

The University of Economics, Prague

# **Master thesis**

The University of Economics, Prague

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Title of the Master's Thesis:

# **Localizing reactions to globalization among Czech beer consumers and their relation to the phenomenon of identity crisis**

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## D e c l a r a t i o n   o f   a u t h o r s h i p

I hereby declare that I have written the thesis “Localizing reactions to globalization among Czech beer consumers and their relation to the phenomenon of identity crisis” without any help of others. I have mentioned all resources used and have cited them correctly. Any other documents and materials relevant for the thesis are attached in the appendix.

Prague, Czech Republic, 29<sup>th</sup> August 2012

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I would like to express my deep gratefulness to Ing. Zuzana Chytková, Ph.D. for sharing her knowledge, valuable advice and providing academic guidance through the entire period of thesis preparation.

**Title of the Master's Thesis:**

Localizing reactions to globalization among Czech beer consumers and their relation to the phenomenon of identity crisis

**Abstract:**

The goal of this thesis is to define what globalization is, how the people across the world react to it based on their local context, how the reactions change under the conditions of economic crises and finally how the reactions are reflected in consumption. I answer these goals both from the theoretical and practical perspective. Based on my review of theory I define globalization (1) in economic terms as a recurring phenomenon related to changing power structures of world economy when new economic centers emerge and (2) in cultural terms as localized human experience determined by both one's worldview and one's local circumstances. I further hypothesize that the worldview underlying this localized experience changes during economic crises from modernism to traditionalism and postmodernism. Since Consumption then reflects our worldview in a culturally specific way. In the practical part I further test these findings through a netnographic study focused on Czech beer enthusiasts. The key finding is that the beer enthusiasts express a need to return to traditional brewing methods. However, there appears to be no correlation between economic crisis and the emergence of traditionalism among beer enthusiasts but rather the traditionalism erupts due to clash between modernist worldview of beer enthusiasts and perceived destruction of beer industry by capitalism. Finally, the traditionalism doesn't seem to be replacing modernist worldview of beer enthusiasts but rather serves as a resource for this worldview.

**Key words:**

Globalization, glocalization, modernism, traditionalism, postmodernism, identity crisis

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# Introduction

What is globalization? It sounds like a simple question, right? Yet, when I asked this simple question myself, I was not able find a concrete answer. I know one thing for sure, I am part of it. I realize it every day when I meet people of different nationalities, when I watch foreign TV shows, when I write to my friends on Facebook, and so on and so forth. Actually, most of the time I don't even realize it and just take it for granted. So, I am part of something that I don't quite understand what it is. I don't even know when it started. I have heard the term thousands of times in different contexts and I have never questioned its validity. It has become a self-evident buzzword used to describe ambiance of today's world. Yet, it doesn't seem to be anchored in any widely accepted definition. Does it mean that the world is more interconnected? Does it mean that we are all becoming citizens of a global society and the cultural differences between us are disappearing? Does it mean that our national borders are disappearing? Does it mean that our traditions are dying out? The list of questions could go on and on. Hence, the apparent simplicity of the problem of globalization is fading as I continue questioning the term. It is precisely this ambivalence of the term globalization constituted by its apparent simplicity and actual complexity that compelled me to explore this phenomenon. Therefore, the first goal of my thesis is to answer what globalization actually is.

Secondly, I am interested in knowing how people with different cultural backgrounds actually react to globalization. Globalization in terms of culture is often equated to westernization which suggests that we are all under a heavy influence of Western culture and are accepting a Western lifestyle. Well, just considering myself I am suspicious about this assertion. For starters, I do not even know what it means Western lifestyle. It is true that I like to watch American movies and shows but I somehow feel that I do not understand what it means to be American. I do understand the language and I do see various images of American lifestyle but I think that my perception of these images may be different from the original meaning. I assume that I am not the only one who sees it this way. Thus, I a priori disagree with the notion of Westernization or any other similar idea of cultural imperialism. In my view, this assertion erroneously disregards local circumstances of people. Hence, the second goal of my thesis is to answer whether and how local circumstances, such as historical, political, linguistic and other conditions, may affect the way people react to globalization.

I also take into account that the world has been recently shaken up by a deep economic crisis which undoubtedly highlighted negative aspects of global interconnectedness. Thus, the third goal of my thesis is to answer whether this crisis may affect our attitude and reactions towards globalization and in which way.

