

Negotiating national identity through media
consumption
The role of DoR magazine in the Romanian diaspora

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Negotiating national identity through media consumption

ABSTRACT

When people from a certain nation decide to move in another one and accommodate with a new life, their national identity changes. In order to integrate in a new country they speak a different language, learn various customs, while still keeping in touch with their families, friends, and consuming media from homeland. All these actions performed in both countries are transforming diaspora's national identity in a hybrid identity.

DoR magazine is a media product written in the Romanian language, a tool of nation-building along the social institutions who construct the Romanian nation, thus worth of research. This study researched a specific diaspora that reads the independent magazine DoR. I wanted to find whether the magazine plays a role in their national identity negotiation, and if so what is that.

The theoretical framework used nationalism's definition of Anderson (1991) in which the nations are 'imagined communities'. Furthermore, the research drawn on theories regarding media's role in nation building, diaspora and transnationalism, as well as the history and myths composing Romania. By applying the qualitative method of discourse analysis over the in-depth interviews with 14 subscribers located all over the world, findings revealed the negotiation of national identity correlated with the consumption of DoR magazine.

The findings split between an analysis on the national identity invoked by participants when sharing their personal story and future plans, and the national identity invoked in relation with their DoR subscription. The results of each category mirrored, showing an on-going shift between the civic and ethnic identity, and a hybrid identity this diaspora is dealing with between their homeland and the countries they live in. In conclusion, the print magazine of DoR plays a role in the negotiation of national identity for its diaspora subscribers. From the language used, subjects approached, and the community it builds, this magazine is a reference for the ethnic identity these diaspora members ache for. Moreover, the magazine also appeals to a civic identity this diaspora discovered in their countries of residence, building an image of Romania with which this diaspora identifies.

The role of media in nation building, especially for diasporas, has been approached through various mediums, such as television or newspaper prints. However, the role of magazines in the hybrid identities diaspora members develop has not been under focus.

KEYWORDS: diaspora, nationalism, transnationalism, media and nation-building, hybrid identities

1. Introduction

Two years ago, a Romanian couple living in Brussels told me: “Each time we move to a new flat, we bring our magazine collection with us.” At the time, they had been living in Brussels for more than four years. They had moved three times during that period, bringing their personal collection of the Romanian magazine DoR with them wherever they went. They argued it as a ‘piece from their home’ in Romania that they could carry with them in all their new homes in Brussels.

DoR is an independent quarterly Romanian magazine founded in 2009 by four editors who wanted to rebel against the journalism in Romania, which was largely swallowed by advertising. Initially titled “Decât o Revistă” (*Just a Magazine*), the quarterly was supposed to consist of a single issue. The feedback was overwhelmingly positive, so they kept working to publish it year after year, despite the struggles, and in 2016 they changed the name to the three initials of the original one, DoR, which in the Romanian language also means an inexplicable longing for something.

The writing style used by DoR is narrative journalism, also known as literary journalism, which interweaves narrative writing techniques and well-researched information to create compelling articles. The goal of this magazine is to report on and document the big and small developments of the Romanian society, from individual searches of identity to societal changes. To quote one reader, “What I like the most is that I can read articles months after or even a couple of years after, and the information I get is still valuable for me.”

1.1. DoR Magazine and its Diaspora Community of Subscribers

Much of my conversation with the couple living in Brussels was about their magazine subscription since, at the time, I was working for DoR myself as an intern and then as a part of the team. Over the four years of my employment with the magazine, I interacted with most of the subscribers, many of them living outside of Romania. In those four years, I have communicated (online and in person) with people living in Belgium, France, United Kingdom, Spain and even the USA, China, Japan and Australia. By reading their feedback, I discovered their reasons for leaving Romania, such as better study programmes or work opportunities. However, their reasons came down to better life prospects outside of their country of origin.

I discovered how these people, as other diaspora members in this world, maintain a contact not only with the people from their homeland, but also with the institutions (Vertovec, 2001). As they moved to other environments abroad, they brought their habits with them,

including local products they enjoyed in their country of origin, such as their DoR magazine subscription. This is possible nowadays, because “the growing circulation of goods and services is matched by the increasing mobility of people, meaning that ‘foreign’ tastes, habits and preferences are being imported into new environments” (Skey, 2015, p.4). This mobility of people and goods across borders is understood as transnationalism (Vertovec, 1999). This is how I started to wonder what role DoR magazine is playing for its diaspora subscribers.

However, the DoR diasporic readership represents a specific part of the Romanian diaspora. These readers usually have higher education degrees and work in white-collar jobs. It is this type of diaspora that this project addresses.

Nowadays, diaspora refers to the people who reside on a regular basis outside of the borders of their homeland (Shain & Barth, 2003), thus dealing with a negotiation of cultures between the one of origin and the one of residence. Diaspora’s consumption of media from their country of origin is expected to have a role in this negotiation, as media is one of the social tools used in nation-building (Bokhorst-Heng, 2002). Media is a relevant tool in this negotiation process, the deixis of homeland and nation building being used nowadays in media evoking a banal nationalism extent (Billig, 1995; Yumul & Özkirimli, 2000). Diaspora is relevant to be researched in the context of nationalism and media, because it opens new ways of approaching all these concepts (Bailey, Georgiou & Harindranath, 2007). Considering the changes that transnationalism is bringing over diaspora, moving from a specific national identity to a hybrid one, constantly transforming (Brinkerhoff, 2009), this study researched the discourses used by participants in relation with the national identity invoked, and then analysed their discourse to grasp an understanding over their negotiation of national identity.

1.2. The Relevance of DoR

I consider this independent magazine DoR a relevant Romanian media outlet for its diaspora subscribers. Romania is a former communist country, where the power and credibility of the media became generally low in the eyes of the educated population, which includes some of the diaspora (Lesson & Coyne, 2005). Even if most of the Romanian media is privately owned, much of it got to be controlled over the years by politicians with business interests (Avadani, 2002; Gross, 2008; Dragomir, 2014). This control over the media led to a focus on economic and political articles and a lack of cultural content, and also threatening the freedom of press in the Romanian media (Gross, 2008). In the present, the Romanian press is considered to be partly free according with the Freedom of Press Index 2017 (Freedom House, n.d.).

In this context of politically controlled media, DoR magazine was the first truly independent medium in the Romanian press, valuing the freedom of the press more than a secure financial stream from either political or advertising revenues. By independent media we understand that the main purpose of journalism to serve the community and democracy (Potter, 2011) is not troubled by the financial securing, whether from advertising or anything else, nor is it affected by political pressures.

DoR magazine is positioned as a nonfiction journal, and they also mention that their editorial niche is the in-depth reporting, and their readers are intelligent and curious (DoR, n.d.). They refer to their craft as “building stories” and mention that their publishing intention is “to stir, illuminate, amuse” (DoR, n.d.). The narrative journalism used in the magazine is inspired by the journalism published in *The New Yorker*, an American magazine established in 1925 (*The New Yorker*, n.d.). For example, a DoR article, recently awarded by the European Press Prize (April, 2017), told the story of the Colectiv club fire, from the 30th of November 2015. What started with a rock concert in a central club in Bucharest, ended with a fire started by indoor fireworks and poor building isolation, which emerged in matters of seconds leading to the death of 64 people (Al Jazeera, 2016, December 11). This fire led to protests against the weak emergency systems and the government, causing officials’ resignations, shutdowns of dozens of other entertainment locations with poor fireproofing, public disputes, and a lot of collaboration between Romanians, residents in Romania or part of diaspora. The DoR article telling the Colectiv story was published in the winter issue of 2016, in December, and it was documented through interviews with 30 survivors, testimonials of several dozen others, videos and photos, interviews with officials, documents and reports (European Press Prize, 2017, March 20).

I was interested in understanding what importance the diaspora is giving to the subjects tackled in this nonfiction journal. Is the readers’ primary goal a sense of not missing what is happening in Romania, trying to be both updated on the country of residence and the country of origin? How is the national identity negotiated? How do the readers use this magazine in this process?

1.3. Research Question

This study examined the diaspora’s consumption of media from their country of origin. The interest was focused on the role of DoR magazine for their subscribers that live outside of the Romanian borders, and whether reading this magazine plays any role in the negotiation this diaspora has over its national identity.

How exactly is one’s national identity preserved when changing the national scenery? In

the process of negotiation between their original national identity and the one they are trying to integrate in, what is the role of the media? Even more, of a magazine from their country of origin written in Romanian?

I wanted to tackle the questions I developed in the last years, negotiating my own national identity abroad, curious about all these cultural differences between nations, and how consciously or not one adopts new behaviours in the new country of residence. Moreover, in the years working for DoR magazine I was often wondering about the lives of these readers I was exchanging emails with. Were they missing their home country a lot? Were they just working abroad dreaming of returning to Romania one day? And if so, did they think that they can maintain a relevant image of what is happening in Romania by reading this quarterly journal?

I am aware the role of the diaspora in a new country is very controversial, since, in order to get acculturated and assimilated in a new country, one must “wear the national body as a prosthesis and exchange loyalty to the state for the protection of this prosthetic body” (Takacs, 1999, p. 595). In other words, how does this identity trade-off really emerge from the cultural point of view when a diaspora is establishing a new life? Is a diaspora leaning more towards preserving its cultural identity, or towards absorbing the new culture of its adoptive country? This negotiation takes place in the context of people moving to new countries, trying to integrate themselves within new cultural landscapes.

The proposed research question served as the basis for building the interview guide, as well as conducting the in-depth interviews with the participants in the present research, and even more importantly it guided the discourse analysis performed on the transcribed interviews, leading to an answer in the Findings chapter. Therefore, the following research question guided my research process:

RQ: How are DoR magazine subscribers in the diaspora negotiating their national identity in the context of consuming media from their country of origin?

1.4. Social and Scientific Relevance

From a scientific point of view, this research is relevant because it analysed the negotiation of national identity through a specific medium, an independent magazine, with a current quarterly circulation of 4,500 issues. When the role of the media in the negotiation between the national identity and the integration in a new country is discussed, traditional media, and television in particular, have been thoroughly researched (Cormack, 1994; Van den Bulck, 2001; Aksoy and Robins, 2002; Castelló, 2007). But the electronic media, as argued by

Meyrowitz (1997), don't allow an in-depth knowledge over identity, rather providing "a shallower sense of 'us'" (p. 66). In contrast, the print media allow even a segmentation of audience into criteria of "education, age, class, and gender" (Meyrowitz, 1997, p. 65). Considering this study is based on in-depth interviews with a specific diaspora with high education, white-collar occupation, and interested in narrative media for accessing information, the print segmentation is already implied. The narrative journalism used by the magazine allows this study to research an already segmented audience. DoR as a media product is challenging the discussion of the role of media in nation building, as this medium has been poorly researched.

Moreover, nowadays, print media appear to be replaced or at the very least significantly threatened by the internet. However, journalists are making better use of the internet and social media, gaining access to audiences spread over the internet, proving there are solutions for making print thrive. The digital medium only "requires a more inclusive relationship with the people formerly called the audience" (McChesney & Pickard, 2011, p. 34). DoR magazine is communicating closely and on a regular basis with its community of subscribers through a number of methods: social media, regular newsletters, personal letters to let the subscribers know when their subscription ends, assistance in the payment processes, and face-to-face in the various events the magazine hosts.

Traditionally, mass media have been considered a nation-building tool. From the print industry that pushed a nationalism movement (Anderson, 1991) to media being one of the tools along social institutions in nation-building (Bokhorst-Heng, 2002) and the banal nationalism evoked by the discourse used in newspapers (Billig, 1995; Yumul & Özkirimli, 2000). Moreover, in the post-communist era, the building of the Romanian nation was initiated through a branding campaign (Kaneva & Popescu, 2011). However, the notion of national identity is not so clear for the citizens of many former communist countries in the East of Europe (Kuzio, 2002), which makes them more likely to develop a hybrid identity when negotiating their national identity.

I explored the nationalism of a nation that still deals with a slow transition from communism to democracy even 27 years after the fall of the communist regime. The negotiation of identity that the Romanian diaspora deals with brought a fresh narrative in the Romanian nationalism considering the riotous present. Romanians have massively been protesting for almost the whole of February 2017 against corruption after tolerating it for 27 years (Lyman and Gillet, 2017). With regard to the social relevance of the study, more information emerged on how the negotiation of national identity is perceived on an individual level. This might even be helpful to better understand how to react to the rise of right-wing populism that seems to absorb the political discourse in the USA and Europe. This right-wing populism we are experiencing

nowadays is gaining mass popularity by outlining the cultural difference between nations, putting a bigger pressure on migrants to assimilate completely in the culture of the residing countries (Marino, 2014). By understanding the challenges in the national identity negotiation, there might be a bigger chance to empathize with this struggle.

In the end, being a member of a diaspora myself, as a native Romanian studying and settling myself in the Netherlands, I believe this study can be rewarding on a personal level for current and future diaspora members. Learning how other people negotiate their identity can provide a future member of a diaspora with a set of advice for their own national identity negotiation, imminent in this globalized world. The national identity is changing much more when moving abroad besides all the direct changes one faces, such as new laws, different food, new cities to adapt to, and a set of guiding findings might help with the identity negotiation.

2. Theoretical Framework

There are two main theories that guide this research: the nationalism and the role of media in nation building, in particular for diaspora. But in order to understand national identity, nationalism and nations need to be explained with reference to the diaspora, and moreover to the role of media, as a tool used in nation building, starting from the print industry until the 'banal nationalism' encountered nowadays.

