and stress the present performances of their favorites in comparison with the poor results of their rivals over the preceding seasons:

"A1: Certainly, they cannot stand up to the present demands… The last team, F.C. National is I think the last in the standings, beats them by far, destroys them. There is a huge difference… they have to bring in a whole team of players, so I say…

A2: And something else, we do not have anything with them, they have something with us, so we don't have… we look only at our performances, we are at a much higher level than them at this time. And I don't know what or who would be able and in how much time to make fight equally with us, because we've surpassed them totally, so we've surpassed them at everything, everything, everything, they are at no chapter over us…

A1: As one of my colleagues in the group of fans [galerie] says: You cannot compare the image of Cluj at Saint-Etienne or Bilbao, to compare the image of Cluj at Vânju Mare. It's just a too big difference." C.B. & C.C., C.F.R.

A positive tactics is one through which the superiority of one's group of supporters is emphasized. We need to add that the supporters of Universitatea define themselves in different ways: as fans, ultras or hooligans. This has to do with different ways of being a supporter, each with its own distinctive characteristics. For example, a fan is a passionate supporter, but is not a member of a group (of a brigade). Ultras are members of different brigades or factions within the group of supporters; they assume an active role in supporting the team. Hooligans are considered the most passionate supporters of a football team, themselves members of different groups, individuals to whom the club and the football team become a primary source in constructing their identity. As a consequence, in the eyes of an ultras or hooligan a group of supporters which does not define such roles is not even worthy of its name and is only worth despising. In one of the songs directed towards their rivals the supporters of Universitatea make exactly this point:

> To be ultras is a pride
> All Romania knows this
> And let all the country know
> That "U" Cluj is my team
>
> Breakers [Frânari][9] when we come to gruia
> We chase you on seven streets
> You don't sing, you don't express yourselves
> What are you looking for in the stadiums?
>
> You cannot compare to us
> We have ever pissed on you
> You are just some crows
> We are Cluj-Napoca.

The symbolic competition for valuation, started by the supporters of Universitatea soon after the beginning of C.F.R.'s ascent, can prove its efficacy especially in front of groups of supporters from other cities. One of the supporters of Universitatea tells the story of the way the C.F.R. fans were met in Timisoara by the supporters of the local team:

> *"Many groups of supporters display banners saying: "Fight for the city and for the colors" and things like this referring to the city. Now… knowing… especially the groups of fans with tradition like UTA, like Poli, with whom we are in good relations… hm, how should I say, they ironize the C.F.R. fans, they know very well, for example, in Timisoara it was: "Strangers in your own town" and*

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[9] The word has a pejorative connotation. It is used by the supporters of Universitatea to name their C.F.R. rivals. It refers to an activity performed by some of the railroad workers, activating the break in order to stop a train.

"You're coming here, while you're strangers in your own town" or something like this: the fans from Timi☐oara have made fun of C.F.R.'s fans." A.S., U.

The opposing relation which appears in a "two-club city" (Giulianotti, 1999) between the groups of supporters leaves its mark on the way the rivals define each other. In contrast with the supporters of Universitatea, C.F.R. fans reject de labels of ultras or hooligan, understanding them as linked with the violence, verbal or physical, of other supporters:

"This ultras phenomenon which arrived here at a later date is, like any imported thing and imported without any logic, stupidly understood and stupidly applied; the ultras in our country is the individual who does not recognize authority, who claims his right to have an opinion and in the name of this right only his opinion is the true one, without recognizing others opinion, here I see the ultras…

M.D., C.F.R.
Q: I keep hearing these names: ultras, hooligan…
A: We are trying to delimitate ourselves from them.
Q: You are not using them?
A: No, no…", C.B., C.F.R.

To conclude this section, inside a symbolic conflict for valuation the supporters mobilize data about the history of the club and their definition of a "true supporter" in a double sense: to increase the value of their own symbols and, in the same time, to decrease the value of the rival symbols. The whole process acquires meaning in the relation between the groups of supporters.

The competition for property

The competition for property is related "to the fact that groups often claim, […], property rights in their distinguishing symbols, and treat attempts by other groups to copy them as hostile acts" (Harrison, 1995: 258). This type of competition is best exemplified by the symbolic manifestations of the supporters of Universitatea, summarized in their slogan: "We are Cluj!" (*Clujul suntem noi*). The slogan is inscribed on their T-shirts, scarves, banners and also present in songs and chants. With the growing visibility of C.F.R., both at the local and national level, as the team managed to promote to the First Division (*Liga I*) U's supporters saw their status of unique representatives of the city in the national sporting arena being highly contested. Their reaction was to formulate some explanations to accommodate the new situation. Universitatea's supporters were stressing either the fact that C.F.R. is representative only for Gruia neighborhood and not for the whole city of Cluj-Napoca or the fact that C.F.R. is the team of Hungarians being thus representative only for this ethnic group. In order to explain the growing number of spectators at C.F.R.'s home matches they were using the argument that many of those spectators

were in fact supporting Universitatea and were going to the Gruia stadium only the see the big teams from Bucharest: Steaua, Dinamo and Rapid.

"Now their ascent disturbs somehow, especially among U's old time supporters, not really… Many of those now going to C.F.R. are true U-s, but they are going to see Steaua, Dinamo… and the rivalry, I've already told you, that there is also an ethnic thing, if you look behind the C.F.R.'s board is Paszkany, is Energobit who are also Hungarian, is Vest Peco (?) Invest and all are Hungarian there, so this is an ethnic thing… A, and what should I say, and this ascent disturbs and somehow this is felt at level of the people with money [oameni cu bani] from the city, because all the others have allied against Paszkany, this I don't know if you knew." A.S., U.

"I think that mainly the Hungarian population likes them… Well, not generally, because we also have Hungarian supporters and we get along fine… So, probably the majority, the majority are those who are Hungarian who like C.F.R. and probably the popular class. […] And this is shown by the fact that in 1940 we preferred to go into exile in Sibiu to play in the Romanian championship and not to stay here. People have in mind the "U" brand; one makes the connection between C.F.R. and the railroads, the pointsmen, the railway station in Cluj… Not with a football team." C.M., U.

"With C.F.R. I have no connection, they are up there, I have no contact with them. […] I really do not like Gruia, when it happens to pass through there it feel that I'm in another country". A., U.

Out of these words we can see the significance ascribed by the supporters to the club and the city. The Universitatea club had from the beginning[10] the support of Romanians in Cluj-Napoca, backed by the support of the institutions of higher education which defined and for many continue to define the city of Cluj-Napoca. But the withdrawal of the University's support for the football club and the city's "problematic Romanian identity" (Lazăr, 2003) are factors that contribute to the increase of this type of symbolic competition:

"Q: What can you tell me about supporters? Who are the supporters… Generally speaking…

A: So… supporter means to care about a team… to… to identify certain symbols behind the team and this especially for the more passionate supporters, in the sense that beyond a certain football team, basketball team to represent the city, to represent… to be backed up by some symbols, the city for some, the faculty for the students that graduated there, this is very much it…" A.S., U.

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[10] Universitatea was founded in 1919 at the initiative of Romanian teachers and students from the Medical University.

I found the formulation that best describes the position assumed by the supporters of Universitatea in the notes of one of Universitatea's former coaches, Stefan Cârjan. Presenting his feelings in the period of the Vienna Dictate, Cârjan writes:

"During the exile we played at Turda with "Victoria" Cluj, a refugee here. Before the game, we were on the hill and we look in Cluj. We were seeing it like in our palm and we all cried. Let us return there and play once more with "U"!...

For everybody and for each, "U" was Cluj and Cluj was "U"!

I am from "U", was equal with I am from Cluj; clearly and in no other way possible. (Cârjan, 2004: 11)

The competition over property is, probably, the most sensitive area of the rivalry between these two groups of supporters. The importance of associating the club with the city is a part in the majority of the actions of C.F.R. supporters. In the first place, they redefine the way in which the attachment for one of the two football clubs in Cluj-Napoca appears. In other words, the equal sign between "U" and Cluj disappears and the commitment to one of the clubs should be regarded as the result of a personal choice:

"*You have to think that you support someone and in the end everyone is free to choose, I don't have anything with you if you support Universitatea or C.F.R., so everyone has the right to choose, but this does not mean that you kick his head [ii dai in cap].*" C.C., C.F.R.

In the second place, according to the need of having a tradition for the club and its group of supporters the actors involved keep the identity of a neighborhood team, although they are trying to get support from all over the city:

"*Q: I understood… C.F.R.'s supporters are coming especially from Gruia area; they are coming from this part of the town…*

A: No. We have supporters from all over the city and from outside the city. There is a core group which led to the formation of Commando Gruia, we have Gruppo Gara, for example, where are boys from the area of the railway station and the area of Dâmbu Rotund, inside Commando Cammorra and Fidelis have formed, which have now formed another core group… There are people from all neighborhoods of Cluj, including Mărăsti, where it is well known is the hard core of those across the Somes [Universitatea's supporters]. *So there is no longer this neighborhood composition, although our attachment is towards a neighborhood team and we do not want to change this statute.*" M.D., C.F.R.

One of the most popular songs among C.F.R.'s supporters directly associates the favorite club with the city:

Is C.F.R., hey, hey!
Is C.F.R., hey, hey!
Is C.F.R. Cluj-Napoca,
Is the team of Cluj
And Ardeal's pride.

The Competition for Innovation

The third type of symbolic competition refers to what Simon Harrison calls "the contest for innovation" (Harrison, 1995). In the life of a group of supporters innovation has a central place. The making of "choreographies" and banners, composing new songs is the basic activity for football supporters. By taking into account the fact that the use of such instruments in supporting their favorites has been recently integrated in the Romanian fan culture their analysis offers information both about the formation of the groups of supporters and about the relations of rivalry.

The democratization of Romanian society after 1989 has meant, for football fans, an open access to information regarding the organization and the forms of expression used by other fans across Europe. From the data gathered until now I advance as a hypothesis the idea that the primary sources of information for the Romanian supporters have been the Italian football fans[11]. Carlo Podaliri and Carlo Balestri summarize the main characteristics of Italian fans: the groups called *ultras* appear in the 1960's in a politically charged context; ultra members were inspired by small extremist political parties, they used their organizational model in the formation of groups of fans and took up other countercultural features; Italian supporters have given priority to the activities taken from politics orientated towards socialization and to the recruitment of new fans for the groups located at the ends of the stadiums (Podaliri and Balestri, 1998). These activities included meetings during the week where the supporters were working to create and organize complex choreographies and to produce materials for financing the group. The influence of the English hooligans was felt at the level of clothing fashion, through the tradition to support the team during the whole match and the violent behaviour towards rivals (Podaliri and Balestri, 1998).

Many of these characteristics were gradually taken up by the supporters of Universitatea: the group of supporters began to occupy the ends of the stadium, they started devising complex choreographies that needed the combined work of many individuals, the creation of products marked with the signs of the club, the tradition to display banners and to take an active role in the life of the club.

In regard to the organization of the group of supporters I came across two competing views which reflect the differences between the social positions occupied by those advancing them, broadly the main difference appeared between the old fans, those who were part of the group before 1989, and the young ones that entered the group during the 1990's. C.M., the most important actor among the "elders" has his own story about the evolution of the group of supporters:

"At the beginning we founded Vecchia Guardia. I had the idea to form a group of older supporters of University, that's how the name Vecchia Guardia

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[11] Two causes seem might have contributed to this orientation: the first, the qualification of the Romanian national team for the 1990 World Cup Finals in Italy after a long period of absence at major competitions; the second, a particular betting game, and highly popular, organized by the Romanian Lottery during the '90 gave the players the possibility to place bets only on matches played in Italy.

came up, which we took it, no… we don't have the impression that we are original, we took the name from Roma? From Roma and the characters from the banner and others somewhere from Juventus Torino, being the same a white-black club we saw them as interesting and… we don't claim, I repeat, that we are original and that… We wanted the name to represent the group of the older supporters of Universitatea and this general name was finally assumed by the whole group of supporters of "U" Cluj and it remained the same until today. […] I think that small conflicts have existed, but without clear reasons: they did not want to realize a certain type of choreography or to start singing certain songs or to use certain means of transportation even if it was a common action of the group. Small issues like this have ended with a palm, but ah… not the same as those happening at Steaua, at Dinamo, with separation of groups and stuff like this. In the end, even if we think differently or something we all care for Universitatea". C.M., U.

M.C., the present leader of the group of Universitatea's supporters and the one who started the major changes at the level of this group, describes his active role in reconfiguring it:

"I did not make the ultra phenomenon, I cannot say that I've brought the ultra phenomenon to Cluj, there were others who brought it, I only helped in this sense, I helped… Ultra supporter means to be different compared to the others, to be able to manifest yourself, not staying like elders on the chair and applauding. At least for Universitatea I took, so at a quarrel, I formed Vecchia Guardia and U's group of supporters is called and is known as Vecchia Guardia, we also have Bianco Nerri and Sepcile Rosii [Red Caps] *and other smaller groups, but all together we are Vecchia Guardia. Vecchia Guardia was already formed, M.C. created it, respect for him, at his age doing what he is doing and looking at his job* [functie] *and other boys, and other boys, and other boys… And you should not think that I'm the only one like this, it's just that they let me because they saw that I work well. At the beginning I fought a lot with them and at our first quarrel in '97 I was driven away from Fan Club Sepcile Rosii, I was driven away two times, because I was worse, more hooligan, that I shame the club, that I do so, that I do so, I wasn't loved. I wanted it to be more open, you understand, the group of supporters was fenced, it could not expand, people could not come to know us, because the place was enclosed with some bars. It was something stupid. And I formed my own group of supporters, I was walking and gathering people and I pushed everybody towards me, who wants to be with me in the curve between the clocks, that is how it was called, that is way our name is* [U.C.G.] *ultras – supporters, curva – curve, groapa is the neighborhood because many were from here, year '97, this is how we were founded. And we are the worse because we are the most united, we do not fight with each other, we do not quarrel among each other, we help each other, we love each other, we respect each other, it is nice."* M.C., U.

The founding of Vecchia Guardia, as a generic title comprising other smaller groups, has meant, as we have just seen, the appearance of a whole body of symbols that can be traced at the level of fashion, for example, U.C.G. – Ultra

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Curva Groapa – have their own T-shirts, scarves, parkas; the same as other groups, in the songs pertaining to a certain group, in the characters used when doing graffiti.

The competition for innovation in relation to the rivals from C.F.R. takes the form of trying to compose newer and newer chants and songs directed towards them. For example, the favorite chant during the 2006/2007 season was pointing towards a difficult event for their rivals: the sacking of their coach, very much seen by the supporters and the journalists as the main contributor to the team's success.

In turn, C.F.R.'s supporters display many of the characteristics identified by Podaliri and Balestri among Italian fans, although the majority of them reject to be labeled ultras. The concern to attract more support and the attempt to create the proper setting for socializing: meetings during the week, the making of choreographies, the selling of labeled products and the tradition of encouraging the team during the whole match all are part of the life of C.F.R. football supporters. In the competition for innovation the recent organization of the group of supporters has allowed them, besides assuming a different role than their rivals, to introduce new instruments of expression: a magazine dedicated to the supporters of C.F.R. and the use of newspapers and television to reinforce their own position in relation to their rivals.

"We started to dominate them in all the issues: from the performance of the team to the dialogues, any time we had the opportunity: on television, on radio they were all the time completely inferior and the team of University is an improper formulation, it is totally improper." C.B., C.F.R.

If now turn our attention towards the production of chants and songs we see that also at this point the phenomena are similar to those found among the supporters of Universitatea. In the form of songs specific to football supporters those lines are looked for and introduced that are seen as the most ironic and depreciative towards rivals. Out of the observations realized while on the road with C.F.R. football fans to an away match, we can say that a large amount of time spent together travelling is used in order to compose new songs and chants. The text that especially caught my attention summarizes the topics around which the symbolic competition is built:

All the stinky and filthy
In Cluj-Napoca are the "red caps"
Be it sunshine or rainy
All U's are some garbage.

The second division is a performance
You play with cities that are not on the map.
You all have scarves around your neck
Which we use as wipers.

You're a vagabond, you're a hooligan
Or you look like a peasant
You have a scarf, all is clear
You are a supporter of Universitatea.

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The competition for expansion

The last form of symbolic competition identified by Simon Harrison is the competition for expansion. The specificity of this conflict is given by its scope: the attempt to replace the rival's identity symbols with one's own symbols. In the case of football supporters this type of competition is visible if we take into account the inscriptions on different buildings in the city of Cluj-Napoca. In the more "neutral" locations of the city, like the city center, the signs made by rivals are rapidly covered and replaced with the signs of one's favorite team. The same logic is at work in the practice of stealing and destroying the banners of the rival groups. These banners are the primary symbol of identification for a group of football supporters and a likely outcome of such an event, especially when the capture is realized by the arch rivals, is the disappearance of the group.

The competition for expansion it is more difficult to trace for the supporters of Universitatea, than for those of C.F.R. The two rival groups occupied radically different starting positions in this competition. While for the supporters of C.F.R. the issue at stake is to attract new supporters, even of those closely related to Universitatea, and we are thus facing a competition for expansion whose final aim is the acceptance on the part of the actors involved of C.F.R. symbols; for the supporters of Universitatea the issue at stake is rather the maintenance of the status-quo, and in this case the competition takes an extreme form. In order to maintain their dominant position any alternative should be annihilated. The violence exercised by some of the supporters of University towards their rivals can be interpreted in the context of this competition:

"So if I hear a citizen with that version: they are also the team of Cluj, no sir; you are not a U supporter. I say, generally speaking, if a citizen comes to me: Hey, what do have with them? Hey, why do you beat them? I have many victims, you understand… So, I've beaten C.F.R.'s that is not true [de nu-i adevărat] and I still beat them… But what do you have with them, they are also from Cluj, say people close to me… You hear me, do not ask me, if you go in Gruia, to their match, you are not my friend, you are not an U, you're a C.F.R… You went to see… A true U does not have any reason to step there, although people go to watch. For me those people are disappointing." M.C., U.

We can now return to one of the comments made by one of the C.F.R. supporters, and presented earlier in this paper, that can be better understood in this context:

"You have to think that you support someone and in the end everyone is free to choose, I don't have anything with you if you support Universitatea or C.F.R., so everyone has the right to choose, but this does not mean that you kick his head [ii dai in cap]. " C.C., C.F.R.

Finally it is very important to stress that different types of symbolic competition are strongly connected in the dynamics of events. The context created by the (re)appearance of another football club in Cluj has influenced the important symbols of Universitatea supporters: the club and the city. These supporters mobilized all the available resources in the symbolic contest (and not only here) in order to counteract to those symbols advanced by their rivals. The supporters of C.F.R. use their own symbolic instruments in their attempt to acquire and to legitimate a dominant position in relation to their rivals.

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THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF CONFESSIONAL EDUCATION. RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE NEO-PROTESTANT HIGH-SCHOOLS

SORIN GOG

RÉSUMÉ. L'institutionnalisation de l'éducation confessionnelle. Des acteurs importants de la transformation religieuse poteau-socialiste étaient les différentes églises néo-protestantes. Ils avaient été depuis longtemps en Roumanie, mais le règlement fort imposé par l'état communiste les a rendues non évidentes sur la sphère publique. Après de la chute du communisme nous avons d'un côté une intensification interne de l'activité religieuse, par le fait que toutes ces dénominations néo-protestantes ont vu dans la nouvelle ère du poteau-socialisme la chance de proclamer librement leur monde-vue religieuse et de l'autre côté une intensification externe de travail de missionnaire (principalement des Etats-Unis) qui sont venue en Roumanie afin de combattre le fantôme de l'athéisme du monde ex-communiste. Cet article regarde l'institutionnalisation de l'éducation confessionnelle et la manière le système d'éducation néo-protestant restructure les valeurs et la monde-vue des adolescents. Cette étude de cas apportera dans la discussion le processus plus large de la démoralisation qui a lieu dans les générations plus jeunes qui ont été socialisées dans le nouveau monde poteau-socialiste et explorera la contre-culture néo-protestante institutionalisée dans l'éducation confessionnelle.

Introduction

The thesis of this paper is that in spite of the disappearance of the communist regime and its secular policy of implementing an atheistic worldview, the Romanian post-socialism brought forth not a religious revival, as some sociologists have claimed, but a new logic of secularization. This logic of secularization manifests itself especially among the young generations that were socialized within the new post-socialist life-world and takes the shape of three very distinct processes: de-christianization of the religious world-view, de-institutionalization of religious experience and most of all de-moralization of the practical sphere of life (Gog, 2006).

In the context of the emergence of a new secular culture that informs mostly the life of teenagers, religious actors try to cope with this by articulating different strategies of counter-secularization. The secularization process is not a uni-linear one, a direct correlative of a modernization process, but needs to be linked to an erosion of the plausibility structures (Berger, 1967) that in turn is the byproduct of the pluralization of life-worlds. The absence of integrative structures

of meanings is not a fatalistic destiny of modern culture (Weber, 2003) new "prophets" can emerge that are able to offer certainty in time of crises (Berger, 1999).

