WALKING TOWARDS EUROPE: THE SILENT PRODUCTION OF CLUJ-NAPOCA

By

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Abstract

The present work explores the potential of individual agency to act in a space produced by the structural forces of consecutive historical periods, and the role of social memory in influencing the direction of individual practice. I study the activity of urban walking tours in the Romanian city of Cluj-Napoca, where conflicting ethno-national histories result in a clash of social memory, constituting urban space as an object of opposing intepretations. Using Michel de Certeau's theory of everyday practices, I regard urban walking tours as a form of silent production that recreates urban space in its own ways while being determined by the structure which produced that space. Focusing on the narratives of the walks, I explore how they use parts of the historical and spatial legacy of Cluj to create their own version of the city, and their position in the field of social memory affects their interpretation. I argue that both projects aim to reproduce Cluj as a place of diversity and cultural significance, realizing the agenda of postsocialist urban restructuring which recreates the city as a center of consumption; at the same time, I show how conflicting historical narratives intervene in the process, resulting in a specific dynamics between discourses of nationalism and multiculturalism.

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Table of Contents

Introduction

The present work starts as an auto-ethnography: when I decided to take Cluj-Napoca as the object of my research, I had in mind a more than 10 years old memory about a city full of Romanian tricolor street furniture, bundles of electric cables openly displayed over the houses, and 19th century buildings covered in postsocialist dust and Hungarian nationalist nostalgia, the reason that took me to the city on the occasion of a school trip. My 14 years old self encountered the existence of a Hungarian community outside the borders of Hungary for the first time, and I found it almost incomprehensible to be abroad and still in a context so familiar. The puzzle of Transylvanian Hungarians left behind by the Hungarian state constructed the place as a kind of Atlantis to me, where one can find traces of a hidden past that disappeared in the course of majority history, but it was preserved in the minority community, or in to be less sentimental, changed differently – this feeling was only intensified by the overwhelming Romanian national symbols in the public space that envisaged Hungarians as hiding and sparse sea animals in ancient waters. The unsettling experience of multi-ethnic space stayed with me until today, providing an object to discover in a less naive way by the means of social research. My preliminary investigations showed that the city of Cluj has been in the center of intense debates on nationalism, identity, history and urban space since the time of postsocialist transition and even before that, providing a variety of entry points to study the working of memory in a multi-ethnic city (Brubaker et al. 2006; Faje 2011; Feischmidt 2002; Kalb 2011; Péter and Pásztor 2006; Petrovici 2011; Verdery 1996).

The present work enters the discussion about Cluj from the angle of space, investigating the urban environment as a medium of symbolic meanings and the social practice invested to produce and modify such meanings. Urban space as an object of symbolic struggle has been addressed by previous research, not unrelated to my childhood experience: what I saw in the

summer of 2004 were the last moments of the 12 years long rule of Gheorghe Funar, the mayor whose most infamous measure was the reinscription of public space with through Romanian nationalist symbols, an act which determined the image of postsocialist Cluj for the following period. Studies dealing with the legacy of Funar approached the topic from the perspective of ethnicity and class: Rogers Brubaker and his colleagues (2006) studied the paradox of intense nationalist rhetoric on the level of political discourse, and the practically invisible influence of this rhetoric in the everyday interactions of people, advocating for a situational understanding of ethnicity instead of essentialist views. Norbert Petrovici (2011) criticized this approach for its lack of grounding in the regional and global processes, arguing that the symbolic fight over public space was motivated by the demands of an economically and symbolically dispossessed working class in the suburbs of Cluj to reclaim their right to the city. Although from different aspects, both of these approaches address the spatial operations of power explained in the context of local social relations; my aim is to shift the focus towards individual action as a manifestation of subject position in the complicated matrix of attitudes and identities. Based on the work of Michel de Certeau (1984), I study urban walking tours in Cluj as a form of silent production, a series of individual tactics individual tactics operating within the local power structure, modifying it to their own ends while being determined by it. My initial interest in the multi-ethnic heritage of the place is translated into the realm of theory as the role of social memory in organizing everyday practices, constituting my two main research questions in the following way:

- What is the potential of individual agency to formulate the power structure in which it acts?

  How do walking tour projects reinvent urban space while their agendas are being determined by the broader structural processes that order the development of Cluj?
- How does social memory influence individual agency?

How do different narratives of socialization depending on ethnic background, class and generation determine the way individual subjects interpret the structure and develop their tactics within it?

To answer the above questions, I explore the working of two Cluj-based urban walking tour companies in the context of the members' personal trajectories, the history of symbolic struggle in the Clujean urban space, and the structural development of the most recent period delineated by Pásztor and Péter (2006) and Petrovici and Vanea (2010). Therefore, my study is based on historical research and most importantly, three weeks of fieldwork in Cluj-Napoca in 2015 April, during that I participated in three tours, conducted seven semi-structured interviews with members of the tour guide companies, and participated in various personal conversations with them and other local people. My ethnographic description of tour guide companies and their walks offers an insight into a very particular generational, class and gender experience within the complex social configuration of Cluj, encountered in a particular historical moment: the reader of present study will learn about the different but often converging tactics deployed by young, educated middle class women of Romanian and Hungarian origin to articulate their own position within the discursive landscape of Cluj, and reinvent the city for themselves as a meaningful space.

Chapter 1 delineates the analytical framework of the study, discussing theories of space, agency and memory. Chapter 2 introduces the historical background of the symbolic struggle for Clujean urban space, providing a context for the present object of analysis. Chapter 3 discusses the emergence and mission of guiding companies in the light of broader structural processes by using the theory of Michel de Certeau on everyday practices. Based on ethnographic data, I argue that both projects emerge from the motivation of its creators to realize their own personal agenda; however, their missions are embedded in the structural context characterized by Pásztor and Péter (2006) as the "postmodernization of Cluj", and can be regarded as partly a

consequence of this context. Chapter 4 analyses the narratives constructed by walking tours from the aspect of how they use elements of space signifying the past to create their own story about the city. I focus on representations of ethnicity in order to reveal the role of social memory in the formulation of narratives about a space defined by conflicting interpretations of history. My analysis will show that both projects implement their stated aim to promote a multicultural image of Cluj on the surface level, while their ethnically biased position is revealed in the backstage narratives or the subtext of official narratives. The Conclusion synthesizes the above findings in the context of my initial questions.

Chapter 1. Theoretical framework

1.1. Walking tactics

As my main focus is on the role urban space plays in the articulation of personal positions within a broader field of power relations, I use the theory of Michel de Certeau (1984) on everyday practices to understand the dynamics between individuals and power as they unfold in space. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau focuses on the way how users, the "dominated element of society" act within structures of domination, aiming to transcend the structuralist view of individual subjects as passive and fully determined by rules of the power grid. The structure-agency dichotomy is translated into the realm of space by de Certeau as spatial order and the spatializing practices of groups and individuals (de Certeau 1984, 116). This model, following the logic of Saussurean linguistics, leads to another distinction between space and place: while place is a stable configuration of elements situated in distinct locations, space is a result of the operations in place which add direction, movement and temporal dimension to the static coexistence of objects. Similarly to the relation between langue and parole, space is the practiced place, actualized by the unrepeatable, real time human action (de Certeau 1984, 117). Tactics of appropriation become possible in this realm of dynamic spatiality, where fixed meanings and uses inscribed in the buildings by power operations are challenged by individual acts and interpretations.

De Certeau conceives of the dialectics between users and the power structure as dual form of production: power is represented by open and extensive systems of production which occupy the totality of everyday life, depriving subjects of their own territory of self-realization and constituting them as passive consumers. The other form of production described by de Certeau is a proof that such intentions are never fully realized: subjects find a way to subvert the dominant system precisely through the process of consumption that de Certeau defines as

another form of production (1984, xxii). This form is characterized by practices of adaptation instead of direct creation: "it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through its ways of using the products imposed by a dominant economic order" (de Certeau, 1984, xxiii). Subversive practices of this kind are defined by de Certeau as tactics, temporal operations of a powerless "other" against the strategies of a powerful establishment. As he argues:

> "[Strategy] becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an 'environment'." (1984, xix)

On the other hand, tactics belong to subjects without such entitlements that would constitute them as visible and distinct actors, namely, the "average citizens" who walk the streets and encounter the existing structure. This group of subjects has to manipulate their conditions of existence throughout time, as they have no control over the space dominated by power. Tactics demand a continuous adjustment to momentary possibilities without the perspective of ever achieving full control over space. In the realm of a city, the most important symbolic realization of these tactics is the act of walking, the immediate interaction with urban space contrasted to abstract representations of power which depict space in its panoramic totality.