The first subchapter, Nations as the Imagined Community, outlines major theories of nationalism, how nationalism emerged, and from what is composed of. The second subchapter, Nationalism and Communication Media presents how we can think of the relationship between media and nationalism in a globalized world. Thus, it has been organized in three sections as it follows. The first section, The Emergence of Nationalism and the Print Industry, outlines the role of the print industry in the emergence of nationalism, building this ideology in the modern construct. Moreover, how vernacular languages have been promoted intensively through print enabled then each nation to make use of an imagined community. The second section, Media and Nation Building, looks at the current situation of how different media have been researched as being a tool in nation building. In the last section of the subchapter of Nationalism and Communication Media, named Media, Diaspora and Transnationalism, media's role is linked with the life of recent diaspora, making use of theories such as transnationalism and globalization, and the hybrid identities resulting from their negotiation.

Lastly, this chapter has a third subchapter dedicated to the Romanian Nationalism. A first section looks at how Romania developed as a state, and the second explores the myths composing the Romanian nationalism.

2.1. Nations as the Imagined Community

In his discussion of newspapers, books, and magazines written in the vernacular languages used and understood by the masses, Anderson (1991) argues that reading is an activity that turned in a "mass ceremony", through which the national community got to be "imagined" (Anderson, 1991, p. 35). But the mass ceremony is only a side of how the print industry contributed to nation building, according to Anderson (1991), and we need to understand what nationalism is and how this ideology emerged.

Perennialist versus Modernist

One of the oldest theories of nationalism is the perennialist, which sees nationalism as a natural phenomenon, existing with nations since the first formations of people and even before. Nationalism thus is not something that has awoken in the modern world, but something that has always existed. Smith (2009) sums up this view by saying the perennials assume that “nations, like races, were given in nature and therefore perennial and primordial” (Smith, 2009, p.3).

On the other side, the modernist approach claims that nationalism blossomed in the 18th century, in the Enlightenment era. This approach is also enacted in this study. One notable view is that of Gellner’s (2006) who says that “nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent” (p. 1). In “Nations and Nationalism”, Gellner (2006) argued from the beginning that nationalism is expressed through sentiments of anger. One must feel one’s political principles threatened or tickled, and thus become either angry or proud, since “with a certain ferocity Gellner makes a comparable point when he rules that ‘Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist.’” (Anderson, 1991, p. 6).

Another modernist approach defines nations as imagined communities (Anderson, 1991). Anderson (1991) thereby opposes the perennialist idea that nations developed naturally since the beginning of the history from groups of people that shared some traits of the cultural identity sphere, such as language and customs. This definition is adopted in this study, too. Anderson proposes that nationalism is not necessarily aligned with political ideologies, but rather with the cultural systems that preceded it: the religious community and the dynastic realm. Thus, he claims, nationalism is a social grouping similar to the previous two, rather than an ideological construct. This idea is guiding this research as well in terms of how nationalism is revealed in the findings. The nation, in an anthropological spirit, as Anderson mentions, is “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson, 1991, p. 6), which are differentiating the nation from an organization or tribe. Limited implies that each nation acknowledges its finite boundaries, and the neighbours these boundaries have. Each nation encompasses itself in certain boundaries, even when seeking expansion. Sovereign means that the concept of nationalism aligns more with the dynastic realm than with the divine order. Thus, the concept of nationalism in a modernist view arose in the era of the Enlightenment and the Revolution, when religion started to lose its power to the dynasties (Anderson, 1991). Lastly, its imagined character is drawn from the perceived familiarity between individuals among a community that is created by having the same nationality. This imagination is enabled through reading, especially because people can draw on common aspects they believe they share, such as language and history, relying on an ethnic

aspect.

Ethnic versus civic nation

A further understanding of nationalism requires an explanation of the two ways of perceiving national identity. One is the ethnic national identity that is stratifying over a cultural nation, and the second is the civic national identity, stratifying over a political nation. The ethnic definition assumes an “objective criteria such as language or descent as its basis for inclusion and exclusion. It does not allow individuals to choose to which nation they belong, but holds that membership is decided at birth.” (Lecours, 2000, p.154). On these ethnic premises, a nation is formed on a common language, a myth of common ancestry, a common belief, and national heroes (Caraiani, 1998; Muller, 2008). This is what glues “a certain feeling of solidarity between certain important social groups” (Caraiani, 1998, p. 118). Moreover, on these premises, the diaspora members are “assumed to be longing for national and cultural ‘authenticity’ and ‘purity’ that could be achieved only through the return of the minority to the home country” (Triandafyllidou, 2006, p. 292). The ethnic argument of nationalism is associated with the perennialist perspective, while the civic identity matches more the modernist approach of nationalism, both being developed during the Enlightenment era. Smith (2009) argued that the perennialist view of nationalism was undermined by the two World Wars and the atrocities caused by the Holocaust, when it “no longer became possible to equate the concept of the nation with that of ‘race’” (Smith, 1995, p. 4). The inherited aspect of a nation was no longer sufficient for giving the right to a state to contain a nation. The civic aspect started to prevail the ethnic, considering the atrocities of the Second World War, giving the change of modernist approaches such as Anderson’s (1991) and Gellner’s (2006) to blossom.

The civic approach of national identity assumes that “a civic nationalism is associated with a free will of individuals, usually appropriated to the “developed and industrialized democracies of the West” (Lecours, 2000, p. 153). This means that all people that live “within a country’s border are part of a nation, regardless of their ethnic, racial, or religious origins” (Muller, 2008, p. 20).

Although the distinction between the ethnic and civic nations is present in the studies regarding national identity and nationalism (Sugimoto, 2006; Smith, 2009), in practice their use is always a combination (Shulman, 2002; Kiely, Bechhofer & McCrone, 2005; Triandafyllidou, 2006), the dichotomy of ethnic and civic being more and more challenged. Moreover, this dichotomy is challenged with transnationalism that contributes on transforming the diaspora’s identities in hybrid identities. Recent debates suggest that the ethnic reasoning was weak not

only due to its premises, but the ethnic nationalism that looked at nations on cultural premises was also more an “attempt to resuscitate nationalism than to explain it” (Özkirimli, 2003). With the mobility of people from East to West, the ethnic and civic premises of national identities are challenging each other, thus interweaving towards hybrid identities.

This research was guided by the modernist approach of nationalism from Anderson (1991) with nations as imagined communities, and looked for both ethnic and civic aspects in the discourse of the Romanian diaspora regarding their national identity negotiation.

2.2. Nationalism and Communication Media

Nowadays, the mobility of people is everywhere. Appadurai (1996) sees mobility as omnipresent as a result of how people’s migration created diaspora communities, but also on the grounds of the mobility of ideas and the media, which he names ‘ideoscape’ and ‘mediascape’, as being two of the five dimensions of the global cultural flows (Appadurai, 1996). ‘Mediascape’ relates to the media’s dissemination of information both in the public and private sphere, in today’s world, and the “images of the world created by these media” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 35). More precisely, media are offering a set of narrative tools used by the audience living in other places around the world to construct their own narratives, their own imagined perspectives based on the information they consume. This way, the ‘national symbolic’ is transformed as an effect of both virtual circulation of images and the physical movement of people across different countries (Berlant, 1996).

The ‘ideoscapes’ of Appadurai (1996) translate in images, too, but they have a political character, relating to the ideologies of the states. Such images are “including freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation, and the master term democracy” (p. 36). What Appadurai means with this term is that diaspora would grasp these keywords differently, as for diaspora it might represent a different meaning in the country the diaspora resides in, compared to what they mean for the residents of their homeland. Both ‘mediascapes’ and ‘ideoscapes’ express fluidity and change.

The motion of ideas, and even media, started out with the motion of languages transmitted along through colonialism. This “permanent traffic in ideas of peoplehood and selfhood” spawned the imagined communities of Anderson, which emerged in nationalism (Appadurai, 1996, p. 28). The print revolution was only the beginning, Appadurai (1996) suggests. He acknowledges the importance of reading in the construction of the national identities, the ethnic part at least, but Appadurai stresses on the present where reading is only a part of nation building. Because the world we live in has brought a technological explosion that

intersects the mobility of culture, ideas, people. And this mobility is also bringing a hybridity in the national identity perception (1996). In this idea, the mobility of people is adding pressures on the states to draw more civic traits for inclusion in a nation, as opposed to ethnic traits, so thus diaspora living in a country is sharing civic rights with the locals in the shared geographical space they live in. Considering the mobility of people imminent in this world, the role of media in developing hybrid identities has to be pointed.

2.2.1. The Emergence of Nationalism and the Print Industry

The development of the print industry in the 18th century in Europe fueled the spread of nationalism. Newspapers and novels provided the means for those who were reading them to imagine themselves as part of the same nation (Anderson, 1991). But the print industry was not the only one to emerge in the 18th century, thus enabling this wave of nationalism perceived through vernaculars and prints. Gellner (2006) provides an alternative view on the construction of nationalism in its modern view. The Industrial Revolution, which also emerged in the 18th century, provided a context for nationalism to develop. And this is because, in Gellner's view, the cultural literacy acquired by people, also through vernaculars, was supported by an educational system which gave rise to nationalism (Gellner, 2006). However, the role of language in an educational form is undeniable by both theories.

Anderson has examined the value of books or, more precisely, of an individual book as an object in time. In this sense, he argued that a "book has its own eremitic self-sufficiency" (Anderson, 1991, p. 34). Following the same argument, he says a similar perspective would make "the newspaper [...] merely an 'extreme form' of the book, a book sold on a colossal scale, but of ephemeral popularity. Might we say: one-day best-sellers?" (Anderson, 1991, pp. 34-35). Due to their one-day relevance, newspapers even create an "extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption ('imagining') of the newspaper-as-fiction" (Anderson, 1992, p. 35). Moreover, when the reader sees other people performing the same ritual in other public spaces, he reinforces and validates his own ritual, thus he is then "reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life." (Anderson, 1991, pp. 35-36). The reading enabled an imaginative act performed by other people sharing a specific vernacular language, contributing to an imagined community accessing the same information, thus linking to each other. Printed history, printed myths, printed stories, shortly the print industry contributed to forming the nations (Anderson, 1991; Meyrowitz, 1997).

Nowadays, the reading rituals are more easily observed through social media. Thus, the connection between people performing the same rituals with ease despite their geographical

distance, in this case reading the independent magazine DoR, is easily made. The subscribers, by sharing photos of their magazine delivery or quotes from what they read on social media, and encouraging other friends to subscribe and support the magazine, are ultimately connecting to a community of Romanians. They can imagine themselves as being part of a Romanian community that reads DoR articles regardless of their place of residence.

The research intends to see if the reading of DoR magazine by a certain Romanian diaspora is understood as a ceremony akin to the one described by Anderson. Is the act of reading DoR enabling members of the diaspora to further think of their identity in national terms? And how is this happening while trying to integrate to a new culture?

2.2.2. Media and Nation Building

The role of the print industry in nation building has already been introduced by Anderson (1991) who argued about the role of reading for the masses and the ritual connecting them thus to an imagined community. However, Billig (1995) advanced this discussion, pointing towards a more banal nationalism that is happening nowadays, decades after most of the countries have established as nations, with the support of ethnic and civic nationalist claims. Billig (1995) argues that in the established nations of these days, “the nation is everywhere, it’s our ‘endemic condition’” (Billig, 1995, p. 6), so we should not argue for specific traits of the nation, but rather observe it in our environment; each citizen being reminded of their national place in this world one way or another, in diverse ways. For example, the wording newspapers use with reference to the nation, reminding the audience that they are reading about a specific nation. His study researched British daily newspapers discovering a banal nationalism in the articles published on a random day. Billig’s research (1995) was replicated on the Turkish media five years later by Yumul & Özkirimli (2000), showing the same results. The discussion of banal nationalism thus advanced the role of the media, and newspapers in particular, in building nationalism through deixis of homeland and nation-making (Billig, 1995; Yumul & Özkirimli, 2000).

Many authors argued for the importance of the media in building a national identity. Cormack (1994), Van den Bulck (2001), Aksoy and Robins (2002) and Castelló (2007), for example, examined the role of television in the nation-building process. They argued that television enables a direct promotion of language, culture, and territory, all contributing to nation building. In his research on the use of television in the imagination of the ethnic group of the Catalans from Spain, Castelló (2007) argued that “a nation needs its own fiction. It is for this reason that many countries have used fictional narratives to create a self-image.” (p. 49).

Through media, nations got to be imagined and rounded as researched in the cases of building the Turkmenistan nation (Kuru, 2002); Malaysian nation (Postill, 2006) and Kenyan nation (Ogola, 2011).

Bokhorst-Heng (2002), however, argued that nation building is similar to an orbiting planetary system. In his analogy, nation building is considered the sun making all the “social institutions such as education, mass media, urban planning and national defense” to orbit around it. (Bokhorst-Heng, 2002, p. 560). This way, the social institutions enable “the path and agenda of the nation as an imagined community”. If these institutions *fail to orbit* around the nation, this action puts the survival of the nation at risk (Bokhorst-Heng, 2002, p. 560). The comparison of the nation and its support system with the solar system empowers the role of the nation, for an individual does not make use of all these social institutions due to their residency in another country.

Media are a powerful tool for nation building, considering television use in promoting the language, culture and territory of a nation (Cormack, 1994; Van den Bulck, 2001; Aksoy and Robins, 2002; Castelló, 2007) and the role newspapers have nowadays through building a banal nationalism through use of deixis of homeland and nation-making (Billig, 1995; Yumul & Özkirimli, 2000). However, this study is supposed to look at the role of a magazine, a medium overlooked by nation-building studies. This research should grasp if and what is the role this Romanian quarterly magazine has in how the diaspora that reads it construct its imagined Romanian community.