The concept of de-secularization has to be linked to the different cultural attempts to define such comprehensive meanings that are able to counteract the disintegration effects of modernity and the de-centering of self that accompanies the post-modern transformations (Dawson, 2005). An important consideration has to be given to the agency dimension of religion and to the different strategies that the religious actors articulate in order to provide relevant religious meanings to a secularized life-world.

In the context of new religious movements that have emerged in the last century and have consolidated their position in the past few decades an important role has been played by the neo-protestant religious communities (Berger, 1999; Martin, 1999; Coleman, 2000). The religious revivals brought up by these social movements have impacted greatly the religious landscape and have led to a strong reconfiguration of local life-worlds. Looking at the re-enchanting effects that this religious movements have and the enactment of new socio-cultural code that is shaped by religion in the lives of millions that adhere to such congregations, we can indeed talk about different attempts of de-secularization (Martin, 1999).

Analysis

In what follows I will try the analyze the impact of new religious movement on the Romanian religious landscape and the way Pentecostals and Baptists deal with the issue of secularization by institutionalizing a confessional education system and their attempt of restructuring the world-view and values of Romanian teenagers. Through a religious education system we mean the consolidation of confessional based high-schools that are opened (through the requirements of the Romanian law) to all religious confessions but is led by a particular religious confession that usually attracts teenagers from the same confession. Besides the general curricula, these high schools use as well a specific religious one that is thought in a environment that promotes Christian values.

After the fall of the communism, Romania experienced at a general level what some sociologist and anthropologist called a religious revival. An important actor of this religious revival were the neo-protestant churches. They had been for quit a long time in Romania, but the strong regulation imposed by the communist regimes and the state led persecution of the "sectarian" activity made the neo-protestant churches not that visible on the public sphere. The communist authorities tolerated these religious cults, but imposed strong regulations regarding their activity and practiced a policy of marginalization of those belonging to such sects. Party memberships, good working positions, access to high education were things that were un-officially forbidden to the members of these religious communities. This led to the formation of a religious culture of resistance and martyrdom, with strong integrated communities that developed a genuine rejection of the world.

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After the fall of the communism the different persecuted religious movements saw in the new era of post-socialism the chance not only to assume openly their religious identity but to start sharing their faith with others and preach the Gospel. Public evangelization meetings, radio stations, newspapers, the proliferation of specific religious literature, neo-protestant music and later on TV shows were used to achieve a more intense presence on the public sphere. Although according to the latest National Census there are only approximately 3.8 % Pentecostal, Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Adventists altogether, a lot of people perceived their presence as ubiquitous.

Table 1.

The confesional structure of the Romanian, Hungarian and Roma population from Romania

	Ortodox	Greek and Roman Catholic	Reformed	Unitarian	Neo protestant	Other religion	No religion	Undeclared
Romanian	94.08%	2.61%	0.10%	0.01%	**2.66%**	0.41%	0.07%	0.03%
Hungarian	1.97%	42.37%	47.62%	4.53%	**2.14%**	1.01%	0.23%	0.09%
Rroma	81.87%	4.94%	3.12%	0.12%	**8.67%**	0.65%	0.35%	0.23%

Source: Recensământul Populației şi Locuinţelor, 2002

Gradually the martyrdom rhetoric and the rejection of the world were replaced by a bold attempt to conquer modernity through the emerging of new elite: neo-protestant entrepreneurs, politicians, teachers, journalists, theologians, doctors were all fighting for the institutionalization of a neo-protestant counter-culture.

One of the important consequences of the neo-protestant movement is the emergence of an autonomous social space (Martin, 1999) that allows the members of this community to articulate their own culture and identity. This is done through the way the religious community is structured and through a strong moralizing of behavior that sets them apart from the rest of the 'world'. This religious culture has a great impact not only upon the personal life but it leads to restructuring of all social networks as well. As other studies have shown (Coleman, 2000; Gay y Blasco, 2000) the neo-protestant movements are part of a wider globalization process that lead to a consolidation of strong local communities and to the articulation of a distinct socio-cultural identity.

It is in this context that the idea of a specific neo-protestant high schools emerged. A neo-protestant educational establishment fulfills several functions. First, it acts as a symbolic institution that refers to a definite presence on the public sphere and so it sets up marker of recognition that breaks with decades of marginality and exclusion. And second, it acts as an extension of the religious

community (most of the teachers are important members of the church) by building strong external religious networks and an environment where adulthood is dealt with not in secular, but religious terms.

As we can see from the following table out of the 78 confessional high-schools existing in present-day Romania more than 22 % belong to Neo-Protestants. All of these neo-protestant educational institutions were established after the fall of the communism and still new future ones are announced to be established. While these religious communities expands and attracts more and more middle an upper members of the society the "need" of such high schools arises. This allows the community both to signal its presence in the local community and set up a religious-safe environment where their children can be educated in accordance to their own belief values.

Table 2.

Confesional high schools in post-socialist Romania

Orthodox	Neo-Protestant	Reformed	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Unitarian	Total
35	17	8	12	4	2	78
44.87 %	21.79 %	10.26 %	15.38 %	5.13 %	2.56 %	100 %

Source: The Ministry of Education (Rețeaua unităților de învățământ post-gimnazial de stat care funcționează în anul școlar 2006/2007)

Taking into consideration the fact that Neo-Protestantism represents only 2.5 % out of the entire Romanian religious system, this makes this particular confession rank highest in "colonializing" the Romanian education system with confessional high schools. Compared to the specific number of believers, none of the other religious confession has a greater tendency to establish specific confessional high schools, than the Neo-Protestants.

Table 3.

Number of believer per one confessional high school.

Orthodox	Neo-Protestant	Reformed	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Unitarian
537.327	**8.996**	87.319	85.700	48.870	33.423

Source: Recensământul Populației și Locuințelor, 2002

This makes us question why is there a need in the neo-protestant community to establish at such high rate specific confessional high schools and more particularly what exactly distinguishes teenagers that study here from teenagers studying in regular schools. None of the other religious confession existing in Romania has the tendency to "enchant" the education system more than the Neo-protestant community

The neo-protestant high-schools are marked by a few peculiarities. These high schools are not theological vocational schools like most of the other are. Unlike the other confessional schools people attending this one are not preparing themselves for priesthood or other churchly-related vocation. The high school is not a preparation stage for a clerical career and so the institution is not run by the church authorities as most of the other high-school seminars are.

The school is open both to boys and girls to neo-protestants and non-neo-protestants and although there is strong emphasis on biblical study most of the people that graduate here are not pursuing a Theological University, but a regular one. The religious teachings should serve them as strong foundation for their life and as guidelines of how to act as Christian in a secular society.

These high-schools are led not by pastors or priests but by lay-people most of them belonging to one of the Neo-protestant Churches. The school has a strong religious orientation that aims not necessarily at preparing Church ministers but at offering an alternative religious worldview and a religiously safe environment that should protect the teenagers. At least this is what some of the parents have in mind when they encourage their children to apply for this type of high school.

In this case we can clearly identify a coherent strategy to institutionalize a specific religious world-view that tries to integrate all aspect of life: the educational one included. After the religious-arid period of communism when all religious activities were strongly regulated this idea is very innovative and has strong implications: it acts as de-secularization attempt that tries to integrate not only the private life, but the public one as well.

By labeling the institutionalization of confessional education as de-secularization attempt we do not want to imply that the entire Romanian society is undergoing such a process: we just want to point out how a specific religious movement contributes to this and what are the mechanisms of institutionalizing a religious life-world.

We have focused our research on the main consequence of these types of high-schools and namely on the institutionalization of world-view and values of teenagers studying here. To what extent do teenagers that study here perpetuate a religious world-view and what is the difference between such teenagers and

teenagers studying in secular high-schools? Is the de-secularization strategy successful and to what extent is it able to structure the lives of people studying here?[1]

We wanted to investigate this issue by surveying two different high schools from one of the largest multi-confessional city of Romania, namely Cluj-Napoca: a Baptist-Pentecostal High School and a regular non-confessional high-school. We have chosen a Baptist-Pentecostal high-school because among the neo-protestant confessions these ones are the most prominent and most spread religious movements, as can be seen from the following table. The two religious confessions that managed to attract more converts in the post-socialist period and that were the most active on the public sphere were the Baptists and the Pentecostals.

Table 4.

Religious membership among the different neo-protestant religious movements.

	Baptists	Pentecostals	Adventists	Brethren Assemblies	Evangelicals
Romanian	20.80%	**53.54%**	15.14%	7.72%	2.77%
Hungarian	**42.11%**	18.51%	29.42%	5.88%	4.06%
Rroma	10.22%	**74.16%**	9.95%	4.36%	1.29%

Source: Recensământul Populației și Locuințelor, 2002

In order to research this issue we have used a 185 item questionnaire to measure different dimensions of religiosity and the relationship of religion with different aspect of life: we have mange to interview a total number of 385 subjects with an age between 14 and 18 years. We contextualized the findings of our research by further analyzing nation-wide data regarding the religiosity of Romanians[2].

In what follows we will summarize our main important findings. The presentation limits itself to the religious world-view of teenagers; future studies will explore the relationship of this religious values and different sphere of life. We are presently researching other confessional high-schools (Orthodox) that will allow us to control the religious culture variable and the different implications this has on the different aspects of life.

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[1] We do not want to imply that the origin of the religious values articulated by the teenagers studying here lay in the education institution itself. Religious socialization within the family and in the church plays by far the most important role in this. We just want to point out how the religious educational establishment helps in "keeping children safe" from the "decayed and depraved world".

[2] The data used for contextualizing our research was taken from the research "Urban Romania", 2006 – a representative poll for the urban Romanian segment based on a sample of 2195 subjects.

Table 5.

General religious beliefs among teenagers

	Neo-Protestant high school	Lay high school	18-24 age segment of urban population
Belief in God	96.90	88.40	88.50
Belief in power of prayer	99,30	89.10	85.50
Belief in sin	96.90	84.60	77.50

The teenagers studying in a regular High School are undergoing a soft but clear process of de-christianization. This process can be traced back to the pluralization of life-worlds to which post-socialist teenagers are exposed. The diversity of social structures, which are competing for the definition of social reality leads to a less firm plausibility structures and so to the relativization of the objective and stable meanings of social reality. As we argued elsewhere (Gog, 2006) this is a result triggered by the pluralization of life-worlds that is taking place in the post-communist period.

A specific effect of the de-objectivation of religion due to the pluralization of the structure of plausibility (Berger, 1967) is a more invisible religiosity that abandons the traditional embodiments of religion. Religion becomes more diffuse and more individual allowing for a wider space for self-made religious views.

If we take a look at the next table we can clearly see that this process affects most of all teenagers that are studying in a lay high school. Although we can find among them high adhesion to general religious ideas such as belief in God, sin, prayer when it comes to specific Christian articles of faith we can identify a clear erosion of the Christian ecclesial worldview. The mean percentage of the belief in Hell, Heaven and Life after Death is situated somewhere around 62.3 %, a bit higher than the 18-24 age segment of the entire urban population, but significantly lower than the teenagers that study in a Neo-protestant high school. The disparity between general religious beliefs and specific Christian ones disappears here almost completely.

Among the Neo-Protestant teenagers the religious beliefs appear in a traditional form and the specific Christian religious meanings are not at all eroded. They tend to articulate a distinct strong religious world-view that denies any kind of modern elements of faith.

There is a clear distinction as well between the two teenager categories when it comes to the level of newly imported religious beliefs. As we can see from the next table there is a great segment of teenagers studying in regular high schools that manifest the belief in non-Christian ideas such as the belief in telepathy, reincarnation, Yoga and astrology. In comparison with this mixture of oriental beliefs, teenagers studying in a neo-protestant high-school tend to perpetuate a Christian world-view and strongly reject all non-orthodox elements of faith.

Table 6.

Specific religious beliefs among teenagers

	Neo-Protestant high school	**Lay high school**	**18-24 age segment of urban population**
Belief in life after death	94.90	69.90	59.50
Belief in hell	98.50	71.30	62.60
Belief in heaven	98.50	66.50	58.80

Almost 21.80% of the lay teen-agers believe in reincarnation (a clear non-Christian belief) while only 3.10% of the Neo-protestant teen-agers believe in this; 35.40% of the lay teen-agers believe in horoscopes in astrology while only 0.70% of the Neo-Protestant teen-agers do believe. The other elements of non-Christian religious beliefs used in our analysis show the same tendency.

Table 7.

Non-Christian religious beliefs among teenagers

	Neo-Protestant high school	**Lay high school**
Belief in reincarnation	3.10	21.80
Belief in horoscopes and astrology	0.70	35.40
Belief in yoga	1.50	44.70
Belief in telepathy	16.90	45.00

We can observe the same pattern of religious de-objectification when we look at how teenagers perceive their object of faith. Among the teenagers studying in regular high school the traditional view of God, as a Personal Being with whom you can have spiritual relationship is held only by 32.1 %, the dominant view being that of a Spirit or Life Force which is held by 40.6 %. Among the Neo-Protestant teenagers we see that the dominant perspective is a Personal Being, and the massive adherence to such a perspective shows that this traditional perspective is not at all eroded by the secularization forces.

The table shows how little the other teenagers are exposed to such a de-Christianisation process. These religious ideas are main articles of faith, important and longstanding doctrines of all Christian confessions that inhabit the post-socialist religious space, and the less acceptance of this specific religious ideas contrasts with the wider held general religious believes and illustrates the de-christianization process that is taking place among the lay-teenagers

Table 8.

Object of religious faith among teenagers

	Neo-Protestant high school	Lay high school
Personal God	91.30	32.10
Spirit or Life Force	0.70	40.60

A new type of religiosity is emerging among the lay teen-agers: one that distances itself from the traditional Christian type of religiosity. This does not mean that this is a completely non-Christian religiosity but definite signs of erosion of the old Christian worldview can be observed in the life of teen-agers that were socialized in post-socialist Romania.

We can conclude from this that within the Neo-protestant culture institutionalized in the confessional education system the relativization triggered by the new capitalist cosmologies is opposed by a strong religious counter-culture. The intended social environment within the Neo-Protestant education system aims directly at maintaining a strong Christian identity among future generations and underlines the importance of a continuous religious socialization.

Another structural effect of the above described process regards the de-institutionalization of religious experience. By this we understand a general dissolution of the institutionalized religion and the diminishing role played by the religious community in the life of the believer. The emergence of "invisible religion" (Luckmann) can be measured by the degree of the existence of a churchless-religion or in Grace Davie's terms of those that "believe but do not belong" (Davie, 2000)

Table 9.

Church attendance among teenagers

	Neo-Protestant High School	Lay High School	18-24 age segment of urban population
More than once a week	65.90	4.70	6.10
Once a week	32.60	17.40	15.30
Once a month	0.70	30.90	13.00
Non-attendance	0.80	47.00	65.60

From the following table we can easily observe that in comparison with the teenagers from the neo-protestant high-school where regular church attendance reaches the incredible level of 98.5 % the other teenagers have an attendance rate of 22.1 % almost the same as the attendance rate of the young urban generation from the entire Romanian society.

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We can easily observe that the church looses its privileged position and that the process of de-institutionalization of religious experience leads to structural changes of the place of the church within society. This becomes evident when we analyze the legitimation of the different roles of the Church among the two teen-ager groups.

In previous researches (Gog, 2007) we were able to show that there is a clear generational shift among the young post-socialist generations in the way they relate to the institution of the church. The older generations from the Romanian society tend to regard the church as a total institution that should act as guardian of all spheres of life and should provide general guidelines for how a believer should conduct his life and his social relationships. The Church as institution should be not only the spiritual and moral regulator but one that influences the entire social and political system. The younger generations have a total opposite way of approaching the Church. For them the legitimation of this institution is limited strictly to spiritual issues, there is a stronger tendency to decline the church's competence when it comes to the other important spheres of life: the familial, social and political one.

Table 10.

Church and spheres of life among teenagers

	Neo-Protestant high school	Lay high school
Church and society	71.8	26.5
Church and family	83.7	35.6
Church and morality	86.7	62
Church and spirituality	97.8	90.3

In our sample we can clearly see that while the de-legitimation of the different roles of the Church affects strongly the teenagers studying in regular high schools, in the Neo-Protestant high school this process has a very small impact. The Church is seen here as a central institution that is able and has the legitimacy to supply meaningful insights and religious understanding of the moral, familial, social and political sphere of life.

An invisible religion, or the category of churchless religious is almost absent in these type of communities and we can again see how important religious socialization is for neo-protestant teenagers. The center of the religious life is the local Church community that allows them to institutionalize there own culture and a sense of overarching community that integrates their life in a meaningful way.

We can conclude from this that the Neo-protestant culture institutionalized in the confessional education system tries not only to set up a meaningful relationship between the Church and education but to institutionalize religiosity

through stimulating Church participation. Private religiosity makes no sense for this community. The Neo-protestant education system tries to re-conquest the different roles that the institution of the Church is loosing among lay teenagers by encouraging not only a Christian education system, but a Christian political and social system as well in which the Church plays the integrating role.

Probably the most import effect of the secularization that the young post-socialist generation is experiencing is the process of de-moralization of the practical sphere of life. The ending of the communist ideological prescribed social order was followed by new era of moral freedom. Both the State and the Church lost their power to regulate the practical sphere of life. Among the young generations religion is de-coupled from morality. The moral standards set by the Church are doomed to be obsolete and backward and religiosity where present among teenagers tends to lose any moral relevance.

The uncoupling of the religious meta-narrative from social system leads to an increasing difficulty of an efficient moral integration of individuals into communities. At a religious level this is translated not only in to the de-institutionalization of religion (as we have shown above) but into a de-moralization process as well. By this we do not understand that the modern societies become immoral, but that morality is not anymore grounded in religion, it is not legitimized by a religious world-view.

The concept of de-moralization represents at the level of practical behavior the correlative effect of the crises of modern societies and its inability to generate norms that can be legitimately shared by the majority of people and its incapability to elaborate socializing structures that are able to meaningfully integrate the life of individuals.

In our analysis we were able to observe that those specific values that are backed-up by the church are strongly contested among the lay teen-agers. In the life of lay teen-agers religion become simply spirituality that has no relevance for the practical sphere of life. Religion is still an important dimension of their life, but this is rather a spiritual quest and not a moral guideline.

Homosexuality, abortion, divorce, extramarital sex are just a few of the values that teenagers studying in regular schools tend to accept. In contrast to this, within the Neo-Protestant High School there is strong tendency of fighting moral liberalism by encouraging teenagers that study here to follow the religious prescriptions regarding their conduct.

We are again able to see that in the life of neo-protestant teen-agers the de-moralization process is practical non-existent and that their religiosity tends to perpetuate not only a institutionalized form of religion, but one that is still coupled to the moral, practical sphere of life.

Table 11.

Social values among teenagers.

	Neo-Protestant high school	Lay high school
Homosexuality	0.23	2.99
Euthanasia	1.48	5.01
Abortion	0.48	2.86
Divorce	4.87	0.89
Lying when you have the interest to	3.41	1.01
Casual sex	3.10	0.66

The mean scores range from 0 (lowest - rejection) to 10 (highest, acceptance)

Conclusions

We can conclude from this that the Neo-protestant culture institutionalized in the confessional education system aims exactly at avoiding the de-moralization of the practical sphere of life of the teenagers. It tries to set up a safe moral environment where children can study without getting "contaminated" by the libertinism that characterizes the non-conformist teenagers of today. Parents see in such an environment a safe alternative to secular high schools that enables them to morally protect their children.

I have tried to outline only a few of the strategies which the neo-protestant educational system tries to articulate in order to establish a religious counter-culture to the national educational system. Our findings showed that within the neo-protestant high-schools the restructuring of the world-view goes as far as stimulating a specific perspective on marriage, work or politics. It encourages the establishment of a specific social network outside the church and to the formation of young teenager communities along religious lines.

In this sense the Neo-protestant education system represent a systematic strategy to counter the process of secularization that affect mostly the young generations that grew up in the new post-socialist world. By institutionalizing a specific confessional system they try to articulate the cultural means through which a process of de-secularization can be set in motion. But this has rather a local effect; the massiveness of religious secularization that is affecting mostly the teenagers socialized in post-socialist Romania is rather the general, global trend.

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LIVING AND DREAMING THE 'SWEET HOME'. A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION

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RÉSUMÉ. Vivre et rêver le 'sweet home'. Une analyse qualitative. Dans l'Europe Central et de l'Est on pense que avoir une maison et la qualité des voisins donnent les pronostiques les plus fortes en ce qui concerne la satisfaction avec la maison, contrairement à la situation de l'Europe Occidentale, où la propriété privée est pratiquement responsable pour les conditions d'habitation et la satisfaction avec ça. L'étude présent veut analyser le moyen dont – s'il y en a quelque moyen – la propriété privée a un impact sur la satisfaction des propriétaires dans l'Europe Central et de l'Est, où dû aux stratégies de privatisation après 1989, la propriété privée est devenue un phénomène de masse. Cet étude présent quelques résultats d'une analyse qualitative d'un district de Cluj-Napoca qui montrent qu'il y a certainement des liaisons indirectes (estimation de soi, attachement au lieux, sécurité économique) entre la satisfaction avec le mode d'habitation et la propriété privée, des liaisons qui, quand même peuvent rester latentes dans des analyses quantitatives structurées.

