

Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurship and the Political Role of „Saxonness without Saxons” in Sibiu

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Abstract: *The paper discusses the symbolic capital of Saxonness in the Romanian and Transylvanian public sphere and its uses as a political and cultural resource. I am examining the historical representations of Saxonness, and the local, national and European context in which they are activated and re-signified, acquiring contemporary meanings. I focus on the mechanisms behind the political support of Klaus Johannis, representative of The German Democratic Forum in Romania, the Saxon mayor of the city of Sibiu (Transylvania), currently serving his third four-year long mandate. My analysis will attempt to capture the relation between his noteworthy success as elected local representative and the apparently contradictory local demographic evolution: a Saxon minority whose numbers dropped severely in the last decades, reaching a lower limit of under 2% of the total local population. The study explores some of the possible mechanisms that lie at the foundation of the contemporary political capital of Saxonness in Sibiu, by focusing on the salience of ethnicity in elections media discourse and in the collective imagery as reflected in the Ethnobarometer, supported by historical arguments of the “myth of the Saxon”.*

Keywords: ethnicity; reference group; ethnopolitical entrepreneurship.

Cuvinte-cheie: etnicitate; grup de referință; antreprenoriat etnopolitic.

Introduction¹

The social psychological debates about ethnic stereotypes traditionally link the matter to concepts such as prejudice, group-bias and discrimination. The aim of this work is to describe and explain the mechanism of conversion of ethnic symbolic capital into political capital in the local politics of Sibiu of the last decade.

The Transylvanian town of Sibiu is often referred to in the Romanian public debate as an unusual case of representation, which defies ethnic expectations: the

town's population, a strikingly homogeneous ethnic landscape, consisting of 95% Romanians, opted from the Saxon candidate to the mayor' office for three consecutive mandates. Klaus Johannis, representative of the German Democratic Forum, was reconfirmed for a second office in 2004, by receiving 88,6% of the votes, and for a third mandate in 2008, with 83,2 % of the votes.

The town holds memory of a Saxon past. It was founded as a fortress town by German settlers (*Saxons*) in the twelfth

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century, and was widely known throughout medieval times by its German name, *Hermannstadt*. It preserved a multiethnic component until the last decades of the communist era, when the German population radically decreased, due also to the radical nationalist politics lead by Nicolae Ceaușescu, in search of a unitary national state. Nowadays, the German population in Sibiu, counting almost 2 000 people, is the town's third minority group (1,6%), surpassed numerically by the Hungarian population (Sibiu City Hall, 2006) and, according to unofficial data, also by the Roma ethnics. The political representation of the German minority at national level is ensured by the Democratic Forum of the Germans in Romania (FDGR), presided by Klaus Johannis, and represented in the Romanian Parliament (Deputy Chamber) by one MP. The other institutional public voice of the German minority is the Evangelical Church, with its central offices in Sibiu.

I am employing the phrase "Saxonness without Saxons" to describe a case of social stereotyping sharing common psychosociological roots with the "anti-Semitism without Jews" (the persistence of anti-Semitic feelings and attitudes, in the absence of direct interaction with Jewish communities or individuals, described particularly in the literature addressing ethnically homogeneous Poland after World War II.²). Mirroring the phenomenon of "anti-Semitism without Jews", "philo-Saxonism without Saxons" describes a situation when strong social stereotypes are activated towards an ethnic group, notwithstanding the possibility of direct contact with its members. Contrary to "anti-Semitism without Jews", the latter has a positive connotation involved to its cognitive frames and emotional attachments.

This study is an attempt to answer why the dwellers of Transylvania – by almost unanimous choice – delegated the town's administration to the Democratic Forum of

Germans in Romania and to its president and representative, Klaus Johannis. I will contextualize the study in several conceptual frameworks: stereotypes as cognitive tools, ethnicity as process (Brubaker 2004), reference groups, and the correlation between prestige and domination (Scott, 1994).