However, to actually interpret how and why people with different local circumstances react to globalization I need to observe it first on certain kind of behavior. I have decided to observe these reactions on consumer behavior. In my view, consumption is not only a major identity marker but it is also not that difficult to observe. Specifically, I have chosen to analyze reactions to globalization among Czech consumers of beer. Czech beer market and its

consumers are traditionally very conservative. Beer is almost a national drink and Czechs take a great pride in it in general. Also, they are considered to be quite loyal to their brands. Yet, the Czech beer industry wasn't spared from globalization and basically all major breweries were acquired by foreign companies. This perceived "clash" between globalization and industry dominated by tradition and patriotism creates, in my view, a very fertile ground for exploration of the effects of local circumstances on reactions to globalization in the aftermath of economic crisis. To explore these effects I have conducted a netnographical study through which I have studied and interpreted discussions of beer enthusiasts on an online forum. The fourth and also the last goal of my thesis is to answer how the Czech beer enthusiasts respond to globalization in the aftermath of economic crisis and why they respond in such a way.



# Theoretical part

## 1. What is globalization?

I have already suggested that defining globalization is quite a complex problem. Therefore, I will break down this problem into two perspectives, that is, economic and cultural. By taking the economic perspective I intend to answer an important question: *Does the globalization of world economy lead to economic integration?* If the answer to this question was positive, it would mean that the world is headed into unity and homogenization as the integration would require the countries to give up their sovereignty and yield to universally applicable policies. This would certainly have further implications on cultural life in such integrated countries because universally applicable policies would have to be based on universally applicable values. It is hard to imagine integration between countries that stand for different values, such as democratic and Islamic but even social democratic and liberal democratic. On the other hand, if globalization does not imply integration, then the question is what kind of configuration of the world do we understand under the term globalization and *what implications does it have in terms of cultural perspective?* In terms of cultural perspective, my primary focus won't be culture as an identifiable object, that is, symbols, acts, rituals, rules etc. that are specific for certain population. Such definition does not account for the way in which these specificities are generated and maintained. Rather, I will be interested in the mode of being that can be discerned beneath the surface of particular acts and interactions. Therefore, I will adopt Jonathan Friedman's (Global system, globalization and the parameters of modernity, 1995) view of culture which is primarily concerned with how people perceive world and what causes them to perceive world in a certain way. Based on this conception, I will explore what perceptions are related to economic globalization and how they are affected by local circumstances of people.

### 1.1. Globalization in economic terms

Here, I would like to define globalization in economic terms and answer one question: *What is globalization in economic terms, economic integration or something else?* Specifically, I will look for changes in the configuration of the world, by which I mean economic relations among countries, and the economic context of such changes. To determine the changes I will take a historical perspective on how the global economy has been developing in time. To facilitate the analysis I will first define the unit of analysis. In this sense, I adopt Immanuel Wallerstein's (The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis, 1974) categorization of social systems. Wallerstein (The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis, 1974) distinguishes two basic types of these systems, that is, mini-systems and world-systems.

Mini-systems are basically non-state units which are found in very simple agricultural and hunting societies. They create self-confined systems with a complete division of labor and a single cultural framework, that is, single population with its specific language, rituals, rules, religion, symbols, etc. This means that they do not engage in trade with other social systems

because they satisfy all their needs internally. Significance of these systems is little so that I focus only on world-systems.

For a social system to be a world-system it needs to fulfill three criteria. Firstly, it needs to have a single division of labor. Wallerstein (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) defines single division of labor as "...the smallest grid that would substantially meet the expectations of the overwhelming majority of actors within those boundaries..." (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 397). In other words, in order to meet their essential needs – nourishment, protection, pleasure - economic actors not only engage in productive activities but also in exchange with other economic actors. This exchange is realized through a grid (network) of interdependent actors. Thus, a grid which satisfies essential needs of a majority of actors constitutes a complete unit with some degree of internal coherence called single division of labor. It is important to mention that Wallerstein (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) makes a distinction between essential exchanges and luxury exchanges. Specifically, members of a system can be linked with elements located outside system through limited exchanges of luxury goods. Second structural element of a world-system is a multiple cultural framework, that is, multiple populations with their specific language, rituals, rules, religion, symbols, etc. Lastly, a world-system has one of two forms of political system. Based on the type of the political system, Wallerstein (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) makes a distinction between a world empire and a world-economy.