Introduction

The present paper is situated at the edge of two macro-social facts concerning the Romanian housing sector: homeownership-based housing model on the one hand and relatively high satisfaction with low-quality houses on the other, and tends to investigate the role – if any – of the homeownership in generating housing satisfaction. Constructed like this, the paper in fact challenges the conventional wisdom concerning the role of the homeownership in the Central and Eastern European (CEE) post-socialist nations, as far as several statistical analyses suggest that homeownership can explain housing satisfaction especially in case of the 15 old European Member States, while in case of the twelve CEE and Baltic states of the EU (i.e., the so called New and Newer States [NMS] entered the EU in 2004 and 2007) objective housing conditions are the most important predictors of housing satisfaction, accounting for about 10-14% of the variance in satisfaction with housing (e.g., Domanski et al., 2006). Such macro-level surveys thus tend to conclude that while "in the EU 15, ownership signifies a higher status and better housing quality (…), in the NMS ownership has much less significance, as the majority of people in these countries were made legal house owners after the

countries' socio-political transition" (Domanski et al., 2006: 72), i.e., ownership is not perceived as a personal achievement, but a contextual reality.

Such a conclusion, based on statistical findings is certainly correct, albeit there are always a number of social, cultural, economical, and psychological contexts which one has to take into account when judging the effect of homeownership on general housing satisfaction, effects which may nuance rather than cancel the effect of ownership on housing satisfaction. On this regard, Elsinga & Hoekstra (2005) for instance are differentiating in case of the 15 old EU-states between *countries where homeownership is a norm* (English-speaking and Southern European countries) (cf. Kemeny, 1981), respectively *countries with well-developed rental sector* (e.g., Scandinavian states, the Netherlands, Austria, Germany) and based on macro-level statistical analysis signal that homeownership influences general housing satisfaction in a socially and culturally embedded form, that is only in case of the ownership as a norm-type countries. In English-speaking countries there is a natural preference for homeownership, being assumed that ownership provides security, freedom, and financial advantage, while in Southern European countries ownership is a culturally embedded tradition associated with the model of extended family. On the contrary, in case of countries with well developed public rental sector, effectiveness of welfare-states' safety net "renders unnecessary to own a property in order to experience a sense of security" (Elsinga & Hoekstra, 2005: 406).

Such social and cultural aspects associated with homeownership's influence on housing satisfaction are even more subtle in case of micro-level studies which attempt to investigate the phenomenon in certain and specific social contexts (e.g., Ateca-Amestoy & Toscano, 2006; DiPasquale & Glaeser, 1998; Rohe & Basolo, 1997; Rohe & Stuart, 1996; Temkin & Rohe, 1998).

The present analysis positions itself within this latter stream, and aims to advance an embeddedness-type micro-level approach through pre-testing a hypothesis concerning the role of homeownership on general housing satisfaction. The premise is that homeowner status in Romania is macro-socio-economically embedded, due to macroeconomic evolutions the house being perceived as an important – frequently single – capital of Romanian families and individuals, an important component of self-esteem which thus may impact general housing satisfaction. We also suppose that such an impact is much clearer in case of those owners who succeeded to buy a house from the liberalized post-1989 market (cf. the case of English-speaking countries – Elsinga & Hoekstra, 2005) compared to those owners who were direct beneficiaries of the mass housing privatization strategy (see Table 1 from the Annex).

We are interested in revealing somewhat latent ways in which – if any – homeownership impacts housing satisfaction. Our major goal relates to *self-esteem*. We translate the macro-reality (more than 90% of the Romanian housing stock in private property and additional affordability constraints) into a hypothesis concerning the micro-level, meaning that the statute of homeowner, no matter how difficult would be to cope with objectively weak housing conditions or maintaining

costs, has an important impact on self-esteem, which in turn impacts satisfaction with housing in general, since owning a house may be considered an economic capital from households' viewpoint, making them feel socially and economically safer and wealthier (compared to those renting a house in the private or public renting sector), respectively an important signal of personal achievement.

Another aspect deals with the way and how *housing acquisition and housing mobility* in accordance with changes in family life-cycles is achieved within the aforementioned Romanian housing context. In this attempt we're based on Grzeskoviak et al.'s (2006) approach according to which several housing experiences – before, during, and after housing-consumption – may contribute to housing satisfaction.

A third aspect deals with the *quality of the house and neighborhood* (both in physical and social terms), respectively the way individuals/families judge the quality of their dwellings and neighborhoods in relation to the above mentioned aspects (from here the embedded character), finally being interested how housing and neighborhood's quality may in turn influence general housing satisfaction.

As far as – as already mentioned – in case of the CEE-countries is assumed that housing and neighborhood quality are the strongest predictors of housing satisfaction (contrary to our hypothesis) we have chosen a specific micro-setting for the research, within which – based on media, common-sense representations, intuitive phenomenology and research data (e.g., Belkis et al., 2003; Troc, 2003) – we've supposed the effects of objective quality of housing and neighborhood features may be very salient, that is the Mănăştur quarter of Cluj-Napoca city. Mănăştur is the biggest quarter of the city, where are living appreciatively one third of the city's population. The quarter is very agglomerated in terms of un-thought and irrational building-strategy, reflecting clearly and even extremely the patterns of socialist type quarters. Such a research-setting is useful regarding the fact that albeit designed as a quarter for 'egalitarian' working-class, in fact is very heterogeneous: there are better and worse zones and sub-zones, with corresponding quality dwellings, bad-named 'behind the blocks of flats' areas, etc. and thus the effect of quality can be well approached. This heterogeneous character of the quarter means also the fact that to different territorial structures correspond different social structures, reflecting after all the specific ways in which the Mănăştur has been developed[1]; social structures become even more differentiated after the '90s as a result of intra-quarter, inter-quarter or intra-national migration associated with industrial collapse, economic recession, small or larger scale

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[1] Through encapsulating the former Mănăştur village with its rural population and traditionally living Roma ethnicity, respectively through mixing such population with workers, public blue-collors (e.g., policemen and military personnel living in the same blocks with Roma families for ensuring alienation) and intelligentsia (Troc, 2003)

economic development etc.[2], so that now both ghettoization and gentrification are visible patterns of the Mănăştur.

Being interested in *how*s and *why*s, a qualitative research strategy was adopted based on semi-structured interviews aiming to reveal family's housing history (*cf.* oral history). Designed like this, the aforementioned property-hypothesis was only a guiding principle – a structuring force – of the research, at the same time letting other questions and answers to develop (cf. grounded theory).

Research was conducted in the Spring of 2007. Both individual and group interviews were collected[3] with individuals/families living in Mănăştur's block-apartments. In the first stage, subjects, corresponding with some social-contextual criteria concerning their housing conditions (combination of ownership type and location) have been selected from operators' acquaintances. Afterwards the snowball-strategy was used (see Table 1 from Annex). Collected material comprises 86 interviews and transcripts of about hundreds of pages. Constructed like this, the purpose was not to provide an extensive coverage of the studied phenomenon, but to test a possible working hypothesis when dealing with housing satisfaction in post-socialist contexts.

Paper is organized in three parts. Firstly, some considerations in relation with the mass-housing privatization, respectively with some aspects concerning the quality-property-satisfaction interplay in Romania and the EU are outlined. Secondly, theoretical grounding of the field-research is presented. The last part summarizes the results of the field-research.
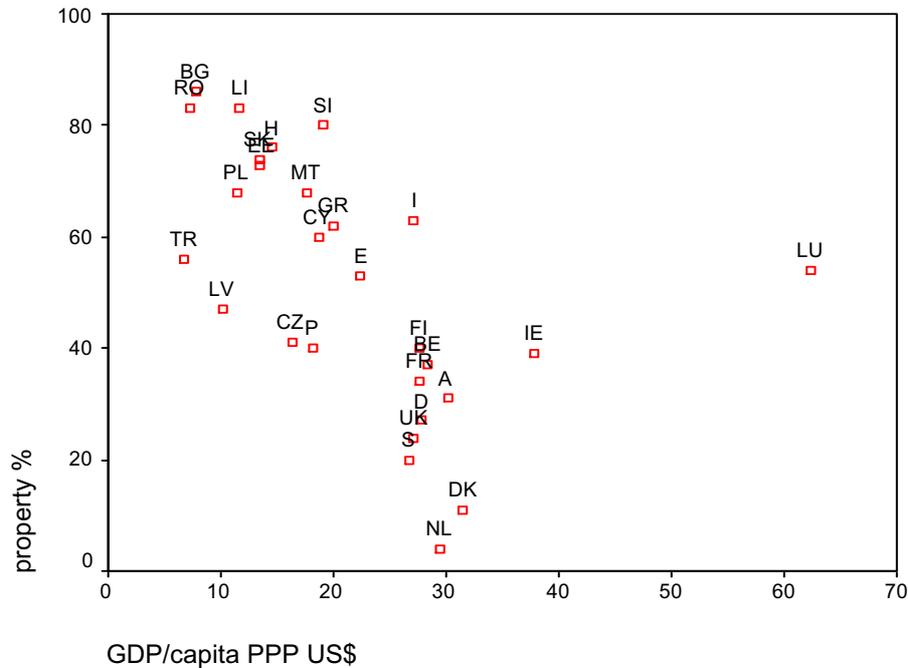
1. From the paradox of property to the paradox of satisfaction

Romania, as other post-socialist countries as well, has experienced at the beginning of the 1990s the process of housing-stock (especially in case of flat-type urban apartments) privatization, meaning that state-owned apartments have been sold to renters, who thus became homeowners. As a consequence, today Romania fits well the 'paradox of property' model (Balchin, 1996): taken on macro-level there is a negative correlation between GDP/capita and percentages of houses in private property. Graph 1 reveals such a paradox (r = - .525, p = 0.01).

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[2]Depending on economical conditions, some inhabitants left the quarter and the city or have experienced a lower-scale intra-quarter mobility, moving in worse or better apartments situated in worse or better areas; 'outsiders' from the quarter and the city arrive and settled, etc. (Troc, 2003)

[3] Both by the author and students enrolled in the 3rd year of study of the Faculty of Sociology and Social Assistance, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca.

Graph 1. The 'paradox of property' model in Europe (EU-states + Turkey)

Own calculation based on EQLS 2003 data (Domanski et al., 2006) for properties and UNDP (2005) for GDP/capita 2003 data

Taking the average, in the so-called old EU member states, or economic leaders of the Union, 38% of the dwellings are owned without a mortgage. The ten member states entered the EU in 2004, on lower GDP/capita than the old members, hold an average of 66% of their housing stock in private property (Domanski et al., 2006).

In Romania, according to the 2002 Census, more than 90% of houses are in private property (INS, 2002). Such a reality comprises a number of patterns: virtually there is no public-renting sector; there exists a huge housing affordability constraint which is partly the result of housing-stock mass-privatization, partly the a result that during the last 16 years house prices have raised more rapidly than households' income (*cf.* price/income affordability); prices of public utilities are high and, as a consequence, huge numbers of Romanian households are facing constant difficulties when paying for housing services, some of these households being permanently in risk of evacuation with little chance to get a social house ('to poor to move, too poor to stay'-type situation – Lowe, 2004), etc. Since public renting sector is negligible, housing mobility becomes difficult and expensive, the major strategies being to buy a house or rent it in the private-renting sector. As a

consequence, individuals/families are constrained to housing sub-consumption (living in smaller houses as their family life-cycles would imply, or living two or more generations together) or, on the contrary and in considerably lower percents, to housing over-consumption (have bigger houses that their initial family life-cycle would imply in order to prevent further difficulties) (Hegedüs, 2001). In relation to the latter is a special case of over-consumption, that of owning two or more houses/apartments in order to rent some of them in the private renting sector.

Such a situation means among others problems related to the process of housing filtration: the access to a separate (not essentially new) dwelling becomes difficult for young individuals/families, who thus live over a longer period with their parents compared to their Western European counterparts: in Romania only 15% of the youngsters between 18-24 years old have the possibility to live separate from their parents[4]. Such a phenomenon has a number of social and demographic outcomes, commonly referred as 'delayed adulthood' (Domanski et al., 2006). According to a recent national survey, when examining flat-type apartments, only 26.2% of flat-type apartment owners are below 35 years old, the majority of this age category (68.7%) being renter. Among the latter category, 71.6% are pessimistic about their housing future in terms of becoming owners, respectively only 15% of the renters between 36-45 years old have certain plans for buying a house/apartment (IMR&C Group, 2007). Easy to see, that with more then 90% of the dwelling units 'captive in privatized units' (Budişteanu, 2005), housing mobility in accordance to changes in family life cycles or household's preferences (the process of filtration) is very difficult for the majority of the families, especially for those with three or more children, particularly affected by the risk of poverty, so in such households overcrowding is a very general indicator of housing conditions (Stănculescu, 2004).

For an illustration, Graph 2, based on the First European Quality of Life Survey's (EQLS 2003) comparative findings (Domanski et al., 2006) reveals the housing conditions – measured in average number of rooms/dwelling – of households without/with children respectively the average evolution of such conditions with the number of children of households (according to different life-cycles) in the EU's old member states (EU 15) and Romania. Easy to see, that – compared to the so called old EU states – Romanian households with 3 or more children tend to live – in average and in case of the referred indicator – in the same conditions as those without children. Looking to the problem more specifically, it is assumed that only one out of five Romanian households with 4 persons is living in dwellings with 4 or more rooms. From the total of households with 6 or more persons, appreciatively 19% live in dwellings with 5 or more rooms, such households being in general very agglomerated: one out of three households with 6 persons or more

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[4] In Europe, this percent is the highest in Scandinavian welfare-states, where about 60% of youngsters above 18 years old live separate from their parents and is the lowest (about 10%) in Southern European states due to socio-cultural characteristics (such states tend to have extended families)

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live in dwellings with 3 rooms; one out of 4 households lives in dwellings with 2 rooms (INS, 2006).
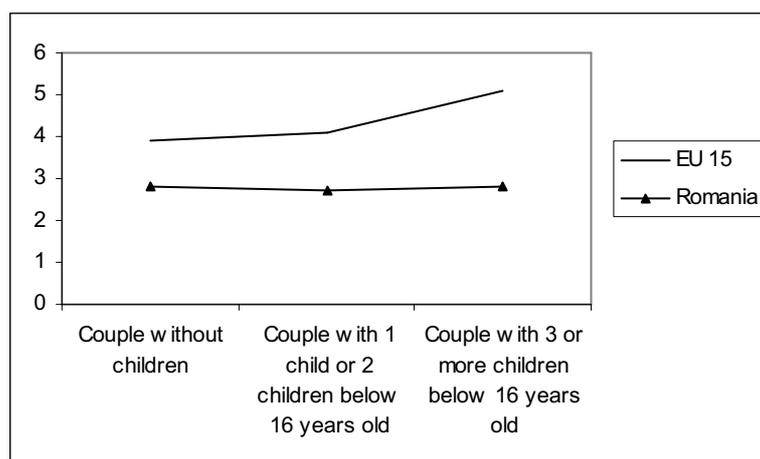
Graph 2. Different type of households and their living conditions (number of rooms/dwelling) in Europe
Own graph. Source of data: EQLS, 2003 (Domanski et al., 2006)

Generally speaking, the quality of the Romanian housing stock is the worst among the European Union's member states when considering a number of objective indicators (space affordability, quality of public utilities, of neighborhood, etc.). Several national and international surveys [e.g, *Ancheta asupra condiţiilor de viaţă* – ACOVI, an annual national survey of the Romanian housing conditions realized by the National Institute of Statistics; *România Urbană* 2005, *Eurobarometrul Rural* 2002 – surveys completed by Gallup Romania and Open Society Foundation Romania; *Diagnoza locuirii* 2005 by ICCV; *First European Quality of Life Survey*, 2003 etc.] indicate that when questioned about problems in relation to housing, citizens clearly mention a number of shortcomings, however when asked about how satisfied they are with their house in general, tend to be much more positive as one would expect.
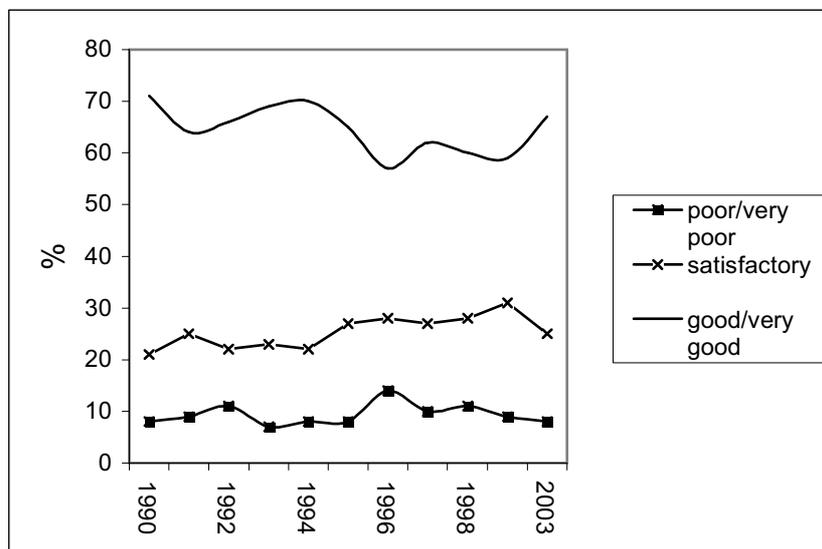
Graph 3. Subjective appreciation of the general housing quality (1990-2003)
Own graph. Source of data ICCV (2003)

For explaining such, apparently contradictory findings, scholars usually make use of subjective well-being literature, which states that however the influence of the objective conditions on housing satisfaction have been demonstrated in various international studies (e.g., Davis & Fine-Davis, 1981; Galster, 1987; Ha & Weber, 1991), on micro-level, subjective satisfaction with living conditions do not necessary follows a '*good objective condition equal high satisfaction*' or '*poor objective conditions equal low satisfaction*' type correlation (e.g., Cummins, 2000; 2003; Diener & Suh, 1997; Veenhoven, 2002), as far as a number of other variables (socio-demographic) and affective components (trust, optimism, pessimism, place-attachments, etc.) can also influence levels of satisfaction with objective living conditions. All these explanatory frameworks, including the positive bias (Zamfir, 1984), respectively the negative bias (Bălțătescu, 1998) approaches have been cited when explaining Romanians satisfaction with their housing in general.

Newer analysis mention a kind of methodological distortion as well: items concerning housing satisfaction did not involve any kind of comparison for example with housing conditions existing in other states and, as a consequence, in case of Romanian households occurs a kind of 'paradox of relative satisfaction' towards the dwelling, a fact which becomes explicable through cognitive dissonance and relative deprivation: the reference is the national average and satisfaction can not downward so much, otherwise generates cognitive dissonance, so individuals have to adjust their aspirations towards the existent objective possibilities in order to avoid discrepancy

between wishes and capacities of achieving them (Voicu & Voicu, 2006). Along such methodological explanations we can also make reference to Grzeskowiak et al. (2006) who state the difference between on the one hand, global satisfaction with the housing and, on the other hand, the so-called formative indicators or composite measures, the latter being the sum of the satisfactions with dwelling features, which sum is not necessary equal with the general housing satisfaction.