2.2.3. Diaspora, Transnationalism and Media

What we understand by ‘national identity’ comes from a relative feeling of belonging that marks a stronger bond between co-nationals than the one felt towards foreigners (Triandafyllidou, 2006); it ensures these co-nationals of a certain confirmation and ratification of their own views, “fellow nationals feel good around those like themselves” (Langman, 2006, p. 75). In addition, national identity also implies the awareness of a difference: “it involves both self-awareness of the group but also awareness of *others* from whom the nation seeks to differentiate itself” (Triandafyllidou, 2006). But the implication of *others* is applied within diaspora too, as within differentiation based on “clan, tribe, or social class” occur (Brinkerhoff, 2009, p. 35).

The notion of ‘others’ is perceived as a tool in making use of one’s nationality. It is in this context that the most common terms for individual migrants, ‘immigrant’ and ‘expat’, become relevant and need to be defined. The term immigrant is defined as “a person who migrates to

another country, usually for permanent residence.” (Dictionary.com, n.d). For this reason, many scholars argue that the ‘immigrant’ has negative connotations, especially in comparison with the use of ‘expat’ (Leinonen, 2012; Guðjónsdóttir, 2014). These terms, which currently lack an established academic definition, have been highly debated in media. For example, *The Guardian* (Deo, 2012; Koutonin, 2015) emphasized the racist label the difference between these two words brings. Arguing that the term of expat is related to the notion of ‘expatriation’, *The Guardian* (Deo, 2012; Koutonin, 2015) raises the argument that all those who leave their country of origin and move to another should receive this label (Koutonin, 2015). However, even if the lexical definition states no racial or status attribution to the word, “it seems expats have a special prerogative. It is an entitlement with far-reaching consequences” (Deo, 2012).

What we now call ‘diaspora’ has been initially used for describing the masses of certain nations who fled due to war and political issues, such as the Jews, and afterwards, in some cases, to describe the historical minorities of Hungarians, for example, in the neighboring states of Romania, Serbia or Slovakia (Cohen, 2008). However, recently, this term has been used to refer to immigrant populations, as well as to the changing nature of “traditional diasporas through new migration crises” (van Hear, 1999). More generically, the term also refers to “people who reside, more or less on a permanent basis, outside the borders of their ethnic or religious homeland” (Shain & Barth, 2003, p. 452).

Transnationalism “broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states” (Vertovec, 1999, p. 447). This notion relates to that of diaspora because diaspora is part of the agents contributing to this phenomenon. Diaspora makes use of transnationalism and then, members of diaspora turn in hybrids of national identities, encompassing habits from their country of origin and the one of residence. Furthermore, transnationalism as a notion also overlaps with globalization, but in a more limited sense. Globalization describes modern processes that “shrunk distance between elites, shifted key relations between producers and consumers, broken many links between labor and family life, obscured the lines between temporary locales and imaginary national attachments” (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 9-10). Globalization refers to the mobility which translated in all these processes leading to changes in how we conceive societies nowadays. Transnationalism is also about mobility, but understood more narrowly as mobility across national borders. This is mainly because globalization processes are “largely decentered from specific national territories and take place in a global space”, while transnationalism is “anchored in and transcends one or more nation-states” (Kearney, 1995, p. 548). However, the transnational practices of diaspora are “stimulated and fostered” by the globalization processes (Vertovec, 2009); the negotiation of

national identity diaspora deals with is actually due to its access to this bundle of globalized processes.

In the present though, transnationalism is no longer seen as physical border crossing. For Aydin (2016), transnationalism nowadays refers to “hybrid-identities, bilingualism, biculturalism and involvement into constant cross-communications as well as transnational social spaces” (Aydin, 2016, p. 172). Transnationalism thus is contributing to the fluidity of national identity, enabling the hybrid national identities of diaspora’s members to happen. Both the homeland and the country of residence are transforms the identity of diaspora. But a hybrid identity is not the final results, as the identities of diaspora are “constantly produced and reproduced” (Brinkerhoff, 2009, p. 33). Thus, transnationalism contributes to a transformation of national identity, which results in a pressure for the states for encompassing a more civic approach towards the rights of the diaspora living within their borders.

Media though, with the internet use and globalization available nowadays, can trigger appeal the imagination of people regardless of their location. Both Billig (1995) and Yumul & Özkirimli (2000) found in their researches that, for example, the use of ‘Foreign News’ sections marked in newspapers, appeals to the assumption that even for the diaspora members reading the news, those news will be ‘foreign’, even though might refer to their country of residence. The presence of banal nationalism found in newspapers speaks to citizens regarding their location, making them feel still part of their nation of origin with a set of borders (Billik, 1995; Yumul & Özkirimli, 2000).

The role of media in the diaspora’s life within a transnationalism context is transforming national identities in hybrid identities. Mai (2005) argued for a ‘transnational identity’, in a hybrid sense, that the Albanians in Italy developed by consuming Italian media. In the first place, Italian television was already consumed in Albania, due to the geographical proximity. The narrative exposed in the Italian media appealed to a mass of Albanians seduced by the West, and “, Italy became the post-communist embodiment of Albania’s aspirational Westernness” (Mai (2003) cited in Mai, 2005, p. 547)

However, examples related with the Romanian diaspora are found towards the shaming of this diaspora in the UK media (Light & Young, 2009; Fox, Moroşanu & Szilassy, 2012). The image created by the UK media is emphasizing the dichotomy West-East, framing a Balkanism legacy on the South East Europe, thus discriminating the Romanian diaspora (Light & Young, 2009). On the other hand, the Balkanism is rejected by Romanians through a nationalist discourse used since Romania gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire (Todorova, 1996).

By reviewing these studies about the role of media in the diaspora's lives and their sense of national identity, this research assumes the media still have a strong role in the nation building, which is not affected by the physical borders of a country. Transnationalism did not end the nation building use of media, rather it has transformed it leading diaspora to develop hybrid identities.

2.3. Romanian Nationalism

2.3.1. Nationalism and the Romanian history

The Romanian state was born when the smaller kingdoms of Moldavia and Wallachia were united in 1859. The two kingdoms were formally under the rule of the Ottoman Empire and by 1877 the new state became independent (Kantor, 2006). In the end, this union of smaller kingdoms under a sovereign state resulted thanks to the decentralization of the Ottoman, Habsburg and Russian Empire, given the fact that Romania previously “never had a well-defined identity or stable borders” (Caraiani, 1998, p. 109).

However, as these territories were not inhabited solely by ethnic Romanians, this also meant that other groups such as Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Russians, Ukrainians, etc. became ‘minorities’ within the expanded Romanian state (Kantor, 2006). The very existence of these minorities, which at that time made 28% of the total population of ‘Greater Romania’, which was almost twice as its current size (Kantor, 2006), sparked a version of ethno-nationalism. For example, in 1923 a constitution with ethnic characters of Romanians was created, but then soon demolished by the Liberals (Gallagher, 2005). In 1938, Nichifor Crainic, a Romanian poet, journalist and theologian with major influences on the nationalist movement in Romania (Clark, 2012), was affirming that “the experiences of other states teach us that any unassimilated member of a minority, active in the organism of the state, is an element of dissolution and ruin. It follows from these judgements that it is a vital necessity for Romania to be an exclusively ethnocratic state. Only native Romanians, who have created [the nation] through their sacrifice, guarantee the durability of the state” (Crainic cited by Niessen, 1995). This led to later fascist movements, with the Legion of the Archangel Michael, a far right party responsible for persecuting Jews and Roma people in the 1940s (Niessen, 1995; Boia, 2012). Turda (2007) analysed the difficulties that the interwar period brought to Romania as a state, especially with matters of ethnicity, race, and politics. The fast turnout of nationalism in fascism proves indeed that the “Romanians were unprepared for the sudden achievement of a united state” (Niessen, 1995, p. 286).

The difficulty of becoming a Romanian nation was further challenged by the communist regime which installed in Romania in 1947, under Marxist-Leninist premises. To understand contemporary post-communist Romania, a clear understanding of the communist regime is necessary. The Romanians of today have their roots in those years of communism, either having lived through the system or having heard the stories of parents and grandparents. As Boia (2001) says, “the current political (and to some extent intellectual) elite was formed in the years of communism. It would not have existed without communism” (p. 233). If the communist regime was blooming in the first dozen of years, with strong international relations and an economic boom, towards the end of the regime it turned in a “totalitarian dictatorship” of Ceaușescu (Gallagher, 2005). This put pressures on the Romanian nation, which in the end, in December 1989, started the Revolution that put an end to this dictatorship (Verdery, 1996; Gallagher, 2005).

The post-communist Romania that emerged after the Revolution is marked by political confusion. For example, in the National Salvation Front, the party that had a big role in organizing the whole confusion after the Revolution, the members included veteran Communists (Verdery, 1996). In the following years of the political shaping of Romania, “parties divided, disappeared, changed names, and reconfigured their political coalitions” (Verdery, 1996, p. 111). To re-build a notion of the state while rejecting the roots of the communist regime shaped in a willingness of integrate in Europe, to get closer to the West again, learning civic society rules from Europe, but with not having a capacity of acting upon.

However, Romania entered in NATO in 2004, and integrated in the European Union started with 2007 (Gallagher, 2005). This marked an increased wave of migration of Romanians searching better economic prospects, but also further efforts in bringing Romania closer to the West.

2.3.2. Romanian National Myths

The following section sums up the main ideas – or myths—of contemporary Romanian nationalism (Caraiani, 1998). A founding myth cannot thrive for long in the absence of symbols to strengthen it. In the case of Romania, the myth of Dacian territory conquered by the Roman Empire is one that consolidates the legitimacy of space and it is consolidated by “the all-embracing symbol of the entire national space”, namely Dacia, “at a time when the very name of Romania did not exist” (Boia, 2001, p. 34). The Dacian myth legitimizes the actual borders of Romania in alignment with the historical borders of Dacia.

However, the geographic space of today's Romania had a far more complicated course than its Dacian ancestry. Between the two World Wars, the newly formed Romanian state was expanded to include territories inhabited by Romanians that previously lived under different empires, such as Transylvania under the Habsburg Empire, and Bucovina under the Russian Empire. In the Romanian nationalist mythology, this expansion is known as 'Greater Romania' – or the alleged accomplishment of the 'national unity' of all Romanians.

The hardship of the Romanian nation throughout the history is another idea that connects with a series of myths over the Romanian nation. For example, the Ottoman Empire's ruling is seen by the Romanians as one of the darkest periods, "claiming that the Turks did everything possible to ruin the country's economy and culture" (Verdery, 1996, p. 96). Over 325 years of Ottoman ruling over what is today Romania's territory (Todorova, 1996) translated in various cultural practices still present. From the use of laws and the appeal in court made by Romanians– which imprinted on the counties dominated by the Ottoman Empire compared to the ones under Habsburg ruling (Mendelski & Libman, 2014) to religion, Orthodox religion being of Byzantine origin (Radu, 1988), and the language which still keeps a percentage in the current vocabulary of domestic words, "more than a century ago, the Turkish element in Romanian was estimate at one-sixth of the total vocabulary but nowadays is more restricted to [such] domestic terms" (Lewis, 1996, p. 215). However, with all these practices, Romania keeps rejecting its Ottoman legacy in an effort to integrate and get closer to the West of Europe (Todorova, 1996; Gallagher, 1997).

The Romanian language and its Latin origin are another myth in the foundation of this nation. The Latin alphabet was adopted in 1860, giving up to the Cyrillic one, in a desire to get closer to the West, reason which started a nationalist discourse by the young intellectual elite who studied in France, and then implemented notions about nation, trying to build the Romanian one on Latin premises, this way enacting a West legacy (Boia, 2012).

A further myth consists of the Orthodox religion. Nichifor Crainic argued for the Romanian nation as existing on biological and spiritual bases, with a strong emphasis on Orthodoxism, the basis of conducting the politics of the Romanian state (Clark, 2012). Leustean (2008) also argued that the political myths that actually emerged from religion are supporting the national identities in Romania. On the other hand, these ethnic premises used in political discourse led to the fascist movement responsible of ethnic murders (Niessen, 1995; Boia, 2012).

At first, the communist regime used nationalistic discourses in relation with the religious myths of the installment of the Romanian identity. Towards the end of the regime, the nationalist

discourse turned more in a personality cult of the leader Ceaușescu, with emphasis on the two founding myths of the Romanian people, the Roman and Dacian ancestry (Caraieni, 1998). But as soon as the communist regime fell with the Revolution from 1989, Romanians started a rejection of their communist identity. All protesters cut the communist symbol from the middle of the Romanian flag leaving an empty place (Kaneva & Popescu, 2011). This hole in the flag marked the rejection of the past 45 years of communism identity that had to be filled then with other nationalistic ideas.

In the post-communist stage, Romania worked further to a closeness to the West, being accepted in NATO in 2004, and entering the European Union in 2007 (Gallagher, 2005). Once the borders of Romania were open after the Revolution in 1989, many Romanians emigrated. When Romania got accepted in the European Union in 2007, allowing an easier freedom of movement, the emigration from Romania also increased, building an economically strong diaspora. But the ethnic claim in the Romanian national identity is still stirred up. For example, in the big Romanian emigration wave started in 2007, the Roma minority took advantage of the mobility too, and crossed the borders outside of Romania. This gave birth to a still actual and disputed ethnic conflict in Romania. The Romanians refused and they keep refusing an association with the Roma people, being ashamed of some Roma people's illegal actions abroad, and as well in the country. Even though these Roma people have Romanian citizenship, the Romanians feel an embarrassment for being associated under the same nation (Dumbrava, 2016). This translates in a new myth emerging within the Romanian diaspora, denying the Romanian nationality of many Roma people part of the diaspora community, too. An image of the country's capital is emerging in the post-communist Romania, with 'bad Romanians' portrayed in the West media, and of 'good Romanians', the intellectual elite that makes Romanians proud either through high achievements abroad or by choosing to return in the homeland (Mădroane, 2016).