A world empire is a world-system that has a common political system. World empires were the great civilizations of the past, such as China, Egypt and Rome. Typical for these civilizations were redistributive economy and administered trade. The redistributive economy involved a central institution which organized production, storing, redistribution and trade. Surplus wealth was redistributed through such mechanisms as tribute, taxes, confiscation and plunder. The basic factors of administered trade were strict price control, ports of trade, and the use of intermediaries (Ponasik, 1977). By price control, the ruler determined the values of all goods imported and exported rather than allowing these to be set by supply and demand, as in a market society. Ports of trade were devices by which foreign traders were limited to specific port towns and were allowed little if any access to the country's interior. This exclusion of foreigners insured both that there would be no extra unapproved trade outside official channels and that there would be no disruptive political or cultural influences in the country. A concomitant feature of ports of trade was the designation of intermediaries, or a trade caste, to handle transactions in the interior.

On the other hand, world-economy is a world-system that does not have a common political system but rather multiple polities. Wallerstein (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) traces the emergence of the modern world-economy back to 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe and relates it to the full development and economic predominance of market trade, that is, capitalism defined as a production for sale in a market in which the objective is to realize maximum profit.

Except for the three criteria which define the world-systems, there is also a feature of these systems that they have in common. Specifically, it is the way the internal stability of these systems is organized. Wallerstein (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) suggests that both systems have a three-layered structure in order to ensure their stability. In world empires this structure was reflected in the existence of an upper stratum controlling the military power, a middle stratum engaging in long-distance luxury trade and a lower stratum. That means that except for ruling class there also needed to be a middle class, who was both exploited and an exploiter, so that the ruling class was not faced with the unified opposition of the majority. In the world-economy the three-layered structure is represented by core, semi-peripheral and peripheral states. Core states dominate the system, concentrate capital by appropriation of surplus of the whole world-economy, are based on high wages for workers and use the most sophisticated technology. Peripheral states provide cheap staples and raw materials, which make core economies possible, concentrate on a few primary products, are based on cheap labor and use relatively simple technologies. Semi-peripheral states both exploit peripheral areas and are exploited by the core. They function as a stabilizing buffer between the core and the periphery and absorb some of the blame for exploitation. The notion of the three-layered structure is necessary for my further analysis because it helps to delineate economic relations between countries and changes in these relations.

In my further analysis, I will focus my attention only on the development of the world-economy as analyzing world empires would exceed the scope of my thesis. Specifically, I will discuss four-stages of the development defined by Wallerstein (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) because his analysis aptly delineates changing relations between core, semi-peripheral and peripheral countries.

For Wallerstein (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) the first stage, emergence, began in Western European society in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and spanned over to the middle of 17<sup>th</sup> century. Wallerstein (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) argues that the emergence was possible due to a conjuncture of crisis of feudalism, cyclical crisis and climatic change. These concurrent events necessitated a geographic division of labor and specialization started to occur in specific and differing geographic regions. As a result, world market where agricultural products were produced for sale and profit started to develop. At the same time new modes of recruiting and compensating labor emerged, such as wage-labor, coerced cash-crop production<sup>1</sup>, share-cropping<sup>2</sup> and tenancy<sup>3</sup>. More importantly, this economy escaped and survived the Hapsburg attempt to create a single political power and thus the redistributive effects of a world-empire.

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<sup>1</sup> A system of agricultural labor control wherein the peasants are required by some legal process enforced by the state to labor at least part of the time on a large domain producing some product for sale on the world market. **Invalid source specified..**

<sup>2</sup> A landowner allows a tenant to use the land in return for a share of the crop produced on the land.

<sup>3</sup> An agricultural production system in which landowners contribute their land while tenant farmers contribute their labor and make payments to the owner either of a fixed portion of the product, in cash or in a combination.