When judging Romanians' general satisfaction with housing from a comparative perspective, the picture becomes much more nuanced. For instance, general satisfaction with housing has been measured by the EQLS 2003 (Alber et al., 2003; Domanski et al., 2006) through a 1-10 scale, where point 1 indicates not satisfied at all, while point 10 means very satisfied. If we make a scatter plot wherein satisfaction is represented based on national percentages of houses owned without a mortgage, the following picture results (Graph 4), from where appears that higher the percent of ownership, lower the satisfaction (r = -.594, p = 0.01), a fact I have previously called 'paradox of satisfaction' (Nistor, 2007b).
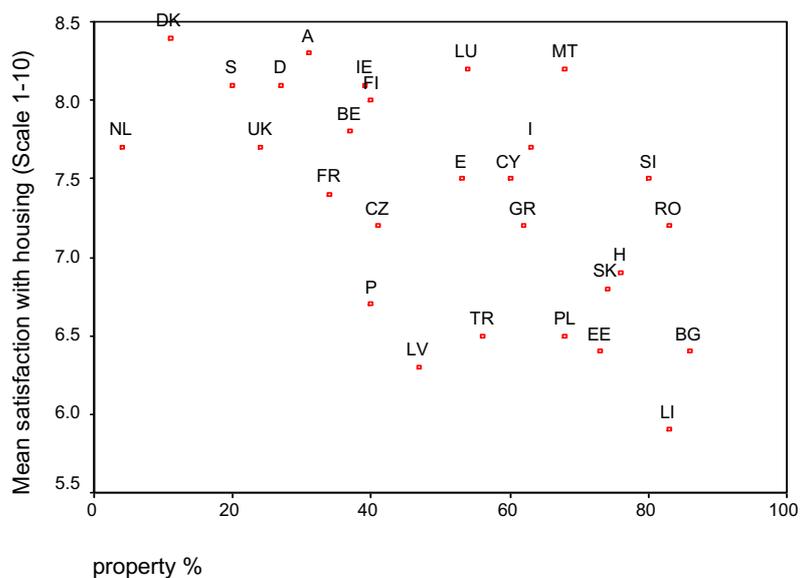
Graph 4. The 'paradox of satisfaction' model in Europe (EU states + Turkey)
Own graph based on EQLS 2003 data (Alber et al., 2003; Domanski et al., 2006)

Going further, one may state that this 'housing paradox' revealed by the EQLS 2003 results means that on macro level, when comparing countries with each other, in Central and Eastern Europe high house ownership goes hand-in-hand with poor housing conditions which in turn lowers the general satisfaction with

housing (Domanski et al., 2006), albeit, important to mention, they are still situated in the positive part of the satisfaction scale, tending to be rather satisfied than unsatisfied, contrary of what their objective housing conditions would suggest (Romania has a 7.3 score of satisfaction).

Correlation analysis based on the 28 European countries (EU members + Turkey) taking part in the EQLS 2003 survey indicate that on the level of the whole sample, there is a positive, in most of the cases significant correlation between shortcomings in housing quality and percents of private property, respectively a negative correlation between percents of property and general satisfaction with housing. On the other hand, higher the GDP, lower the problems with housing (which was simply to assume, based on Graph 1 results and facts listed above) and higher the general satisfaction with housing. Thirdly, the more are the problems with dwelling features, the lower the general satisfaction with housing.

From this brief comparative overview results that on macro-level several valuable tendencies can be outlined which however are rough, while contextualizing (e.g., Elsinga & Hoekstra, 2005) may help to clarify some nuances regarding the role of ownership on satisfaction, if any.

2. Possible linkages between private homeownership and housing satisfaction

Private homeownership is assumed to have a decisive influence on housing satisfaction, even in cases when other explanatory variables have been controlled (Ateca-Amestoy & Toscano, 2006; Danes & Morris, 1986; Peck & Stewart, 1985; Rohe & Stewart, 1996), albeit its effect on housing satisfaction depends on macro-social, political, economical, and political aspects (Elsinga & Hoekstra, 2005) and is much more indirect than direct: private property determines the raise of economic and social capital, which later will be reflected in self-evaluations (self-esteem), homeowners perceiving themselves as components of a situation within which they are those who hold the control (e.g., Ateca-Amestoy & Toscano, 2006; Elsinga & Hoekstra, 2005; Rohe & Basolo, 1997).

It is assumed, that homeownership influences housing satisfaction through social aspects like the stability of neighborhoods, place attachment, familiarity, etc., inducing the sense of community among inhabitants, especially in situations when other inhabitants are homeowners, too, as far as in the majority of cases – mostly in societies where homeownership is 'the norm' – renters are seen as an 'outsider group' with little chance to get involved into the social networks already existing within a community, building, etc. (e.g., DiPasquale & Glaser, 1998; Rohe & Basolo, 1997; Rohe & Stewart, 1996). There are also assumptions which consider that homeownership is nothing less then a kind of socio-biological tendency of mankind, since through it securing and marking one's own territory is possible (Saunders, 1990).

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Based on such findings, within the empirical research inquiry we've been interested to investigate:

- the meaning of homeownership from the households' viewpoint;
- the fact if homeownership has anything to do with general housing-satisfaction (property-hypothesis);
- respectively, if the quality of dwelling and neighborhood (both in physical and social terms) can invalidate or lower the effect of ownership on satisfaction.

Following prior theoretical findings (see the first paragraph of this section) we've advanced that if a positive relationship exists between ownership and satisfaction, it is a much more indirect one, namely we've supposed that homeownership may impact on general housing satisfaction through *self-esteem* (e.g., Cooper, 1974; Doling & Stafford, 1989; Rohe & Basolo, 1997), through *housing experiences* (prior, during, and after consumption – Grzeskowiak et al., 2006), *place-attachment* (identity, social and environmental security, social capital and interaction – Austin & Baba, 1990; Manzo, 2003; Rohe & Stewart, 1996) and *personal security and independency* (e.g., Saunders, 1990; Smith, 1970).

To be concrete, we've hypothesized that private homeownership – no matter of the quality of the dwelling – contributes to owners' self-esteem on three dimensions (Rosenberg, 1979 – quoted by Rohe & Basolo, 1997). *Reflected appraisal* denotes the way owners are viewed by others and its relationship to housing satisfaction lies in the presupposition that "a person esteem in the eyes of the others is influenced by her or his income, education, and occupation" (Gecas & Seff, 1989 – quoted by Rohe & Basolo, 1997: 795) and – based on this rationale – by owning a house/flat-apartment (Rohe & Basolo, 1997). S*ocial comparison* refers to the fact how individuals see themselves compared to others and thus, "owning a home, particularly for low-income persons, may lead individuals to consider themselves more successful than those who live in rental housing" (Rohe & Basolo, 1997:796). *Self-attribution* "suggests that people base their self-esteem on observing the outcomes of their own behaviors", so that "the successful pursuit of a goal, such as owning a home, may be seen as evidence that a person is a competent and worthy individual" (Rohe & Basolo, 1997: 796).

Regarding *place-attachment* we were based on findings which suggest that homeownership usually means less frequent housing mobility, respectively longer periods of stay in the same place (neighborhood) so familiarity with place, neighborhood, neighbors, etc., respectively feeling of security may emerge (e.g., DiPasquale & Glaser, 1998; Rohe & Stewart, 1996; Temkin & Rohe, 1998). Feeling of security and independency, however partially linked with place-attachment, are also connected with owners' housing experiences, especially during owning (consuming) the house: owners are free to "fix up their homes and yards to suit their personal needs and tastes, and they enjoy greater security of tenure than do renters" and "greater control over one's living environment, in turn' may have a

positive impact on his her sense of perceived control over life events" (Rohe & Basolo, 1997:797).

Concerning housing experiences we've followed Grzeskowiak et al.'s (2006) findings, according to which housing satisfaction is related to prior, during, and post-house-owning experiences, meaning that general housing satisfaction occurs when the house is bought with the least amount of effort; the house can be prepared for use according to the needs of the new occupants; homeownership enhances owners financial and social status (cf. financial and social security); the house serves the housing needs of the residents; the maintenance, renovation, and repair in the house are less costly and effortless; the house is transacted with the least amount of effort and most financial gain.

Then, based on such aspects, we've designed semi-structured interviews alongside the issues in Table 2 (see Annex). Interviews (texts in Romanian and Hungarian) have been transcribed and analyzed using Atlas.ti 5.2 software. In the followings some results are outlined, insisting mostly on discursive fragments, rather than on visual representations of semantic linkages (which however was greatly favored by using the Atlas.ti software).

3. Ouline of the results

Based on premises above and on emerging themes during interviews, we've established several codes which were studied regarding their impact on housing satisfaction. Our hypothesis concerning the fact that ownership has a certain role in generating housing-satisfaction has been confirmed, the fact of owning and the status of owner being considered *sine qua non* conditions of a good, comfortable livelihood. Virtually all of the interviewed have represented ownership of a house (no matter if flat-apartment) the most important goal of mankind, especially in the conditions of Romanian housing-market, where other alternatives (renting, social housing, etc.) are limited and insecure:

"I think there is only one thing which gives you some certainty nowadays in Romania. That is your house. No matter how small, how poor, how peripheral, how old it would be, that is your house and thus you have something to hold to. (…) It gives you security, even freedom, especially now, when prices are high and opportunities are limited. (…) It happened that now a block-apartment is like the land was once for peasants. That's why we call them immobile goods. They are there, and you are holding to them. (…) And of course, everybody wants to live in security, so everybody tries to manage somehow to get a house, one's own house." (T. G., 45 years old, director, man)

"Is there another opportunity now in Romania? Owning is the only possibility if you want to live a comfortable life. (…) But even in case we have a normal public renting – as it happens in other countries, I think the best choice is that you have your own house. Thus, you are free to do what you want, you are your own landlord. (H. L., 48 years old, accountant, woman)

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As a consequence, private homeownership appears as a norm, towards which is desirable to tend (cf. Kemeny, 1981). It is important however to mention, that such a norm is strongly saturated by the weaknesses of opportunity structures as far as you *'don't have other choice'*, so *'you have to behave accordingly'*. Thus, 'ownership as a norm' appears both in the sense of a social construct regarding a certain societal expectations (a behavior which is considered good, desirable), both in the sense of an externally set condition (cf. social reality) towards which, *'in case you want to survive need to conform to'*.

"Ownership is good and it should be encouraged. If you are an owner, your house represents the image of yourself, you are your house, if you understand what I mean. That is the maximum, to be an owner. No matter how many other things you might have, if you do not have your house, you are lost. That's generally, regarding my opinion about owning a house. (…) Now, in case of our country, it happens that you don't have other choice, and even if you have some nice ideas in your mind about how and where you are going to live, finally you have to behave accordingly: if you want a normal life, you have to buy a house, to become owner. So, you are constrained, but even if you would not be constrained, I think that buying a house is the best option for a person. I really mean it." (I. F., 50 years old, woman)

More than this, but certainly connected with the above aspect (i.e., Romanian macro-social conditions concerning housing market and policy), appears the situation that ownership is represented as a combination between what occurs in English-speaking countries where ownership is a norm, because it signals a better and more secure social and economic status, respectively Southern-European countries where ownership is considered a social and cultural tradition, a needed condition for (extended) family (*cf.* Elsinga & Hoekstra, 2005):

"A house gives you financial independence (…), but it is more than this. If you are thinking to have a normal family, where you intend to give to your children a stable and warm environment, that is possible only in case you are your own hose's owner." (R. O., 42 years old, man, teacher)

On this latter regard (*cf.* to establish family presupposes ownership) a kind of tendency towards traditional, conservative family-values can be captured; macro-social context is an important structuring force on this regard, i.e., even in cases when interviewed are more liberal, even 'postmodern', finally admit the 'importance of owning' within the Romanian context:

"We live now in a rented apartment. We are quite lucky, because we got this apartment within the public renting sector. (…) We are young, we do not intend to have children yet. God, that is so stupid! In other countries this housing problem is so nicely solved: if you want and you have money for, you buy a house, if you don't want, or you don't have money for, you stay beautifully in your rented house. I'd love to have something like this in our country as well (…). We'd like to travel, to see the world, not to think about such thing that buying a house. (…). But

in Romania, finally it becomes important to own. You cannot travel all your life around or to move all your life around. Finally you have to buy." (F. T., 35 years old, woman, researcher)

Albeit the role of ownership as an important guarantee of personal/familial security is clearly outlined, when it comes about how ownership generates housing satisfaction, the situation is much more complex (in any case very well grounded in several types of ownership, after all in personal experiences) and our hypothesized dimensions (self-esteem, housing experiences, respectively the quality of the house and neighborhood) are turning to provide important linkages between ownership and general housing satisfaction.

As we've hypothesized, self-esteem, along with its three dimensions (self-attribution, reflected appraisal, and social comparison) produces the most dense semantic networks concerning homeowners' housing satisfaction, narratives in relation to place attachment, economic independency, perceived control and even housing experiences prior, during and after actual housing conditions showing interrelations with self-esteem. Besides, concerning self-esteem some important divergences occur, the most salient being self esteem's dependency on types of homeownership: semantic networks associated to self esteem, respectively to its three dimensions are differently structured alongside different ownership types. The main differences appear between type 1 first hand owners and type 2 first hand owners, while those who are 2nd, 3rd, etc. hand owners, no matter type 1 or 2 are expressing relatively similar discourses with those of type 2 first hand owners.

This means that there is a difference between these two major categories both in terms of how their self-esteem is articulated alongside its three dimensions through the perspective of homeownership and in terms of how other aspects (experiences with housing prior, during, and after the actual reality; perceived control and economic influence, place attachment, respectively sense of belonging both in social and physical terms, etc.) are represented and connected to different expressions of self –esteem. For a better understanding, in the followings we refer separately to several ownership categories.

Type 1 first hand owners

Homeownership is a less important and less direct factor in generating self-esteem in case of type 1 owners (direct beneficiaries of mass-housing privatization), compared to type 2 owners or 2nd, 3rd etc.-hand owners. In case of type 1 first hand owners, homeownership generates both social comparison and reflected appraisal in a much broader context, than in case of the other types, usually within inter-generational comparisons, meanwhile their self-attribution depends not about *sensu stricto* homeownership, but about several outcomes – albeit associated with ownership –, most frequently independence and success in renovating, fixing, modifying the house (the importance of housing quality), overcoming difficulties in paying for services, etc.

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Most frequently, type 1 first hand owners have already adult children at the time of establishing a family, thus the problem of house-acquisition is very salient among these types of owners, the majority of whom are living together with their adult-age children, some of them in extended families (adult children have already established a family and now are employing the *patrilocal* or *matrilocal* livelihood). Such aspects make inter-generational comparisons very salient, and reflected appraisal of owners – concerning their status of homeowner – comes from their children who are usually complaining for their parents' *'luckiness'* compared to their *'misfortune'*. In consequence, self-esteem of these owners, alongside social comparison and reflected appraisal is rather lowered than raised by homeownership, provided the emotional character of the problem:

"Those were different times compared to nowadays. Everybody who was a little okay, meaning that had a workplace and a salary could buy the apartments. This was a good luck for us. I would not like to be young now. Or to tell you differently, I would like to be young now, but I would not like to be in a situation to establish a family and a household now. This is so difficult… An apartment like this, with 3 rooms is about 70 thousand Euro or more in Cluj. Now, tell me who has money for this!?. Nonsense! Nobody. Or only a few. (…) Those were other times. This is stupid, because now we are in a better situation that our children. We have a house, they can't even dream about it. (…) We are managing somehow to live together. We don't even want to sell, because with that price you cannot buy two different apartments, let me say with 2 rooms each. (…) We've demolished some walls, now we have a larger kitchen, where we can stay comfortably, all 5 of us, me, my wife, our daughter, my sun and his wife. But when they will have a child… It is very difficult to be young now." (P.I., 60 years old, man, civil servant, type 1 first hand owner)

"We did nothing in fact for obtaining this apartment. It had a low price compared to what happens nowadays. There were other times… Poor children! They have two jobs, they are working day and night and the result is nothing. I just don't know how they are going to buy a house. It was good for us. Now, even they had the money for buying, there are so many administrative procedures until you get a credit that you loose your minds finally. We are better than them. At least on this regard." (T. R., 58 years old, woman, pensioned, type 1 first hand owner)

"How do others think about me? I don't think my house, the fact that I have a house makes a difference. Of course, for me is very important that I have my own house. But now everybody has so many things, so big and modern houses that I don't know if my house makes a difference. Maybe… Maybe our children… They are claiming frequently: mother, it was so good for you that you've got a house from the state which later you were allowed to buy. Yes, on this regard we are better than them. But can you say towards your children that you are better then them!?" (V. A., 55 years old, woman, civil servant, type 1 first hand owner)

"The possibility to buy this apartment in 1992 was a good opportunity for us. For everybody who lived in a rented apartment. We've had the money for buying. Of course, prices were different. Now you can buy only a bread with that money. (…) Later we've made some modifications: we've demolished some walls to get a larger kitchen, put other kind of windows, floor… And we've not finished yet. (…) We are happy that we succeed in modifying this house. Now it is closer to our preferences. Many relatives, neighbors have said that it looks well now. This means a lot for us. (…) Satisfies us" (F. I., 52 years old, man, worker, type 1 first hand owner)

In fact, success and competence in modifying dwelling features are the most responsible aspects for type 1 first hand owners' self-esteem; their personal attribution can grow with every modification and adjusting they've done 'all by themselves', as far as buying the house within the context of mass-privatization policy had not really happened through their personal force, but through the enhancing context ('*those were the times'*).

Important to note however, that while reflected appraisal and social comparison in relation to the fact of owning a house in case of this type of owners occurs in a broader, usually intergenerational context (as mentioned above), reflected appraisal and social comparison resulted from success in modifying dwelling features become important from interviewed viewpoint only as long as they come from their generational counterparts, usually from their neighbors, in any case from persons with similar social-structural variables:

"First we've demolished the wall between the room and the balcony. Then we've changed the windows. We've put a boiler. It was very expensive. In three years we've spent about 4000 Euro. That was a huge amount for us (…) We did it. Now we are very satisfied. (…) Of course, now everybody tries to modernize. Some people are even exaggerating. (…) I don't think we are less than them. If one likes to have mirrors on the wall, crystals everywhere, Italian furniture and God knows what else, he is free to have them. Our tastes are different. And others are our possibilities as well. (…) Even in this situation, we were among the first from the block who've changed our windows. Everybody was so curious that time. Firstly were invidious, then came to us to ask how we did it. Of course, this happened five years ago. Now, it turned to be a fashion to modernize." (I. F., 56 years old, man, economist, type 1 first hand owner)

"There is a competition among the neighbors, who puts thermo windows and who doesn't , who puts parquet who doesn't, who puts boiler, who doesn't. Everybody is trying hard. We, in this block are the same people from the time the block was constructed. Somehow we are as a big family, but there is a competition. We are lucky that we don't have problems with water pipelines, or savage as others I've heard to have. So, we've turned to modernize. We are not so young, we are about the time of pension, so everybody tries hard in order to can stay comfortably by the time becomes a pensioner. It's like the fact with the cars.

Everybody has changed his car into a newer one to not to have problems when he becomes a pensioner." (T.F., 60 years old, man, worker, type 1 first hand owner)

On this regard a certain kind of 'path-dependency' can be observed, meaning that such type 1 first hand owners are those who've lived over longer periods in the same place (comparable only to type 3 first hand owners) where, especially during communism, have developed consistent neighborhood-relations (*cf. domestic corporatism* – Kideckel, 2006) some of them having the possibility to preserve such networks in terms of participants and till nowadays. In terms of consistency such networks however have been eroded considerably. Participants become more individualized, utilitarian and have suffered from a small-scale intra-neighborhood-type gentrification ('*some of them became new rich and of course, do not have any interest to relate with us anymore*'). In spite of these changes such networks have preserved their function of 'significant other': to whom to compare yourself, from whom you expect help in case you definitely need it, etc. Such kind of path-dependency is also an important explanations of why these people, who've lived about half of their lives or more within the Mănăştur tend to be satisfied or at least accommodated with both their housing and neighborhood-conditions, some of them being definitely proud about the place they live (for comparison see Pásztor, 2004):

"We have nothing bad to say about the Mănăştur. I know, some people say that Mănăştur is like a ghetto. But these people are usually those who have never been in the quarter, or have been, but did not live here. In fact, this is a very quite place, with a very good public transportation network. (...) Lately we have so many green areas, shops, churches ... there have been made important investments (...) Lately we have so many hypermarkets here. In half an hour you can reach at least 3 hypermarkets. I have relatives who stay in the Mărăşti and they are invidious about our life-conditions." (G. I., 52 years old, woman, public servant, type 1 owner)

"Of course, life-conditions are not so good. But I think is the same in other quarters, too. These are the conditions in Cluj. And I think in spite of some problems which appear sometimes we live a good life. Compared with what is in Bucharest... Cluj has turned to be very agglomerated and so does Mănăştur, but we are better than those in Bucharest (...) Of course, we are not so modern than those people from the West. There is like in pharmacy. But I could not live in a pharmacy where I'm alone in fact. In Western Europe you are on your own. Neighbors do not even say hello to each other. (...) Here, maybe the conditions are worse than in the West, but at least we know each other. It is like a big village in this sense." (C. I., 51 years old, man, worker, type 1 owner)

Of course, it would be untrue to say that there is no difference between several sub-zones or alongside social-structural variables when emphasizing their *Mănăşturness,* however generally speaking usually two representations are the most common, which roughly correspond to the central, respectively peripheral location of the respondents in terms of their houses.