In this easier mobility Romania is experiencing since 2007, along with the embarrassment of being associated with Roma people, not admitting their Romanian nationality, it is important to see the discourse of Romanians and whether they tackle or not ethnic premises by appealing to the myths composing the Romanian nationality.

For the Romanian nation, the ethnic prevails considering the use of "linguistic, religious or ethnic criteria to determine membership" that defines the ethnic character (Lecours, 2000, p.153). But this is rather an "attempt of resuscitate nationalism that to explain it" (Özkirimli, 2003), which makes the Romanian state use weak political discourses, leading to a hazard of

civic implications, such as the low voting presence, under 50% of the voting population (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance; Eurostat, March 2015).

After reviewing scholarly arguments on the relationship between media, nationalism and diasporic communities, this project was informed by the following assumptions. First, I took nationalism and national identity, and I expected to meet a discourse of nationalism as an 'imagined community' and a national identity discourse anchored more in the ethnic premises, as it is specific in the Romanian nationalist discourse. Second, I took media to actively contribute in diaspora's negotiation of national identity within a structure of transnationalism. Nonetheless, the myths of the Romanian nation, and the ethnic identity prevailing the civic in the Romanian national identity, have also been used further in the discourse analysis of the in-depth interviews with the respondents.

3. Research Design

This paper draws on 14 in-depth interviews with Romanian members of diaspora who have been subscribed for at least two years now to the print magazine DoR. The transcribed interviews were analysed using discourse analysis. This way, the method allowed the researcher to deconstruct the stories told by participants and make use of the language they used, thus withdrawing the national identity negotiation.

The discourse analysis performed on the transcribed interviews allowed the researcher to capture the negotiation of national identities, since “national identities are not completely consistent, stable and immutable. They are, to the contrary, to be understood as dynamic, fragile, ‘vulnerable’ and often incoherent” (De Cilia et al., 1999, p. 154). This negotiation was revealed by analysing the discourse the respondents used when being interviewed. In the discourse analysis, the researcher has to “reveal those factors which lead to a divergence of possible meanings, each conditionally valid” (Widdowson, 1995, p.159). Keeping in mind that the discourse performed by these respondents was in a specific context, a discussion with a master student; and in a specific time frame, shortly after massive protests against corruption in Romania (Lyman and Gillet, 2017), the research reflects precisely the fluidity a national identity takes, and the findings of the study are relevant for these specific circumstances.

In this chapter, the choice of a qualitative method is justified first, then the role of the in-depth interviews for this research is discussed, and the processes of sampling, recruiting, and interviewing the respondents are explained. Lastly, the discourse analysis method is defined, and the steps of performing the method of discourse analysis in the research are explained along with the findings.

3.1. Qualitative Research

Every study, be it quantitative or qualitative, starts from the research question which outsets the path to be taken by the researcher. Qualitative methods are increasingly being understood as explicitly theory-dependent ways of “describing, analyzing, and interpreting data” (Talja, 1999, p. 459).

How are DoR magazine subscribers in the diaspora negotiating their national identity in the context of consuming cultural content from their country of origin? – was the research question guiding this paper. And the purpose of this research question was to grasp in the negotiation of national identity of a specific group members of the Romanian diaspora. A qualitative has been chosen, mostly because, qualitative methods “considers research data,

such as the accounts of research participants, as ‘constructed’ within a particular research context, rather than as an objective reflection of ‘reality’” (Burck, 2005). In this case, this is what this researcher attempted to work with: a data obtained at a specific time, from specific discussions with participants who negotiated, discussed, and recounted stories about their national identity as they reflected on it during the interview. As mentioned, the recent massive protests that took place in Romania during February 2017 have to be taken in consideration (Lyman and Gillet, 2017). The findings in the qualitative analysis require interpretation (Boeije, 2010), which in the case of the research question of this study, the findings rely on the negotiation of a national identity, but also on the interpretation of the researcher.

Aiming to answer the research question, how are DoR magazine subscribers in the diaspora negotiating their national identity in the context of consuming media from their country of origin, 14 participants were interviewed. The number is above the minimum 12 people sample size considered by Ritchie and Lewis (2003) satisfactory for in-depth interviews. This way, the small number “ensures that the sample will be highly rich in terms of the constituencies and diversity it represents” (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 85).

3.2. Data Collection

As in most qualitative researches, the in-depth interviews have been used in order to collect the data, thus to “reach areas of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible such as people’s subjective experiences and attitudes” (Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2011, p. 529). Since this study is based on diaspora respondents located all over the world, the interviews have been conducted online which is a method that gains trust from researches more and more (Irvine, 2011; Deakin & Wakefield, 2014).

3.2.1. In-depth Interviews

One of the reasons the in-depth interviews method has been chosen for this study is that it enables a greater validity by diving in the personal experiences of the respondents (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003). By using the method of interviewing in order to gather data, the researcher can generate “empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives. In this respect, interviews are a special form of conversation” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997, p. 113).

It has been indicated that interviews that are not face-to-face might fall shorter due to a diminished interviewee attention (Gillham, 2005; Shuy, 2003). However, in this research it was not the case. Each interview had a minimum length of one hour, however some participants spent more time talking about their journey from the moment they decided to leave Romania until the present, thus a third of the interviews lasted up to one hour and a half, even one hour and 45 minutes.

Moreover, considering that the interviews have been conducted online, the feeling of familiarity is an important aspect, because “the heart of our social and personal being lies in the immediate contact with other humans” (Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2011, p. 533). Compared with the ones conducted face-to-face, phone calls interviews are supposed to lack familiarity, for example. However, a prior interaction with the respondents before the interviews has been done in order to obtain a familiarity and have a relaxed conversation (Irvine, 2011; Deakin & Wakefield, 2014). In this research, I aimed to obtain familiarity by exchanging emails with the respondents prior to the interview, in order to match their schedule, and then connecting with most of them via Facebook (with those who agreed to use this platform for the interview call). Moreover, during the interview, I was pleasantly surprised to observe that all of them could easily relate with me, making jokes and laughing often, but also trusting my reasoning in the discussion, since I am a diaspora member myself who also reads DoR magazine.

3.2.2. Sampling

This quarterly magazine used in the study is not a tabloid, its content requires the reader to have a certain level of education and understand an elevated writing. Even the magazine portrays them with certain qualities, such as “intelligent and curious” (DoR, n.d.). The fact that they are addressing their content to a certain kind of readership allowed this research to gain understanding for a specific category of diaspora. The diaspora members of this study have a medium income, since they afford to buy the magazine subscription; a one-year, four-issue subscriptions costs approximately 60 euros for diaspora subscribers. They are highly educated, either studying abroad or performing white-collar jobs in European and Diplomatic Affairs, Communication or Academia. They are interested in understanding social issues from an in-depth perspective, seeking trust and truth in the Romanian media to explain the complicated political and economic situation of their homeland.

I have a close relationship with the magazine’s team, thus I asked for their collaboration on finding the right respondents to interview. The criteria for selecting participants were that the diaspora subscribers had kept their subscription for more than the last two years. This way, I

could assume that they developed a relationship with the magazine, read more articles, already gained an understanding of the magazine's writing style, etc. Moreover, they had the time to establish and perform a ritual with this media product, in the sense that Anderson (1991) looked at the media consumption in relation to national identity.

Most of the respondents recruited currently reside in Europe: three in The Netherlands, three in United Kingdom, two in Belgium, one in Ireland, one in Norway, and another one in Denmark. Three other participants live in the United States, Haiti and Japan respectively. The youngest participant is 24 years old, and the oldest is 40 years old, and the range years of being part of diaspora is from three to 20 years, as it can be seen in Appendix A.

3.2.3. Sampling Relevance

Even though the role of media in general for diaspora had been outlined by several authors, such as Castelló (2007) with television or Billig (1995) with newspapers, this case looked at the role of another medium, a quarterly magazine, in the negotiation of national identity for diaspora. But in terms of generalizability, the study is not relevant for the entire Romanian diaspora, given the fact this magazine is addressed to a specific audience. The magazine DoR has a circulation of 3,500 issues, from which a third is being shipped to subscribers, and the rest is delivered to the national distributors. The magazine, although having an engaged community of readership, is not as popular as the main circulation newspapers. Thus, the respondents, although being part of the Romanian diaspora, they are also a specific group, part of the high educated diaspora, as mentioned already.

Moreover, the magazine DoR doesn't have a large diaspora community. In 2015, the percentage of diaspora's in the total of the magazine's subscribers was of 15%; currently, it stands at 10%, due to the trebling of national post prices; yet, the post remains, the most cost effective shipping solution. This is the reason only 31 subscribers fit the criteria of having the subscription for at least two years. However, the number of subscribers located in Romania rose in the past two years (some of the diaspora changed their address with a Romanian one, taking the issues when coming home to visit their families), which led to a growth of circulation numbers up to 4,500, from the average of 3,000 in the past. However, the findings should apply to the Romanian diaspora with a high level of education and a secure income, given the interests and perceptions of the respondents in this study.

Both the respondents and the chosen media are limited, not necessarily representative for the entire country of Romania.

3.2.4. Recruitment

Twelve participants were found from the magazine's database of subscribers. A person of contact working at the magazine emailed all the participants, telling them about my research, and asking them if they are willing to take part. Out of 31 participants emailed, 12 replied willing to participate with an hour of their time for an interview in this study. The two additional respondents, one from Belgium and another from The Netherlands, I knew from the time I worked for the magazine. Knowing their long time subscription to the magazine, and their own national identities struggles already, I asked them the permission to participate in this study. The reason they were not found already through the database of the magazine was because they didn't renew their subscription yet at the magazine by the time I received the table with the diaspora subscribers (most of the subscriptions are being renewed annually, in February).

3.2.5. Interview Process

An interview guide (Appendix B) was built in order to research the national identity negotiation through in-depth interviews, thus questions concerning the participants' journey from Romania to the country they reside in, as well as how they keep in touch with both countries, including the media they consume, were asked in the first part of the interview – first, second and the third sections from the interview guide found in Appendix B. In these three sections, questions regarding their work, how they are spending their free time, whether they sought for Romanian communities and how did they accommodate to the country they reside, what kind of media they consume in general were asked. In the fourth section of the interview guide, the discussion was orientated only towards their DoR subscription, their reading habits, favorite articles, reasoning, and the role they attribute to this magazine. In the last section, the fifth, the interview concluded with a couple of questions regarding national identity. More exactly, what do they perceive to be their national identity, how precisely they identify themselves, and whether their future plans include returning to Romania.

After building the interview guide in Romanian, I conducted an interview test with a Romanian subscriber in order to see if the questions cover the theme, or what probing questions need to be considered, as well as to find out if there is a need for more specific questions. Through the test, I became aware of the convenience to ask about the recent massive Romanian protests against corruption (Lyman and Gillet, 2017) in order to prompt a discussion towards their civic implication in Romania. Prior to each interview, I sent each

participant an email with a link of the Colectiv article, mentioned in the *Introduction*, explaining that the article is just a reminder regarding the type of articles published by the magazine, and they don't need to (re)read it. I chose this article because it explains an event in Romania that led to massive implications in the civic scenery. With this article, I reasoned I can stir the discussion of reading DoR with national identity premises, either ethnic or civic.

The interviews were all scheduled in the last two weeks of March 2017, with one exception in late April, and all of them have been conducted in Romanian, given the fact both the researcher and the participants are native Romanian speakers. Moreover, in order to grasp the national identity negotiation, interviews conducted in the mother tongue were an advantage for the discourse analysis further conducted. All of the conversation took place via Facebook and WhatsApp calls, using an audio recorder to capture the interviews. Each participant has been informed about the purpose of the study in the beginning of the interview, and asked if they want their name not to be used in the study; only two participants did not agree for their name to be used in this research. However, no name is disclosed in this study. The respondents have also been assured that whenever they don't feel comfortable answering a certain question, they can refuse to talk about a subject, this way the online ethical considerations have been assured (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014). The respondents have been told an audio recorder is used to record the whole conversation, for the purpose of transcribing it later. This is also something specific for the online interviews ethical considerations, since in the face-to-face interviews, participants can see the audio recorder (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014).

The interview guide allowed an active strategy in leading the interviews, and the prior experience of the researcher influenced a deepening into the subjects approached in the interview (Broom, Hand and Tovey, 2009). Being myself a member of the Romanian diaspora that reads the Romanian magazine DoR proved to be useful in conducting the interviews; I could easily relate when respondents referred to certain articles in the magazine, or when they made references to other independent Romanian publications. But my prior knowledge also made some participants hesitant in giving richer answers, assuming I already know what they want to say. In these cases I made use of probing questions, and I insisted in order to obtain saturation of each section of the interview guide.

3.3. Data Analysis

3.3.1. Discourse Analysis

The definition that Jørgensen & Philips (2002) propose for the discourse analysis is a preliminary one that sets it “as a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (Jørgensen & Philips, 2002, p.1). In this regard, the aim of the study was to understand and decipher the way the diaspora talk and understand their national identity negotiation.

The discourse analysis was crucial in this research of national identity, and even more in the discussion of negotiating it, given the fact nation-building is a discourse in itself, through which is created a meaning of the nation, “there are contained in stories that are told about the nation, in memories which link its present to its past and in the perceptions of it that are constructed” (Hall (1994) cited in De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak, 1999, p. 201). However, the discourse is used in constructing and maintaining the national identity. National identities are “*produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed*” and they change in time “through the systems of education, schooling, mass communication, militarization, as well as through sports meetings” (De Cillia et al., 1999, p. 153).