Capital, or surplus economic value, accumulated in the hands of merchants instead of being siphoned off to support an imperial bureaucracy and its consumption. The capitalist merchants amassed their wealth in towns and cities that largely escaped the domination of the political lords who ruled over the territory in which they existed. From here, they established trade with regions well beyond their territories, especially the Baltic lands and the New World (Western Hemisphere). This trade was not just in luxury goods, as the long-standing trade with the Middle and Far East had been, but predominantly in staples such as wood, grain, and cloth. In this way, far-flung territories definitely not ruled from one political capital became part of a world-economy or a single division of labor (Beyer, 1994). Wallerstein (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) suggests that the structure of the world-economy took a following shape by about 1640. The core states developed in Northwestern Europe (England, France, Netherlands, and Sweden). These states specialized in agricultural production of higher skill levels that favored tenancy and wage-labor as the modes of labor control. States of Eastern Europe and Western Hemisphere entered the peripheral position. They specialized in export of grains, bullions, wood, cotton, sugar and favored slavery and coerced cash-crop as the primary means of controlling labor. Lastly, states of Mediterranean Europe, which specialized in high-cost industrial products (silk) and credit and specie transactions, attained semi-peripheral role. These structural positions differed not only in terms of specialization and mode of controlling labor but also in the strength of the state mechanism. Hence, core states developed strong state mechanisms as they allowed for a convergence of local groups and peripheral states exhibited weak state mechanisms due to divergence of local groups.

The second stage, system-wide recession, lasted between 1650 and 1730 and meant a consolidation of the European world-economy. Characteristic for this period was decline in relative surplus which created a room for only one core-state. In the quest for dominance and consolidation of the regional power nation-states resorted to mercantilism. The term “mercantile system” was coined by Adam Smith *“to describe the system of political economy that sought to enrich the country by restraining imports and encouraging exports...The goal of these policies was, supposedly, to achieve a “favorable” balance of trade that would bring gold and silver into the country and also to maintain domestic employment...The mercantile system served the interests of merchants and producers such as the British East India Company, whose activities were protected or encouraged by the state.”* (LaHaye, 2008). As the most successful in this effort turned out to be England which ousted Netherlands from its commercial primacy and resisted France’s attempts.

The third stage of the evolution of the modern capitalist world-economy was constituted by industrial capitalism. The increasing percentage of industrial production on world gross production led to a further expansion of the European-world economy to include the whole of the globe. This was not only facilitated by technological feasibility stemming from improved military power and shipping facilities and rendering the trade sufficiently inexpensive, but also necessitated by an increased need for access to raw materials to support the growing industrial production. This expansion constituted an elimination of other world-systems and absorption of other mini-systems. Consequently, Russia, the most important world-system up

to then outside of the European world-economy, entered in a semi-peripheral status thanks to the strength of its state-machinery and industrialization. Other parts of the world such as Latin America, Asia and Africa were absorbed into the periphery. The expansion, however, led also to a change of internal structure of core-states, namely Britain which retained its dominance. At first, Britain divested its agricultural activities and exchanged manufactured products against the agricultural products of periphery and some semi-peripheral countries (France, Germany, Belgium, and the U.S.). However, the mercantilist practices of the semi-peripheral countries meant restraining of Britain's exports to semi-periphery and creation of competition against Britain in sales to periphery as the goal of such practices was to limit imports and encourage exports. This eventually led to a reallocation of world division of labor and a creation of a new role for core, that is, provision of machines to make the manufactures & infrastructure (railroads).

The First World War and the Russian Revolution of October 1917 meant the beginning of the consolidation of the industrial capitalist world-economy and the fourth stage of the evolution of modern world-economy. Wallerstein (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) notes that the impetus for the Russian Revolution was the fact that the Russia, as a semi-peripheral country, was declining towards peripheral status due to penetration of foreign capital into the industrial sector, which was eliminating indigenous capitalist forces, the resistance to the mechanization of the agricultural sector and the decline of relative military power. The revolutionists tried to reverse these trends by opting for mercantilist semi-withdrawal from the world-economy. The fourth stage is, however, mainly marked by decline of Britain and appropriation of its hegemonic role by the U.S. Especially, after the Second World War US attained a spectacular growth and a great need to expand its exports. Nevertheless, the Cold War denied USSR, Eastern Europe and China to US exports. Hence, US had to focus on three priorities. First, by establishing the Marshall Plan US sought to rapidly reconstruct the Western Europe. Second, since Britain and Germany were cut off from Latin America, US made it a reserve for its investments. Third, US focused on decolonization of Southern Asia, the Middle East and Africa to both reduce the share of surplus taken by the Western European intermediaries and to mobilize productive potential. However, the costs of creating and maintaining political imperium had soon become too high. One of the reasons were spiraling military spending as a result of an effort to maintain a strong counterbalance to USSR which focused on further industrialization and protection of its privileged market area in Eastern Europe. Additionally, the economic resurgence of Western Europe meant over time that by establishing the European Economic Community in 1957 the west European states collectively became as strong as the U.S. Eventually, dollar and gold crisis<sup>4</sup> coupled with Third World pressures (Vietnam War)