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The former are inhabiting the better quality central areas of the quarter[5] (where housing mobility in terms of penetration of neighborhoods by 2nd, 3rd, etc. hand owners is more accentuate and visual aspects of gentrification are quite evident) and usually are proud of their better quality apartments and flat-buildings, better named areas, their (in terms of housing collective inhabiting a block of flat) better financial capacity, etc. – compared to those living in the peripheral, 'ghettoized' part of the quarter which are approached through 'narratives of exclusion' (Sykora, 1999):

"This part of the city is one of the best areas of the whole city, no matter what some people might say. Here, in Câmpului apartments are big and comfortable, that is the advantage of a central zone. (...) Those who are living behind us, in Mehedinti, Moldoveanu, etc. have lower quality apartments, that is the disadvantage of hidden zones. (...) Those are very poor areas. We have to admit it. But usually we, who are living in the central part of the quarter don't go very often there. I wasn't in Mehedinti for five years I think. You might think we are not the same quarter (...).We live here since the block was built in the 1980s, and since then we've succeeded to make some modifications, I mean we the collective of inhabitants: we've put interphone, changed the main door, arranged the green area, etc. It has really turned to be a satisfaction when you see the area near our block. It may happen that if you go to those areas which are considered elite parts of Cluj, like Gheorgheni or Zorilor, you may not find such arranged areas." (H. O., 52 years old, man, accountant, type 1 first hand owner, living in Câmpului area)

"Primăverii is a good area. This is the center of the quarter. So many facilities... Maybe it is a little noisy, but that is not a problem after all. Apartments are bigger here than in other places, blocks are more resistent, better isolated. We were lucky than in 1987 we've got an apartment here. Later we've bought it. Prices were different even in that time. Now, an apartment here is even twice as expensive as another which is in Mehedinti-area for instance." (T. F., 48 years old, woman, teacher, type 1 owner, living in Primăverii area)

The latter however – those who live in peripheral, behind the main roots of transportation areas, in visibly lower quality dwellings and neighborhoods – probably due to the 'self-preserving' strategy, tend to compensate themselves with the fact or sense of belonging to dense social networks due to their prolonged residence (associated with lower penetration of their housing collectives by 2nd, 3rd, etc. hand owners) in a certain house, flat-building, and neighborhood area (i.e., from global self-esteem's perspective respondents tend to give higher score to those aspects related to the self which situate themselves in a better light – *cf.* Iluț, 2001):

"Some people say Mehedinti is a bad area. I don't know. At least we have never had bad experiences. Is more quite that Primăverii for instance. Is less

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[5] Appreciatively the bolcks of flats situated alongside the main routs: Calea Mănăştur, Câmpului, Primăverii and partlz Floreşti.

polluted and those who live here are more closed to each other than those who are living in central parts of the quarter. There are many young families, many people who've arrived in the quarter later. We have no problems here, we are more closed in terms of collectivity" (T. A., 56 years old, woman, pensioned, living in Mehedinti area)

If we make now reference to those housing experiences described by Grzeskoviak et al. (2006) in case of this type of owners every five of the mentioned criteria (1. the home is bought with the least amount of effort; 2. the home can be prepared for use according to the needs of the new occupants; 3. homeownership enhances owners financial and social status; 4. the home serves the housing needs of the residents; 5. the maintenance, renovation, and repair in the home are less costly and effortless; 6. the home is transacted with the least amount of effort and most financial gain) seems to positively contribute to their housing satisfaction, providing linkages towards self-esteem:

"Certainly we've been very lucky because of that low price we had to pay for our apartments. Imagine what would happen nowadays, how many people would permit to pay thousands and thousands Euros for their houses. In those times it was very easy. That was let me say one of the few, very few good steps our post-revolutionary politicians have made. (…) That is another story that later they've liberalized the costs of everything related to housing or they were not able to construct. (…) In this way we got a shelter at a low cost. Good for us! You see… This house was a compensation for us, for supporting communism." (G. A., 66 years old, type 1 owner)

"At least we have something to hold in these harsh times. Concerning our housing conditions we are better than our children. At least we have a house. What they are going to do? I really don't know. A strategy would be to sell this house and buy two others. We'll see. But don't imagine it was so simple. It was not simple bay far. We've worked for years until we reached such a quality. Ceausescu has constructed, but you know… quantity does not mean quality… So, after buying this apartment in 1992, we've began to modify, to adjust it. (…) It looks quite well today, but we've not finished yet. I want to make isolation, thermo windows . (…) Thus we can get a better price on it. Because, you know… Probably we are going to sell it, to help our children." (V. A., 53 years, type 1 owner).

To summarize, one can assess that in case of type 1 owners the most salient motor of housing satisfaction is the *quality of the house*/neighborhood which is mostly the result of 'I did it myself'-type adjustments in case of central areas, respectively in sense of belonging in case of peripheral areas. Such a fact links us back to Domanski et al.'s (2006) findings mentioned in the prior sections of this chapter. What a qualitative research can provide compared to a quantitative one lies in the many linkages persons assigns to the factor of 'quality'. Thus, quality in case of such houses results very much from modifications, fixings, adjustments and thus drives us back to the dimension of owners' independence and

their financial success which in turn links us back to self-esteem, then to satisfaction. Whit other words, Domanski *et al.* (2006) are right when assessing the role of dwelling qualities as motors of housing satisfaction in CEE countries, albeit such a conclusion is too rough when referring to micro-levels.

Type 3 first hand owners

Without talking more in detail about, we've just fugitively mention that the most similar to type 1 first hand owners are type 3 first hand owners, those people who've bought their houses before 1989/90. These households are usually the oldest, having children who already have somehow resolved the problem of housing affordability, so type 3 first hand owners usually live in nuclear families showing patterns of housing over consumption, albeit are less modernized than type 1 first hand households. These households have dense social networks showing less patterns of individualization and have a salient sense of belonging. For them Mănăştur is 'the home' and if there are negative aspects in the quarter, those are the results of 'incomers'. However, concerning ownership – self-esteem relation an interesting aspect appear: such households succeeded to buy their houses during the communists era, so even it has happened years ago, the fact that they have succeeded in spite of regime's constraints appears as a very salient aspect, structuring the whole housing history in fact and has impact on every three dimensions of self-esteem. More than this, such an experience is a clear argument in favor of Szelényi's (1983) perspective, according to which – in spite of the fact that in socialist-type housing the state had a central role in production, ownership and allocation of houses, thus making all social, professional, and income-groups dependent on subsidized housing, the result being low socio-occupational differentiation (Smith, 1996 – cf. Eastern European housing model – Hegedüs & Tosics, 1996) – socialist system also created urban inequalities in terms of allowing private ownership for several groups, or in terms of giving better quality houses to certain groups, particularly to those working in party nomenclature:

"Some people say during communism you could not do anything. This is not the true. Even in those times those who wanted and were a little able, succeeded even to buy a house. There were key-persons and you could ask them with some help. My husband was a very able person, so he succeeded to get in touch with an upper-level servant, who then talked with an other one, and so on… From closer to closer… Finally we've got this apartment. Initially we were renters, later, by repeating the whole procedure I've said before we were allowed to buy." (C.M., 70 years old, woman, pensioned, type 3 first hand owner)

"Many people thought we were nomenclatures. Even our neighbors have thought this. Because in those times not everybody was allowed to buy. I've heard them talking about us… You know, within the neighbors… We were not nomenclatures. It was just that it happened that there were years and workplaces when and where

were allocated a number of houses for buying. And thus, we were amongst those lucky persons." (V. V., 65 years old, woman, pensioned, type 3 owner)

Such situations reflect in fact the situation that the East European housing model was not by far so sclerotic as one might think: market mechanisms – especially in gray zones – have flourished and different strategies, enhanced by dense social networks enabled 'common' people (those who were not nomenclatures as well, to buy a house).

Type 2 owners and type 1 and 2 2ⁿᵈ, 3ʳᵈ, etc. owners

These owners' self-esteem – ownership relationship is clearly differentiated alongside the three dimensions, depending on *how* (with what kind of efforts and with what kinds of help) they've succeeded in house-acquisition, respectively on *where* the house is situated (more peripheral the house lower the self-esteem) and *how the house responds to family life-cycle-associated needs* (dimensions of house, i.e., number of rooms and surface), respectively how the actual house relates to households' needs (prior, during, and after consumption – Grzeskowiak et al., 2006).

According to collected interviews, the higher the personal (nuclear family) financial contribution the higher the self-esteem along self-attribution and reflected appraisal dimensions. Social comparison is less impacted on this regard, if yes, usually in a negative sense ('*others succeeded to buy a bigger house', 'in a better area', 'with less money', 'with lower personal contribution'* etc.). If a house is judged to be in a relatively well-named and central area self-esteem is positively impacted by ownership (the 'area effect' – Atkinson & Kintrea, 2002) the effect being even more salient if the personal contribution is judged by the subject as being substantial. The effect is the same in case the house is judged to correspond with family life-cycle -associated needs.

"The fact that we've succeed in buying this apartment is the greatest achievement of us. Of course, after the child. We've worked so hard. Especially my husband. He is a computer analyst and had the opportunity to work in Germany for a while. Than he has worked also after program and even in weekends. He has done a lot. I've also tried what I could, but my salary was lower than his anyway. Practically we've lived upon my salary, and all the money he earned we've put away for this house. We've succeed finally to get a bank loan. No, we have ten more years to pay for, but we are proud about. Especially because we have three rooms and thus we are thinking also about to have one more child." (P.V., 32 years old, public servant, type 1 third-hand owner)

„Yes, we are proud about the fact that we've succeeded all by ourselves to buy this house. The sole thing which makes us a little angry is the fact that the house is so far from the city center. We were too in a hurry… Later some friends of us have bought with the same price a same apartment, but 2 bus-stations closer to the city center. Otherwise the neighborhood is fine, so many young people living

here, that's nice, but anyway it is far-away." (V. A., 35 years old, man, director, type 2 first-hand owner).

Self-esteem of these homeowners is eroded or it is not impacted significantly, if the house is bought mostly through the help of the parents or other members of the extended family (which otherwise seems a business as usual-type practice of the respondents). In these situations occurs a fact similar to the case of type 1 first hand owners: the situation is perceived as a contextual luckiness:

"My parents succeeded to buy an apartment some years ago, in 1996 I think. That was a 2 room apartment, and was rented to some students since then. Last year we've married, so that my parents sold the house, with the money they got for rent in those ten years, plus with some savings we've managed to buy this 3 room apartment (…) I know that I'm a lucky person compared to others, but that is not my fault. (…) Of course, I feel good in my house, it is big enough and is situated relatively central within the quarter." (T. S., 29 years old, man, student, type 2 third hand owner)

"I don't know in what manner this apartment is our personal success. Actually our parents were those who helped us substantially. That was a gift from the part of them when we've married. Naturally, the credit is on my name, but in fact my parents are paying for. My wife's parents were those who've paid the necessary sum for the loan, the guarantee. So it is a big family business. We are those who take the advantage of all this, but sincerely I think I would have a greater satisfaction if I could do all this by myself. But it is very hard. I'm a teacher, so don/t ask me about my salary! (G. B., 33 years old, man, teacher, type 2 first hand owner)

If the house is judged to be in an area which is peripheral, or do not have good quality public utilities, or is less corresponding with the needs associated to certain family life-cycles self-esteem is usually eroded:

"After all we do not have problems with housing, we've made also some modifications, as everybody does, however it is quite far away from the city. (…) And it is also to small compared to our needs. We are 3 persons in 2 rooms. I know, some people would be happy to have all these, but we are seriously thinking to move away from here. (…) It is not about Mănăştur, we don't have anything with this quarter, it is just about the fact that this apartment is too peripheral. (R. I., 35 years old, woman, freelance, type 2 second hand owner)

However, here occurs the conjugation also with prior housing experiences. If prior experiences were worse compared to the actual, such aspects mentioned before may all contribute to self-esteem and satisfaction, and if personal contribution was considerable such effect may be doubled:

"You may laugh about me, but no matter how small and peripheral this apartment would be, we are just in love with it. It is enough for us, this is our small heaven, and that's all. Before, after marrying, we've lived with my mother-in law, then we've rented an apartment, then we've worked abroad for 2 years, and finally

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got this apartment. (…) We could buy a bigger one also, but decided to have this studio-type apartment because for now is enough. (T. L., 36 years old, freelance, type 2 third hand owner)

More than this, in case of these types of owners, there occurs a tendency towards snobbism as well, meaning that Grzeskoviak et al.'s (2006) first criteria is doubled by the fact that self-esteem (in sense of personal success and opportunity) may occur not only in situations when the *home is bought with the least amount of effort,* but also in cases when *a large, expensive house is bought.* Albeit, this is not a general tendency and appears in isolate cases, produces an important nuance concerning self-esteem alongside the three dimensions and illustrates also the case of housing over-consumption:

"This is a quite big apartment. My husband and I said that when we are going to buy a house that should be big and comfortable enough. We just don't want to move in every year. (…) That is true, it was relatively expensive, but the house is situated in a good block-building. I've heard that these types of blocks are among the best in the whole Cluj, are comfort one plus apartments, so we are very comfortably here. Some people said we are crazy to capture all our money in this apartment. But… You know, we are too poor to afford less. We've made also some modifications, based on the same criteria. We want everything to be completed by once. Of course, that was just our first thought, later we've seen other types of design and now are thinking again about to redesign." (T. F., 36 years old, woman, economist, type 2 second hand owner).

All in all, type 2 owners and type 1 and 2 2nd, 3rd, etc. owners are expressing the most salient impact of ownership on their self-esteem. This is completely understandable. These are those households who had to behave accordingly to market-constraints, they had to discover various ways to deal with housing affordability and thus every motion towards the direction of owning a house is reflected in their self-esteem.

In the same time, these types of households are those who are less involved in social networks, and are expressing only vague sense of belonging. For them the house is a matter of bigger or smaller achievement, and the social embeddedness of the house is less important:

"I don't even know my neighbors and we are staying here for three years. We say hello to each other but that's all. We don't have time for socializing." (T. H., 45 years old, man, public servant, type 2 third hand owner)

"We don't talk to much with other neighbors. I know that we should because in this situation we are all by ourselves. If something happens they might say: these are those 'newcomers'. But simply I don't have an instinct for this.

But I grew up in block and I know that during communism neighbors were very closed to each other. We are different. Or times are different, who knows… (P. E., 35 years old, man, worker, type 2 third hand owner)

Meanwhile, these types of owners are also those who are insensitive about myths concerning Mănăştur's overcrowding or badly named character. Albeit, while in case of type 1 first hand or type 3 first hand owner the motive of such perception is accommodation, the sense of belonging and a general empathy, in case of these owners there are two different situations: newcomers usually are insensitive about the quarter in general and anyway are rejecting the myth, while those who've lived here before are accommodated, similarly to type 1 and 3 first hand owners:

"I've heard about such things, that this is the worst quarter of the city. I don't really know. Certainly it is the biggest, but I think such a thing has a number of advantages: more public facilities, better transportation, etc. I don't think it is true. I come from an other town, I have not lived here or in other quarter from Cluj before, but till now I have not had bad experiences. It is not beautiful, but is not bad at all. These are the quarters..." (P. P., 29 years old, man, manager, type 3 second hand owner)

"I know all these stories. I grew up here in Mănăştur, not exactly in the same part, but in the same quarter. I could not imagine to live in another quarter. Yes, there were years ago some stories about the fact that this quarter is a ghetto, but these are exaggerations." (T. F., 36 years old, man, unemployed, type 2 third hand owner)

There is another phenomenon which is important to mention, that is the combined effect of centrality with these types of ownerships (which includes however type 1 first hand owners from central zones as well) which results in signs of gentrification, especially in form of 'gated communities' (Blakely & Snyder, 1999): blocks with interphones are much more frequent in the central part of the quarter, alongside the main transportation routs, where buildings are newer, bigger and more renovated and where housing mobility, respectively residential differentiation is more accentuated. Albeit the tendency is not clearly homogenous, such communities are in fact the outcome of housing marketization and associated rising prices: those who are coming into the quarter are those who are financially better, so they are more likely to buy apartments situated in better-quality dwellings, while low income households are those who realize mobility towards the periphery (cf. ghettoization). The result is a 'defensive exclusivity' (Blakely & Snyder, 1999) both in physical and attitudinal terms, meaning the isolation of such communities from real or perceived dangerous outsiders[6]:

"When we come to buy here, in these block, we've been attracted especially by the location. We were looking for an apartment which is in the central part of the quarter, not essentially because of the proximity of services, but also because the fact that usually central parts of quarters are much more civilized. At that time the building was not so good-locking and secure, but later we've succeeded to put interphones which turned to be a fashion later. (...) This is both fashion, both necessity, because helps us to secure our properties and to feel safe.

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[6] Meaning also the fact that such communities are less likely to welcome interview operators.

(…) Usually you are able to find interphones in those areas where people care about themselves, about their properties. In the periphery you have little chance to find interphones." (F. A., 39 years old, man, assistant, type 1 2ⁿᵈ hand owner)

Generally speaking, no matter which kind of homeownership-types are about, owners assess that their house gives them independence and perceived control over dwelling features. On this regard, owners inevitably refer to renters. Interviewed assume that private homeownership gave them financial and social advantage compared to the renters, making the impression that '*one has a thing to hold in insecure times'*. Nevertheless there are a number of qualitative shortcomings in relation to inhabiting (lack of space, ugly buildings, proletarian quarter, etc.) mentioned in more than 50% of the cases, they consider owning is better than renting a qualitatively superior apartment. This is in fact the point where the impact of homeownership on housing satisfaction manifests itself with the clearest accuracy: the possibility to decide how their property is used, maintained, changed, fixed, etc. provides for owners a great independence, and frequently through these strategies they deal with the lack of space, too: in 70% of the cases, owners modified prior characteristics of their dwellings to get more space (e.g., demolishing walls between two rooms). They perceive themselves compared to renters as *'managers of their property'*, having the possibility to create a house *'which is an image of the self'* and not a '*parallel something of you'*. All these rights homeowners have than impact their self-esteem, alongside the all three dimensions. Many declared that after modifying the dwelling *'have been seen with different eyes'* by the neighbors (reflected appraisals), in consequence their self-attribution and social comparison (compared to renters mostly) raise as well. Than, this boomerang effect is even more accentuated in case of type 1 second, third, etc.-hand owners and in case of type 2 first hand owners as outlined above.

Renters

Renters, on the contrary, have expressed various types of insecurity and their self-esteem in the majority of cases is clearly eroded since they perceive their statute of renter indicates a personal insuccess compared to owners.

Inferior status is accentuated through social comparison and through the fact that renters have little chance to get involved into the well-established neighborhood-networking of the owners (as they perceive). This impossibility is however double-faced: partly, is due to the fact that owners do not see with good eyes the renters (*cf.* gated community) partly, due to the fact, that based on their temporary status, renters are not really want to get involved. All in all, to state specifically, according to the three mentioned dimensions of the self-esteem, while self esteem of the owners usually gains along the three dimensions, self-esteem of the renters is mostly eroded via the lack of ownership:

"*This situation is frustrating. When you are a renter you are exploited. We've established a certain amount of sum to pay for a month, and no matter,*

we've stipulated this within a contract the landlord may come to you at once saying he has changed his mind, he wants a bigger amount. If you are not agreed with him, you may weak-up on the street. It is not a way of living… renting is good for those who are students, but once you have a family you have to get somehow a house. If you don't want to go crazy." (T. A., 32 years old, woman, unemployed, private renter)

"It is very difficult to rent, not only because you do not have independency in modifying the dwelling, but also because in Romania if you are a renter you are judged to be an incapable. People think: look at them, how poor, they are not able to get a house, maybe they are lazy, or alcoholic, or something. Believe me, we are experiencing every day this blaming. As if they don't know how difficult is to get a house. (…) The renters, that's our name. And is not comfortably at all. (…) Of course, we'd like to buy, such a livelihood is miserable." (P. O., 35 years old, man, PC-operator, private renter)

Somewhat a better situation occurs in case of those renters who are renting in public sector. Such renters are usually young and usually are renting newly built houses. Here, occurs a kind of temporary satisfaction (as far as there is a huge competition for public renting, those who succeed are expressing in fact similar self-esteems to owners'), albeit when thinking about their future, in most of the cases tend to turn pessimistic.

"It is nice to be a renter in the public sector. We were very lucky when we get this apartment. There were twenty demands for one apartment or even more. (…) The house is new and nice, but it is too small, so by the time we'll have children we have to think about to buy. (…) Public renting is a nice option. In fact that would be the ideal solution as it happens in Western countries, too. But in Romania currently, there is this obsession about owning, owning, owning. And you want or not, you have to enter the game. (…) We have no idea yet how we are going to buy. We have a contract for this apartment for 3 years. That is the second year. So time is passing very fast. I have some nights when I weak up and I think, then I cannot asleep anymore." (S. D., 34 years old, physician, public renter)

Instead of conclusions: the future of Romanian housing

The empirical inquiry has shown that in spite of the marketization of the Eastern European housing model, owning a house is perceived as an important generator of economic and social security in Romania, the statute of homeowner being greatly valued both among the owners and renters, and tends to be perceived as a social norm. One of our attempt was to investigate how – giving the present difficulties in owning a house – interviewed imagine the future of Romanian households. As appears from the Graph 8, various alternatives are envisaged (welfare-based public renting, guaranteed public renting for those who are in difficulty, re-petting the history- cf. public renting then owning), however such

options are seen as very general, when referring to one's own situation usually private ownership being emphasized.