> „The ordinary practitioners of the city live 'down below', below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk – an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, Wandersmänner, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it." (de Certeau 1984, 93)

Walking tours constitute a specific type of this practice: their dynamics with the urban structure are different from individual movements that emerge in a spontaneous, flexible and unconscious way. Walking tours are collective actions with a relatively well-defined purpose and a consciously planned, even if flexible, spatial agenda; still, as temporal and fragmented realizations of that agenda, they present a contrast to totalizing representations of space. Belonging to the group of touristic practices, their tactical character becomes easily questioned:

contemporary mass tourism is undoubtedly a strategic phenomenon with clear-cut objectives and a powerful institutional background; guided tours traditionally reproduce mainstream narratives created to realize the objectives of tourism industry. However, the tours discussed in the present work have specific qualities which provide them with a tactical character. Although guided city tours are not a new phenomenon, certain new subgenres have emerged in the last decades. The main source of attraction at these tours is the sense of uniqueness, locality and personal character, in response to the overwhelming uniformity of Fordist mass tourism (Urry 1995). The act of walking itself introduces a subversive quality to the practice: getting off the tourist bus and merging one's body in the street flows creates a more personal, direct interaction between structure and users, reinventing passive consumption of space, at least partly, as immediate bodily experience. The two companies under scrutiny both represent subversion, although in different ways: Chapter 3 will show how CGT and Korzo realize their tactical agenda embedded in the local structural context, and reflect on the duality of the process in which they challenge and reinforce parts of this broader framework.

De Certeau describes tactics of walking as writing one's space in contrast to reading it, characterizing the latter as a strategic process: maps and towers provide a distant and total perspective on the city, while street level practice presents the opportunity of actively shaping space. Walking tours constitute a sort of middle ground between these two types of engagement: the rewrite space, as the act of walking guarantees a form of agency, a spatializing practice that remains unique and momentary in each of the walks. At the same time, every tour has a narrative comprised by the stories told during the walk and the route they create in space, and this narrative is being performed by a tour guide in a frontal, however interactive manner. Therefore, tours also present a reading of space, broader spatial and temporal perspectives instead of the multilayered but singular view of the walking individual: some tours depict the development of the city throughout time, while others pick a topic which connects different locations within the

place. This dual nature of walking tours constitutes them as appropriate objects of a case study dealing with the mutually determined interactions of the individual and power structures.

1.2. Walking narratives

Everyday tactics obtain relevance as a concept that helps to understand social action from the side of the individual – the Certeauian framework opens a new field of investigation by focusing on the subjective meaning of everyday practices. Here lies the most significant momentum of de Certeau's theory, in the revealing of how intangible human qualities are insinuated within the regular frames of an allegedly rational order. Urban space is but one stage where this process unfolds: through individual practices, „a migrational, or metaphorical city [...] slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city" (de Certeau 1984, 93). In order to grasp the very nature of these meanings, it is important to understand the spatial order in which they are formulated: the Certeauian perspective interprets this order primarily as a product, a material result of historical processes and power structures. De Certeau outlines a system of analysis comprising three levels: representations of society, behavior of the subjects, and the "use", or meaning of these practices (1984, xiv). While I discussed the third level in the above section on tactics, here I focus on the first level. Space is a representation of society in the sense that it is a product of power relations: urban planning schemes, street structures and public monuments are different tools in which political or economic power is manifested. Following this conceptualization, I conceive the urban space of Cluj as a product of sequential power regimes where each layer represents a particular ideological setting: residential buildings from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, housing estates from the Ceaușescu-era, or Romanian tricolor public furniture from the Funar years all belong to such constitutive layers.

The Certeauian understanding of space as a social product can be elaborated by reflecting on the related work of Henri Lefebvre, namely, his concept of social space: in *The Production of Space,* Lefebvre conceptualizes space as materialized social relations, produced in a dialectic

interaction between the physical structure and social activity (Lefebvre 1991). Lefebvrian social space comprises all level of social action from institutions to individuals, transcending de Certeau's distinction of power and everyday practices. As a material trace of the process of its own production, social space is loaded by several layers of meaning attributed to it by individual and institutional actors: these meanings formulate a temporal sequence, adding another dimension to space. As Lefebvre summarizes, "any reality presenting itself in space can be expounded and explained in terms of its genesis in time" (1991, 115). This detour on the temporal dimension of social space is crucial for understanding what kind of material that "metaphorical city" is composed of: in the process of silent production, subjects attribute their own meanings to the given structure, and past serves as the foundation of these meanings.

> "The places people live in are like presences of diverse absences. What can be seen designates what is no longer there […] Demonstratives indicate the invisible identities of the visible: it is the very definition of a place, in fact, that it is composed by these series of displacements and effects among the fragmented strata that form it and that it plays of these moving layers." (de Certeau 1984, 108)

The above section describes a key element in the individual experience of the city, revealing how knowledge about the past becomes a means of inhabiting space. Walking tours work on a similar basis, building their narratives by attributing fragments of the past to certain parts of the physical environment. A question immediately arising is what kind of past we are dealing with here, and how that past is positioned in relation to the present – a problem explored in the debate on history and memory. In his fundamental work on memory, Pierre Nora argues that the distinction between the two concepts lies in their different relationship to the present time: "Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past" (1992, 8). While memory is a particular phenomenon defined by its relevance for distinct groups and individuals, history is universal, belonging to no-one and everyone at the same time (Nora 1992, 9). Connecting Nora to de Certeau, it can be argued that history is a strategic phenomenon, a form of power discourse defined by objectivity and

univocality, while memory is tactical, belonging to the side of individuals as a subjective and multivocal quality. In this framework, walking tours operate as mediators between the two levels, drawing on mainstream narratives of history and incorporating them in their own agenda. By actualizing these narratives in physical space, they obtain a situational relevance that connects them further to the present.

The relevance of past as a constitutive element of present is elaborated in Raphael Samuel's theory of history as ongoing social discourse: Samuel describes history as a strict and hierarchical form of knowledge production which ignores the diversity of processes outside the established ways (1994, 5). He facilitates a broader understanding of the concept implying different levels of transmitting past experience, as an „ensemble of activities and practices in which ideas of history are embedded or a dialectic of past-present relations is rehearsed" (Samuel 1994, 8). In this dialectics memory gains importance as a dynamic force that actively shapes the way we think about the past, influenced by the historical moment we are in and the determining structural forces of the given period. Samuel's conceptualization is reinforced by Edward Casey's understanding of public memory as "an encircling horizon", "an active resource on which current discussion and action draws" (Casey 2004, 25). Casey distinguishes public and social memory, the latter referring to the commemoration of a common past between people already related by kinship or place. These two types of memory interact in a specific manner in Cluj, where parallel (ethno)national histories result in different, sometimes completely opposing interpretations of the same sequence of events. Providing that public memory refers to objective elements of the past which serve as a basis of present interpretations, the split appears in the realm of social memory, influenced by the subject's relation to the place and the community. Kinship relations are to be understood in the broader sense of ethnic networks here, as ethnic identification seems to be a determining factor in how one interprets public memory. The present work engages in this view of the past as a discursive resource

deployed in the contemporary structural context and explores its working in space, supported by de Certeau's conceptualization of space as a container of memories and private meanings. Using the categories introduced by Casey, I will argue that the urban space of Cluj is a medium of public memories, a resource available for every individual to attach their own meanings to it. Based on de Certeau, I show how walking tours utilize that resource by creating their own interpretations from the given spatial and historical legacy, and what the exact ways are in which social memory influences the process. I focus on ethnicity as a dynamic but constitutive category which influences the subject's position in the transmission of social memory, determining the perspective from which public memory is approached, therefore, the formulation of narratives as well.

As it is suggested by the previous discussion, memory is a flexible phenomenon: its contents are being permanently reformulated depending on personal positions and the ruling power discourse. In other words, remembering is always a selection process through which elements are picked from the infinite warehouse of history and assembled into a coherent narrative. Christopher Tilley describes narrative as a constitutive element in human perception and interpretation of the outside world:

> „Narrative is a means of understanding and describing the world in relation to agency. It is a means of linking locales, landscapes, actions, events and experiences together providing a synthesis of heterogeneous phenomena. [...] Events are given meaning through their configuration into a whole requiring the emplotment of action." (Tilley 1994, 32)

This definition of narrative corresponds to the Certeauian understanding of tactical appropriation: both concepts describe the interaction between outside world and individual with the attempt to translate between these two genuinely different qualities. Narratives represent this effort on the cognitive level, therefore, they constitute the basis of Certeauian tactics:

> "Stories […] traverse and organize places; they select and link them together; they make sentences and itineraries out of them. They are spatial trajectories." (de Certeau 1984, 115)

The practice of walking itself is the ultimate realization of a narrative in space: informed by cognitive operations of the walker, walking actualizes a route by connecting physical locations and the associated symbolic contents. Chapter 4 explores precisely this process of narrative-construction by focusing on the way walking tours utilize elements of space and history in their own way.