The article examines ethnic heritage as a resource available to Klaus Johannis, the Saxon mayor, for the accumulation of electoral support. The foundation of this argument, which I support by drawing on anthropological literature, is the existence of a "myth of the Saxon": a series of positive stereotypes about Saxons, to which there is a collective consensus. Accordingly, the present study is divided into two parts. The first one aims to render a clear profile of what the Saxon myth consists of, under what circumstances it was formed and to what extent it is salient nowadays. In doing so, I connect anthropological research findings on Saxon ethnicity with the results of the Barometer of Ethnic Relations in Romania (Centrul de Resurse pentru Diversitate Etnoculturală, 2000), on the basis of which I examine the most salient stereotypes about Saxons. For the next part of the study, I try to answer whether it is on these positive stereotypes that mayor Klaus Johannis builds his public profile and, consequently, his political capital. For this purpose, I chose to conduct a small-scale media discourse analysis, which focuses on the period around the 2004 local elections (when Johannis secured the highest electoral score of his career as a mayor. The analysis aims to examine whether the ethnically marked values salient in the Ethnobarometer are associated with the written media reports on the Sibiu local elections.

The meanings and uses of *Saxonness*: a literature review

I will develop my argument by "rethinking ethnicity", according to Rogers

Brubaker's theoretical framework: "ethnicity, race and nation should be conceptualized not as substances or things or entities or organisms or collective individuals – as the imaginary of discrete, concrete, tangible, bounded and enduring 'groups' encourage us to do – but rather in relational, processual, dynamic, eventful, and disaggregated terms" (Brubaker, 2004, 11). This is to state that creating, enhancing or using ethnicity should be approached as independent from the existence of an ethnic group as a consistently constituted entity.³ Ethnicity is rather a set of practices, a dynamic process with political, social, cultural and psychological dimensions. This urges the reconsideration of ethnicity not as a reflection of a substantial entity, but possibly as a performance. Brubaker uses Bourdieu's analysis of the "performative character" of ethnicity: "By *invoking* groups, they seek to *evoke* them, summon them, call them into being. These categories are for *doing* – designed to stir, summon, justify, mobilize, kindle, and energize" (Brubaker, 2004, 10).⁴ In other words, one should draw a distinction between the uses and the existence of ethnicity: it is indeed real, insofar as it refers to "practical categories, situated actions, cultural idioms, cognitive schemas, discursive frames, organizational routines, institutional forms, political projects and contingent events." (Brubaker, 2004, 11). In our case, the most realistic scenario, by which Saxonness can be activated, is by being articulated as a discursive frame and a cultural idiom. This strong pervasiveness and salience of Saxonness is one of the best cases to support Brubaker's argument, since it has a very feeble reflection in substantialist terms, as will be discussed below. Not only did the community fade away as a cohesive, unitary actor as a result of about seventy years of an unaccommodating historical context, but also the Saxon community in numerical

terms is nowadays statistically insignificant in Transylvania and in Sibiu.

The most extensive research which illustrates the evolution of the identity of Transylvanian Saxons, from an anthropological perspective, belongs to Katherine Verdery (1985). In one of her articles addressing the topic, which was published in 1985, the anthropologist identifies a phenomenon of "ethnic demobilization": "Romania's Germans, originally rooted in Transylvania, [...] for a long time constituted the region's most tightly organized and solidary ethnic collectivity. But today [...] German ethnicity has ceased to mean belonging to a solidary and self-conscious ethnic group and consists only of stereotypic individual differences from non-Germans" (Verdery, 1985, 63). She continues by saying that, contrary to the past, at the time of her research "[Saxon] ethnic identity has become far less central to life, far less publicly visible, and far more individualized" (Verdery, 1985, 63). It is meaningful to specify that the author stresses the Saxons' still salient sense of distinctiveness, even though Saxon ethnicity has been "unmade". More recent researches (Coman, 2002, Mihăilescu et al., 2002, Mihăilescu, 2007) with similar accounts indicate that this observation speaks for more recent realities as well.

Verdery draws on the "instrumentalist" view on ethnicity, which deals with the concept as an adaptation of response to political and economic circumstances. This is not to say that she dismisses preexisting cultural content of ethnic conceptions – what she calls a "quasi-primordialist view" (Verdery, 1985, 64), placing herself on a theoretical position similar to that of Brubaker.

As the key point of this study is to give a clear account on the content of Saxon identity and stereotypes, it is relevant to delve into the historical context in which Saxonness developed as a meaningful concept. "Germanness – specifies Verdery

– has been multiply endowed with significance – in settings of local, regional, national and international political economy, through diverse institutions, within varied systems of symbols and ideas” (Verdery, 1985, 64). The American anthropologist argues that the 18th and 19th century Habsburg Empire reinforced the Germans’ tendency to form a closed ethnic group. The most basic of the supporting conditions for identity formation were the special economic position and the Lutheran Church, which also provided the education. Lutheranism was a meaningful tool of reproducing identity, even after the economic advantages had been lost, but in the late 1940s, the German church and education were completely eliminated. During communism, the Saxons were pushed, for reasons mentioned previously, to the periphery of Romanian society. Their interest in community-making shifted towards immigration, a focus which in Verdery’s views (1985) had individualizing effects. As for the observations the American anthropologist makes concerning stereotypes, her research concludes that “the past perceptions of what it means to be German includes being economically successful and politically quiescent” (Verdery, 1985, 76).