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<sup>4</sup> After the Second World War, Bretton Woods system was established wherein exchange rate stability was a prime goal. Under this system, U.S. committed itself to convert dollars into gold at \$35 an ounce and many countries fixed their exchange rates relative to the U.S. dollar. By the early 1970s, the Vietnam War resulted in an increased dollar outflow to pay for the military expenditures, which led to the deterioration of the U.S. balance of trade position and the U.S. was running a deficit. Foreign arbitrage of the U.S. dollar, such as France reducing its dollar reserves and redeeming them for gold from the U.S. government, depleted the gold reserves of the U.S. and caused governmental gold coverage of the paper dollar to decline. This led President Richard Nixon to end the direct convertibility of the dollar to gold on August 15, 1971, resulting in the system's breakdown whereby U.S. lost its prominent position of the world's central banker.

inevitably led to a decline in US hegemony. The abandonment of Bretton Woods financial structure followed by streamlining, deregulation and the delegitimation of anything that constrained the desires of global investment opened up a way for an action of capitalist enterprises and hence development of multinational companies<sup>5</sup> (Arrighi, 1994 ). In the semi-peripheral nations the developments of the fourth stage had taken course of social revolutions and a technique of mercantilist semi-withdrawal.

Based on the discussion of Wallerstein's (*The Rise and Future Demise of The World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis*, 1974) four stages of development of world-economy we may conclude that he understands globalization as a gradual formation of world-economy which steadily draws more and more territories and populations into relationships of exchange and interdependence through an expanding division of labor. The discussion also suggested that globalization defined in these terms does not actually lead to economic integration but only to a growing interconnectedness. The interconnectedness is a consequence of a global division of labor, that is, the fact that nation-states cannot satisfy essential needs of their nations through self-sufficiency and have to specialize and trade on the market with other nation-states. Since the global division of labor leads to the stratification into core, semi-peripheral and peripheral states, where core states appropriate surplus of the world economy, states compete with each other to improve or maintain their status. Therefore, the discussion helped to partially answer the question stated at the beginning of this section because it implies that globalization is a growing interconnectedness in the development of the world-economy.

I find this to be a partial answer, on which I do not intend to settle yet because it overlooks an important aspect of the development of the world-economy. Specifically, such definition indicates that globalization is an evolutionary stage that started more than five hundred years ago. However, the problem with a claim that globalization is an evolutionary stage is that there is an empirical evidence which implies cyclicity in the development of the world-economy. The cyclicity is demonstrated by recurrent boom and bust cycles of modern economic history. Chase-Dunn (*Globalization: A world-systems perspective*, 2001), for example, showed that both trade globalization, measured as the total value of world exports divided by total value of world product, and the investment globalization, measured as the total book value of foreign direct investment divided by total value of world product, show long-term trend with cycles of decline. The data suggested a big dip in trade globalization during the depression of the 1930s and a cycle in investment globalization with at least two peaks, one before the First World War and one after 1980. In similar vein, Friedman (*Cultural Identity & Global Process*, 1994) understands today's world system in terms of a long historical process of cyclical phases of centralization and accumulation and then decentralization which can be traced back as far as 5000 years ago. The first phase is a stable hegemonic phase characterized by strongly hierarchical relationships between centers and