Since nationality is a story people make sense of (Ram (1994) cited in De Cillia et al., 1999), an imagined construct in the modern world (Anderson, 1992), and the discourse analysis performed, allowed richer interpretations on the stories the respondents gave about their national identity.

The importance of language in the research was enhanced by the theoretical framework, the language being one of the ethnic criteria of a nation, but also by the discourse analysis method that “emphasizes the role of language in the construction of social reality” (Talja, 1999, p. 460). In addition, using the language in this research for understanding the realities of the respondents, but also their imagined worlds, involves a subtle realism within qualitative researches (Seale, 1999). The language supports a communication between the past experiences and imagining new ones, allowing the negotiation of national identity to be translated in words. The use of the language used by respondents in the discourse analysis is important, because “people do things with their discourse; they make accusations, ask questions, justify their conduct and so on” (Wetherell & Potter, 1988, p. 169). In the discourse analysis the researcher has to “reveal those factors which lead to a divergence of possible meanings, each conditionally valid” (Widdowson, 1995, p.159).

In contrast to the quantitative researches where credibility is gained from instrument construction, in qualitative research credibility comes from the researcher's abilities and efforts acting as instruments (Golafshani, 2003). My prior knowledge of DoR, as well as being part of diaspora, proved to be useful when performing the discourse analysis to interpret the data. I was also deeply motivated to understand my own behavior through the findings of the analysis, since I fit the respondents' criteria. At the same time, this prior experience is also a limitation, since a certain biased discovery might have developed through the conducted analysis. On the other hand, discourse analysis is making use of the researcher's "conception of the world", "social and individual reality" and "values, belief and prejudices" (Widdowson, 1995, p. 165). As opposed with critical discourse analysis, which is decisive on its interpretation and with which discourse analysis is often confused with, the discourse analysis is making use of the researcher's experience, leading to a plurality of discourses that can be found in the same text (Widdowson, 1995). In this study, the fact that the researcher shares the criteria of the specific diaspora group researched, being also a member of diaspora and a reader of DoR magazine is an advantage in performing the discourse analysis on the in-depth interviews with the respondents.

3.3.2. Performing Discourse Analysis

Compared with the quantitative research, when data ends up 'speaking for itself', through the discourse analysis, the writing of the findings' chapter is an analytical act, in which the researcher "empirically documents the meaning-making process. [...and] describes the complex discursive activities through which respondents produce meaning. The goal is to explicate how meanings, their linkages and horizons, are constituted both in relation to, and within, the interview environment" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997, p. 127). The method of discourse analysis was useful to make sense of the subjects' discourse not only through their explicit answers, but also through what they excluded in relation with their statements, because "discourse theory suggests that we focus on the specific expressions in their capacity as articulations: what meanings do they establish by positioning elements in particular relationships with one other, and what meaning potentials do they exclude?" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 29).

All the interviews have been transcribed shortly after they happened, by using the online platform www.otranscribe.com, and the whole analysis has been carried out in Romanian, since the researcher as a Romanian could interpret the discourse this way, and lastly the quotes used in supporting the findings have been all translated in English.

During the interview transcription, notes have been taken in order to notice patterns in the identity discourses approached by participants. In qualitative researches, the analysis of interviews unfolds in specific steps, such as “systematically coding, grouping or summarizing the descriptions, and providing a coherent organizing framework that encapsulates and explains aspects of the social world that respondents portray” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997, p. 127).

In the process of performing the discourse analysis on the data of this research, I first read them interviews to summarize a story of each interview, in order to always have a general view of the discussion I carried with each interviewee. This is when I also selected paragraphs connected with the research question, as discourse analysis requires (Burck, 2005). Then I read the selected paragraphs and organized them in three categories that emerged from the conversation: sharing their personal story, being specifically asked about their national identity at the end of the interview, and how they approached national identity when discussing about their DoR subscription. A table containing these three columns, with a row for each interviewee was made. These selected data were further analysed through the theoretical framework lenses in order to identify patterns, as well as variations. In the last step, when also building the structure of the findings, the implications of particular patterns were highlighted in relation with the discourse performed by respondents (Burck, 2005).

Through the analysis and the lenses of the nation as an imagined community and the national myths constructing the Romanian national identity, but also the role media has in building the national identity, the findings naturally grouped in two main sections: 1. The Romanian diaspora and how they are talking about their national identity, for which I used the data gathered in the first two columns from the main table used in the discourse analysis, and 2. The role of DoR in the negotiation of national identity, in which I used the data collected in the third column of the table. Themes related to civic involvement, communities, and language mirrored in both these main categories as follows in the findings chapter. Moreover, two patterns emerged: ‘us versus them’ as a strand to easier explain events and the shift from civic to ethnic articulations the respondents made of their Romanian identity.

4. Findings

The first section reveals how the diaspora approached concepts related to national identity when presenting their story in the first part of the interview, and how they referred to national identity when specifically being asked about it, revealing an on-going struggle between ethnic and civic national identity; the second section focuses on how they approached national identity in relation with the DoR magazine.

The two sections answered the research question in two steps, advancing and enlarging the results. First, the negotiation of national identity was grasped through the constant shifting between ethnic and civic identities, but also through understanding how much Romania is perceived as an imagined community for this diaspora, and how much the myths constructing the Romanian nation were used in the participants' discourses. In the second section, regarding the discourse of national identity in the discussion about the DoR subscription of the diaspora respondents, the findings mirrored the first section to a certain degree, revealing the imagined community the magazine gathered or aspects of the language, for example.

The negotiation this Romanian diaspora is dealing with has emerged in various themes, and the role of the magazine in this negotiation was proved.

4.1. The Romanian Diaspora and their National Identity

The Romanian national identity can be identified through various ethnic elements, already discussed in the theoretical framework. Being Romanian means speaking the language, being born within the borders of the country, belonging in a more or less active way to the Orthodox religion. Belonging to this nation also means acknowledging your Latinity and Dacian ancestries, and to be aware of all the hardship and the endurance history of Romania.

In the discourse analysis performed on the interviews conducted with the 14 respondents, two common patterns emerged in the discussions between the interviewer and each participant. One was the use of the 'us versus them' frame to refer to the differences between and within nations, which is used in order to make sense of one's own identity by differentiating from others (Benhabib, 1996; Triandafyllidou, 2006). Respondents differentiated from the nations in the country they reside in, but also from other Romanians with whom they are not compatible with, based on not sharing the same values or belonging to different social classes, which is also a construct of perceiving and negotiating one's national identity (Brinkerhoff, 2009).

The second common pattern was that all the respondents shifted from civic to ethnic articulations of the Romanian identity. Traditional models explaining national identity use a distinction between civic and ethnic national identities, however, their use in practice is actually combined (Shulman, 2002; Kiely et al., 2005). A civic nationalism is associated with a free will of individuals, usually appropriated to the “developed and industrialized democracies of the West” (Lecours, 2000, p. 153). For the Romanian nation, the ethnic prevails considering the important use of “linguistic, religious or ethnic criteria to determine membership” (Lecours, 2000, p.153) in the national discourse (Kaneva & Popescu, 2011). This makes Romania have an ethnic political discourse, rather weak, leading to a civic hazard, such as the low presence in voting (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, n.d.; Eurostat, March 2015). On the other hand, the diaspora researched in this study live in countries with stronger civic implications for their nations, which at a first glance can be observed from the higher participation in the Romanian elections by the Romanian diaspora in the past 10 years especially (Burean, 2011).

4.1.1. Us versus Them

When discussing Romanian communities, the Romanian nation, and last but not least the nation in which they are integrating, the interviewees easily picked the ‘us versus them’ frame. By using this construct, they made appeal to a differentiation, which is a basic feature in the search of national identity and framing of nations (Benhabib, 1996; Triandafyllidou, 2006). They were drawing similarities but also differences, the two most important characteristics in identity formation (De Cillia et al., 1999). This frame was used in different contexts either when referring to other Romanians’ behavior or to the people belonging to the nation in which they negotiated their integration. For example, participant nr.5 explained the differences between Romanians by picking up on an example, in which another Romanian she met was listening to a Romanian radio station she didn’t approve of: “It was the first time when I interacted with someone that it happened to be different. She was listening to something else than the rest of us. But you see, in Italy, and... well, in America it was a bit different, because in America I was interacting with Romanians, but the Romanians I met in America were people that either got there thanks to a visa lottery and they worked their fingers to the bone to build a certain status, to have a house, a car, a business. Or I interacted with people that ended up there [in America] with a study scholarship and were working in universities, as researchers. And they were respected. These were people with whom you could have certain conversations. When I arrived in Italy, well Italy had many Romanians without education or without higher education.” There

are various reasons Romanians differentiated themselves from other Romanians, such as music tastes.

While the 'us vs them' frame was common, its content varied with the context of the conversation. Three articulations of 'us versus them' emerged:

1. 'Us' referred to the participants in the dialogue, the researcher and the respondent, and 'them' to the rest of the world: "I think you know the mentality I refer to, that one in which you can't do things in Romania". This is because participant nr. 4 was aware that she is speaking with another member of the Romanian diaspora, assuming that I experienced this mentality she referred to as well. It was more in the sense of compressing explanations, since I was also a Romanian and I must have experienced Romania as they did. Examples like this one reinforce the familiarity obtained in the interviews, but also the fact that the researcher fits the sample, which made the respondents relate to.

2. The term 'us' was also used as the Romanians who may read the DoR magazine, having a higher education and white-collar occupations, and 'them', the Romanians that are low-skilled, maybe work illegally, or steal, beg, and with whom they did not want to be associated with. Thus, these two categories, 'us' the 'good Romanians' and 'them' the 'bad Romanians', contribute to the capital image of Romania, but in two opposite directions (Mădroane, 2016). "There is a Romanian community that came here to work, to make money, and then send it to Romania. These Romanians live 10, 12 in one flat. Two or three in one room. Their focus is on money. So yes... Usually in the weekends they go clubbing, maybe consume drugs, and yes, life goes on. These are things that I am not interested in." This is the differentiation from the 'bad Romanians' who are contributing to the bad image of the country, as opposed to those 'good Romanians' that are high-skilled and contribute to a good image of the country (Mădroane, 2016). Since the West media tend to mediatize the 'bad Romanians' (Light & Young, 2009; Fox et al., 2012), this differentiation seems to be brought up often in the discourse of the participants who also got in contact with Romanians from the low skilled, poor classes and Romanians of the Roma ethnicity.

3. Also, the 'us versus them' construct was used to talk about 'us', Romanians, and 'them', the people part of the nation they adapt to. "But a harder thing I adapted to was the openness of people. The Dutch seemed to me like people who smile nicely and are polite up to a limit. They are polite, but at the end of the day, each of them minds their own business," participant nr. 5 said when talking about how she adapted in the fourth European country she lived in (Romania included). The use of 'others' is helping one to make sense of its nationality, as opposed to 'us' the people who share a set of ethnic similarities (Triandafyllidou, 2006).

4.1.2. The Imagined Romanian Community

When talking about communities of Romanians in The Netherlands, and whether the participant nr, 5 sought for them or not, she mentioned a story about how, when moving for the second time in The Netherlands, this time with a baby, the respondent purposively looked over Facebook for a group with Romanian mothers in The Netherlands. “In the end, I found the information I needed on Google, but it’s about a user experience you can get from other mothers... who live here. And then, it’s about what you know on how a child is raised in Romania and the experience you have here.” A way of raising a child was another difference between nations, which made the participant nr. 5 to seek the opinions of people she can trust, a Romanian community. The fact this community was online was not of importance, as she applied of filter anyway. But she didn’t look for any other online communities with mothers speaking the other languages she is fluent in. Thus, she only trusted the Romanian ones, and not because of the language spoken, but rather of the way Romanians raise their children.

However, this Romanian community was also questioned. Participant nr. 7 while telling stories about this Romanian friends with whom she works together, started to ponder over these friendships, saying “[...] at one point we [the respondent and his wife] were asking ourselves, you know, if you’d be in Romania and you would have these colleagues, would you still see them for a beer or not, because there [in Romania] you would also have other friends. So you hang out with them because they are Romanians. And yea, with some of them, it might be like this, but with many [Romanian friends] we also tied really valuable and real friendships, which would resist even if we would have met in Romania. But I don’t know, I think this is a chance. After questioning whether he inclined to be friends with the Romanians because of the shared ethnical similarities, participant nr. 7 then agreed that it is a matter of chance. Thus, these friendships are something inexplicable, not necessarily attributed to the Romanian identity, but to something which cannot be pointed out either. An ethnic claim was grasped upon again, relying on a mythical connection and tradition Romanians have.

4.1.3. The Romanian Language

Within the official version of Romanian nationalism, language is one of the specific traits (and a source of pride) for Romanians. This is not a language of international use, only Romania and, to some extent the Republic of Moldova use this language. In Republic of Moldova, Russian and Moldovan, rather a Romanian dialect, makes the Romanian language

seem a foreign one for many Moldovans (Ciscel, 2007). Romanians feel a sense of belonging with their Latin roots, reflected a lot through the language, and are proud of their ability to understand and learn more quickly the other Latin languages such as French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese. Seven respondents made references to being able to speak at least one of these Latin languages, often assuming the skill is even shared by the interviewer.