Recent anthropological research done in Sibiu and the surrounding area coins the term “German-centred communities” (Coman, 2002) for two villages neighboring Sibiu and to one of the town’s peripheral districts. It further shows how the Saxons are considered to be the dominant group – “the term of reference, the first in the village hierarchy” – and looked up to, even after their departure from the respective communities. The Romanian dwellers refer to the past existence of Saxons in their communities as a “Golden Age” and currently claim to be the keepers and perpetuators of the “Saxon model”, based on

the work ethic – fair distribution of labor results, work discipline, thoroughness, self-determination, and preoccupation for perfection, punctuality, and accuracy, as well as a particular system of social organization: the so-called *vicinities/Nachbarschafts* (Coman, 2002, 97).

The Saxon as virtuous-winner: an inventory of stereotypes

The study presented below on the 2000 Barometer of Ethnic Relation database, indicates that these very dimensions of the perceptions of Saxons – economic status, entrepreneurship, political reputation, high intellectual level – are operational nowadays. My interpretation of Verdery’s observations draws on Brubaker’s view of groupness as variable and contingent, rather than fixed and given (see Brubaker, 2004, pp. 11–18). More specifically, I construe the current state of affairs in Sibiu as a process of (re)ethnicization and (re)framing of Saxonness.

The Barometer of Ethnic Relations (Centrul de Resurse pentru Diversitate Etnoculturală, 2000)⁵ is a national survey designed to monitor and evaluate the state and relations of ethnic groups in Romania. It focuses on aspects such as hetero and in-group perceptions, the dynamics of ethnic representations, the construction strategies of ethnic and national identity and the impact of public agenda on ethnic relations. The Saxon minority is featured in the section dedicated to stereotypes. The survey reflects both the social stereotypes which Romania’s population associates with the Saxons and how these groups position the Saxon community in the ethnic hierarchy. The respondents were asked to choose three traits from the list presented in Table 1 which they find representative for the Saxons.

Table 1: *Romanians' and Hungarians' Stereotypes about Germans in Romania.*

	Romanians	Hungarians
Good-hearted	5,4	4,7
Hospitable	2,0	2,6
Intelligent	11,9	14,8
Hardworking	15,0	15,6
Entrepreneurs	9,4	9,4
Reliable	7,8	7,1
Modest	2,0	1,6
Honest	10,3	6,4
United	2,2	3,3
Religious	1,5	2,2
Civilized	18,4	14,8
Clean	7,1	5,1
Egoists	1,7	5,1
Hostile	0,9	0,2
Stupid	0,1	0,3
Lazy	0,2	0,2
Indolent	0,1	0,1
Hypocrites	0,1	0,7
Proud	1,3	2,9
Thieves	0,3	0,1
Divided	1,6	2,2
Superstitious	0,2	0,4
Anachronic	0,2	0,2
Dirty	0,2	0,2

Source: Barometer of Ethnic Relations (Centrul de Resurse pentru Diversitate Etnoculturală, 2000).¹

The answers of Hungarians and Romanians were recorded separately, but for the purpose of this concise study I will only refer to the Romanians' perceptions. The first observation to be made is that, out of the top ten ranked traits, no negative one was listed. The respondents' options resulted in the following ranking of Saxon traits (I list here only the ones which met over 5% of the respondents' choices): "civilized" (18,4% of the choices), "hard-working" (15%), "intelligent" (11,9%), "honest" (10,3%), "entrepreneurs" (9,4%), "reliable" (7,8%), "clean" (7,1%), "good-hearted" (5,4%). As shown above, the main stereotypes about the Saxons are positive, most of them coinciding clearly with what is widely known as Protestant values.