In accordance, several strategies oriented towards youth and/or renters get somehow an *'one's own house'* are conceptualized, among which a functional mortgage-market appears as a desired macro-reality, in relation to which two important and interconnected micro-strategies are outlined: saving hard (usually as a result of working abroad) and intergenerational transfers. The interconnectedness in this case means that saving hard does not mean by definition the sole participation of those want to buy (i.e. the individual or the nuclear family), but may imply several networks inside the extended family, so that may represent in fact a way in which intergenerational transfers may occur:

"If you want to have your own house you have to go for work abroad. Here, in Romania there are no caches to get a salary which entitles you to buy. With 200-400 Euros per month you cannot buy a house, but only when you are 70 years old. (…) I've been in Spain last year, so I've earned some money, now my sister is in Germany. She has already bought a small apartment with her money earned in Germany, so actually now she is working for my apartment (…). Maybe my mother will also go to her, and thus we can contribute somehow to my apartment" (V. P., 26 years old, man, student)

"My sister is married abroad and she is sending some money on a regular basis in order to help me to pay for a credit I intend to take. I also have some older relatives in the States, and they are also helping me, but this happens only occasionally." (F. K., 30 years old, man, student)

"My husband and I have been abroad and now my sun is also there. You can not do otherwise. There you can earn about one thousand Euro per month so that is different. (…) I think the majority who are going abroad are going based on the idea that they can put some money away for buying a house for themselves, or for their children." (S. M. 56 years old, woman, unemployed)

Regarding intergenerational transfers scholars frequently use the synonym of 'tied-transfer' (Cox & Stark, 2005), meaning that transfers are made towards children in the expectation of some services or even grandchildren from their children, while in contrast the altruistic explanation (e.g., Engelhardt & Mayer, 1998) suggests that parents do transfers because they are simply concerned about the well-being of their children, without expecting something in change from their children. In our field-research we've challenged both sides of the assumptions, as far as the clear majority of the type 2 first hand, and second, third, etc. owners have declared they've received a smaller or larger amount of intergenerational transfer when buying their houses or contracting a credit in order to purchase. It seems, both the altruistic and exchange models are valid, more exactly they are supposing each other: parents care about their children housing future and assume only through being an owner one can have a comfortable life, more than this, only as

owners can have children. Thus, in a broader sense, appears that intergenerational transfers are subsidies towards ensuring future generations:

"*Every parent who cares a little about his children I think tries everything to help them. Of course, not everybody is the situation to help, but everybody would like to help them. (…) We've had some savings, so we gave this amount to our children. (…) We did not make any conditioning towards them (…) For me it's enough if they will have children*". (F. F., 62 years old, man)

"*Renting is not an option for young people who want to establish a family. When you are young and do not think about the family, you don't really care about to have a house. Other thins seems to be more important. To travel, to enjoy yourself. Then, when you are at the time to marry you have to ask your parents to help you (…). And they usually help their children somehow, because they know in Romania you can not have a family, especially children without having one's own house. (…) I told to my sun and my daughter in law: I help you, but if you try not to have children I don't know what I doing to you… Of course, it was a joke, I knew they've intended to have children.*" (P. B., 55 years old, woman)

In case of the studied households, homeownership is not viewed only as a guarantee of financial and social security, but also as a guarantee for preserving a certain family model. So, regarding the representation of the meaning of homeownership, a kind of combination between the English-speaking Western European countries' (homeownership provides financial security) and of Southern European countries' (homeownership is a *sine qua non* of the family establishment) situation occurs (cf. Elsinga & Hoekstra, 2005).

The picture however is not black and white and many nuances occur. For example, there is a strong shift between usually younger, well-educated, not by all means wealthier households which say renting a house is not negative at all, and according to them *'the Romanians' idea that firstly you need a house, then a car, etc'*. is an old-fashioned tradition. An other ideal-type is that of wealthy, not so well educated and not by all means young households which members have been worked abroad and thus saved for a house: according to them, social renting should be encouraged *'as it is in Western countries, too'*, however, when it comes about their housing future, such households usually opt for private homeownership.

As a general final remark we state the importance of interplay between qualitative and quantitative, respectively micro- and macro-level approaches when dealing with very specific phenomena, such as the social and cultural embeddedness of private homeownership in Romania, respectively its intervening role in generating housing satisfaction. On this latter regard the following integrative diagram shows a very general, albeit synthetic picture of those factors which (based on interviews-analysis) may have linkages through private homeownership with housing satisfaction, respectively are for direct relevance or represent essential intervening conditions (IVC) for general housing satisfaction.
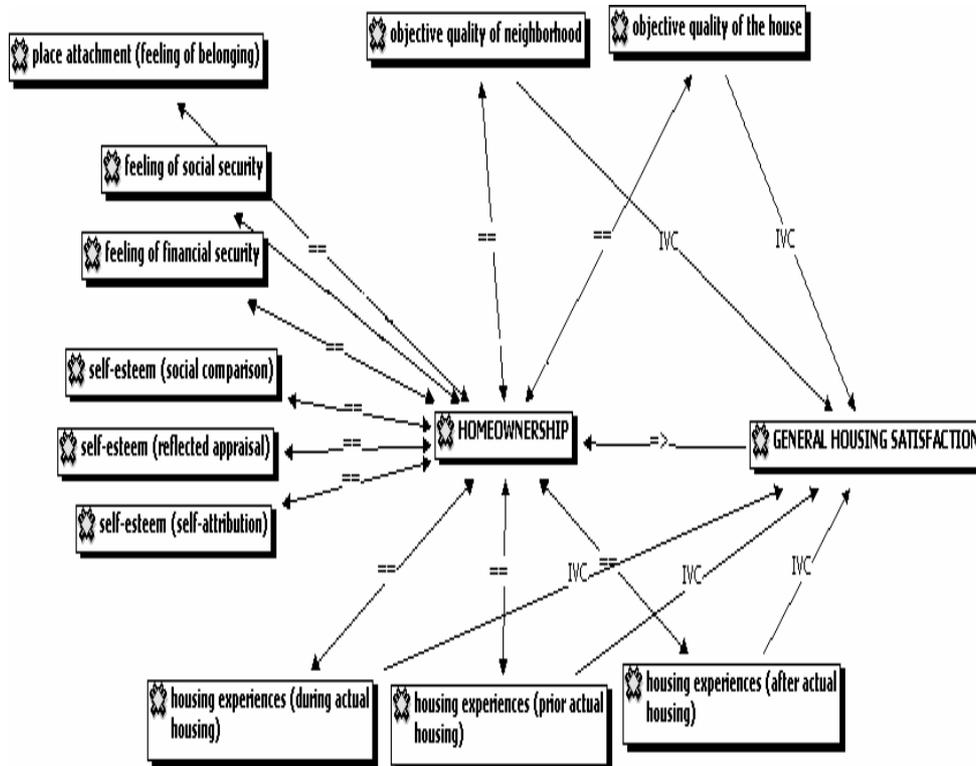
Graph. 5. Integrative diagram of possible impacts on housing satisfaction via private homeownership

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Annex

Table 1

Structural criteria of interviewed selection

Ownership-type	Description of ownership	Territorial structure (location)	Some social-structural characteristics of individuals/families**
Type 1 first hand owners	Direct beneficiaries of the mass-housing privatization of the '90s. Before the '90s were renters of the same apartments	Central	Usually older households. Occupationally, economically heterogeneous. Frequently with 2 generations
		Peripheral*	
Type 1 second, third, etc. hand owners	Bought their house from type 1 first hand owners, from type 1 second hand owners etc., i.e. were not direct beneficiaries of the mass-housing privatization, but experienced the housing marketization	Central	Usually younger households. Occupationally, economically heterogeneous. Less frequently with 2 generations (meaning that have children below 16 years old)
		Peripheral*	
Type 2 first hand owners	Are first owners of newly built houses (after the '90s)	Central	Typically young households from middle-class (employed in service sector). Usually small households (1 child or without)
		Peripheral*	
Type 2 second, third, etc. owners	Bought their houses from type 2 first hand owners, from type 2 second hand owners etc.,	Central	Typically young households from middle-class (employed in service sector). Usually small households (1 child or without)
		Peripheral*	

Ownership-type	Description of ownership	Territorial structure (location)	Some social-structural characteristics of individuals/families**
Type 3 first hand owners	Owners also before the '90s	Central	Typically old households. Economically, occupationally homogenous (usually pensioned)
		Peripheral*	Two generations live together less frequently than in case of type 1 first hand owners.
Private renters	Tenants in private renting	Central	Usually young households. Usually migrants from other cities. Economically,
		Peripheral*	occupationally heterogeneous. Usually small households (1 child or without).
Public renters	Tenants in public renting	Central	Lesser frequent category. Typically young households from middle-class (employed in
		Peripheral*	service sector). Usually small households (1 child or without)
Social houses	Are living in socially allocated houses	Central	The least frequent category. Typically poor (average of declared monthly income of
		Peripheral*	household 400 RON). Demographically heterogeneous (age, number of children)
Other	Typologies which emerged during the field-research		

* Peripheral means both the geographical periphery of the quarter, both those hidden zones which are situated considerably behind the blocks ('inside the labyrinth'); ** ex-post characteristics, based on results

SELF-ASSESSED HEALTH STATUS AND SATISFACTION WITH HEALTH CARE SERVICES IN THE NEW MEMBERS STATES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION[*]

LIVIA POPESCU, CRISTINA RAŢ, ADINA REBELEANU

RÉSUMÉ. L'état de santé auto-evaluée et la satisfaction envers les services médicaux dans pays de l'EU. L'article presente les prédicteurs socio-économiques de l'état de santé auto-evaluée ainsi que de la satisfaction envers les services médicaux dans cinq pays de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale: la Bulgarie, la Hongrie, la Pologne, la Roumanie et la Slovakie. L'analyse est fondée sur les micro-données fournies par le *European Social Survey* realisé en 2006. Pour mieux saisir les differences existantes entre les systèmes nationaux de santé, les auteures ont construit deux indices: *l'index de l'ensemble des services medicaux* et *l'index de l'engagement gouvernemental pour les soins de santé*. Les deux indices synthètisent les indicateurs macro, fournis par le *World Health Report* de 2007.

Au niveau de la comparaison entre les pays, l'analyse témoigne d'une correspondance forte entre la probabilité de déclarer une mauvaise santé, la satisfaction moyenne avec les services medicaux et l'engagement gouvernemental pour les soins de santé. Les performances des cinq pays etudiés et particulièrement de la Bulgarie, sont faibles sur toutes les dimensions de l'analyse, notemment en les comparant à la moyenne de l'EU-15.

Le fait de declarer d'être en mauvaise santé et d'être insatisfait des soins de santé ont des determinants socio-économiques similaires. L'effet le plus important appartient au revenu du ménage et à l'appartenance aux groupes discriminés.

Introduction: Health Care Reforms and Health Status in CEE Countries

During the first decade of transition, all Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries moved from centralised health care systems with universal coverage to insurance-based systems[1]. They confronted the need to improve the quality of services, decentralize responsibilities related to health care, contract-out services and, at the same time, reduce public expenditures on health care. One of

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[1] The timing of changes from universal to insurance-based health care systems is presented in Table A.1 from *Annex.*

their main concerns was thus to limit the attributions of the state and introduce market forces in the health sector.

The reforms of the health systems throughout post-socialist Europe had ambitious objectives and created high expectations which could hardly be met. The shift from a Beveridge-type universal, residence-based health care system to an insurance-based Bismarckian system was envisaged to improve the efficiency of the management of the public health care fund, and strengthen personal responsibility for the protection of one's good health. However, contributions to the health care fund were difficult to collect and revenues were often scarce. This situation increased the demand for budget subsidies (Ringold, 1999). The burden of healthcare costs shifted to the patients as co-payments or informal payments in the public system, or as out-of-pockets expenditures in the private system. As compared to the OECD countries, where private sickness insurance accounts for around a quarter of total expenditures on health care, in post-socialist countries this share is negligible (OECD, 2004).

The 2002 GVG study on the 13 candidate countries to EU accession emphasizes that the failure of health system reforms has multiple causes, but the most salient ones were either generated by the macroeconomic environment, or rooted in the design and the functioning of health insurance schemes. The reforming strategies did not overcome past deficiencies such as the excessive utilization of hospital care and the underdevelopment of primary care (GVG, 2002).

In her analysis of the Hungarian healthcare reform, Ferge (1991) is highly critical with respect to lack of transparency in the decision making process. The author states that the main actors of the reform (the government, the medical agencies and the high-status groups in the society) monopolized the public discourse and presented a unilateral perspective on the reform, highlighting the advantages (their advantages) and omitting the shortcomings. Their options have been convergent, leading to the implementation of a specific health insurance model.

Arguments against modifying the structure of the healthcare system in Romania have been presented by Marginean (1995), who emphasized that one of the risks is the exclusion of certain categories of the population from public health care benefits. Other experts consider that the fragmented collection of funds hinders the efficiency of their administration (GVG, 2002). The quality of services remained low, and informal payments still constitute rather the rule than the exception (Rebeleanu, 2007). The access to health care services is uneven or limited although many non-contributing persons have the equivalent status of 'insured': family members, children, students, unemployed and beneficiaries of the Minimum Income Guarantee, who are covered by other social protection schemes. In 2000, when the new health insurance system actually started to work, 25% of the population was not covered by the health insurance (World Bank, 2003). The proportion was much higher among the Roma population, in rural areas, and in the case of low educated persons (World Bank, 2003). The financial crisis from the

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health care system is another recurrent concern of studies on the Romanian health care system (see Popescu, 2004; Rebeleanu, 2007).

For all five CEE countries included in the present analysis, namely Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia, expenditures on health care as percent of GDP were in 2004 below 8%, the average for OECD countries. In the case of Romania, the share was 5.1%, which is lower than in the case of the other EU accession countries (see Graph 1).
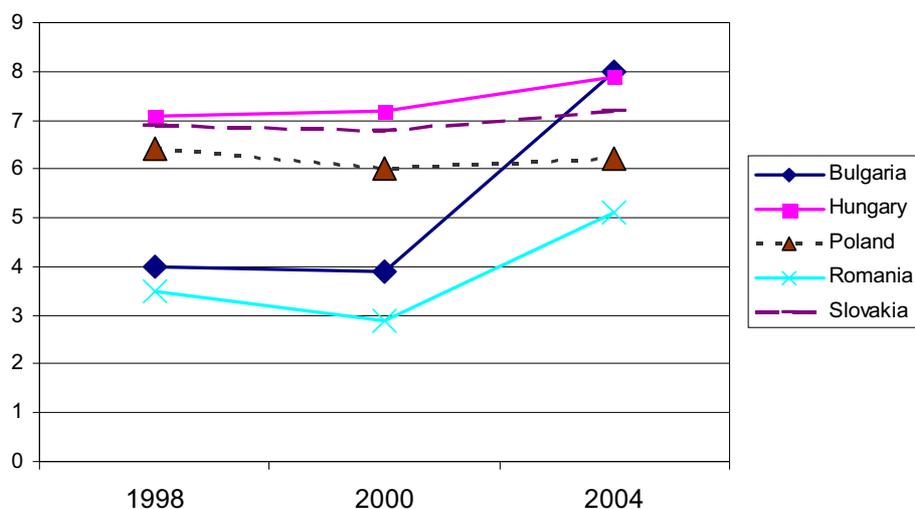
Sources: GVG (2002) for 1998 and 2000 data; WHO (2007) for 2004 data

Graph 1. The evolution of total expenditures on health as % of GDP in CEE countries

CEE states also allocate smaller proportions of their GDP for financing the public health care system (WHO, 2007), and per capita governmental expenditures on health care are more modest as well (see Table 1). These factors might fuel dissatisfaction with health care services in the countries, which is higher than the EU-15 average (*European Quality of Life Survey,* 2005*; European Social Survey,* 2007).

The indicators of healthy life expectancy in Europe are the lowest for Romania (61 years for males and 65 years for females – see Table 2 from Annex*).* Even though Romanian's morbidity table has a similar pattern to those of other Europeans states, the rates continue to be high in comparison to the EU (Anuarul de Statistică Sanitară, 2005; Eurostat, 2005). Thus, the most important causes of premature death, morbidity and activity-limiting illness are diseases of circulatory system and cancers. In 2006, death caused by diseases of the circulatory system represented 56% of total mortality for males and 69% for females, while tumours accounted for 20% of mortality in the case of males and 15% in the case of females (authors' calculations based on INS, 2007: 23). The resurgence of tuberculosis in

the last years is most likely attributable to the decrease of living standards standard of the population and lack of adequate sanitary conditions. In 2002, the incidence of tuberculosis was almost nine times higher in Romania than in the OECD countries and almost four times as high that registered in the CEE reference states[2] (HDR, 2003:213-216). In 2005, TB incidence was 105.7 per 100000 inhabitants, while in 2006 decreased to 96.6 per 100000 inhabitants (INS, 2007: 25). The incidence of heart diseases and chronic liver diseases is also higher in Bulgaria and Romania than in the EU-25 (see *Eurostat Yearbook* 2006-07:103).

Even if the pattern of specific mortality by causes of death is similar to the one in the European states, Romania registers higher rates of precocious mortality by diseases of the circulatory system and by malign tumours both as compared to the EU15 average and the CEE reference countries:
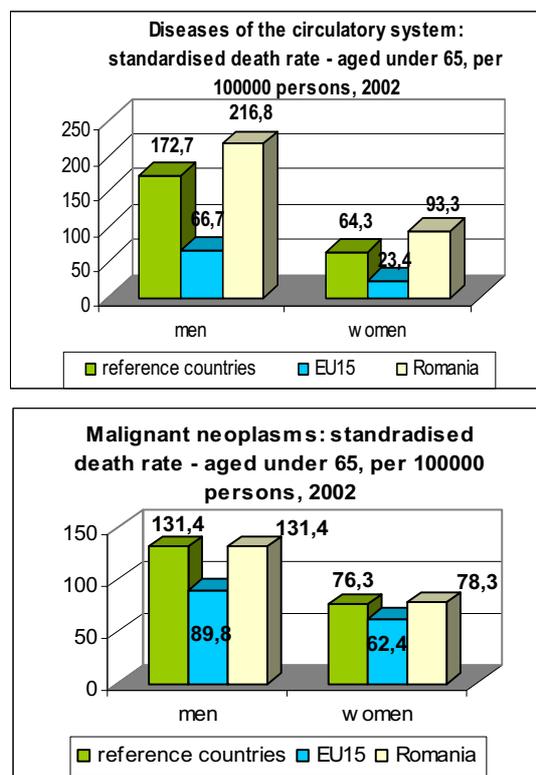
Graph 2. The incidence of some diseases within the considered countries

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[2] By "reference countries" we mean the ten Central and Eastern European candidate countries for accession to EU before 2004: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia

Own calculations based on data provided by EUROSTAT (2003). Reference countries include: Bulgaria, the Czech Rep., Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia.

To summarise, objective indicators of the health status of the population present an alarming picture in the case of CEE countries, as compared to the EU-15. The situation for Romania, especially with respect to healthy life expectancy at birth and TB incidence, is even worse than in the other EU accession countries.

Subjective health status and its potential determinants

Self-assessed health status was originally viewed as a complement to the indicators of objective health outcomes and a possible proxy for health needs. It aimed to capture socio-economic differences in health and thus included in the original Laeken set. Yet, its reliability in reflecting the real health condition is rather questionable: it is solely based on respondents' declarations in an interview-situation, biased in their own expectations of what "good health" means, and strongly marked by their social milieu and reference groups. Its ability to capture change over time is also disputed. Harmonization of the measurements and the comparability of data across countries arise problems as well[3]. The self-assessed health status has been dropped from the social inclusion portfolio until further methodological investigation (Marlier et. al., 2007). Nevertheless, it is employed in numerous studies focusing on the role of socio-economic gradients in health outcomes (Asthana et. al., 2004; Mackenbach and Bakker, 2003; Mellor and Milyo, 2001; Fiscella and Franks, 2000; Regidor, et. al., 2003).

Reports based on subjective assessments on health status in CEE countries are consistent with the objective indicators overviewed in the previous section. As compared to the EU-25, Bulgaria and Romania register higher rates of persons reporting poor health: for 2003, 18.7% in Bulgaria and 18.6% in Romania (*European Quality of Life Survey,* 2005); for 2006, 16.5% in Bulgaria and 17.4% in Romania (*European Social Survey,* 2007). The 2007 *Health in Europe* (based on the special *Eurobarometer272e* on health) also reports higher relative frequencies of self-reported bad health in CEE countries, and finds that participation at screenings for cancer is significantly lower in these countries.