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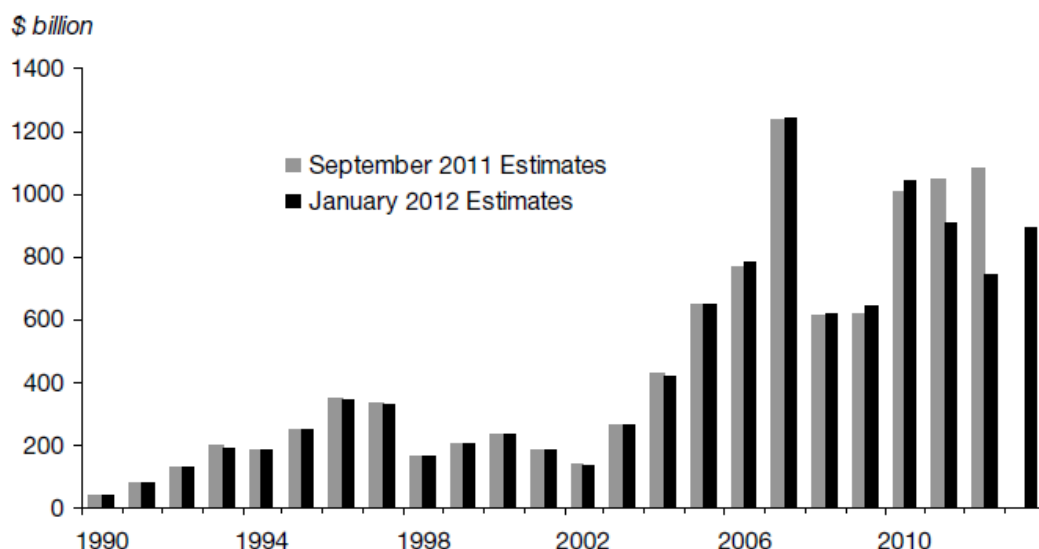
<sup>5</sup> Arrighi (*The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times*, 1994 ) argued that U.S. used the power of the hegemonic state to try to create a balanced world of capitalist growth. This sometimes meant going against the preferences of finance capital and US corporations (e.g. the Japanese miracle was made possible because the U.S. government prevented U.S. corporations from turning Japan into just one more dependent and peripheralized country.)

peripheries where centers appropriate surplus and peripheries supply raw materials and labor. The second phase is an unstable phase of de-hegemonization. This phase involves decentralization of capital accumulation whereby large quantities of capital are exported to the peripheries and hence new smaller centers on the peripheries emerge. Therefore, Friedman (Globalization and the making of a global imaginary, 2002) argues that European capitalism did not simply evolve from feudalism but was rather a product of the shift of accumulation from one world region to another, that is, from Arab empires to Europe. *“So the entire history of Europe understood in global terms can be seen in terms of a series of pulsations, expansions and contractions, from the growth of the Mediterranean and Flanders as the Middle East entered into its terminal economic crisis to the shifts from the Italian city states to Portugal and Spain, followed by Holland and then England. Each of these cycles was characterized by periods of centralized accumulation and expansive trade followed by decentralization (capital export or globalization) and a longer term shift in hegemony.”* (Friedman, Globalization and the making of a global imaginary, 2002, p. 2). Therefore, Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) sees the globalization of capital as a temporally delimited phenomenon or phase within a larger system rather than a general evolutionary phenomenon. It is related to the breakup of hegemonies, a process of fragmentation and decentralization of accumulation of wealth in the larger system. Such breakup then also leads to a greater commotion in the world. For example, the decline in British hegemony in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was also marked by a massive flow of people out of and within Europe. *“Indeed, in some respects the world economy was more integrated in the late 19th Century than it is today. The most important force in the convergence of the 19th century economies..was mass migration mainly to America. In the 1890's, which in fact was not the busiest decade, emigration rates from Ireland, Italy, Spain and Scandinavia were all above 40 per thousand. The flow of people out of Europe, 300,000 people a year in mid-century, reached 1 million a year after 1900. On top of that, many people moved within Europe. True, there are large migrations today, but not on this scale.”* (Economist, 1997, p. 79) The cyclicity results from the basic problem of the world-economy, that is, the accumulated capital has to be reinvested. If we analyzed the periods of British and US hegemony closer, we would learn that both the Great Britain and U.S. tried to stimulate economic development in other countries to boost demand for their exports and thus eventually created a competition for themselves in the world-economy causing a break-down of their hegemony.

Therefore, we may define globalization from two perspectives. The broader perspective suggests that globalization means an expansion of the global network of trade which causes an ever-greater interconnectedness of countries. On the other hand, the constant competition between countries at the center of the world-economy for the world surplus leads to changing phases of hegemony and de-hegemonization. The latter phase leads to a greater commotion within the world economy reflected by greater moves of capital and people. This phase can be seen as a globalization from a narrower perspective. In my thesis I will be further concerned only with economic globalization defined in this way because, in my view, it is precisely this phase that has the greatest impact on cultural life of people. I believe that world is still in the phase of de-hegemonization constituted by rise of multinational corporations which facilitated