Chapter 2. Case background

The roots of struggle over the symbolic and physical space of Cluj go back for centuries of time: the city whose history has been defined by cultural diversity and shifting dynamics of oppression between different classes and ethnic groups had the fate to be objected to constant ideological battles. The greater region of Transylvania where the city is located has always been a borderland of great powers throughout history: a periphery of the Roman Empire, the Eastern bastion of Western Christendom, and the protecting line between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires, and finally a border region between Hungarian and Romanian nation states (Brubaker et al. 2006, 56). Ethnic conflicts and various attempts to achieve national autonomy have been present in the region since the rise of the modern nationalism, starting with the 1848 revolution that led to the creation of Hungarian nation state and strong autonomy claims by the Romanian political minority. This conflict was eventually crystallized by the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 that acknowledged the annexation of Transylvania by the Romanian state, reversing the dynamics of oppression between the ethnic groups in the region (Brubaker et al. 2006, 68). While the Hungarian regime employed assimilation policies in a relatively large but politically weak Romanian population, the new Romanian administration had to focus on the strengthening of cultural and economic institutions in order to engender Romanian dominance. This project included the nationalization of "alien cities" (Brubaker et al. 2006, 70); as ethnic cleavages had strong class foundations, cities were traditionally a territory of Hungarian, German and Jewish bourgeoisie and middle classes, while the countryside belonged to peasants of Romanian origin. The nationalizing project of the first Romanian period (1920-1940) presented the beginning step of the still ongoing project to appropriate the urban space of Cluj on a symbolic level: streets were renamed after Romanian historical personalities, statues of Romanian national figures have been erected, and Hungarian spaces were reinscribed by adding a plaque or a new monument to the existing spatial structure. The most grandiose part of the

project was the establishment of a new, Romanian city center a few corners away from the traditional center that was too difficult to deprive of its Hungarian connotations (Brubaker et al. 2006, 100).

After the final setting of the Romanian borders in 1945, socialist modernization policies took place in the region, with an intended side-effect of ethno-demographic restructuring: large scale industrialization around the cities like Cluj drawn a great influx of Romanian people from the countryside who constituted the basis of the new working class, the ideological legitimation of the new political system (Kideckel 2008). Due to this process, Cluj had a radically changed ethnic and spatial composition by the 1970s, yet with a somewhat preserved class structure: Romanian working class inhabitants moved into the new socialist neighborhoods in the suburbs, while a significant Hungarian middle class community has remained in the center. Based on ethnographic data, Norbert Petrovici argues that the city center of Cluj was experienced by the Romanian population as a "Hungarian space" even in the late years of socialism (Petrovici 2011). Brubaker describes the social world of 1970s Cluj as determined by three dichotomies: Hungarian/Romanian, center/periphery, "original" resident/newcomer (2006, 114); these categories, sometimes overlapping and all of them motivated by class position of the subject, create a complex matrix of identification for locals. However, ethnic conflict did not rise significantly before the transition in 1989: besides the general atmosphere of oppression, the Soviet type system facilitated a relatively progressive minority policy, intending to prevent any form of ethnic mobilization and legitimate the socialist project in a more acceptable national framework (Brubaker et al. 2006, 81). The collapse of socialism and the following economic and political restructuring led to a radical disruption of the existing social system, a process that also had its consequences regarding urban space.

The post-transitional history of Cluj is inseparable from the activity of Gheorghe Funar, the extreme nationalist mayor of the city in the period between 1992 and 2004. Funar was known

by his strong anti-Hungarian rhetoric that gained, fortunately, less manifestation on the level of actions, except the realm of public space: the most remembered development connected to his name seems to be the nationalization of urban space in Cluj by means of renaming streets, reinterpreting (Hungarian) past, rediscovering (Romanian) past, and redecorating the city, the most infamous momentum of this last practice being the repainting of street furniture, including fences and dustbins, to colors of the Romanian flag (Brubaker et al. 2006, 140). Although many of them have disappeared by now, particular spatial developments from this period are still affecting the urban landscape, most importantly on the level of public discourse concerning the city. Chapter 4 discusses some of these landmarks in connection to the narrative of walks. The essential role of urban space as an object of nationalist political manipulations is explained by Norbert Petrovici based on the specific trajectory of local development: inquiring about the reasons behind the longstanding electoral success of Mayor Funar, he the effect of socialist legacy on post-transition worker experiences and consequently, their voting behaviors (Petrovici 2011). Talking about the region, Petrovici and Katherine Verdery both emphasize ethnic dimensions of working class networks, arguing that ethnicity served as a basis of distinction in a system where all other forms of differentiation have been consciously toned down (Verdery 1996, 86). With the collapse of socialism, both the ideological and infrastructural basis of worker collectivities disappeared: economic restructuring and the reorganization of production made workforce in the factories redundant, while individualist and profit-oriented logic of market economy displaced feelings of collectivity and social solidarity, leaving workers in an ideological vacuum of self-identification (Kideckel 2008). Petrovici explores how ideological changes of this kind shaped workers' conceptualizations about the city and their position in it, arguing that the disappearance of the grand narrative of socialism resulted in a collapse of socialist city in the physical space as well as in the minds of workers. "The diverse elements that had composed the city of the workers were no longer animated by

the national project of production but were suspended as empty signifiers in an undetermined social space." (Petrovici 2011, 9) According to him, the prolonged success of Funar's nationalist politics lied in his strategy of reassembling this disintegrating space through the use of national symbols, and providing a narrative for working class residents that enabled them to find their place in the city again. Strong nationalist public discourse and spatial reorganization of the city translated the experience of economic and ideological dispossession to terms of ethnic conflict and national pride.

The second decade after transition has been characterized by a different economic environment: by the middle of the 2000s, especially after Romania joining the European Union in 2007, Cluj became a central destination of transnational capital, resulting in new enterprises and new jobs that absorbed a significant amount of unemployed workers (Petrovici 2011). Among the new structural conditions, the Funar type discourse lost its relevance both in the realm of worker subjectivity and on the strategic level, since economic protectionism presented an obstacle to transnational market forces expanding in the region. Pásztor and Péter (2006) describe the development of Cluj in this new era as a case of postmodern urbanization, a process characterized by changing economic profile of the cities and the imperative of their integration to the space of global capital. In this framework, postsocialist restructuring of Cluj is a manifestation of the post-Fordist turn that places the emphasis from industrial production to the service sector. In the system of global capitalism, transnational capital becomes the main engine of economic development, therefore, the neoliberal city becomes an instrument of attracting capital. Symbolic values gain a special importance in this competition for transnational capital: instead of material resources, cities have to build on abstract values of cultural and historical heritage which makes them unique and attractive in the eyes of foreign investors. From a center of production, the city becomes a space and simultaneously and object of consumption, deploying all of the available resources to create a positive image about itself, a practice usually

referred to as city branding. Pásztor and Péter (2006) interpret the spatial restructuring of Cluj in the last decade as part of this rebranding process: analyzing official documents of the city (municipality documents, tourism development strategy and the reconstruction plans of the main square by an architect company) they reveal how the above aspects are reflected in local expert discourses. Their findings confirm the idea of recreating Cluj as a space of consumption: besides infrastructural developments, the documents vision an identity of Cluj based on its historical past, cultural diversity, architectural heritage and geographical values, features that all have the potential of creating market value. The academic and touristic scenes are crucial actors in this process, as they generate international movement based on production and distribution of different types of knowledge. The past obtains special significance in this context as a warehouse of unique symbolic meanings: nostalgia and rediscovery of past periods are a general feature of the postmodern phenomenon, and in case of cities, the focus is on spatial legacy as an expression of a distinct local identity, usually based on an imaginary golden age. Conflicting interpretations of the past, as in case of the ethnic issue in Cluj, become irrelevant to the project of city branding: instead of emphasizing differences, authorities try to create a coherent and easily acceptable image about the place. This tendency is reflected in the development strategies of Cluj: Pásztor and Péter (2006) describe a deliberate effort on the power side to erase the legacy of Mayor Funar, and substitute it with the image of a multicultural European city, based on its multi-ethnic traditions and the historical city center.

The above historical summary does not only delineate the main conflicts and issues determining local social relations, but reveals how urban space has always been a central object in the articulation of these conflicts. The next chapters investigate how the spatial legacy of these struggles is interpreted by contemporary users of the city, focusing on two types of local walking tours as spatializing practices which operate by using the symbolic meanings contained in the urban environment.

Chapter 3. Walking Tactics

Talking about the historical development of any kind of phenomenon, the concept of "postmodern" usually appears in the closing chapter; my discussion on the history of Clujean urban space also ended on a similar note, based on hypotheses of local scholars about the possible direction of future trajectories of the place. The present chapter enters the discussion by investigating the case of walking tours as a particular result of local urban development, asking what the emergence of these tour guide companies tells about the processes delineated by authors like Pásztor and Péter (2006) and Petrovici and Vanea (2010). Using the Certeauian conceptual pair of strategies and tactics, I study the two guiding companies as tactical projects which operate in the Clujean social space, shaping it towards their own interests but at the same time determined by the ruling structural forces acting in that space. Drawing on ethnographic data coming from interviews and personal conversations with the members of tour guide groups, I identify the main themes and motivations behind their activity and evaluate them in the context of broader structural environment; more precisely, based on how they relate to the idea of "postmodernizing Cluj" depicted by Pásztor and Péter.