One possible way of reading the results is by structuring them according to the competence-morality scale – the Phalet and Pope model (Phalet and Pope, 1997). The model proposes a four-fold typology of group stereotypes on the basis of distinct competence and morality dimensions: sinful-loser, sinful-winner, virtuous-loser, and virtuous-winner. Two goal categories are discerned by the model: categories of the groups' goals (intended goals) and means to realize these goals (probability of goal-attainment). The moral attributes translate into intended group goals and the competence-related attributes define the group's capacity of goal attainment. The majority population's stereotypes on Saxons fit the group into the virtuous-

winner category, with four moral traits – civilized, reliable, good-hearted and honest – and three competence indicators – intelligent, hard-working and entrepreneurs – thus associating the targeted group with both competence and morality. The authors associate this outcome with cooperative social values, which implies a low perceived conflict and a high perceived power of the stereotyped group in intergroup relations (Phalet and Pope, 1997, 708).

The arguments so far, correlated with the Ethnobarometer results, allow us to say that the Saxons of Sibiu enjoy a stereotypical identity well defined in the Romanian collective consciousness, coined as “the myth of the Saxon” (Coman, 2002, pp. 96–97), notwithstanding discussions on the size and cohesion of the ethnic population. In other words, the Saxon myth has cognitive relevance – for the Romanian group as well – independent of its correspondence to a substantial entity (namely, a German community).

The findings of the Ethnobarometer are supported by an imagology study which describes the Germans as “the most admired national minority” throughout the whole survey-based data on social imagology available so far (Liiceanu, 2005). In the same regard, the results read through the Phalet and Pope typology, attribute a high perceived power to the Saxon group. All of the above indicate that the Saxons are perceived as a dominant ethnic group. This interpretation is supported by the above-mentioned research on the “German-centred communities” around Sibiu (Coman, 2002), whose interlocutors’ accounts portrayed the past presence of the Saxons in their community as a “golden era” and considered themselves as keepers of the Saxon model. I believe the concept of *reference group* fully accounts for the social position of the Saxons in Sibiu. The term refers to the social unit with which people identify. It has a normative function, insofar as it provides us “with norms and

attitudes – a frame of reference for guiding our behavior” and a comparison function – “they serve as a standard or comparison point against which we judge or evaluate ourselves” (Vander Zanden, 1987, 418). This group needs not always be identical with the membership group. When the two groups do not coincide, the individual may experience a sense of relative deprivation: dissatisfaction derived from the gap between what one has as member of a group and what one believes he or she should have, judging from the conditions and circumstances of one’s reference group. This view on Saxons as such a group for the dwellers of the Sibiu area is supported by a meaningful account by a Romanian member of Turnișor community (currently a peripheral district of Sibiu):

“The foreigners [the Romanian newcomers to the community original from Moldova region] do not know how to keep the law of the place. They have luxury in their own courtyards: businesses, privatizations, but they do not care about how the streets look. Very sad...With us, in our Saxon place, such a thing would never occur” (a Romanian inhabitant of Turnișor in 1997, quoted in Coman, 2002, 98).

Coming back to the prestige of mayor Klaus Johannis in the town and his strong electoral support, I will argue for the concept of relative deprivation as a viable explanation for the positioning of the Romanian majority in relation to him. The voters feel entitled to share the prestige and the perceived standards of living of the Saxon minority. Therefore, choosing a Saxon representative as the administrator of the town and as public voice for the community is a strategy bound to lead to a better positioning of the community (possibly, also in national and international context), and to facilitate access to resources (be it symbolic or material). A very rich event for the strategic role of Saxonness in Sibiu was the European

Capital of Culture 2007 (see Stroe, 2011; Dragoman, 2007).

I believe that the relative deprivation frame provides a consistent explanation for the public support which Romanians in Sibiu provide for a representative of an ethnicity with acknowledged high status. Under these circumstances, ethnicity becomes salient and available as a strategy to obtain public support.

Saxonnness as media discourse frame

The second part of the explanation is to analyze the events through the analysis of ethnicity as discourse frame. Specifically, the inquiry is how ethnicity is put on display in the public sphere. I am focusing on the use of stereotypes as used from top to down, by political entrepreneurs (Brubaker, 2004), which in this context can be the mayor, other local and central political actors and mass-media. A brief sample of media discourse analysis explores the content of the accounts about the mayor. For this purpose, I chose a time span of two months – 1st May 2004 – 1st July 2004 –, which corresponds to a particular electoral context: Klaus Johannis was ending his first four-year term as mayor of Sibiu and was running for a second one. The electoral campaign spread between the 8th of May and the 4th of June, and the elections were held on the 6th of June. Johannis won with a quasi-unanimity of votes (88,6%), about 20% higher than his previous (2000) electoral results, and also his highest score to date. I choose this time-frame for the discourse analysis because electoral campaigns provide one of the best pretexts to activate and explore strategies of reputation building, as this was the highest elections score registered by any candidate to the mayor's office in that edition of the local elections. I have extended the time-span of the analysis to one month after the elections, in order to capture both the electoral campaign and the