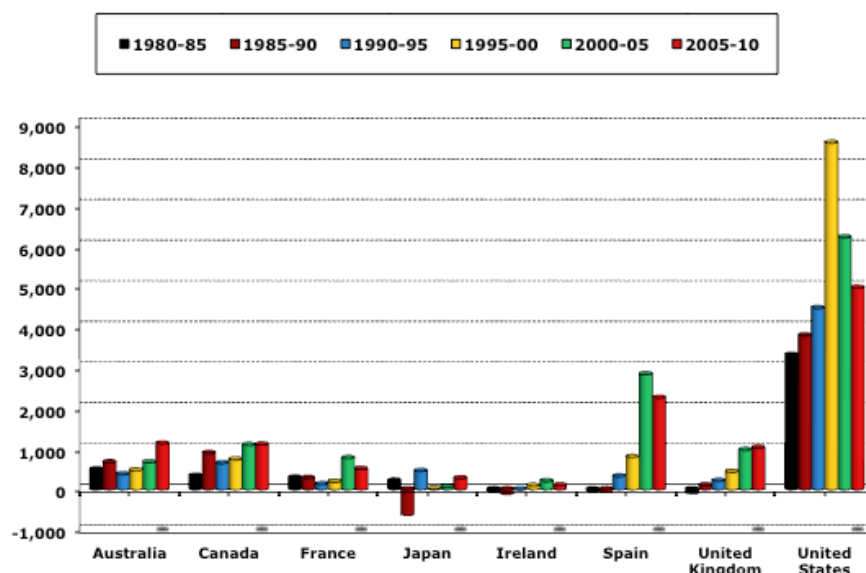
emergence of new centers in the former periphery of the world economy through their capital investments. If we look at the Figure 1, we can see that private capital inflows to emerging markets have significantly increased in the last two decades. Looking at Figure 2 we can also notice an increased flow of people.

**Figure 1: Emerging Market Private Capital Inflows, Net**



Source: (Suttle, Koepke, & Tiftik, 2012)

**Figure 2: Estimates of the Net Number of Migrants (in thousands), Select Countries, By Five Year Intervals**



Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, World Population Prospects: The 2010 Revision. [http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/unpp/panel\\_indicators.htm](http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/unpp/panel_indicators.htm).



To sum up, in this part I have discussed globalization in economic terms. I have defined globalization as a phase of de-hegemonization within a long historical process. This historical process can be understood as a linear trend, the passage, from the dominance of one type of social system to another, from mini-systems to world-empires, from world-empires to a world economy, and from the world-economy to possibly something else. Globalization is a recurring phenomenon within this process and is demonstrated by a long-term shift in hegemony which is in turn reflected by capital export to periphery and greater commotion in the world in general. Therefore, globalization is not about economic integration but rather about decentralization of accumulation of wealth caused by breakup in hegemony. I also showed that the world is currently in such phase of globalization. Therefore, this discussion helped me to narrow down the scope of my thesis. I will now focus on understanding how globalization impacts people's perceptions of the world. I am convinced that the greater commotion in the world ensuing from globalization is not self-imposed but can be related to certain shift in people's worldview that motivates them to participate in the commotion, be it, consumption of global products or willingness to move abroad. Further, I will explore whether this worldview changes as the phase of de-hegemonization progresses. However, before I delve into cultural aspects of globalization I will first analyze more recent political developments in the world because these developments, in my view, also contributed to the way we perceive today's world.

## **1.2. Political developments**

It was suggested that one of the features of the world-economy is political fragmentation, that is, instead of an empire with a common political system there is a number of politically sovereign countries participating in the world-economy. The competition between these countries for the appropriation of the surplus of the whole world-economy then maintains the political fragmentation of the world-economy. The only thing which seems to hold these countries together appears to be the global division of labor which necessitates countries to trade with each other. However, if this is the only bridge between the countries why are they then very similar in their political organization<sup>6</sup>? More importantly, why are these states parts of the same international organizations such as United Nations, International Monetary Fund or World Bank?