Despite its limitations, self-assessed health status is a useful measure for the construction of explanatory models of inequalities in health which combine micro-data with macro-level indicators. The relationship between socio-economic position and health status in 20 European states was investigated in a recent study of Makerback et al. (2007). From the CEE countries, only Bulgaria and Poland were included. The authors draw attention to the reciprocal influences between socio-economic position (as indicated by education, occupational category and

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[3] Differences between ESS 3rd Round (2006) and Eurobarometer 272e (2006) findings with respect to the self-assessed health are presented in *Annex* Table A.3. They show that such limitations do exist.

income) and the probability of facing illness: bad health constitutes a determinant but also a consequence of low socio-economic position. They develop a conceptual model of the longitudinal relationship between the evolution of health status and social and economic career[4]. Looking to the 'subjective' indicator of self-reported health status[5], the authors found that the earnings of those reporting good health were four times higher than the earnings of those reporting poor health. Disparities between average earnings according to the health-status category were more prominent for better educated persons than for those with low schooling (see Makerback et.al., 2007: 34). Inequalities in the probability of reporting bad health were significant for all age categories, although they were lower in the case of those older than 60.

Health care provisions and governmental commitment to health care

For the purposes of this study, micro-data provided by the third round of the European Social Survey (2006) was used, merging the international dataset with the Hungarian and Romanian datasets. Non-EU countries were excluded from the analysis, as well as Estonia, due to the lack of comparable data on household income. Country-level indicators of the macroeconomic context and the performance of health care systems were added to the joint dataset.

In order to go beyond the differences between national health care systems *as such,* and analyze the influence of *characteristics of how health care systems function,* two indexes were built: an index of health care provisions at the country level, and an index of governmental commitment to health care. Country-level data provided by the 2007 World Health Report was used.

The index of total health care provisions was computed as the sum of the standardized values (Z-scores) of:

1. Total expenditures on health as % of GDP (latest data provided by WHO for 2004)
2. Per capita total expenditures on health at international dollar rate (latest data provided by WHO for 2004)
3. Hospital beds/ 10000 population (latest data provided by WHO for 2003-2005)
4. Physicians per 1000 persons (latest data provided by WHO: 2003-2004)

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[4] In the conceptual model of the relationship between health development and social and economic career developed by Mackerbach et.al. (2007) health in childhood influences educational level, which in turn affects health in early adulthood. The latter influences labor market participation and job position, which mark health status in the early middle-age. Being healthy in one's early middle age determines to a large extent personal earnings and household wealth, which will affect health in late middle-age. (see Mackerbach et.al. 2007: 80).

[5] For self-reported health status, Mackerbach et.al. used mostly national survey data from 1990-97 (see Mackerbach et.al., 2007:28).

The former two variables indicate the generosity of health care provisions, whereas the latter two can be seen as proxies for the access to health care services[6]. The distributions of these variables and the index are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Country-level indicators of total health care provisions and national values of the index

	Total expenditures on health as % of GDP (2004)	Per capita total expenditures on health at international dollar rate (2004)	Hospital beds/ 10000 persons (2004-2005)	Physicians per 1000 persons (2003-2004)	Index of total health care provisions
Belgium	9.7	3133	53	4.49	*2.34*
Bulgaria	8	671	64	3.56	*-0.98*
Cyprus	5.8	1128	34	2.34	*-4.76*
Denmark	8.6	2780	38	2.93	*-0.76*
Finland	7.4	2203	70	3.16	*0.05*
France	10.5	3040	75	3.37	*3.32*
Germany	10.6	3171	84	3.37	*4.05*
Hungary	7.9	1308	79	3.33	*0.27*
Poland	6.2	814.1	53	2.47	*-3.52*
Portugal	9.8	1896.9	37	3.42	*-0.45*
Romania	5.1	432.7	66	1.9	*-4.21*
Slovakia	7.2	1061	69	3.18	*-1.14*
Slovenia	8.7	1815	48	2.25	*-1.44*
Spain	8.1	2099	35	3.3	*-1.61*
Sweden	9.1	3532	52	3.28	*1.35*
UK	8.1	2560	39	2.3	*-1.69*

Source: World Health Statistics – the 2007 Report of the World Health Organization. The index of total health care provisions was constructed as the simple additive index of the four standardized indicators (sum of Z-scores).

Bambra (2005) developed an index of decommodification of health care services which is based on three indicators: (1) the share of private expenditures in the overall expenditures on health, (2) the share of private hospital beds in the total

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[6] The number of physicians per 1000 persons is used as a proxy for access to health care services by Eurostat (see *European Statistical Pocketbook,* Eurostat, 2005).

number in the country, and (3) the degree of coverage of the health care system, i.e. share of population with public health care insurance. Only the first indicator was employed for constructing the index of governmental commitment to health care, namely the share of private versus public expenditures in the overall expenditures on health in the country. The reasons for not including data on private versus public hospital beds reside in the fact that, to our knowledge, there is no accurate source of information with respect to the number of beds in private hospitals for Eastern European countries. In addition, beds in public hospitals may be used contra-cost as well, either through formal payments by persons without health insurance or through informal payments to the medical staff in order to receive better quality treatment. As mentioned before, the practice of informal payments is widespread in Eastern European countries, and it constitutes a hidden and difficult to measure dimension of commodification of health-care services (Murthy and Mossialos, 2003; Lewis, 2000), which did not enter Bambra's decommodification index. The third indicator used by Bambra, the degree of coverage (reported by Bambra for 1980), was omitted due to the lack of reliable information on the percentage of persons without health care insurance for the new member states. Moreover, the conditions of entitlement and the amount of services available free-of-charge might differ considerably among countries, even when they have similar systems.

Consequently, the following three indicators were included in the index of governmental commitment to health care:

1. General government expenditure on health as % of total expenditures on health (latest data provided by WHO for 2004)

2. Per capita general government expenditures on health at international dollar rate (latest data provided by WHO for 2004)

3. The negative of out-of-pocket expenditures on health as % of total private expenditures, weighted by the standardized share of private expenditures in the total expenditures on health (latest data provided by WHO for 2004)

The index is the sum of the three standardized variables (Z-scores), out-of-pocket expenditures taken into account as the negative of its value (i.e. the higher the out-of-pocket expenditures, the lower the index). The first indicator measures the degree of public financing of the overall health care expenditures in the country. The second reports on the actual value of public financing for health care per capita. The third indicator measures the individual financial effort for acquiring health care services not covered either by the public or the private health care insurances. For countries in which private health insurance is poorly developed or not accessible for certain categories of the population (for example too expensive for those on low incomes), the share of out-of-pocket expenditures is high. This translates into a low level of decommodification of health-care services. High out-of-pocket expenditures also mean that the population assumes considerable risks in terms of acquiring adequate health-care provisions for situations not covered by their insurance, and the threat of not being able to pay for health care is obviously higher for the low-income strata. The distribution of the index and the variables in its composition is presented in Table 2.

Household income is an important potential predictor of self-rated health status, but it is unfortunately absent from the original datasets: respondents were only asked to rank their household into pre-established income categories. Based on these rankings and the structure of the household, we constructed an estimate for household income per equivalent adult, and used this new variable in the analysis (the logarithm of its value). The way in which the variable was built is presented in the Annex (Methodological Note 1).

Table 2

Country level indicators of governmental commitment to health care and national values of the index

	General government expenditure on health as % of total expenditures on health (2004)	Out-of-pocket expenditures as % of total private expenditures on health (2004)	Per capita general government expenditures on health at international dollar rate (2004)	Index of governmental commitment to health care
Belgium	71.1	83.5	2228	0.47
Bulgaria	57.6	98	386	-3.93
Cyprus	44.3	93.4	499	-5.61
Denmark	82.3	81.3	2287	1.7
Finland	77.2	80.8	1700	0.57
France	78.4	34.9	2382	0.21
Germany	76.9	57.5	2440	0.85
Hungary	71.6	88	937	-0.8
Poland	68.6	89.6	558.8	-1.61
Portugal	71.6	79.4	1358.8	-0.33
Romania	66.1	93.4	286	-2.36
Slovakia	73.8	73.1	782	-0.73
Slovenia	75.6	39.5	1372	-0.44
Spain	70.9	81	1488	-0.28
Sweden	84.9	92	3000	3.28
UK	86.3	90.5	2209	2.61

Source: World Health Statistics – the 2007 Report of the World Health Organization. The index of governmental commitment to health care services is the additive index of the standardized general governmental expenditures on health as % of total expenditures on health, the standardized per capita general expenditures on health, and the negative of the standardized out-of-pocket expenditures as % of total private expenditures on health, weighted by the standardized share of private expenditures as % of total expenditures on health.

Cross-country differences in self-rated health status and satisfaction with health care services

As one may expect, a strong statistical correlation was found between the probability of reporting bad health and average satisfaction with health care services for the fifteen EU countries included in the investigation: r=0.86 (Sig.=0.000).

Table 3

The probability of reporting bad health and average satisfaction with the health care services in the country (European Social Survey, 3rd Round, 2006)

	Reporting bad or very bad health (% of population)	Average satisfaction with health care services in the country
Belgium	4.3	7.35
Bulgaria	16.5	2.56
Cyprus	4.9	6.19
Denmark	5	6.16
Finland	4.1	6.96
France	7.2	6.22
Germany	10.1	4.39
Hungary	18.4	3.29
Poland	11.4	3.85
Portugal	15.5	3.57
Romania	17.6	3.76
Slovakia	10.8	3.93
Slovenia	10.8	5.17
Spain	11.3	6.02
Sweden	4.8	5.84
UK	7.5	5.25

Source: European Social Survey, 3rd Round, 2006. Own calculations.

In countries such as Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and Portugal the percentage of people reporting bad health exceeds 15%, and the average satisfaction score with health-care services is below 4 points. Bulgaria may be considered an outlier case, with an average satisfaction score of only 2.56. At the

opposite end of the scatter plot (see Figure 1), countries such as Belgium and Finland have a relatively small share of respondents reporting bad health (less than 5%), and the average satisfaction-score with health care services is around 7 points.

The next step was to explore whether differences in self-reported bad health and satisfaction with health care services could be explained by differences in the governmental commitment to health care and overall health care provisions available in the country. Multilinear regression models were constructed for the two outcome variables (self-assessed bad health and satisfaction with health care services), taking countries as the units of analysis and employing the two indexes as potential predictors.

The model explains 48% of the variance of the proportion of respondents rating their health as bad or very bad (R-Square=0.48). However, only the index of governmental commitment has a statistically significant effect. A one-unit increase of the index of governmental commitment leads, on average, to a decrease of the percent of respondents declaring bad health by 1.86% (b=-1.86, Sig.=0.005).

As illustrated by Graph 3., countries with strong governmental commitment to health care and universal coverage such as Sweden and Denmark have low rates of reporting bad health, whereas Eastern European countries scoring low on the index of governmental commitment present high rates of reporting bad health.
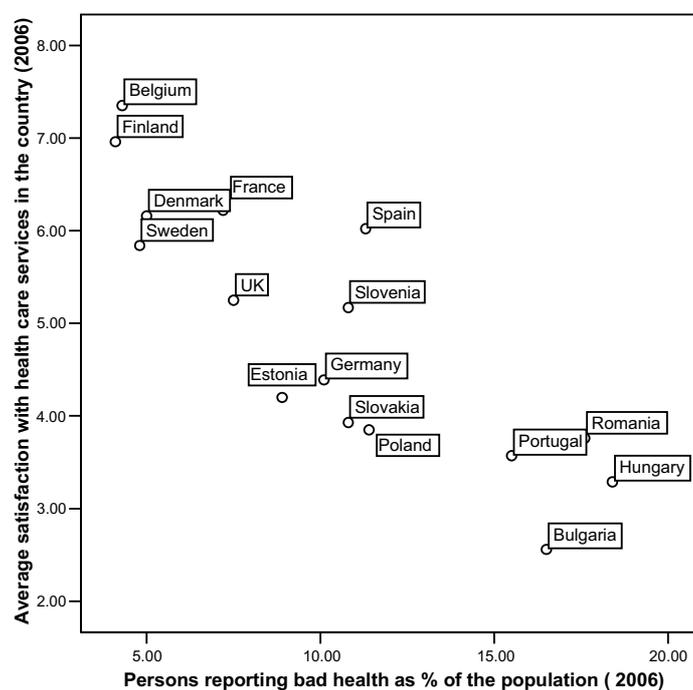
**Graph 3. The percent of the population reporting bad health
and satisfaction with the health care services in the country (2006)**

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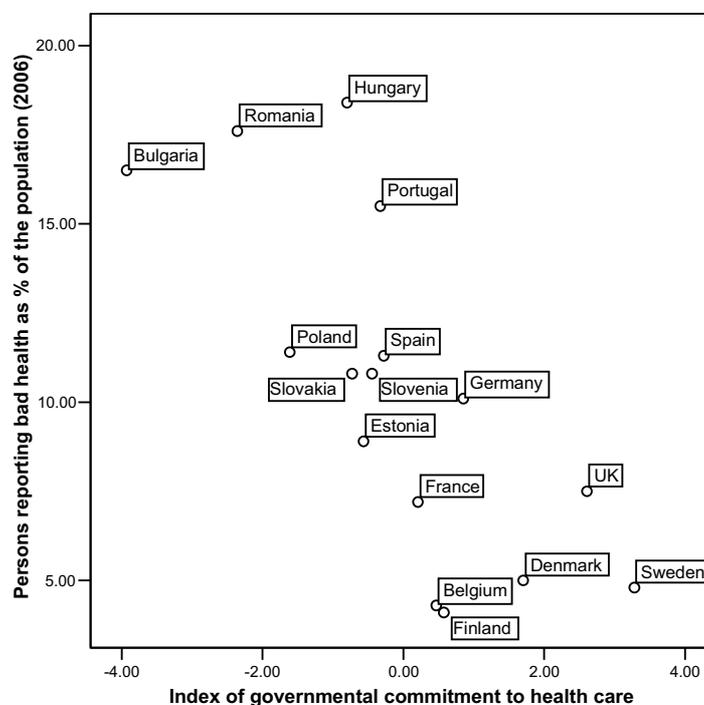
**Graph 4. Percent of the population reporting bad health and
the index of governmental commitment to health care**

The second multilinear regression performed, which tries to predict the satisfaction with health-care services, has a slightly smaller goodness of fit of the model: only 32% of the variance is explained (R-Square=0.32). Again, the index of governmental effort holds a statistically significant direct effect, whereas the index of total health care provisions does not. A one unit increase of the index of governmental commitment leads, on average, to an increase of the country-level satisfaction score by 0.46 points (b=0.46, Sig.=0.025).

Countries of the EU-15 with Beveridge-type universal systems, such as Sweden, the UK and Denmark score high on the scale of satisfaction with health care services, as well as on the index of governmental commitment to health care (see Figure 3.). This is consistent with the measures of Bambra's health care decommodification index (Bambra, 2005). Countries from the EU-15 with Bismarckian insurance-type systems such as Germany, France and Belgium, although get similar scores on the index of governmental commitment, differ considerably in terms of average satisfaction of the population. Among the CEE countries, Bulgaria scores the lowest on the index of governmental commitment to health care and registers the lowest score of average satisfaction with health care services in the

country. At higher value of governmental commitment to health care, respondents from Hungary are less satisfied with health care services in the country.

The relation between the index of health care provisions and satisfaction with health care services is not straightforward: countries such as Bulgaria, Slovakia, Slovenia, the UK (label not shown on the graph), and Spain have almost identical indexes of health care provisions, however, the average satisfaction with health care services is considerably different, ranging from 2.5 points in Bulgaria to 6 points in Spain. Romania and Poland, countries marked by strong regional differences and the rural-urban divide in terms of access to health-care services, score low on both dimensions. The situation from Bulgaria, with very low values of the index of governmental commitment, but an index of total health care provisions close to the EU average, deserves further country-specific investigation, which is beyond the purposes of the present study.
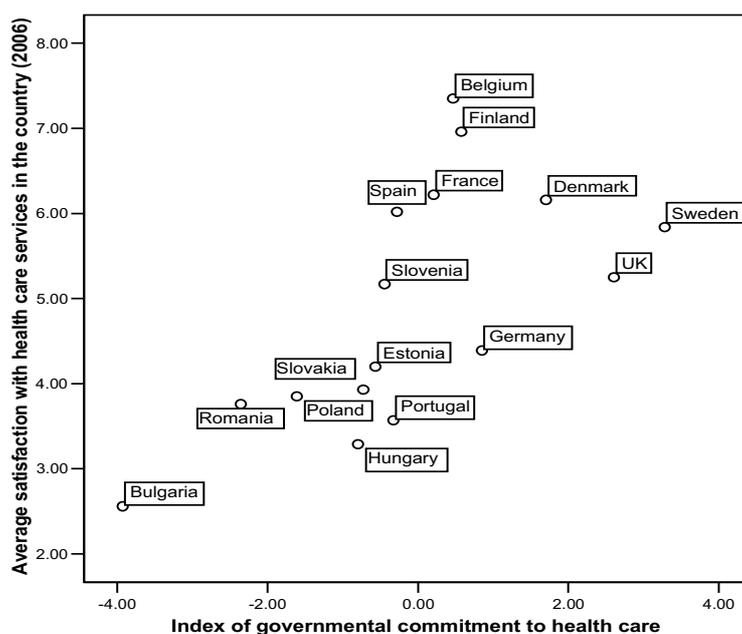
Graph 5. Governmental commitment to health care and satisfaction with the health care services in the country (2006)
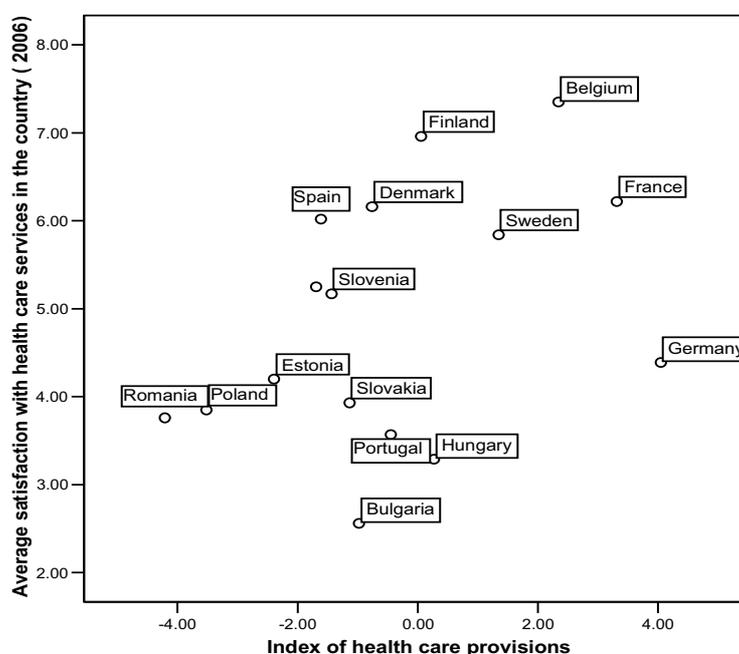
Graph 6. Health care provisions and satisfaction with the health care services in the country

Micro-level predictors of self-rated bad health and satisfaction with health care services in CEE Countries

For each of the five CEE countries included in the study, explanatory models of the probability to report bad health (logistic regression models) and of satisfaction with health care services (multilinear regression models) were constructed, using the following set of predictors:

- respondent's age (calculated in years)
- residence in urban versus rural areas (dummy variable, urban coded as "1")
- gender (dummy variable, males coded as "1")
- the logarithm of estimated household income per equivalent adult in Euro (see Appendices, Methodological Note 1 for the details of how the variable was built) (LOG income)
- self-assessed economic strain (the initial Likert-scale variable was recoded into a dummy, and declared economic strain coded as "1")
- ethnicity: belonging to an ethnic/ national minority in the country (dummy variable, minority status coded as "1")
- belonging to discriminated groups, according to the respondent (dummy variable, belonging to a discriminated group coded as "1")
- years of full time education (in years)

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- unemployed status (dummy variable, being unemployed coded as "1")
- region (dummy variables for each region in the country)

The ESS3 dataset does not allow to identify respondent's ethnicity, only whether they regard themselves as belonging to ethnic/ national minority groups or not. Therefore we were unable to investigate the specific situation of Roma persons, an ethnic minority with reportedly worse health and more difficult access to health care services than majority populations[7]. Introduced in the logistic regression model, the impact of ethnicity is not statistically significant. However, the effects of belonging to discriminated groups (regardless on what grounds discrimination occurred) are significant. The two variables overlap to a certain extent (see Appendices, Methodological Note 2), therefore we decided to keep in the final model only the indicator of belonging to discriminated groups.

Table 4

Predictors of reporting bad health in Eastern European Countries

Probability of reporting bad health	Bulgaria	Hungary	Poland	Romania	Slovakia
Nadelkerke R-Square					
	0.332	*0.278*	*0.308*	*0.292*	*0.318*
Exp(b) (Sig.)					
Age	1.055 (0.000)	1.047 (0.000)	1.047 (0.000)	1.049 (0.000)	1.065 (0.000)
Gender	0.571 (0.006)	-	-	0.707 (0.013)	-
Residence (urban versus rural)	-	-	-	-	-
Estimated household income/equivalent adults (LOG)	*0.408 (0.073)*	0.320 (0.009)	0.385 (0.009)	0.484 (0.005)	*0.476 (0.059)*
Economic strain	3.112 (0.002)	2.373 (0.000)	2.309 (0.000)	1.787 (0.001)	2.979 (0.000)
Belonging to discriminated groups	2.928 (0.0010	-	2.887 (0.002)	1.727 (0.046)	2.406 (0.027)
Unemployed	-	-	0.360 (0.042)	-	-
Years of full-time education	0.923 (0.014)	0.898 (0.000)	0.897 (0.009)	0.931 (0.000)	0.925 (0.029)
Number of regions significantly different from the reference region	None	None	1	4	None

Source: European Social Survey 3rd Round, 2006. Own calculations.