3.1. Korzo

Korzo Association has been established in the spring of 2014 by three Hungarian women in their 20s, Bogi, Eszter and Zsófi, all from the Hungarian art history department in Babes-Bolyai University. After their first tour, they were joined by two other art historians from the department, Viki and Dóri. They are all of Hungarian nationality, mainly from Cluj or the neighboring countryside, except Eszter who was born near Brasov, southern Transylvania. The association works with volunteers who participate in the research, the administrative tasks and guiding; they are students, mainly from various humanity studies. The idea of walking tours came from similar initiatives in Budapest and other cities. Thematic tours are organized for the

locals as well as tourists: their general appeal lies in the fact that they introduce less known, specific parts of the city, based on a theme that connects the different stop in space. From their numerous plans, Korzo girls chose the topic of Cinema in Cluj as the debut walk. Their second tour introduces the important locations of the 1989 revolution in the city, and they have various plans regarding further tours. Walks are generally in Hungarian, but their aim is to be bilingual, as it is proved by the posts on their Facebook page. Although they plan to broaden their activity to English language tours, their primary target is the local population. Korzo Association in its present state can be regarded more as a cultural mission than a business enterprise: tours are organized only a few times a month and for a relatively low price (one tour costs 8 RON for students and 12 RON for adults, half of the price of a local theatre ticket). This kind of functioning does not contribute to a financially sustainable business model, although the members intend to make it their main source of income on the long term. According to their narration, the main intention with the project was to find a form that would allow them to share their research results with a broader audience:

> "Our profession is full of exciting stories details, and we didn't want those findings to remain in pages of studies and fall into oblivion. We wanted to share it with the non-professional people in a comprehensible and popular form." (Dóri)

> "We want to show the local cultural heritage, make it known among people, because we see that local people from the outskirts do not necessarily know it, and even the professionals like architects have distorted knowledge about certain parts, as we experienced." (Bogi)

The above quotes from the members reveal the two factors that I found the most defining in the mission off Korzo: first, they have a strong focus on scientific credibility based on a strict research methodology coming from their art historian education, and second, they want to create a bridge between different segments of local community, be they Hungarians and Romanians or professionals and "average citizens". However, the main target of bridging is the ethnic cleavage which determines the community in Cluj: when talking about their mission in a direct way, Korzo members repeatedly emphasize their goal to address Hungarian and

Romanian audiences equally, find the common points and reveal layers of the past significant for every locals. Their narration suggests they want to avoid the status of an isolated minority project that deals with Hungarian cultural heritage of the place, a rather widespread model in Transylvania. Nevertheless, Korzo members experience obstacles in realizing this mission, which they interpret in two major ways: one of them concerns the isolation between the two ethnic communities on the level of institutions and personal networks, which prevents them from successfully promoting their project among the Romanian audience. One tactic deployed by them to overcome this barrier is to hire Romanian members, an attempt of moderate success so far:

> "We were looking for pronouncedly Romanian volunteers, but all we got were Hungarian ones, except one girl, Cristina. The communication channels are so isolated that it happened like this. Romanian members would be so important in order to reach the Romanian part of local community. At least a name that they can pronounce! It makes so much difference! The main problem is the lack of communication. If we got to know each other, if we got an opportunity to meet, a platform… Walks would be perfect as easily available and comprehensible means to achieve this." (Viki)

In the end, Korzo members see walks as an ultimate tool to resolve this problem, creating a vicious cycle in which walks could decrease the isolation but the same isolation prevents the target group from attending the walks. Their other explanation of ethnic cleavage concerns the "different cultural background" of the two ethnic groups, a notion that suggests a class-based interpretation of ethnicity, described by Petrovici and others in detail (Petrovici 2011; Faje 2011; Brubaker et al. 2006). The difficulty of reaching Romanian audiences is repeatedly explained by Korzo members as resulted by a general lack of need for cultural programs from the Romanian side. In some cases, this supposedly Romanian characteristic is being contrasted to the Hungarian community where minority status constitutes culture as a necessary tool for the survival of an ethno-national group:

> "In the last 10 years, Hungarians have been doing a surprising amount of events compared to their proportion among within the inhabitants. Probably also because this is the only power that can hold together the Hungarian community, their cultural background they can use. Many of the Romanians don't have this background." (Bogi)

However, the different position of culture in the Romanian community is not explained solely by the majority/minority cleavage, but also from a strong middle class bias which conceives Romanians as generally "less cultured". The most representative expression of this opinion is the distinction between cultural and material consumption, the latter attributed to the lower classes of society:

> "Cluj-Napoca Days is the only event that successfully addresses even those who live in Manastur [a working class suburb of Cluj with Romanian majority] and never leave their apartments. Of course, because there is mititei [traditional Romanian sausage] and you can it, but if they are already there, they might visit some program too!" (Viki)

> "Even in the Hungarian Cultural Days, we didn't have time to eat at home so we got some food there, and you know, you could hear only Romanian language around the food stations!" (Bogi)

Considering the literature cited above on local dynamics of nationalism, it can be argued that this kind of conceptualization reflects the influences of mainstream nationalist discourse in Cluj, interpreted from a Hungarian minority perspective. But in the narration of Korzo members this narrative appears combined with a progressive "European" discourse that questions contemporary validity of nation states, promotes freedom of movement and an openness to embrace cultural difference. The following quote from our group discussion is especially revealing, as it contains all the elements listed above:

> "Many Hungarians make huge claims that they are Hungarian and therefore they have more right to be here than others; and a lot of Romanians do the same. It is a really, really small group of people who can see beyond these limits and realize that they could do something together. That this kind of nationalistic attitude makes no sense anymore… Not in the European Union, that is all about open borders, especially borders of this kind!" (Bogi)

The simultaneous presence of the two discourses can be interpreted as a marker of a social group in a particular intersection of generation and class: these people have obtained their basic

level of socialization at the time of postsocialist transition, appropriating a value system that was challenged during their higher education around the Millennium, inspired by ideas of transnationalism and European integration. Their stated mission of facilitating intercultural communication reflects the latter discourse, identified by Pásztor and Péter as a characteristic of postmodern Cluj (2006). Adaptation of these values in case of Korzo Association is not a conscious strategy to produce economic output but it arises from the socialization of members, most importantly, their university education and the intellectual influences typical for their class and generation. The next chapter shows how the two discourses are negotiated on the level of walking tours, discussing the contrasting dynamics of walking and backstage narratives.

The other pillar of Korzo Association's mission is the scientifically grounded research that constitutes the foundation of every walk. Their conceptualization of walking tour as a public display of scientific research in a comprehensible form explains the importance of methodological precision in the construction of the tours. The fact that the five core members all come from the discipline of art history, and a particular educational institution and style within that, proves to be essential not only in their motivations but also in formulating the main principles of their work. Talking about their art historian studies, they emphasize the strict demands of the department in the field of research methodology, meaning the careful choice and critical investigation of the available sources in order to obtain the scientifically most authentic information on the research object. As they argued, an important element of this practice is the research on local, therefore easily available objects of art historic significance. In their elaboration of this issue, the question obtains ethnic undertones:

> "It tells a lot about the department that they support local research objects, mainly Transylvanian topics. At the Romanian department, they write dissertations on topics like Venetian masks, Japanese avant-garde fashion, Inca architecture… These are all very exciting themes, but if one cannot travel there, what do you research in the end?"

One part of such considerations reflects a typical demand of art historian methodology to work from primary resources, a condition which is less likely to be fulfilled in case of distant and exotic objects. The ethnic distinction is more interesting: the depiction of Romanian academic practice as unprofessional fits into the broader agenda of ethnically termed class difference described above, although it happens within the middle class realm of higher education. However, the issue has more particular roots in the problematic field of national historiographies considering the past of the region. The previous chapter delineated the origins and some significant moments of this conflict in which Transylvania as a whole and its various parts have been permanently objected to conflicting ownership claims by different political regimes and ethno-national communities, and historiography was a main tool in the struggle to validate these claims. Although far from being an exclusively Romanian characteristic, rewriting of history in a way to support a triumphant ethno-national narrative was a deliberate strategy of the Causescu-regime as well as of Mayor Funar, constituting a discursive space where professional concerns of the art historian discipline are inevitably intertwined with the suspicious attitude of the ethnic minority subjects towards any scientific claim about regional history. As Bogi formulated:

> "We try to be entertaining but also want to preserve the scientific credibility of the project. We pay serious attention to not tell anything without a real foundation, also for the reason that some overly nationalistic Romanians tend to make up historical information and try to present it as reality."