Even more, this proximity between the Latin languages, was perceived as a solidarity across various Latin nations. “I felt a sort of chemistry, and how these people talk, that we are all Latins, you know, it’s something,” participant nr. 3 told me when sharing stories about the Spanish friends she made in the United Kingdom. She then explained the ease with which she managed to form close friendships with the Spanish neighbors. She also contrasted this with the perceived attitudes of different groups within Britain. “Northern British people, and even more those from Scotland, are much warmer, friendlier. [The rest of the British] are colder, more reserved. It’s a cultural difference,” labeling the character of the people with their geographical placement. She felt she connected far easier with the nations with Latin roots, invoking a chemistry, something she couldn’t explain well, rather feeling it, similar with the ‘authenticity’ and ‘purity’ sought in the belonging to one’s motherland communities (Triandafyllidou, 2006), compared with the nationhood in the country where she is residing for 12 years now. Also, she assumed the interviewer, as a Romanian, will easily understand this inexplicable connection using the construction “you know”. Although commonly used in speaking, the construction of words assumes that the listener has a prior knowledge on the subject, in this case the participant assumed the interviewer experienced already a similar connection with a person with Latin roots.

However, even though important for most of the participants, the Latin language was not always a positive trait. Participant nr.12 moved to Spain with her parents when she was 13, lived and studied for about 10 years there, and struggled with her Romanian identity as she felt Spaniards discriminated against her: “In Spain there is an eerie context, to be Romanian is difficult. You might adapt very easily, but the people won’t... how can I say this, they already have an image of what it means to be Romanian that doesn’t match [with how you are]”. Acknowledging that the Spanish have already formed a negative image of Romanians, the then-teenaged girl found it difficult to adapt to a Latin country in which she constantly felt unwelcomed. This is a different dimension of an inexplicable feeling, a different chemistry, which again cannot be explained. She rapidly learned the language, but it was not enough to integrate fully, the Spanish imposed a wall in the relations with her. She found it hard to express how that period and discrimination happened, as she felt she had forgotten the details of episodes of

discrimination. The ethnic identity is invoked here, since no matter what she would have done to integrate herself in Spain, these efforts were in vain. Thus she could not integrate in another nation, as if the national identity is something you are born with, just as the ethnic national identity claims.

A similar discussion of discrimination tied to language was brought up in the stories of the participants residing in the United Kingdom. It is important to mention that three out of the total of 14 interviewees are living in the United Kingdom. This is a particular situation considering the discrimination and the increased violence Brexit initiated (Khalili, 2017) and the on-going shaming of the Romanian nation in the UK media since it entered the European Union (Light & Young, 2009; Fox et al., 2012). Participant nr.14 mentioned that either them (she and her boyfriend) or acquaintances of theirs started after Brexit not to speak Romanian in public. "When walking on the street, we try not to speak [Romanian]. And I think who's hearing this it will find it absurdly, but we do talk Romanian between us, although we try to speak lower or to avoid places where we know there are people who would look down on us for speaking Romanian on the street".

Even though considering the act absurd, the participant referred to their context as leading them to this decision. Further on, she reflected over the decision of not speaking Romanian in public as "although it is a hard decision, we made it to avoid getting into unwanted situations, to avoid conflicts". The stereotypes articulated in the UK media's articles led to discriminations in the name of a nationalist protection which is actually a growing practice in other European states (De Cillia et al., 1999). Thus, a wave of violence against immigrants started after the Brexit voting results (Khalili, 2017), which made the Romanian diaspora fear, thus not willing to disclose their nationality by speaking the Romanian language in public. However, the fact they chose to trade speaking their mother tongue in public in order to continue living in the UK uncovers how much they wish to continue living there as opposed to moving back to Romania.

Participant nr. 11, living in Ireland, mentioned that other Romanians were doing the same, hiding their national identity by not speaking Romanian. The case was not correlated with Brexit, though. "There was this [Romanian] couple we met while lining for our turn to vote. Anyway, I also believe we shared different values, and maybe this was actually the reason we didn't stay friends. But for example, when they were walking on the street, they didn't talk in Romanian, but in English so that people can't tell they are Romanians." While telling me the story, she tried to understand herself what happened with the other Romanian couple that they didn't stay in touch. She reflected on the fact that she and her boyfriend had not made any

Romanian friends in Dublin, rather blaming it on a character difference. This showed a perceived difference between 'us' not being ashamed of speaking Romanian in public versus 'them' speaking English in public, hiding their nationality. Again, a differentiation regarding the capital image of Romania – the 'good Romanians' who are not hiding their roots, and the 'bad Romanians' who seek to get absorbed in the country of residence, the Romanian language being a source of pride in the Romanian identity.

A last finding regarding the language that emerged from the discourse analysis performed is that all the participants mixed English words or phrases in their discourse. Only participant nr. 13 excused herself for speaking in such a way, as if she broke a rule of Romanian nationalism, arguing that she uses the same language hybrid when talking with her friends. She used a valid excuse for doing for breaking this 'rule' that is part of the Romanian national identity, speaking the language. This hybrid language of Romanian with English used by diaspora is reflecting their negotiation of identity, displaying the processes they are dealing with in this negotiation. "We don't speak Romanian-Romanian, we have our Romglish, which is, you know, it happens both ways", participant nr. 4 explained me the way she talks with her Romanian friends, being aware they use English words in Romanian conversations, but also mentioning that they as well translate English words ad litteram in Romanian, making their structures incorrect in the Romanian grammar and lexicon. Nonetheless, this Romglish used by the Romanian diaspora reveals the hybrid identities they emerge with.

4.1.4. Religion

The Romanian nationality is highly associated in the literature with the Orthodox religion. And even though the Orthodox religion has been placed close to the Romanian nation by studies conducted on the Romanian nationhood (Niessen, 1995; Leustean, 2008; Clark, 2012), in this study it did not emerged in the discourse of the 14 respondents. It was used only once by participant nr. 10 making use of the 'us versus them' construct in order to differentiate herself from the Romanian community in the city she lives in.

When asked about the community of Romanians from the Belgian city she lives in, participant nr. 10 told me: "I don't know what to say about this, from what I see, most of the Romanians are going to the church on Sunday, which I don't. And there are actually many things happening that I always find out about only later, on Facebook or I don't even know how". Suggesting the Romanian community is actually condensed around the Orthodox church, she

made herself stand out of the religious community. Even though not identifying herself with the religious element, she didn't erase her Romanian roots when specifically being asked about how she sees herself. "To be honest, I see myself in between two worlds, but only when there's a small revolution happening in the country [Romania]". She further explained how she wants to keep her mother tongue, but to be able to experience the diversity she found abroad in a more civic way. There is a negotiation of her Romanian identity which is always startled when things seem to change in better in the country of origin. Her reason of never moving back to Romania is precisely that there are many things to be improved which need time, and since she left not much have happened in Romania

Religion did not emerge from the in-depth interviews with the respondents of this research, partly because the subject was not approached in the interview guide (see Appendix B).

4.1.5. Mobility

One important observation emerged from the discourse analysis of the interviews was that mobility seemed to matter in terms of how people observe their national identity, many of them asserting they are Europeans. Five out of 14 participants referred to a European identity when being asked specifically about how they perceive their national identity as. Two participants stand out in this perceived collective identity, which have lived for more than ten years in one of their two countries of residence, Romania being their homeland which they both left in adolescence. Both of them had a conscious negotiation of national identity as thinking a lot about their place in the new countries of residence.

"I have this saying that I am a citizen of the world. And this is really how I fell. And if people ask me where I'm from, I tell them I'm both from Amsterdam and Bucharest, I really say this. And I do see myself as being from two cities. And I identify myself more with the cities, rather than with the countries," said participant Nr. 2. She negotiated throughout all the interview between the decision to leave from Romania at a young age and the acculturation she experienced in 20 years of living in the Netherlands, this respondent was making sense of her hybrid identity. Each time she was mentioning the Romanian identity, she was also mentioning her 'Amsterdam identity', making sure not to exclude it from her story.

Another case is the one of the Participant nr. 12 who left from Romania when she was 13 years old. When being asked how she perceives herself as, after moving at a young age from Romania, and having lived in different countries up until now for extensive periods of time, she answered: "Nowadays, European". Shortly and confident, she could easily grasp on the

European Union as encompassing the countries she lived in. She didn't feel the need to explain more.

Although mobility is a known fact in the life of any member of diaspora, there were also two participants for which the mobility didn't influence the identities they and their future generations are holding. When asked about their identity at the end of the interview, these two exceptions stated that they are undeniably Romanians, and brought up a negotiation on their (future) children's identity: "I identify myself as Romanian, and if and when my children will be born here, I would like it that they, too, identify as Romanians," said participant nr. 14. She is aware that being Romanian is less about being born in Romania, and more about taught values and feelings, a more abstract recipe of identity. Thinking of future generations born in a foreign country, but still keeping their Romanian identity, holds a greater importance for the respondent than the country where the children might be raised.

Participant nr. 5, already having a child, referred to her child's identity in a more ethnical approach: "He is now exposed more to the Romanian culture, Romanian family, than any other culture. Later on, when he will grow up, he will be able to identify himself to whichever culture he wants to, but I believe that by having Romanian documents issued for him, I offer him a choice". It is thus important to offer the baby a legal Romanian identity, since he is not born in Romania, and only one of the parents is Romanian. Even though marking the possibility for her child to choose an identity once he is conscious about it, having an independent choice, her wish to grant him one more choice is bigger than this, and it outlines the ethnical importance she gives on the nationality of her child. The negotiation of both of these respondents on their (future) children's identity is showing that the arguments they have are not necessarily logical, anchored in a certain privilege the child might benefit of having a Romanian identity. They hesitate in giving a straight answer, trying to come up with a satisfying answer that would justify this wish they have. It seems that rather, the Romanian identity is more like a story that has to be continued.

It is important to outline that these two participants made use of the frame 'us versus them' to share their story from when they left Romania to years after living in the country of residence. It was more of a story of knowing and learning about 'their' culture, never referring as assimilating culture as it was referred by many other participants. The structure of them versus us emerged again in order to mark difference and draw imaginary boundaries between nations living in the same country. "To understand the local culture has always been, in a way, one of my priorities," participant nr. 5 of them told me. This understanding seemed to be driven more by curiosity than by integration.

4.1.6. Back to Romania

When being asked about returning to Romania, 10 respondents immediately engaged in a pro-and-con argumentation. Summed up, their con reasons are all connected to the faulty Romanian systems: educational, health, social, and the big level of bureaucracy. “Hmm, tricky to say, very tricky,” participant nr. 1 directly answered. He then went over his career prospects that would be killed in Romania, since his job doesn’t even exist at home. Then, the life benefits he has by working abroad allowing him to travel often, to come often to Romania to visit his family and friends, couldn’t be found in Romania. For the participants having children already, the question raised even more discussion on the spot. The educational and the health system were the most worrisome for the prospect of moving back to Romania.

For participant nr. 6, his career is the strongest argument for not coming back to Romania, even though the improvements regarding the government and the political class he sometimes reads about in the Romanian media seduce him. “We said, this really is a beginning with such a health minister, and such prime minister, and so on. So, yes. But then, the following question regards our jobs. And it's a source of anxiety for me, because my job is pretty tied to Brussels. I can't perform it in another location”. He admitted reading diverse Romanian media, seeking to understand from afar the political issues. But this is also because he feels to stay in touch as accurately as he can from that distance.

The question might have articulated a nationalist position, since the diaspora members are “assumed to be longing for national and cultural ‘authenticity’ and ‘purity’ that could be achieved only through the return of the minority to the home country” (Triandafyllidou, 2006, p. 292). Thus, returning ‘back’ implies a strong connection the diaspora has with the homeland which cannot be fulfilled elsewhere. However, for the members of the Romanian diaspora, this was not the first time hearing the question regarding the possibility of moving for good to Romania. If we take the example of UK, and how media shamed Romanians on cultural premises (Light & Young, 2009; Fox et al., 2012), plus the wave of violence and expressed discrimination brought by Brexit (Khalili, 2017), the negotiation of either going to Romania or staying where they reside is already a constant reminder in the media. The role of media thus is not reflecting only in nation building, but it is influencing the citizens regarding their adopting countries.

4.2. The role of DoR Magazine in the Romanian Identity Negotiation

In the second part of each interview, the discussion advanced on the consumption of media, as well as the use of social media especially for keeping in touch with the country of origin, leading to the medium of this research, the Romanian quarterly magazine DoR. The purpose was to understand not only why they keep renewing their DoR Subscription, but also what actions they take by consuming this magazine: where and how they read it, do they recommend it to people. But moreover what exactly people feel after reading certain articles, such as the one sent prior to the interview as a reminder.

The importance of media in building the national identity has been outlined in the theoretical framework, and examples of television programmes in the lives of diaspora members had shown how people feel connected with the country they left behind (Cormack, 1994; Van den Bulck, 2001; Aksoy and Robins, 2002; Castelló, 2007). As well as the role of the 'banal nationalism' invoked in the daily newspapers for a nation (Billig, 1995; Yumul & Özkirimli, 2000). For the Romanian diaspora interviewed for this study, reading this magazine appeals to both their ethnic and civic Romanian identities. The ethnic aspect is making them even ache for their homeland. However, reading the magazine also allows a Romanian civic identity.

4.2.1. Media Consumption

With concern to media consumption in general, this research revealed the depreciated importance television holds for the diaspora that reads DoR magazine, since only participant nr. 14 mentioned TV as being an important medium in the flat she is sharing with her Romanian boyfriend in United Kingdom. On the other hand, written media (newspapers, magazines, online, and books) have been mentioned by all the respondents. Reading is part of their daily activities.