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[7] For a recent report on health-status and access to health care services among the members of the Roma ethnic minority see European Roma Rights Centre (2006).

The set of socio-economic predictors included in the model explain around 30% of the variance of reporting bad health. The smallest value is for Hungary: 0.278; the highest for Bulgaria: 0.332.

Beyond the common pattern of influences held by economic situation, belonging to discriminated groups and education, there are country-specific differences in the effects of potential predictors of reporting bad health in CEE. Estimated household income per equivalent adult (LOG value) has a strong effect on decreasing the likelihood of reporting bad health in Hungary, Poland, and Romania, but in Bulgaria and Slovakia its impact is not statistically significant. Subjective economic strain increases significantly the probability of reporting bad health in all countries. Its effects are strongest in Bulgaria and Slovakia, where persons who declared to face financial difficulties are three times more likely to report bad health than those who benefited from relative economic comfort. In Hungary, Poland and Romania the former are twice more likely to report bad health than the latter. Belonging to discriminated groups increases by almost three times the likelihood of reporting bad health in Bulgaria and Poland, by 2.4 times in Slovakia and by 1.7 times in Romania. However, in Hungary its impact is not statistically significant, after controlling for all other potential predictors. Gender holds statistically significant influences only in Bulgaria and Romania, males being less likely to report bad health than females, *ceteris paribus.* Education has statistically significant, but only small effects on decreasing the probability of reporting bad health. As one might expect, age has a statistically significant effect on increasing the probability of reporting bad health. However, after controlling for the socio-economic predictors, it effects are rather small. *Ceteris paribus,* unemployed persons from Poland are less likely to report bad health; in the other countries, the effects of being unemployed are not statistically significant. Residence (urban *versus* rural) does not hold significant influences, and region is a significant predictor only in Romania and Poland (the largest two countries in CEE).

Individual level socio-economic variables play only a minor role in explaining the variance of satisfaction with health care services in the country. As mentioned before, Bulgaria is an outlier case in the region given its very low level of average satisfaction with health care services in the country. The multilinear regression model based on socio-economic predictors explains only 1.4% of the variance of the satisfaction-score, the only significant predictor being subjective economic strain. After controlling for all other potential predictors, people facing economic strain give, on average, 0.5 points less than those benefiting from relative financial comfort.

In Hungary, Poland and Slovakia the model explains almost 4% of the variance of satisfaction with health care services in the country. In Hungary, the strongest predictors are self-reported ad health, age, and subjective economic strain. Persons reporting bad health gave, on average, 0.85 points less on the satisfaction-score with health care services. Persons declaring to face financial difficulties gave,

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on average, 0.51 points less. In Poland, years of full time education, residence and reporting bad health are the strongest predictors. People from urban areas gave, on average, 0.53 points less than those from the rural; those reporting bad health 0.48 points less, on average, than those assessing their health as being good. In Slovakia, the strongest predictors are economic strain (0.74 points less), belonging to discriminated groups (0.68 points less), and being unemployed (0.71 points higher scores).

In Romania, the model fits slightly better than for the other CEE countries: it explains almost 6% of the variance of satisfaction with health care services. Unlike in the previous cases, in Romania estimated household income (LOG value) has a statistically significant impact. Nevertheless, the strongest predictor is subjective economic strain: its effects are more substantial than for the other countries, those facing financial difficulties giving, on average, one point less on the satisfaction score. Persons from urban areas give, on average, 0.5 points less. Persons reporting bad health assign, on average, 0.5 points lower scores as well.

Table 5

Predictors of satisfaction with the health care services in the country

Satisfaction with health care services in the country	Bulgaria	Hungary	Poland	Romania	Slovakia
Adjusted R-Square					
	0.014	**0.039**	**0.035**	**0.059**	**0.034**
Beta coefficient of multilinear regression (Sig.)					
Age	-	0.130 (0.000)	-	-	-
Gender	-	-	-	-	-
Residence (urban versus rural)	-	-	-0.105 (0.000)	-0.099 (0.000)	-
Estimated household income per equivalent adult (LOG)	-	-	-	-0.088 (0.004)	-
Economic strain	-0.092 (0.008)	-0.124 (0.000)	-	-0.205 (0.000)	-0.165 (0.000)
Belonging to discriminated groups	-	-	-	-	-0.078 (0.014)
Unemployed	-	-	-	-	0.081 (0.015)
Years of full-time education	-	-0.068 (0.037)	-0.125 (0.000)	-0.109 (0.000)	-
Self-reported bad health	-	-0.134 (0.000)	-0.062 (0.034)	-0.066 (0.008)	-
B. unstandardized coefficient of regression (Std. Error)					
Age	-	0.018 (0.004)	-	-	-
Gender	-	-	-	-	-
Residence (urban versus rural)	-	-	-0.531 (0.144)	-0.506 (0.129)	-

Estimated household income per equivalent adult (LOG)	-	-	-	-0.645 (0.221)	-
Economic strain	-0.542 (0.109)	-0.621 (0.161)	-	-1.093 (0.131)	-0.747 (0.153)
Belonging to discriminated groups	-	-	-	-	-0.686 (0.274)
Unemployed	-	-	-	-	0.715 (0.295)
Years of full-time education	-	-0.046 (0.022)	-0.093 (0.024)	-0.070 (0.018)	-
Self-reported bad health	-	-0.853 (0.195)	-0.489 (0.230)	-0.437 (0.165)	-

Source: European Social Survey 3rd Round, 2006. Own calculations.

Conclusions

The present paper constitutes an attempt to measure the outcomes of health care reforms in CEE countries in 2006, right before the EU integration of Bulgaria and Romania. Self-assessed health and satisfaction with health care services in the country were employed as core indicators, and their potential micro and macro level predictors were analysed.

First, we tested the influences of the performance of national health care systems, measured with the help of the indexes of total health care provisions and the index of governmental commitment to health care, built for the purposes of this study. Cross-country differences in the probability of reporting bad health in Europe were largely explained by the variance of governmental commitment to health care. The effects of overall health care provisions in the country were not statistically significant, after controlling for the index of governmental commitment. Average satisfaction with health care services in the country correlated strongly with the latter index, and only moderately with the index of overall health care provisions. CEE countries registered higher proportions of people reporting bad health and being dissatisfied with health care services in the country than countries of the EU-15. Hungary and Slovakia scored close to the European average both on the index of overall health care provisions and the index of governmental commitment, whereas Poland and Romania registered lower scores. For Bulgaria, a notable discrepancy was found between the relatively high value of the index of total health care provisions and the very low level of governmental commitment, which might explain why dissatisfaction with health care services was the strongest there.

The investigation of potential micro-level determinants of self-assessed bad health in the case of new member states and EU accession countries revealed that the strongest effects are held by subjective economic strain and (with the exception of Hungary) belonging to discriminated groups. After controlling for age, gender, residence, years of full time education and unemployed status, estimated "objective" household income had significant, but weaker influence on the probability of

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reporting bad health than the influence of subjective economic strain. Satisfaction with health care services in the country was considerably lower in the case of those reporting bad health, and of those facing economic strain. With the exception of Bulgaria and Slovakia, where differences were not statistically significant, better educated persons were considerably less satisfied with the health care services in their countries.

The interpretations of these findings ought to be cautious. The fact that the index of governmental commitment to health care had strong effects on satisfaction with health care services, whereas the index of overall health care provisions did not, might be explained by the high expectations of the population with respect to the reforms of the public health system. As argued in the introductory sections, these expectations could hardly be met. The strong influence of socio-economic factors on both the probability to report bad health, and dissatisfaction with health care services supports the assumption that there are persistent inequalities in the public systems in CEE countries. The patterns and potential causes of these inequalities should be subject of further investigation.

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Annex

Table A.1

The transition from residence-based universal health care systems to insurance-based systems in CEE countries

	Adopting the low on health insurance	Starting the collection of funds	The initial values of contributions (% of income)	The ratio between the share of the employer and of the employee in paying for the contribution
Bulgaria	1998	1999	6	75% / 25%
Hungary	1991	1991	13.5	66% / 33%
Poland	1997	1999	7.75	0% / 100%
Romania	1997	1999	13	50% / 50%
Slovakia	1994	1994	23.5	75% / 25%

Source: GVG (2002)

Table A.2

	Healthy life expectancy (years) (2002)	
	Males	**Females**
Austria	69	74
Belgium	69	73
Bulgaria	63	67
Cyprus	67	68
Czech Republic	66	71
Denmark	69	71
Estonia	59	69
Finland	69	74
France	69	75
Germany	70	74
Hungary	62	68
Poland	63	68
Portugal	67	72
Romania	61	65

Slovakia	63	69
Slovenia	67	72
Spain	70	75
Sweden	72	75
UK	69	72

Source: World Health Statistics, 2007

Table A.3

Comparing 2006 survey data on the relative frequency of self-rated bad health

	Eurobarometer 2007 (Fieldwork: Oct.-Nov. 2006)	European Social Survey, 3rd round, 2007 (Fieldwork: Jun.-Jul. 2006)
Belgium	5	4.3
Bulgaria	14	16.5
Cyprus	5	4.9
Denmark	6	5
Finland	6	4.1
France	6	7.2
Germany	7	10.1
Hungary	15	18.4
Poland	12	11.4
Portugal	9	15.5
Romania	10	17.6
Slovakia	8	10.8
Slovenia	7	10.8
Spain	7	11.3
Sweden	6	4.8
UK	8	7.5

Sources: Eurobarometer, Health in the European Union, September, 2007, European Social Survey, October 2007. Figures indicate the percentage of respondents who declared that their health is bad or very bad. For inter-survey differences higher than 2.5%, the cells were shaded.

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Methodological Note 1

Estimating income per equivalent household member based on declared household income category

The original international ESS3 dataset does not contain micro-level data on the overall income of respondents' households. Respondents were asked to rank their household into an income categories printed on the response-cards. For each country, there were 12 income categories. However, in the case of Hungary and Romania, income data was not comparable (the income-intervals were different). Therefore the original country-specific household income variables (*hinctnro* and *hinctnhu*) were added to the dataset. Based on the income category (ordinal variable *hinctn*), the overall income of the household was estimated at the middle of the income interval (EUROS/month). In the case of the highest income category, the average difference between categories was added to the lower limit of the interval. Unlike for the other states, in Hungary there were 13 income categories, in HUF. Averages were therefore converted in EURO. The estimated overall income of households calculated in this manner is presented below:

Table A.4

Estimating overall household income

Show card	Approximate MONTHLY INCOME FOR EU-15 and Bulgaria	New value	Approximate MONTHLY INC. For Romania (data in €)	New value	Approximate MONTHLY INC. For Hungary (in 1000 HUF)	1000 HUF	New value Euro*
J	Less than €150	€75	Less than €100	€50	Less than 37	18.5	€74
R	€150 to under €300	€225	€100 to under €200	€150	37 to under 56	46.5	€185
C	€300 to under €500	€400	€200 to under €300	€250	56 to under 75	65.5	€260
M	€500 to under €1000	€750	€300 to under €400	€350	75 to under 100	87.5	€348
F	€1000 to under €1500	€1250	€400 to under €500	€450	100 to under 125	112.5	€447
S	€1500 to under €2000	€1750	€500 to under €600	€550	125 to under 150	137.5	€546
K	€2000 to under €2500	€2250	€600 to under €700	€650	150 to under 175	162.5	€646
P	€2500 to under €3000	€2750	€700 to under €800	€750	175 to under 200	187.5	€745
D	€3000 to under €5000	€4000	€800 to under €900	€850	200 to under 225	212.5	€844
H	€5000 to under €7500	€6250	€900 to under €1000	€950	225 to under 300	262.5	€1043
U	€7500 to under	€8750	€1000 to under	€1050	300 to under 375	337.5	€1341

	€10000		€1100				
N	€10000 or more	€10500	€1100 or more	€1150	375 to under 500	437.5	€1739
	-	-	-	-	500 or more	625	€2484

Note: *For Hungary, national currency was converted into Euro at the Jan. 07 exchange rate, 1Euro=251.63 HUF.

In order to account for household size and structure, the OECD-2 equivalence scale was used and household income per equivalent adult was computed. This measure served as the indicator of "objective" household income: declared income per equivalent household member. The three variables (estimated income for the EU countries and Bulgaria, estimated income for Romania and Hungary) were merged into one variable. The following table presents the number of valid cases for each country (N), average estimated income per equivalent household member and standard deviations for each country.

Table A.5

Estimated income per equivalent household member

Country	Mean (Euro)	Number of valid cases	Std. Deviation (Euro)
Belgium	1480.7	1559	965.8
Bulgaria	120.7	1128	88.2
Cyprus	1130.8	811	687.4
Germany	1478.6	2173	1005.1
Denmark	2143.1	1327	1199.9
Spain	1124.2	1127	1032.9
Finland	1652.9	1724	989.5
France	1484.5	1740	1035.0
United Kingdom	2062.7	1858	1580.9
Hungary	303.0	1274	150.1
Poland	356.4	1390	457.1
Portugal	784.8	1212	982.5
Romania	141.8	1946	114.1
Sweden	1770.4	1781	969.1
Slovenia	700.5	1166	462.7
Slovakia	434.6	1063	484.6
Total	1138.0	23279	1125.8

Source: European Social Survey 2006, 3rd Round. Own Calculations

Methodological Note 2
Minority status and subjective feeling of belonging to a discriminated group in the case of Eastern European countries

The dataset does not allow the identification of respondents in terms of ethnicity, nevertheless, it contains information on ethnic minority status and belonging to a discriminated group in the country (subjective assessment on discrimination). The following table presents on a country-level the frequencies of reporting belonging to discriminated groups, as well as on what grounds does discrimination occur, in the opinion of respondents.

Table A.6

Percentages of respondents who considered themselves as belonging to discriminated groups

	Bulgaria	**Hungary**	**Poland**	**Romania**	**Slovakia**
Number of respondents who reported to belong to a discriminated group (%)	*101 (7.4%)*	*76 (5.0%)*	*85 (4.9%)*	*103 (4.8%)*	*110 (6.2%)*
Discriminated on grounds of... (%)					
Colour or race	11.9	31.6	-	13.6	23.6
Nationality	10.9	14.5	2.4	12.6	17.3
Religion	5.0	6.6	8.2	5.8	6.4
Language	7.9	1.3	-	1.0	9.1
Etnicity	47.5	28.9	-	17.5	22.7
Age	23.8	7.9	17.6	21.4	22.7
Gender	7.9	3.9	9.4	2.9	16.4
Sexuality	1.0	1.3	-	3.9	0.9
Disability	8.9	14.5	23.5	9.7	9.1
Other	8.9	30.3	45.9	4.9	9.1
Don't know	8.9	1.3	2.4	8.7	1.8
No answer	-	-	-	-	4.5

Source: ESS3 dataset. Own calculations. Multiple responses were possible (i.e. cumulative percents exceed 100%). Figures indicate relative frequencies of responses. For example, in Romania, out of the 103 persons who considered themselves to belong to discriminated groups, 13.6% declared that they are discriminated on grounds of their colour or race, 12.6% that on grounds of their nationality, etc.

Ethnic minority status was accompanied by the feeling of belonging to discriminated groups at a different rate, depending on the country of residence:

Table A.7

Feelings of belonging to discriminated groups (%)

	Bulgaria	**Hungary**	**Poland**	**Romania**	**Slovakia**
% of respondents belonging to an ethnic minority	25.9%	40.5%	13.0%	15.0%	28.8%
% of respondents belonging to the majority ethnic group in the country	4.0%	3.0%	5.0%	3.9%	4.2%

Source: ESS3 dataset. Own calculations. For example, in Romania, 15% of those declaring to belong to a minority ethnic group in the country declared that they also belong to a discriminated group. Out of those who belong to the ethnic majority group (Romanians), 3.9% declared that they belong to a discriminated group.

Table A.8

Inequalities in self-assessed health by socio-economic position as reported by Mackerbach et al. (2007)

Country	Year	Odds ratios	
		Men	**Women**
Belgium	1997	3.22	2.36
Bulgaria	1997	2.19	2.84
Denmark	1994	2.16	3.00
Finland	1994	2.99	3.29
France (*occupation)	1991-92	2.24	No data
West Germany	1990-91	1.76	1.91
Great Britain	1996	3.88	3.92
England (*income)	1995	3.08	2.66
Italy	1994	2.94	2.55
Spain	1997	2.58	3.10
Sweden	1997	2.37	3.06

Source: Mackerbach, Meerding and Kunst (2007: 28). Data presented only for selected countries. The indicator of socio-economic position was education, unless otherwise stated in parentheses. Poland was omitted due to the high difference between the results of the two surveys cited by the authors.

RECENZII – BOOK REVIEWS

INTERDISCIPLINARITY AND INTEGRATIVITY. A REVIEW OF SOME RESEARCH PROGRESSES

A number of social and epistemological conditions of contemporary society determine the need for more and more complex, holistic approaches. These approaches may be summarized as follows:

1. The internal logic of a discipline in order to enhance the effectiveness regarding the explanation of several processes and phenomena borrows concepts, theories, and methods from other disciplines, usually from very close disciplines which share the same object of study. Symptomatic in this sense is the relation between sociology and economics (the theory of costs and benefices, rational choice theory, informational asymmetry, etc.), sociology and demography (theory of social values, theories concerning social stratification and mobility, the push and pull model, etc.), sociology and psychology (e.g., social psychology), history and demography (historical demography, social history, etc.), social anthropology and sociology, etc.

2. Scientific logic in general, movements of ideas, philosophy of a certain period (such a philosophy may be even that according to which there is no certain philosophy, but there are many, equally valid philosophies) influence the whole scientific knowledge.

3. The continuing pressure of social interventions, meaning that in order to efficiently solve or ameliorate a problem a huge number of causes and effects need to be taken into account. Poverty for example and the related social policy has linkages with several disciplines (economics,

demography, sociology, social cognition, political science, etc.).

As already suggested above, boundary disciplines, called with other words synthetic disciplines are usually those disciplines which solve the problem and need for interdisciplinarity. Of course, only partially, because in reality boundary disciplines are situated in the most of the cases at the boundary of two disciplines, while interdisciplinarity denotes much more disciplines than two. Integrativity brings something even more. Without entering in details concerning the linkages between interdisciplinarity and integrativity (for details see Iluţ, 2006), in the followings will list some recent attempts from the Babeş-Bolyai University which both theoretically and practically are concerned with undertaking interdisciplinary research, with tendencies towards integrativity.

Within the Faculty of Sociology and Social Assistance, is functioning for example the *Institute for Integrative Social Research*. The institute aims to create an institutional framework in order to coordinate and undertake multi-, inter-, and trans-disciplinary level research within the university. We have a special focus towards applied aspects of social sciences and aim to consolidate the status of the university as a fundamental agent of knowledge production, dissemination, and implementation within the wider space of knowledge society. Scholars affiliated with the institute have produced until now two volumes related to the topic of family, both with integrative approaches.

Dimensiuni ale familiei actuale din România (Iluț, 2007), (*Dimensions of Actual Romanian family*) comprises a collection of six articles dealing with population structures, ethnic intermarriages, family life-cycles, housing conditions, and time use within the family. Albeit texts are written by sociologists, they illustrate the example of a kind of intra-disciplinary integrativity, taken together articles illustrate a holistic approach of the family. Such tendency is even more pregnant within the second bilingual volume titled *Stări şi fenomene ale spațiului domestic din România/ Dimensions of domestic space in Romania* (Iluț, in press) which additionally to the first volume deals with historical demography and social policy as well.

Very recently the *Centre for Population Studies* has been launched which represents an arena for collaboration between several specialties from several faculties of the university, particularly between sociology and history. The center has initiated the publication of the *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*. The journal which is the first Romanian journal dedicated explicitly to the study of population stays also as a relevant example of interdisciplinary, as well as integrative approaches. Traian Rotariu, the director of the center summarizes very clearly the attempts of the center which I mention below as a pertinent conclusion towards the whole idea of interdisciplinarity and integrativity:

"The Centre brings together researchers from various fields: historians, sociologists, demographers, economists and geographers. They are undertaking research or teaching courses on population issues at various faculties from the University (…).More precisely, apart from the quantitative outcome, the intended result is a qualitative one, inspired by the juncture of ideas and perspectives coming from various disciplines. […] (…) Activities of the Centre (…) will also contribute to build this common understanding. (…) We encourage each discipline to be represented in the pages of the Journal" (Rotariu, 2007: 5-7).

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