These kind of comments confirm the assumption about the role of distorted histories in Korzo members' awareness of methodological accuracy, but our conversations suggested that this is only an aspect of their general interest in the most authentic reading of urban heritage. The less formal parts of our interviews were especially revealing in terms of personal motivations which move the project: by sharing our passion about questions of architecture, history and urban space, I was able to understand their activity as part of their individual tactical agenda to

appropriate the space in which they were born or live now. In the discipline of art history, scientific accuracy is deployed in order to explore the legacy of various aesthetic regimes and the symbolic meanings behind them; in case of Korzo tours, scientific interest is combined with a personal relation to the ideas signified by visual and spatial markers in the city. Art history does not delimit the topic of the tours, but provides a comprehensive approach to investigate urban space as a container of symbolic meanings. Talking about early 20th century cinema or events of the 1989 revolution in Cluj, the creators aim to tell their own story about the place, using the urban environment as material evidence that opens up with the help of written sources. Tactical operations like this fit into the postmodern agenda that prefers uniqueness and difference over uniforming strategies of modernity; at the level of urban development, difference becomes the source of economic value through the creation of segmented markets targeted to multiple tastes and lifestyles. Studying coffee houses in the city center of Cluj, Norbert Petrovici and Alexandra Vanea (2010) describe how fragments of local middle class distinguish themselves from the working class, and mainly from each other through symbolic consumption practices. They use the concept of consumption labor to reflect on the process in which the consumer "enacts the very use value of that it is supposed to consume" by attributing symbolic meanings to the material product. This conceptualization refers to the same process that Pásztor and Péter (2006) label as the postmodernization of Cluj, both accounts describing a shift from the center of production to a space of consumption. In other words, production is shifted from the material realm to the symbolic economy, involving the consumer in the process. The act which Petrovici and Vanea grasp with the concept of consumption labor appears to be parallel with the Certeauian notion of silent production: from different theoretical starting points, both of them address the potential of individual agency to modify the structure which determines its movement by using it according to its own ways. As a case of silent production, Korzo walks contribute to the postmodernization of Cluj by creating symbolic

value: although the association does not produce tangible economic profit in its present state, as a cultural project with a clear style and mission it increases the market value of Cluj as a space of cultural consumption.

3.2. Cluj Guided Tours

Cluj Guided Tours has a very different story than Korzo, a difference which made me concerned at one point of the research, whether they actually fit into my original category of tactical projects formulating the urban space of Cluj. The main reason behind this doubt was the group's strong affiliation with the tourist industry in terms of professional background and the content of tours. After describing the above characteristics of CGT in detail within the full context of the project, it becomes clear that the case is overly relevant for my investigations, although in a different way than Korzo. CGT started in another university department of Babes-Bolyai University, a fact that reveals a lot about the difference between the two projects: the association has been established in the end of 2013 with professors and students from the tourism development program in the Faculty of Geography. Based on the interviews I conducted with a professor and two students from the organization, the mission of the company can be summarized in two points: to introduce the heritage of Cluj to locals and tourists, and educate the new generation of professionally skilled tour guides. The organizational structure of the group, probably strongly influenced by the second goal, is much more hierarchical than of Korzo: it consists of skilled professionals who are responsible for leadership and the transfer of knowledge to the other half, namely the students who work on a voluntary basis. Tours follow the international scheme of "free walking tours", a business model based on tips from the visitors. The main product of the group is a general city tour that aims to introduce the development of the place throughout different periods of history. The other direction of their activity is custom tours, organized according to individual needs of the group that orders it for a set price. They also have thematic tours with more classical themes like palaces, sculptures

of noble families in the city, but they are much less frequent and some of them are still in the developmental stage. The next chapter will discuss the differences of CGT approach compared to Korzo tours in detail, but for the present purposes it is important to note some features which constitute these tours as belonging to the field of tourist industry. To a certain extent, the general tour delimits its audience already with the topic, presenting some of the most important historic and cultural landmarks that locals are probably familiar with. By locals I mean the inhabitants of Cluj and its vicinity, as people from other regions of Romania can still be a target audience of the tours, and members often emphasize the importance of internal tourism besides incoming tourism from abroad. The tour is designed to provide a summary of historical development of the city, contrary to Korzo tours that focus on a particular aspect of this history in greater detail. Nothing reflects the project's connection with tourism better than the fact that the sites included in the tour show an almost perfect convergence with the landmarks appointed as defining in the 2006 tourism development strategy of Cluj (Péter and Pásztor 2006), the details of which correspondence I elaborate in the next chapter. The type of stories and the way of narration both facilitate a surface level knowledge about the place mediated within the frames of a leisure practice: Roxana, a volunteer tour guide emphasized the importance of context besides the content itself.

> "The point is to create an experience in the two hours of the walk: the visitors have to be relaxed and entertained. We have to connect our topic to the background knowledge they have, embed the history of Cluj in the broader world. The tour guide has a complex task, she has to pay attention to timing, conflict management, and personal problems of the guests."

The latter statement is very telling about the mission of CGT: while Korzo tours focus mainly on the content and the most appropriate way to translate between scholarly research and their visitors, practical issues like those mentioned above appear as not so significant in their narratives. On the contrary, content and practical questions of managing the tour play equally important role in the vision of CGT members: I attribute this factor to their professional

background in tourism, where content is only a part of the bigger machinery deployed to achieve a flawless user experience. The touristic dimension of CGT can be interpreted in the context of postmodern urban restructuring: based on the work of Sharon Zukin and John Urry, Pásztor and Péter (2006) identify tourism as a main tool of reproducing the city as an object of consumption by using its symbolic resources, culture, history and education. While Korzo Association implements a similar project with a different starting point, the activity of CGT has a more direct relation to the strategic phenomenon of tourism industry due to its academic and personal foundation, and this relation is explicitly stated in the company's mission.

Regarding only this level of the activity of CGT, it does not seem obvious what distinguishes the project from a strategic operation of tourist industry that realizes a prescribed agenda developed in an institutional framework. The tactical character becomes more apparent looking at the second part of their mission, the training of tour guides. This can be better understood together with the career path of Cristina, the initiator of the project: she describes the history of the association within a narrative of her own professional development, revealing the themes and motivations leading to the birth of CGT. Cristina is a Romanian woman in her 30s, currently a professor at the Faculty of Geography; after a degree in environmental studies, she started working in a Satu Mare travel agency, organizing bus trips for Romanians to abroad. This was added by years of experience as a tour guide in Greece and a founder of her own online travel agency, a pioneer enterprise in the early 2000s Romania, activities that provided a practical training for her in the field of tourism and guiding. Her experience proved to be a precious skill during her PhD studies in the Faculty of Geography, where she was asked to lecture Bachelor students about practical issues of travel organization and tour guiding. After some years of teaching, she thought about establishing an association that provides a platform for the training of tour guides; one year later, CGT was launched together with almost twenty students from the department and other universities. As it is suggested by the story of Cristina, the main

motivations behind a training project for young tour guides have been the underdeveloped state of tour guiding profession in Romania, and the lack of practical education at the university level. Cristina described the state of guiding in Romania by distinguishing two types of guides: the first are those trained in the socialist times when tourism was a state-organized industry. These people have high quality professional skills but their factual knowledge is "outdated" and does not suit requirements of the present time. The other type is young people with official guiding license: they have a broader perspective on present issues and a good command of English, but their practical skills need to be improved. People of this latter type are the target of CGT mission: Cristina argues that the official tour guide exam does not provide satisfying knowledge.

"They have to learn how to do it *really* well, and this is only possible through practice."

The tours offered by CGT thus have to be conceived as a training ground where guides can learn and improve all skills necessary to guiding profession, and the general tour provides a scheme for this learning. The "free walking tour" model serves well this agenda, as it does not engender the usual price and demand relations as paid tours, leaving a space for learning and experimenting for the guides. The tactical character of CGT is given by exactly this feature of experimentation: CGT is not a profit-making enterprise in its present form, proven by the fact that some of the guides left for financial reasons. While understanding concerns of everyday economic struggle, Cristina imagines CGT as a long term project which demands dedication and sometimes sacrifices from the members. Besides financial characteristics, the other important feature of CGT is that it works outside any institutional framework: although it has connection to academic and touristic institutions, it operates independently of them, based on the creative efforts of its members. A comment from Cristina reveals how CGT is positioned within the local field of power:

> "We want to educate the new generation, and let the community understand the value we have here! And slowly it can also affect the legislation."

This statement constitutes CGT as an actor that is not an integral part of the institutional framework but with a potential to influence it, fulfilling the definition of Certeauian tactics. Besides its touristic foundations, CGT embodies another feature of postmodern urbanism: as a project based on volunteering and learning through practice, it reflects the values of education and entrepreneurship, both of which are constitutive elements of the consumable city.