post-elections reactions and comments, and to find to what extent Johannis himself drew on ethnic capital to explain the electoral campaign approach and the election results. I chose for analysis the three top-ranked national newspapers in terms of readership as they were classified in 2004: *Evenimentul Zilei*, *Jurnalul Național* and *Adevărul*. The initial research design was planned to include the most prominent local newspaper, but the availability of electronic archives for the envisaged period was poor. One of the limitations of the data on which the analysis is based is the lack of access to local media. This hinders access to the daily campaign events and, perhaps, to more nuanced explanations of the results.

The research identified all articles which referred to the Saxon mayor in the given period of time. The criteria revealed 24 articles in the first newspaper, six in the second and zero in the third. *Evenimentul Zilei* had seven neutral accounts, and 17 explicitly positive accounts (with explicit encomiastic words), among which 12 referred to his Saxon background as an explanation for the positive traits. No negative account was recorded. *Jurnalul Național* had four positive accounts, among which three showed correlation between the Saxon heritage and Johannis' image. It has to be underlined that, for the purpose of this research, the dimensions of Saxonnness are the ones found in the Barometer of Ethnic Relations as frequent stereotypes on Germans. All the others references are reducible to those categories.

My view of Saxon ethnicity as a discursive frame is supported by the James C. Scott's (1994) work on prestige as the public face of domination. Scott argues that prestige is a relational good and a social transaction – it relies on audience's acceptance. "The public face domination wears, the kind of prestige it aims at engendering, depends of course on the kind of claim to status it is making. Displays of

technical skill, artistic grace, piety, physical strength or knowledge of sacred texts might be appropriate depending on the sort of claim being dramatized” (Scott, 1994, 473–474). In the case of Sibiu, dramatization of ethnicity is, in so many respects, appropriate for providing prestige to the one who enacts it. The role acquires strength through links to cultural memory. That is not to say that Klaus Johannis simply employs ethnicity as a carrier for a political function. His electoral campaign is reputed for being discrete and simple, as the analyzed media also notice and remains in correlation with Scott’s statement: “[t]hose whose claim to authority is based on the superior performance of a verifiable skill – the production manager, the battlefield general, the athletic coach – have less reason for elaborate, staged presentations, either of their power or of the reciprocal deference of subordinates” (Scott, 1994, 479). The media findings of the succinct analysis have shown that the media play a more explicit ethnopolitical entrepreneurship function in pinpointing the candidate’s Saxonness than he explicitly does so himself.

The findings (accounts of Johannis’ electoral campaign, of the election results and of the aftermath of the elections) have shown correspondence between the phrases used by the media to refer to Johannis and the stereotypes associated with the Saxons in the Ethnobarometer results. I offer only a brief sketch of the findings, stating some of the phrases present in the media: “the Saxon turned down the bribe the German way”; “correct attitude”; “the Saxon’s Burg”; “won’t be making any compromises”; “is respected because he knows you have to give before taking”; “the nostalgia for a job well-done and the German order made Klaus Johannis Sibiu mayor”; “the people of Sibiu voted for the ethnic Germans day dreaming”; “the mayor’s intelligent strategies”; “the pragmatism of Klaus Johannis”; “we always complained that we were lacking German

spirit, maybe this is the way to acquire it”. Among the monitored articles, three were interviews or contained quotes from mayor Johannis. His referrals to ethnicity or phrases correlated with the Saxon stereotypes featured phrases such as “The key of success is simple: you do what you promised”; “[During the campaign] I only said what I would do, I didn’t refer to any other candidate. [...] I had few appearances, discrete posters, nothing gaudy.”; “our men [the Saxon counselors] were very serious, always present at the meetings, only spoke when they had something to say”; “I had a very pragmatic program”; “the few Saxons that still exist were capable of presenting very prepared, very real and very dedicated candidates”; “we [the German Democratic Forum] are willing to attract members of a different ethnic background, but with an education similar to ours” ; “I think the people of Sibiu voted for what they want their town to become: beautiful, clean, prosperous”; “I proved over the last four years that I can keep my word”; “I consider myself an incorruptible mayor” and, finally, “No one messes with the good reputation of the German Democratic Forum”. Another type of indicators for the salience of Saxonness in the candidate’s perceived profile are the German language phrases used by the media in their accounts: “*Klaus Johannis, zweiten Mandatt*”; “*Danke schonn, Klaus Johannis*”; “*Aufwiedersehen, Romania!*”.