For many of the subscribers I spoke to, consuming the print product of DoR is extended by following the social media accounts of the magazine, such as Facebook and Instagram or directly reading articles from the website. "Sometimes I read things online, and she [the wife] tells me, yeah, this is a story from a past issue, you didn't pay attention," participant nr. 7 mentioned when asked about his habits of reading the quarterly magazine.

During the discussions about DoR magazine, the participants talked about national identity in a different way than in the beginning of the interview when they were asked to share their personal journey. A new context emerged, the quarterly magazine and the media they consume, but also the stories they read in the magazine, and appreciated the most and why.

They were making sense of their identity with the use of the 'other', which is a fluid distinction emerging in national identity discourses (Triandafyllidou, 2006). Moreover, the interview was a specific context in itself, a discussion with another Romanian member of diaspora. This only contributed on making them timely travel in this personal journey, telling the perception over the national identity that they had at different times. Also, they were aware of the purpose of the study, the interview guide in itself guiding a discussion over national identity and the use of media in daily life, bringing another layer for their understanding over national identity. However, this only outlines that national identity is not a static idea, but it is always being questioned upon context, capable of absorbing new references, cultures, ideas, developing in discourses.

4.2.2. The Language of DoR

DoR magazine is always published in the Romanian language, crafted by a team of mostly Romanian journalists and writers (sometimes the magazine publishes some essays translated from English). Therefore, the content of the magazine can generally be accessed by Romanians or Romanian language speakers.

From the discourse analysis performed on the interviews, two situations stood out for the role attributed to the language used in the magazine by the diaspora respondents; first, the presence of the magazine made the language even more relevant in the lives of the respondents, it made them think it would be an advantage if more people around the world would be able to read in Romanian, so they can have access to this magazine. "My advantage is that I speak Romanian and I also understand it, but I believe DoR is not only reaching Romanian contexts, but sometimes it even touches upon universal matters," participant nr. 14 told me. The magazine thus made the Romanian language of a greater importance for some of the Romanian subscribers of the magazine. Tackling subjects in-depth with a craft for writing, using the words in such a way that brings emotion, is enriching and elevating the language in such a way that some of them thought that more people should understand it, not only the Romanians.

Second, since Romanian is not an international language, the consumption of DoR became a sort of a 'secret', something shared among those able to speak the same language. "I wanted something in Romanian and I wanted to still keep in touch with the country [Romania] and what is happening there. This is it. Because I was harassed on and on with Norwegian, English, and a lot of new things, and I wanted to have my thing. I knew that every three months I'll receive the magazine, which is in Romanian and I am the only one who understands it. And it was only mine. Like a secret language, because my boyfriend doesn't know Romanian, so..."

Participant nr. 8 found comfort in the small Romanian island the subscription of DoR created in a country where she was learning the local language while making use of English in the meantime. Sometimes, as she previously stated, she might have been used some Spanish and French, but she was not hearing, reading or speaking much Romanian. Moreover, since participant nr. 8 was the one putting in the effort to learn another foreign language, in a relationship with someone with whom she speaks only English with, made her feel as she was connecting with more than a magazine every other three months. She was receiving a treasury with stories from home in a language unknown to those she was sharing her life with. In a way, the magazine turned to be her comfort oasis, allowing her to escape from all the languages she was constantly adapting to. However, this linguistic oasis allowed her nostalgia to shape in a physical form. A couple of minutes after ending the interview, this respondent wrote me a message on Facebook, where we also conducted the interview, telling me she believes she feels nostalgia for Romania. Moreover, she underlined that she loves to talk on the phone with her sisters and friends in her secret language, even at work or at home, since no one understands Romanian. She finds a comfort in the Romanian language, which for her translates in a sense of intimate community.

For most of the participants, the language used in writing the articles in DoR is their mother tongue (three of the respondents grew up with Hungarian or German apart of Romanian). Many of them don't have many opportunities to speak their mother tongue due to various reasons, such as: time zone differences making it difficult to speak often with family at home, finding their lives trapped by busy schedules, or simply no longer having many people to keep in touch with in Romania. But there are also the ones that joined Romanian communities in which people speak a Romanian mixed with English words, thus they make use of a hybrid language. Perhaps, if they would have lived in Romania, this hybrid language had not been used.

Moreover, "DoR articles are written in a very cool way. The words are carefully picked. It is a Romanian language that I like. It is not necessarily the Romanian language you learn in the Romanian language classes in high school, or through the literary articles you are exposed to during high school. But at the same time it is a Romanian language that is beautiful, contemporary, which is very *self-conscious* regarding the use of words from other languages, to be very meta," participant nr. 1 argued. By using words in English when expressing their ideas, which was very common in all the interviews conducted, no matter the country the participants were residing in, participant nr. 1 underlined the role of the language found in DoR magazine. In his perspective, it is not the basic Romanian language which he might have used when

encountering any other Romanian in a common space. It is also not the Romanian language taught in schools, which, despite being grammatically correct and accurate, can lack nuance, contemporary and emotional context. Participant nr. 1 also referred to the use of the foreign words used in the magazine, which implies the awareness the magazine team has over their readers' level of education, as discussed in the beginning of the thesis. The participant nr. 1 appreciates this craft, the skill of using the language in order to elevate it, to contribute to its evolution and embellishment.

4.2.3. Community Belonging

Belonging to a community was, time and again, brought up by respondents as one of their reasons for subscribing to DoR. Participant nr. 2 said: "When I found out I can subscribe to this magazine, I did it. I believe it was also a need of belonging to a group. I really think this mattered, too". The subscription to DoR was related with her personal need to reconnect to Romania. She sought to find people with common interests and many about she read in the magazine. As Triandafyllidou (2006) says, this feeling of belonging is sought by diaspora and it is assumed to be achieved once the diaspora returns in their home country. But here, as their negotiation of returning was disclosed in the previous section, other ways of connecting to the homeland are sought by participants, such as finding Romanian communities. And not any kind of Romanian communities, but with whom they share values, rather belonging to the same class (Brinkerhoff, 2009).

When being asked about how she found out about this magazine, participant nr. 5 said: "I knew about DoR from the beginning. And I think I followed everywhere I could that team of founders". This way she was getting access to the world of the magazine team in a larger way, getting to see what those people do and what media they consume. Getting to follow the team of the magazine all over social media also meant belonging to more intimate surroundings of DoR. As mentioned, for the diaspora respondents, the belonging to a community is an inborn need, part of connecting with their roots. But as seen in the first section, the Romanian communities are not always what the participants looked for, sometimes turning in a disappointment than in an oasis of comfort.

4.2.4. Civic Involvement

DoR magazine aims to contain an anthology of stories representative for the last three months of public events in Romania. Simply put, if a random Romanian would pick up the

magazine from summer 2017 in the winter of the year 2025, they would understand what were the main struggles and the main accomplishments of Romania in the year of 2017. This is something acknowledged both by the readers and asserted by the editors. When asked about her decision to subscribe to this magazine, participant nr. 4 answered:

“So two years after I ended up in the States I had like a... A longing for the country hit me really strong, and I suddenly became interested in Romania, in the problems happening in Romania. And I'm not sure if DoR started exactly at that time, but it matched this situation. But I don't know, it's from where I'm from, from where I've been from. And it's also very easy to digest, so to say. It's one magazine every three months. It's easier to digest; in those three months in the life of Romania these are three big things that happened”.

Although acknowledging the quarterly effect and the encompassing power of the 200 pages explaining and telling accurate stories about the reality in Romania, the participant nr. 4 described her country of origin as both the country 'I'm from' and the country 'I've been from', thus I'm not anymore. The name of the magazine, meaning an inexplicable longing for something in the Romanian language, also emphasized the connection in her memory between the point she started to ache for her country of origin, to perceive a longing for it, with the moment she subscribed to this magazine. Her magazine subscription and the voting she exerts, are the only actions of civic participation for Romania, the country in which she doesn't want to live again, but for which she feels she has a civic duty. These are the two connections she has with Romania, and she values them both as being important for the Romanian citizenship she is keeping alongside her American citizenship. Moreover, the same participant, nr. 4, talking about her Romanian roots, said: “But something I always felt a personal connection with was the Revolution from '89. Because I have always felt that everything, like all the opportunities I have... Even the opportunity of leaving out of the country, without that revolution, this wouldn't have existed without that revolution, you know. And it was a revolution where basically people my age died, so I can do this thing [to leave]. So always... that was for me was very important”. It seems that she was aware of the hardship her country faced in the history, and she gave a big importance to the Revolution that brought the end of the communist regime in Romania. The value she gives to this event as being her connection with Romania, despite not visiting it at all, and not keeping in touch with family or friends she had before leaving the country, marks the intrinsic role of a nation, a connection with one's roots. When justifying the importance of the Revolution for herself, she wanted to emphasize the personal connection she feels with this civic enactment.

Some subscribers, and especially those interviewed for this study, are aware of this goal

of the magazine, to portray Romania in a specific time frame, and they seem to understand a greater civic goal that their subscription contributes to. Participant nr. 4 said: “I’m not sure if there was a year without it [the magazine]. But I see it more like, how can I say this... Not necessarily like a duty, but sort of like a duty. Like, how can I say this, I want to support their effort. Because again, it seems to me to be a thing that is not enough done in Romania. And I see the subscription as a supporting action, you know”. In an attempt of explaining to herself why she subscribes to the magazine, the participant did not feel comfortable with the word “duty”, which carries a greater effort and gives a bigger importance to an action. She is aware of her contribution, and the actual role she perceives this magazine has in Romania, but acknowledges the distance she has towards Romania, and says ‘it seems’ to be a lack of non-partisan journalism in the country she is or was from, as she is negotiating this status, too.

Participant nr. 6 was even more vehement in this civic implication resulted from paying for her magazine subscription, “I’ve told myself, I can support these people by donating money. Because I work abroad and I have a bigger salary than the equivalent salary of a person my age in Romania, and I believe that 20 or 50 euros for me doesn’t mean the same as 20 euros for a Romanian salary”. Apart of seeing her subscription as a donation, she is completely aware the price she pays to receive the four magazines per year represents a bigger value for a Romanian. The difference between the low Romanian currency and the power of the Euro currency is underlining the magazine with a more meaningful value, a donation.

4.2.5. A better Romania

Being away for so long from Romania, many participants told me they are aware that they don’t actually know what exactly happens in Romania, and they tried to read and understand what are the main events and changes happening in their homeland. This is how many of them ended up subscribing to DoR.

Participant nr. 3 said: “When I left from Romania I kept having my points of view from when I was 24, plus what my mother and father were saying about the hard, difficult, really hard, burdensome life where nothing really changes. Where we watch the news from 5 o’clock, who has killed whom; many in Romania are like this. But after I read DoR, I think after the first half of year, I went back to my parents and told them: listen to me, the things are not quite like this, there are other things happening in Romania, too”. She admitted the magazine changed her perception of Romania in a more positive one. The image she had before starting to read DoR was even depressing. The participant mentioned the television as a medium through which she

perceived this dark image of Romania. The 5 o'clock news in Romania are usually presenting murders, car accidents, and a few other negative news, which can easily give a feeling that everything is doomed in that country, and no improvements are happening. But the image she had before was also from her own experience, the unemployment, low salaries, and a mentality of "this is not possible" in her community.

Participant nr. 9 said: "What happens in DoR, the quality, the discourse, the values represented in the magazine, were another Romania than the one I had experienced before. And I liked it. I thought it was super cute. I still believe it is a Romania totally disconnected from what generally happens in Romania. But I find it cheerful that this [the one portrayed in the magazine] seems a Romania that is growing." This participant was more aware of the positive image constructed by the magazine, but emphasized there is a need for these stories to be known, too. In comparison with the representation of Romania created by the media in the West, particularly in UK (Light & Young, 2009; Fox et al., 2012), and the bad experiences eight participants in this study experienced in Romania before leaving it, the representation constructed by the magazine is overall a positive one. The magazine is putting good pieces in a puzzle, thus building an image with a prospective good future of Romania.

The magazine creates an image of Romania in which good things are happening, to which a part of its diaspora readership wants to connect with. But they don't necessarily assimilate this image created by the magazine, since they keep comparing it with the one they had when they left Romania. However, they use the image created by the stories in DoR to maintain a hope for a better future of Romania as seen also in their negotiation depicted in the first section. A future in which they negotiate their return to the country of origin, with specific demands that would offer them the possibility to secure in the country of origin their social, economic, status achievements obtained abroad.

For participant nr. 2, the magazine "meant the connection with the stories from home. With another kind of stories. And for a while, I really believed the magazine provided me a lens for, I don't know, a more normal approach of the Romanian reality. Not necessarily calmer, but more civilized". By reading articles and discovering a more civilized Romania in the magazine, she compared that newly found image with her experience.

The magazine is building a good image of Romania, one of which the participants are aware is not covering the whole country or their past experiences. This might come from an internalized Romanian identity that works further to the closeness to the West (Gallagher, 2005). The fact they see good examples and good changes in Romania is a desirable feature they want for Romania and which they experience through reading the magazine. "I felt the

need to connect with Romania, but to see it differently. To see it as it is, but differently, and I felt I did find this in DoR”, participant nr. 3 pointed out. Trying to express what exactly she found in the magazine that tackled her need, a couple of minutes later, she admitted “How can I say this, the stories they tell in DoR, it’s like they make me want to come back in Romania and change something too.” She feels empowered by the good examples she reads about in the magazine, thus she gets an image of Romania as not being anymore the country she emigrated from, because she couldn’t find a job. She is compelled to join the changes she reads about, to be part of this transition the country seems to be dealing with.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to take a hold of the national identity negotiation of a specific Romanian diaspora, subscribed to the magazine DoR. In addition, to understand what exactly is the role of this magazine in their national identity negotiation. In order to research this, the 'imagined community' theory of Anderson (1991), as well as theories of media's role in nation building, and the transnationalism theory were approached in the theoretical framework. The 'imagined community' theory deploys nationalism, a modern construct, as a perceived unity by individuals who might share some things in common, but who don't personally know each other. This definition of nationalism allowed the analysis of the study to reveal if the Romanians respondents imagined themselves as belonging with other Romanians in various contexts, such as the Romanian communities established in their countries of residence or with the Romanians in their homeland.