Chapter 4. Walking Narratives

At the time of my fieldwork, there is an exhibition in the Clujean branch of Tranzit, a network of art institutions promoting critical theory and visual arts throughout Eastern Europe; it is a video installation by Larisa David that shows citizens of Romania reading out loud from history textbooks[1]. Romanian, Hungarian and Roma people stand besides each other and read stories that contradict each other at every possible point: inhabitants of the same region, citizens of the same state, their textbooks contain entirely different histories, except Roma people who do not have anything to read, being invisible for the mainstream historiography of Romania. The artwork feels unsettlingly relevant for my research: although I arrived with an initial interest in the multi-ethnic heritage of the place, the accentuated presence of parallel histories on the level of everyday discourse took me with surprise. In the previous chapter I described how the two walking tour projects are embedded in the urban context of Cluj, and how their mission reflects the structural environment in which they operate. A part of my argument was that both projects promote the idea of Cluj as a multicultural place valuable for its symbolic capital, inspired by the post-Fordist conception of cities as centers of service sector and consumption. The present chapter investigates how this mission is realized on the level of actual spatializing practices, namely, walking tours. As my starting point is that walking narratives are selective recollections of past and present meanings attached to urban space, and the selection process is influenced by the narrator's positions in the field of social memory, conflicting ethno-national histories become a defining element in narratives about Cluj. Therefore, the main focus of this chapter is on the way ethnicity is approached by the tours: how the ethnic dimension of urban space is being interpreted in the walks, and what kind of narratives do walks create about "multicultural Cluj" by assembling parts of the available historical legacy in different ways?

[1] See http://ro.tranzit.org/en/exhibition/0/2015-03-26/delimitations, retrieved on 21 May 2015

4.1. Cluj Guided Tours, General City Tour

On a Saturday afternoon, by the kindness of CGT members I join one of the private tours ordered by a Romanian couple whose friends are visiting from all over Europe on the occasion of their newborn child's baptism ceremony. Roxana, the tour guide is waiting for the group on Piata Unirii (Union Square), in front of the equestrian statue of King Mathias. She emphasizes that guests are not going to hear dry historical facts but an exciting story about how the city of Cluj has been developed throughout the centuries: the point of the walk is to entertain the guests while providing them with a general knowledge of the city. This "general" knowledge is constructed in a particular manner though: the choice of stops and their interpretations reflect a specific position in the discourse about the place. Our starting point, Union Square is regarded as the historical center of Cluj, and as such, it has been in the focus of symbolic struggles discussed in Chapter 2: the overwhelming presence of Hungarian national symbols (especially Saint Michael Church and Mathias sculpture) constituted it as a "Hungarian main square", engendering several attempts from the Funar administration to Romanize the space. The statue of King Mathias has been added by a new plaque, in fact a reinstallation of the Romanian nationalist plaque from the 1930: it changed the neutral Latin name of the king, Mathias Rex to Matei Corvinul, suggesting the emperor's Romanian origins, and at the same time recalling his defeat by the Moldavian army to present a double challenge for Hungarian pride. Besides this reinterpretation of history, the square has been objected to historical rediscovery in the form of archaeological excavation attempted to show the Roman origins of the place: the physical dismantling of the historical center and the permanent exhibition of the scientifically modest findings was a strong means of neutralizing Hungarian connotations of the square (Brubaker et al. 2006). This ensemble of neutralizing/Romanizing measures was completed by the tricolor street furniture and the numerous Romanian national flag installed in the square, creating a symbolic tension which persists until the present, long after the nationalist symbolic had been

consolidated by the Emil Boc administration following Mayor Funar. As this brief description of the conflicting symbolic landscape suggests, Union Square as a starting point of the tour has a rich potential to investigate different interpretations of space as a container of historical meanings.

The first stop of the tour is the kind that would never appear in a walk organized by/for Hungarians: ruins of the Roman settlement displayed underground in the main square are the remnants of Funar-era excavations, most of them buried and a small section covered by glass. As it has been argued, they are markers of the Romanian nationalist narratives that consider the Roman period as the founding moment of the Romanian nation, and Daco-Roman population as the ancestors of modern Romanian people (see Brubaker et al. 2006, 89). The body of Roxana's interpretation follows the mainstream historical narrative, similar to the one introduced in the work of Brubaker: Roman settlement is followed by long decades of the "dark medieval age" with almost no written records and nomadic hordes raiding the area, then the arrival of Hungarians in the 10th century. However, the details of representation give a specific perspective to the story: Hungarian presence is mentioned as an element within a Romanian master narrative instead of a sequential change of power regimes in the place. As a guest from Hungary, I become a funny learning tool to demonstrate the Hungarian story: Roxana is asking the group, "Why did Hungarians come to the area? Why did Anna come here?" Her answer is revealing of the way national territory is delimited and conceptualized in the narrative of the walk: "Similarly to Romans, Hungarians came to the area for the natural resources like gold, salt and the forests. And mountains! Hungarians had no mountains in their country". The last part of this sentence indicates a clear distinction between territories assigned to Hungarians and those not, Transylvania clearly belonging to the latter category. At the same time, Hungarian presence is absolutely not denied or interpreted in negative terms, rather described as a source of cultural and economic influence in the place, and the historical foundation of the

multicultural character of Cluj, including the present period with a more or less 15% proportion of Hungarian minority.

The next stop is the house where King Mathias, Hungarian ruler from the 15th century was born. Similarly to the Roman ruins, the building has a strong national symbolic value that made it an object of conflicting national narratives inscribed in its material surface: there are two plaques on the house, one with a Hungarian text placed there in 1889 after the visit of Emperor Franz Joseph and one in Romanian installed in 1996 during the Funar regime, describing Mathias as the greatest Hungarian king who had Romanian origins (Brubaker et al. 2006). The second plaque is a tool to reappropriate an important element of the Hungarian symbolic landscape in a way to fit the mainstream historical discourse about Cluj at the time of Funar, one of the numerous similar interventions in public space by the ruling power throughout different political regimes. The above connotations all remain in shadow during the tour: the house stands for being an object of historical anecdotes about King Mathias, whose mother arrived here during a trip to give birth to him.

In the following stop, Museum Square, we look at the baroque church constructed on a gothic structure, and learn about religious diversity of the place. According to Brubaker, "the successive waves of [reformation] left Transylvania with its unusually complex religious landscape, with four 'received religions' and a precocious regime of religious toleration" (Brubaker et al. 2006, 90) – although the religious tolerance of the age concerns four types of Christianity, including Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism and Unitarianism, in the narrative of the walk it supports the idea of Cluj as a multicultural and tolerant place for several centuries. Staying in Museum Square, we take a leap in time to "the period when the city was under Austro-Hungarian domination". The temporal and marked character of Hungarian period contrary to an unmarked and therefore natural Romanian presence appears again in the narrative. The square still containing remnants of the medieval town structure is used to

demonstrate a layer from the historical development of the city, confirming the intention of the tour expressed in the beginning. The German presence in the city is also mentioned during the tour: passing by a pub named Klausen, we learn about the Saxon community settled by King Robert Charles in Transylvania in order to generate economic development in the region (Brubaker et al. 2006, 59).

At this point we return to the Union Square, and look at the Saint Michael church from outside; the Catholic church is probably the most important symbolic landmark for the local Hungarian community besides the Mathias sculpture and the king's birthplace. Roxana mentions the cultural importance of the church, telling that significant events of the city had been hosted here starting from the baptism of King Mathias, but the majority of her story concerns architectural details of the building. After the church we go to the Banffy Palace in the opposite side of the square and hear about the noble families who influenced the financial and cultural life of the city. Besides telling stories connected to the place, Roxana tells about another castle outside of the city, Bontida, where an electronic music festival takes places every summer in the recent years, suggesting the guests to visit it one day. This moment reflects the broader project of CGT to promote the region as a tourist destination besides raising awareness of the urban heritage of Cluj.

Our last stop turns back to the statue of King Mathias on a horse: after an interactive session of guessing about the personality of Mathias, Roxana tells a well-known legend supporting the image of "Mathias the righteous", the personality trait characterizing the king in the local and national collective memory. Although our walk ends here due to time constraints of the group, a usual tour contains some more stops, including Babes-Bolyai Unversity building and Avram Iancu square, the "other main square of Cluj" (Brubaker et al. 2006). From my personal conversations with Roxana and other CGT tour guides, I can draw conclusions about the content of these stops: the university is meant to signify the city's status as a traditional educational

center of the region which promotes diversity and multiculturalism on the level of students who arrive there to study from various regions, ethnicities and even from different countries. Cristina, the founder of CGT emphasized the same characteristics as her favorite and most defining ones regarding the essence of Cluj: "The university means a lot of things: education, professional skills, culture, diversity, science and development. This is the kind of city we want to present to those who come here." This kind of narrative fits into the broader discourse on competitive cities, based on creativity, knowledge production and scientific progress, one of the constitutive discourses of "postmodern city" discussed in the previous chapter.