Most of the above phrases are reducible to one of the eight top stereotypes on Germans recorded by the Ethnobarometer: civilized, hard-working, intelligent, honest, entrepreneurs, reliable, clean and good-hearted. Therefore, we can conclude that the mass-media makes use of the collective representations of Saxon ethnicity, justifying the role of political entrepreneurs, which I attributed to the public channels of information.

The occupational traits for a public administration job (mayor) are comparable to

the ethnic stereotypes on the Saxons. One newspaper columnist makes the link between the ideal profile of a mayor and Klaus Johannis' merits, stating that the two sets of attributes coincide. "The vocational mayors are [...] people devoted to their town and perfect managers [...] administrators rather than politicians, specialized in local problems" (Cistelecan, 2004). John J. La Gaipa's (1988) survey study on the relation between ethnic stereotypes and professional stereotypes found that "[r]ole specialization in a given trade or profession may contribute to stereotypic content" (La Gaipa, 1988, 373). He advances the following reasoning: "If the perception of ethnic groups is structured by implicit occupational categories, there should be more similarity between the ethnic traits and the occupational traits of the modal occupation" (La Gaipa, 1988, 377). We can translate these traits into being reliable, hardworking, resourceful and with entrepreneurial spirit, the stereotypical Saxon traits, but testing the overlapping between the collective representations of public administrative executive top positions and modal occupations associated with Saxons is a matter for further research.

Conclusions

This work has been an attempt to shed light on the representations and symbolic capital of German ethnicity in Romania over the Transylvanian town of Sibiu.

The dimensions of Saxonness, as emerged from the Barometer of Ethnic Relations' accounts of stereotypes attached to the German minority of Romania give an account on what the Saxon myth consists of, and on its contemporary salience. By

confronting the most frequently referred to Saxon traits (those that have collected over 5% of the respondents' choices) with the Phalet and Pope (1997) competence-morality scale, Germans emerge as belonging to the category of virtuous-winners, with four moral traits – civilized, reliable, good-hearted and honest – and three competence indicators – intelligent, hard-working and entrepreneurs. It therefore emerged a double-dimensional positive connotation that I interpret as a frame of ethnic prestige (Scott 1994) that provides a soft tool used to secure dominant positions. The small-scale national media discourse analysis that I have conducted focused on the reflection of ethnicity in the coverage of local elections of 2004. The results, none of them indicating negative references to ethnicity, seemed reducible to the most referred to ethnic (positive) stereotypes from the Ethnobarometer linked to Klaus Johannis. The analyzed media, thus, created a positive ethnicised frame for the Saxon candidate's electoral route, thus assuming the role of an ethnopolitical entrepreneur for Johannis.

The prestige of the German minority for the Romanians is proved to reside embedded in the public consciousness, and to be relied upon as a cognitive tool. Thus, Saxon ethnicity has a latent potential which can be activated by political entrepreneurs. Saxons, with or without a strong physical presence, continue to represent a reference group for the Romanian population, in areas where they once coexisted in mixed communities. The "myth of the Saxon", with its components of competence and morality, has a cognitive relevance that preserves it as a symbolic resource available for political use.

Notes

1. This paper includes excerpts from the author's unpublished MA thesis entitled *Saxonness without Saxons: Ethnicity and Symbolic Capital in a Transylvanian Town*,

Central European University, Department of Nationalism Studies, 2008.

² In his volume, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz: An Essay in Historical*

Interpretation (2006), Jan T. Gross interprets the ongoing post World War II anti-Semitism in Poland by the fear experienced by Poles that the possible return of the Jewish population would force them to account for their war attitudes and the appropriation of Jewish material possessions.

³ In terms of numbers, the last census (National Institute for Statistics, 2002) shows a percentage

of 0,27% German ethnics currently living in Romania, which qualifies them as the fourth national minority..

⁴ My emphasis.

⁵ The survey used a national sample of 2051 persons over 18 years old and was representative for the Romanian adult population with a margin of error of 2,0% for relevant variables.

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