The role of media in building national identities has been nonetheless researched before as shown in the theoretical framework (Cormack (1994), Van den Bulck (2001), Aksoy and Robins, 2002; Postill, 2006; Ogola, 2011). But little has been researched on the role of magazines, as a medium used in nation building. Therefore, notions about diaspora, media consumption, and transnationalism have been drawn, and later used in the discourse analysis performed by the researched. The role of a magazine, as a specific medium, was emphasized by DoR not being issued as frequently as a newspaper, but also not as temporarily disconnected as a book. Thus, respondents argued that the format was easy to incorporate in their regular media consumption while they are trying to be involved as much as they can in the cities they lead their lives.

Furthermore, the research tried to deconstruct the myths that are framing the Romanian nationality in the discourses used by the participants in the study. Thus, a history of Romanian nationalism and its myths have also been included in the theoretical framework. With all this set of theories, together with the use of in-depth interviews and the discourse analysis method, the research has been carried out precisely to answer the research question. This mix of theories chosen in the theoretical framework provided a set of tools for performing the discourse analysis on the data gathered, so not only the national identity of this diaspora could be understood, but also if the magazine has a role in the national identity negotiation or not, as perceived from the discourses constructed by the respondents.

The discourse analysis method relies on the present moment of these discourses constructed by the respondents. Therefore, one of the main limitations of the tools used in this research, the in-depth interviews and the discourse analysis, is precisely their timely and

contextual relevance. In this case, the study is relevant in a time of increased civic participation of the Romanian nation given the recent massive protests that took place in Romania during February 2017 (Lyman and Gillet, 2017). Perhaps, if the interviews would not have happened so soon after these events, the discussions with the respondents would not have highlighted anymore a civic Romanian identity. The experience of the researcher, as a diaspora member and reader of DoR magazine, will definitely change in time, perhaps towards an even more hybrid identity that would be useful to analyse differently the discourse of these respondents in another future time.

When I first started the interviews and took notes, I expected to find more of the Romanian myths reflecting in the stories the participants were recounting to me. The results revealed that only some of these myths found in the literature applied in the discourses of the Romanian participants interviewed for this study. For example, the Orthodox religion and the Dacian founding myth suggested by literature were not revealed in the discourses of the respondents of this study, but myths such as the Latin ancestry and the burdensome Romanian history uncovered from the experiences recounted during interviews. On one hand, this might reflect that the collective Romanian identity might shift from an ethnic based identity founded on myths, towards a civic identity. On the other hand, the discussion focused on the diaspora's integration in the country of residence, community belonging, media consumption, thus the chance of the religious element in the Romanian nationalism to have been brought up in the discussion might have been irrelevant.

The literature suggests that the ethnic/civic dichotomy of national identity is actually combined in practice, which was the case in this research, too. Regarding the Romanian national identity, the theory suggests that the Romanian nation is created on ethnic premises, with all the myths creating the national identity. Moreover, the Romanian political and the media discourses rely on ethnic arguments more than on civic ones. With the communist and Balkan legacies, the use of ethnic premises is not unusual in the Romanian discourse, but it is definitely challenged by the Romanian diaspora who is developing a more civic approach in their hybrid national identities. For example, the influence they are absorbing from the countries they reside in is shown in their higher presence in voting (Burean, 2011). In this study, the ethnic identity prevailed when the participants were telling their story, how they left from Romania, and who they are. When the subject of national identity was brought up in the end of the interview, they also stated that they are definitely Romanians, national identity being something inherited. However, when discussing whether they would return or not in Romania, many civic arguments were being brought up, such as the faulty organizing systems the state has, and moreover that

the resident citizens don't pursue changes more proactively so that the overall situation in Romania improves. This civic aspect was also brought up in the discussions related with the February protests.

The awareness of nationalism and changes this diaspora experienced in their national identity once they have moved in the country they currently reside reflects their status. Given their status, with a high education level and white-collar jobs, their understanding of national identity is even closer to an academic point of view. For example, one participant who even works in academia, but in a different domain than social sciences, said: "I don't believe in nationalism. Fundamentally, I find it really wrong to tell me I'm Romanian because I was born within a certain geographical territory and afterwards it can happen to realize by looking to my parents' genealogical tree that I am actually from another place". Thus, nationality is perceived as being imminent such as gender or race, and such a construct does not fit within the knowledge we have access to today, understanding that these imminent traits are not influencing the humanity, and are social constructs used by politics and media in order to influence mass opinions. Moreover, indeed this nationalism reflects an imagined construct, 'an imagined community'. In addition on this idea, the respondents seem to be inclined overall for a civic aspect for what it concerns the homeland, especially for a Romania they would come back to, thus what they read in DoR also fits their interests. Subjects about racism, LGBT initiatives, faulty systems and the NGOs fighting them, are all civic aspects pointed through the articles of the magazine, such as the one with the fire at the Colectiv club presented in the Introduction. Whether the articles influence the subscribers in a civic mindset or the civic Romanians are attracted to subscribe to the magazine requests further research, but I believe the participants of this study found in the magazine a variety of civic examples that happen in Romania and they wanted to find out about. And maybe even more for the subscribers that left abroad in pursue of better perspectives, and not thanks to an opportunity, because for them the magazine reflects something they have not experienced while living in Romania: civic struggle that is possible in changing systems.

The magazine DoR plays an important role in the negotiation of national identity of the respondents. The major aspects in which the magazine plays a role are the language, mainly by conserving and improving their language level, and in the civic implication they want and can do by sustaining a piece of independent media. By being part of the Romanian nationhood, the diaspora members interviewed in this study understand they have an active role that comes with their nationality. Being Romanian is something that means more than just being proud of national myths, such as the founding ones – especially the Latin ancestries.

In the end, many participants are aware the magazine DoR is their 'wire of connection back to Romania'. They are mindful of their Romanian identity, and moreover, they are aware that media can help them keep in touch with it. So the magazine plays a big role in keeping their Romanian identity alive. As the participant from Norway outlined, the magazine creates a Romanian island for her that only she has access to. Reading it thus, creates an intimate connection through which she can imagine herself connected to the Romanian nationhood, as Anderson (1991) outlined the role of print media in imagining nationalities. The Romanian language used in the magazine calls for their ethnic Romanian identity, as the respondents need when nostalgia hits them. This longing for homeland also makes them find, deliberately or as a 'happening' as they mention it, Romanian communities in their countries of residence.

Another finding that matches the ethnic character of the Romanian nationalism is the European collective identity. Five out of the 14 respondents identified themselves as Europeans when being asked about how they see their national identity, due their mobility across several countries in Europe. The idea of collective European identity started to be explored by Schlesinger (1998) in relation with the British media, and was pointed as an emerging phenomena by Muller (2008). However, in this study it shows the continuous rejection made by Romania of the Ottoman legacy by seeking the West integration. Romania entered the European Union in 2007, but its approach towards West culture started as soon as it liberated from the Ottoman Empire.

Thus, for participants, the claim for their Romanian identity is still pursued in ethnic premises, and the civic premises are more of a Western construct about nationalism and of which they became aware in their process towards a hybrid identity. The on-going shifting between the ethnic and civic identities is the result of the transnationalism they experience. This specific diaspora researched in this study wants to be part of a perceived civic change, to be part of the Romanian nationhood that strives for better, and has more of the West values the diaspora learned and integrated in their lives. By paying for the print subscription of DoR magazine, they contribute to the financial sustainability of the magazine, and thus they imagine being part of those civic changes, too. On this note, being Romanian also means speaking the language, a common nation trait, but for this specific diaspora means even more to be part of the civic change they perceive from afar – the protests that are keep happening in Romania in the past years, the stories of change makers they read about in DoR.

In the beginning of this project, one of the social implications of the thesis was to provide a set of advice for the negotiation of national identity of future members of diaspora. Seeing how important are the language and the feeling of belonging to a community for the

respondents in the study, I realized that these two activities - reading in the Romanian language and finding a Romanian community with shared values, can soothe the feeling of longing one will develop towards homeland at one point. Moreover, by involving in civic activities, no matter how small or big they are, from donating and supporting Romanian causes to protesting, one contributes to achieve the feeling of still having an active role in its country of origin.

If the civic influence this diaspora perceives through their DoR subscription is reflected by the content approached in the magazine's articles makes a case for further research, as it was not an objective of this paper. Considering the magazine is the only print Romanian subscription of the diaspora researched, these respondents are quite a unique audience of the Romanian media. The negotiation of national identity when consuming media from the country of origin could be enlarged with other Romanian media, and the results compared between social classes within the Romanian diaspora and the media they consume. Some of the participants mentioned reading additional online independent Romanian media which might actually start another possible point of discussion, worth for further research— is the independent media more relevant to be researched upon?

Whether independent media is or not more relevant to spark civic identities than traditional newspaper and a solution to the crisis brought by the internet crisis of the print industry is subject for further researches. In this research, the role of a print magazine has been proved to play a role in the hybrid identities developed by the Romanian diaspora.

6. References

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APPENDIX A

No.	Name	Work field	Country of Residence	Age	Gender	Years diaspora
1.	Participant 1	PhD student	Onna-son, Japan	25 years	Male	6 years
2.	Participant 2	Communication and education	Amsterdam, The Netherlands	40 years	Female	20 years
3.	Participant 3	IT	Beckenham, United Kingdom	36 years	Female	12 years
4.	Participant 4	IT	Chicago, United States	29 years	Female	9 years
5.	Participant 5	Logistics	Haarlem, The Netherlands	37 years	Female	10 years
6.	Participant 6	Civil Affairs	Port au Prince, Haiti	27 years	Female	8 years
7.	Participant 7	European Affairs	Brussels, Belgium	34 years	Male	7 years
8.	Participant 8	Public Diplomacy	Oslo, Norway	32 years	Female	7 years
9.	Participant 9	Education	Aarhus, Denmark	33 years	Female	8 years
10.	Participant 10	Student	Antwerp, Belgium	24 years	Female	5 years
11.	Participant 11	IT	Dublin, Ireland	28 years	Female	3 years
12.	Participant 12	European Affairs	Antwerp, Belgium	30 years	Female	17 years
13.	Participant 13	Children's rights NGO	Egham, United Kingdom	30 years	Female	6 years
14.	Participant 14	Marketing	Sunderland, United Kingdom	26 years	Female	6 years

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide

Introduction

Hi! Thank you very much for your time. As I mentioned in the email, this discussion should last around an hour. And we will talk about how you left from Romania and arrived in the country where you are currently residing in, but most importantly, we will talk about your DoR subscription and how come you still have it after all this time, how is it for you to read stories from the country you left from.

I have to mention this interview will be recorded, since I will afterwards transcribe our discussion and use the text in my research analysis. If you don't want me to use your name or other information in my master thesis, you can tell me, and I can assure you of the privacy of this information. If you also feel like not answering a specific question, this is also okay, just let me know about it.

1.PERSONAL HISTORY

How did you get to live in the country where you are currently residing in?

Can you tell me your age and what age were you when you left Romania?

How did you decide to leave from Romania?

And what is your occupation?

Do you enjoy your work?

What exactly you like the best? Or dislike?

2. KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH ROMANIA

I would like to change a bit the subject and to understand how are you keeping in touch with Romania?

Do you read news? Or watch the news at the television?

Do you use social media? (*To keep in contact with your friends and family from Romania? Or you follow media pages?*)

How did you relate towards the protests from February? (*Did you also protest in the country where you live in? Did you encourage people from Romania to go out and protest?*)

Are you aware of any Romanian community in the city where you live in? (*How is that community? Do you spend time with them?*)

3. GETTING IN TOUCH WITH THE POLITICAL/SOCIAL IN THE COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE

How did you get accustomed in the country where you are currently living in? How did it go when you first moved there? What did you do?

How are you spending your leisure time?

With whom are you spending your free time with?

Did you learn the language? (*Is it easy for you to speak it? Do you get along with the locals when speaking it?*)

Are you reading news about the things that happen in the country?

Are you watching television? What are you watching? (*Movies? News?*)

Are you engaged in local events from your city? Are you active in any organization?

Are you aware of any habits you learned since you moved there?

4. MEDIA CONSUMPTION – DoR MAGAZINE

Now I would like to discuss about your DoR subscription.

How did you find out about this magazine, about DoR?

And what made you to subscribe? (*Why are you interested in it?*)

Do you have any subscription to another magazine from Romania? (*Or from the country where you live in? Or from other countries?*)

When are you reading it? (*Right away after you receive it? Or in some evenings? In the morning with your coffee?*)

Do you remember about a certain article you read in the magazine? Something that impressed you in some way? What exactly did you like about it?

What do you appreciate at this magazine? (*The writing quality? The articles' importance?*)

What does DoR mean to you? After (more than) two years since you subscribed to it?

Is there anyone else reading DoR? (*Are you discussing the articles with other people?*)

Are you telling people from Romania about the magazine? How about in the country where you live?

5. NATIONAL/INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY

I would like to end the interview and see how do you see your connection with Romania?

Do you identify yourself as Romanian?

How about as an expat? Would you like to be identified as a local from the country where you live in?

How about the future? Where do you see yourself in, let's say, 5 years? Still there? Or going back to Romania?