The last stop of the tour, Avram Iancu Square is most probably aimed to represent an unambiguously "Romanian space" in the narrative of the walk: the contemporary outlook of the square is a result of subsequent attempts through the 20th century to establish a "Romanian main square" in order to balance the strong Hungarian symbolic of Union Square (Brubaker et al. 2006). The measures included the construction of an Orthodox Cathedral in the interwar period, to display Romanian religious affiliations in contrast to the Catholic and Protestant forms of Christianity associated with the Hungarian community. In the 1990s, the cathedral from the 1930s was added by the statue of Avram Iancu, a Romanian national hero who is known for fighting against Hungarian military forces in the civil war following the 1848 revolution. This spatial ensemble is completed by the Romanian Opera, the former Hungarian Theatre that was turned into a Romanian institution after the First World War. According to personal narratives of the guides, they talk about the above elements of the square as architectural landmarks, and Avram Iancu as an important figure of Romanian history.

4.2. Korzo, Cinema in Cluj

On a sunny afternoon, a few of us are waiting besides the House of University, a modernist building from the 1930s erected for the benefit of Clujean students during the first Romanian period. We have two guides, Bogi and Etelka; as the former explains, they usually do the tours

in pairs to share the administrative and guiding responsibilities between them. After a short introduction of themselves, they explain that the walk will give a short summary of the history of cinema in Cluj, through personal stories and important buildings. Shortly the relevance of our first stop is revealed: House of University had been built in the place of the former Hungarian Theatre, the first in Cluj and apparently in the whole Hungarian-speaking territory. After talking about the first trouper cinematographers who screened their short movies in the building, the story turns to the second Hungarian theatre in Avram Iancu square: in a brief introduction of the changing ownership relations they tell how the building became the house of Romanian Opera in 1919, and Hungarian theatre had to move to the Summer Pavilion near river Somes. The event is being told as part of the general spatio-historical development of Cluj, but with a negative undertone of injustice and loss, reflecting the perspective of the Hungarian ethno-cultural community.

Next, we arrive to the main square to hear the story of a cinema which went bankrupt in nine months after its opening, made palpable with an article from the 1910s that describes the owner's road to insanity in an amusing way. Personal anecdotes are combined with a cultural historical summary of the development of cinema in the region at the beginning of 20th century, which provides an insight into the subjective geography of the tour. The boundary status of Cluj is reflected in the way the tour conceptualizes the space centered on the city: stories encircle a territory from Budapest to Bucharest, with a stronger emphasis on Hungarian cultural space, but a clear presence of Romanian connections. A corner away, we see the building of Apollo Cinema, the first "electric theatre" of Cluj that opened in 1906, one year after electricity network had been installed in the city: stories like this help to locate details of the topic in the broader context of local development.

We continue the tour at the foot of Citadel, a hill on the other side of river Somes, to hear the adventurous story of a movie shooting. Several spatial layers are synthesized in the narration

of the guides: the Clujean space stood for the Great Hungarian Plain in the movie, a prestigious area at the time in sharp contrast with the disreputable "Gypsy Row" under the Citadel, inhabited by poor Roma people. Also, the film was made in French-Hungarian coproduction and earned international recognition, especially in the Paris film circles, a demonstrative case of the relatively important role of Cluj as a regional center of film production in the first decades of the 20th century. Bogi underpins this feature by mentioning that besides Budapest, Cluj was the starting point in the professional career of Michael Curtis and Alexander Korda, two of the Hungarian filmmakers who became defining characters in the international film industry. This kind of narratives depicts Cluj as the Transylvanian Hollywood of the 1910s, promoting a nostalgic image of a long deceased golden age by emphasizing the positive characteristics of the city. The source of pride here lies both in the local talents and recognition by the West, the place which set the standards at the period and apparently also in the present time of narration. We finish the tour in front of Urania Palace, another cinema from the first half of the 20th century that has been closed in the last years. Bogi tells that Urania and Apollo had the same owner whose descendants live in Argentina and they still own the building of Urania after the restitution of state property in the 1990s. The story of the building, similarly to the whole of the walk, thus reveals much more than the history of cinema in Cluj: it talks about the broader socio-historical processes that affected the lives of its owners and of local citizens.

4.3. Korzo, Places of the Revolution

I attend the other walk of Korzo a day after the cinema tour; instead of the other walks, this one starts in a less central part of the city, although still far from the real outskirts. The street is lined with empty plots, old factory buildings, car tuning workshops, and one or two-storey small town residential houses. There is a handful of guests again, all Hungarian speakers, similarly to the other Korzo walk; two of us are from Hungary, the others are locals. Today's guides are Dóri, art historian, and István, volunteer, a student of humanities and political science. Dóri starts the

walk with a more elaborated introduction of the association and the aims of the present walk, namely, to commemorate the 25 years anniversary of the 1989 revolution in Romania that was directed against communist leadership and contributed to the collapse of the political system in the country. As they explain, their main goal is to generate dialogue between different generations, connecting young people with those who had experienced the events themselves, and this way facilitate the processing of the rather problematic political past of Romania.

The first stop is the former headquarters of Securitate, the secret police agency of socialist Romania; the majestic building from the 1930s stands in a park behind old pine trees, inducing a feeling of respect mixed with uneasiness. The guides tell about the transformations of the building throughout changing political regimes: built in the first Romanian period in 1939 as an institution educating manservants, its façade had been reshaped to express Hungarian national pride in the beginning of the 1940s when Cluj became Hungarian territory again for a short period. Floral reliefs from this time have been preserved until today, but Hungarian-themed murals were covered by grey concrete. Although this part of the building's history talks about ethnic conflict, the rest of the narrative, concerning the particular stop and the walk as a whole, presents a perspective transcending the ethnic categorization that genuinely determined narratives of other walks. Ironically, the bridging force proves to be socialism, represented in the walk in unambiguously negative light as a political system in which oppression and terror had been directed against the whole population without differentiating between ethnicities. Indeed, Securitate can hardly evoke any positive connotations of the socialist system, and the walk addresses negative aspects of socialism symbolized by this institution: political oppression and its specific form in the time of popular struggle against it. István depicts the horrors of Causescu-regime, including show trials, unlawful arrests, torturing innocent political prisoners. He concludes that the system of oppression was stricter than in the neighboring countries like Hungary or Poland; his comparison with contemporary North Korean Republic is aimed to

depict the situation as an ultimate form of terror. In this frame, the population fighting against communist power is constituted as a homogeneous group where ethnic identifications are secondary or altogether invisible: the common reference point is the Romanian socialist regime and its institutions instead of ethnic markers.

At the next stop, Hotel Astoria, we learn about the outbreak of civil riots on 21st December, 1989.. Dóri recalls how workers came to the center from the outskirt factories from four directions:

> "This is the irony of fate, that workers so admired by Causescu were the ones starting the revolution."

This way of formulation reflects a clearly middle class position: while it acknowledges the role of working class people in the struggle, it distances them by stating that they genuinely belong to the annihilated socialist system. The inclusion of working class suburbs at least on the level of narration is exceptional, but the focus remains on the city center as a place of power where working class subjects need to come to alter the structure. The narrative of collective action disregarding ethnic distinctions continues with stories of Romanian and Hungarian workers and intellectuals who participated in the events. Ethnic markers appear only at the level of power machinations: talking about marksmen hiding in the windows of the nearby houses, guides tell that communist authorities accused "Hungarians" with this act, while everyone else believed they were members of Securitate.

Next we go to Mihai Viteazul Square, a central area where about 15000 people gathered in an anti-government demonstration on the second day of the revolution. Besides its relevance in the particular story, the location is used to depict the atmosphere of the Romanian communist regime: they show photos of Causescu from the event when he announced the new name of Cluj in 1974 in the square, besides the statue of Mihai Viteazul Romanian governor from the 16th century. The renaming of Cluj to Cluj-Napoca was part of the nationalist propaganda of

the Causescu regime: Napoca, the name of the Roman settlement in the place of Cluj was intended to signify the Daco-Romanian theory. At the opposite end of the square, an eternal flame is burning next to a memorial plaque written in Romanian; when I ask about its content, guides reply in an ironic tone, suggesting that the memorial is part of the "Romanian universe". Their way of answering implies that the historical narrative signified by the object is only a product of local Romanian nationalism and does not belong to what they regard as official history.

The next stop is at the main square, in front of the Catholic parish where people had been gathering in the days of revolution and waiting for the events to progress. At the other corner of the square, guides depict one of the most dramatic moments of the revolution, when civil intellectuals went forward to the row of soldiers to offer their bodies as targets and many of them had been killed. Guides point out that Romanians and Hungarians had been fighting together, and they mention the idea that 21st of December, the memorial day of the revolution could be a better national holiday than the present 1st of December which commemorates the unification of Transylvania with Greater Romania.

> "This day signifies a real moment of national unity, while the other addresses only a part of Romanian citizens." (Dóri)

This statement reflects the idea of nation based on citizenship instead of ethnicity, a view which rarely appears in the discourse about the Transylvanian case. By promoting an inclusive concept of nation and emphasizing common points in the recent history of the place, this walk of Korzo realizes the stated mission of the association to facilitate understanding and communication between the two ethnic communities.

The last stop, Avram Iancu Square serves as an opportunity to talk about the contemporary legacy of revolution and post-socialist transition in general: the choice of a place with strong Romanian connotations (see the discussion on CGT tour) is intended to express the recent

developments of Romanian society, characterized by the rise of nationalist tendencies of which the statue of Avram Iancu is just one spatial signifier. Guides conclude by arguing that the promising solidarity of the revolution was overwritten by feelings of disappointment over the actual implementation of transitional reforms, a view familiar from the regional literature on political transition and the rise of nationalism.

4.4. Three versions of Cluj

The above transcriptions of walking routes provide only a limited, two-dimensional picture of the tactics unfolding through real time and movement; nevertheless, they allow the researcher to identify narrative patterns which direct the walks and see how the past is being used in their construction. Focusing on the aspect of ethnicity, each of the tours offers a different perspective on the history of Cluj, depending on the audience, ethnic affiliation of the tour guides, and the particular topic of the tour. The CGT tour, in accordance with the company's stated mission, has the explicit goal to introduce the "multicultural Cluj" as it is conceived in local and regional tourism strategies (Péter and Pásztor 2006). The tour fulfills that goal in a specific manner: most of the constitutive ethno-cultural groups (Romanian, Hungarian and Saxon) are represented in the narrative, although some of the defining communities of the past (Jewish) and present (Roma) of the place are not mentioned in the general history. The position of represented ethnic groups is also worthy of attention: within the master narrative of multiculturalism, the city is constituted as a genuinely Romanian space. This is done through the creation of an overall and mostly unmarked Romanian context in which other national histories appear as marked and temporary. While Hungarian presence is fully acknowledged and represented in a positive light, its historical significance is neutralized by shifting it into the sphere of culture, and even of fairytales, from the field of historical reality. This tactic of the tour can be explained in the context of the touristic genre: for an average visitor coming to Romania, contemporary Romanian nation state is probably the only intelligible context in which they can place the

history they hear. As Roxana formulated in a private discussion: "The visitors are not interested in local conflicts or the personal opinion of the tour guide, but want to learn about the place in a pleasant way." This statement reflects the general interests of tourism industry to erase conflicting histories and create an attractive and unambiguous product from the city (Péter and Pásztor 2006). The transmission of neuralgic points of history into the realm of fantasy is also a means of avoiding any possible conflicts, as in the case of King Mathias who is reinvented as a fairytale hero instead of going into debates over his ethnicity.

While the general tour of CGT covers a 2000 year long period, Korzo tours focus on more specific parts of history: the cinema tour addresses the period starting from the early 20th century, the beginnings of film production, to the present time, but the major part of the material deals with the first part of the century. The timeframe determines the ethnic perspective of the tour, as it covers the period when Cluj was part of the Hungarian state, constituting it as a distant and imaginary "Hungarian time" (Péter and Pásztor 2006). The period and the topic together provide the tour with an atmosphere of nostalgia, a feeling that is difficult to separate from a nostalgia for the Hungarian past. This feature inevitably constitutes the tour as a subversive practice of discovering traces of the Hungarian Cluj in the present Romanian city. However, the mostly Hungarian connotations of the tour might as well appear as a natural consequence of the "Hungarian period" of the city: at this point, my position as a majority Hungarian can be distorting in perceiving the significance of ethnic dimension for a local visitor. Most of the people and institutions mentioned in the tour belong to the Hungarian ethnic community, although the guides emphasized in the interviews that they intended to include Romanian elements in the story. The lack of Romanian characters might also reflect a class problem: although it is told in the tour that cinema had been an entertainment form of the lower classes, most of the narrative deals not with the viewers but the creators who had been of the higher classes, therefore, usually of Hungarian origins. In conclusion, the tour reconstructs a long

disappeared, Hungarian-related Cluj populated by insane cinema directors, heartbroken actresses and other romantic figures, creating a nostalgic image of the city while exploring the socio-historical factors behind this scenery.

The revolution tour offers a completely different perspective: as in the cinema tour, this follows partly from the time period discussed by the walk, but not as a necessary consequence of it. While cinema tour addresses the time of Hungarian statehood, the revolution tour deals with a time when Cluj was part of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the institutional and ideological framework of this state prove to be essential for the topic of the tour and the way it conceives of the local population. In the story of 1989 revolution, ethnicity becomes of secondary importance besides factors of locality and popular solidarity against representatives of communist power. Solidarity as an overarching basis of identification is reflected in the way the narrative approaches not only ethnicity but class and their spatial manifestations: the tour is unique in its aim to include the outskirts, and therefore the working class part of the population to the historical narrative of Cluj. Hungarians and Romanians, workers and intellectuals are represented as a heterogeneous but strong collective taken together by a common goal in an exceptional moment of history. The narrative does not become naively optimistic though, as it emphasizes the temporary nature of this collectivity, discussing the afterlife of the revolution, the rise of nationalist conflict in postsocialism, and the inability of contemporary Romanian society to process the socialist past. Also, the unifying tones of the surface narrative are challenged on the backstage level by the very clear distinction between a nationalist Romanian space and the "acceptable" space of multi-ethnic cohabitation delineated in the walk.

Conclusion

De Certeau described walking in the city as an essential form of tactical operations – the case of urban walking tours also tells a specific, but still emblematic story about the city of Cluj-Napoca in the middle of 2010s. Exploring the way individuals act within a structure produced in the course of a turbulent history, I obtained an acute impression about the city's present and some of the individual positions determined by this complex spatio-temporal matrix. At first sight, the emergence of alternative walking tours as projects intended to reinvent the city in their own ways appears as subversive and tactical in character: walking routes open up a new space, belonging to particular personal and collective imaginaries, as opposed to the urban regimes imposed by sequential representatives of power. However, tactics are described by de Certeau as individual operations determined by the power structure which they aim to subvert: exploring walking tour projects on a deeper level also reveals their embeddedness in the local structural context. Ethnographic description pictures Cluj Guided Tours and Korzo as bottom-up initiatives without a direct dependence on power institutions, realizing the neoliberal idea of individual entrepreneurship. The similar mission is realized in two different frameworks in the two projects: while Korzo is a primarily cultural enterprise arising from the creators' educational background in the field of humanities, Cluj Guided Tours is a deliberately touristic project resulting from the initiators' background in tourism industry. Their stated mission to promote values of international mobility, diversity and multiculturalism reflects the endeavor to fit into the "enlightened" and "European" world, ultimately, the world of transnational capital flows coming from that direction. As Petrovici (2011) argues, this standpoint emerged with the European integration of Romania that raised the need to eradicate the previous mainstream discourse of ethno-nationalism and xenophobia; the activity of tour guide companies is also part of the process in which the image of Cluj is recreated as a place of cultural significance and economic development instead of a backward, nationalist stronghold of postsocialist

Eastern Europe. This interpretation of tour guide companies reinforces the assumption about their tactical character, explicating it on the level of individual action and also of structural determination. A detailed analysis of walking narratives reveals how the complicated memory landscape of the place influences actual spatializing practices, creating a dynamic of parallel discourses within the walks. Casey's concept of social memory (Casey 2004) describes a common horizon shared by a collective whose members are related in a direct way, through kinship or locality; I regard the contradicting ethno-national histories of Cluj as a form of clash in the social memory, based on an alleged relation to a given ethnic community defined by both kinship and territorial ties. Walking narratives provide a great opportunity to study how objective resources of space and, to some extent, history are filtered through the lens of diverging social memories. Investigation of walking tours shows that the discourse of multiculturalism is the main organizing power behind each of the narratives: walks consciously aim to depict a multicultural Cluj, either by idealizing its multi-ethnic history (CGT) or building on common reference points from the recent past (Korzo, revolution tour). At the same time, every tour implies a very clear position regarding the particular composition of that multi-ethnic space, either on the level of narrative subtext or the backstage discussion between the stops. The CGT tour conceives Cluj within the frames of a historical Romanian statehood, mainly from the motivation to provide a simplified and easily perceptible touristic narrative of the place, but using panels of the 20th century Romanian nationalist discourse. Korzo tours formulate a rather progressive message about the city by focusing on potential entry points of communication between different groups of society, but their personal narrative about the city reflects a level of self-distantiation from ethnic Romanian or working class attitudes towards space. This picture shows the complexity of factors which influence individual relation to history and urban space, together with the contradictions arising from the experience of a social group in a particular moment of structural change. The case of urban walking tours in Cluj

reinforces the significance of ethnicity as a determining aspect of social memory, while revealing the process through which it becomes a means of structural forces which reinvent the city in ways that individuals might not even conceive at the moment of the walk.

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