In this sense, Meyer (*The World Polity and the Authority of the Nation-State*, 1980) argues that there are certain universally applicable models around which all the countries are organized and thus they bridge otherwise politically fragmented countries. These models were forged through the Age of Enlightenment when the critical ideas of freedom, democracy and reason as primary values of society were developed and then in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the ideas of state sovereignty, individual rights, and rational progress were elaborated by public officials. They define who the legitimate actors in the world society are, what goals they can pursue and how they can pursue them. By the legitimate actors are meant nation-states, that is,

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<sup>6</sup> States throughout the world possess certain common characteristics, such as constitutional forms emphasizing both state power and individual rights, mass schooling systems organized around a standard curriculum, rationalized economic and demographic record keeping and data systems, expanded human rights in general, expansive environmental policies, etc. (Meyer J. W., 1980)

political organizations with centralized governments that are legitimated by nations to govern territories inhabited by the nations; individuals who, notwithstanding their national origin, their gender, their physical characteristics, their religion, are granted human rights; and organizations between nation-states or individuals that are established to represent their legitimate interests. The models further define the set of legitimate goals, such as collective development<sup>7</sup>, social justice, protection of individual rights, etc. that the actors, mainly nation-states, should pursue and what the legitimate ways of pursuing these goals are.

Meyer et al. (World Society and The Nation-State, 1997) asserts that these models attained the universal applicability after World War II. *"The colossal disaster of World War II may have been a key factor in the rise of global models of nationally organized progress and justice, and the Cold War may have intensified the forces pushing human development to the global level"* (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997, p. 174) After World War II nation-states established common institutions, especially United Nations, to facilitate cooperation in international security, social progress, expansion of human rights, and achievement of world peace. This way they not only proclaimed compliance with common purposes (e.g. development, progress) and principles (e.g. human rights, justice) but also created a common forum which would allow for identity recognition of nation-states. Basically, existence of a nation-state depends on obtaining a formal recognition from wider community. The role of granting such recognition was assumed by United Nations. However, to obtain such recognition the applicant must demonstrate assertions about sovereignty and legitimate control over population and territory, along with appropriate aims and purposes. These assertions are reflected in particular state structures, programs and policies. What is appropriate is, however, defined by universally applicable models. Therefore, nation-states simply proclaim conformity to these worldwide models and copy them. *"...even if a state proclaims its opposition to the dominant world identity models, it will nevertheless pursue many purposes within this model. It will develop bureaucratic authority and attempt to build many modern institutions, ranging from a central bank to an educational system."* (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997, p. 159) Furthermore, the fact that the models legitimate also other actors makes resistance to world models more difficult. For example, if a particular regime refuses world models, local actors can organize themselves in opposition or rely on the support from external groups to oppose the regime. This can be for instance evident during elections in countries which are considered as noncompliant with world models. In these instances international organizations deploy election observers to put pressure on the countries to comply with international standards. The functioning of universally applicable models can be demonstrated on the following hypothetical example:

*"If an unknown society were "discovered" on a previously unknown island, it is clear that many changes would occur. A government would soon form, looking something like a modern state with many of the usual ministries and agencies. Official recognition by other states and admission to the United Nations would ensue. The society would be analyzed as an economy, with standard types of data, organizations, and policies for domestic and international transactions. Its people would be formally reorganized as citizens with many familiar rights,*

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<sup>7</sup> Measured by GDP growth and similar measures.

*while certain categories of citizens—children, the elderly, the poor—would be granted special protection. Standard forms of discrimination, especially ethnic and gender based, would be discovered and decried. The population would be counted and classified in ways specified by world census models. Modern educational, medical, scientific, and family law institutions would be developed.”* (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997, p. 145)

I have introduced the idea of universally applied models to demonstrate that nation-states are more than just economically interconnected. It should be noted that this idea does not constitute a contradiction to the idea of world-economy. The global system of nation-states based on universally applied models, which Meyer (The World Polity and the Authority of the Nation-State, 1980) calls world-polity, operates parallel to the world-economy and to a significant degree is functionally independent of it. Meyer (The World Polity and the Authority of the Nation-State, 1980) distinguishes between polity and economy as different systems of social value creation. The economy creates value through commodification, that is, extraction, production, exchange and consumption of commodities. The polity creates value through collective authority of multiple actors (individuals, associations, nation-states) whose interests are universally defined and who are both expected and entitled to act as agents of their interests. Individuals are granted citizenship and human rights that they both can and should protect. Nation-states are granted sovereignty to exercise control over a certain territory that they can and should protect. Associations mainly ensure that nation-states act in compliance with universally applied models. Such collective authority causes that there is no single actor (core state) defining what is the right model for the world. This collective authority creates and confers invisible commodities such as social services whose production and distribution is not regulated by exchange processes and a market but through the ideals of the world-polity (Meyer J. W., 1980). In other words, it spreads ideals of humanity, justice, social progress, collective development etc. and ensures their application across the world.

In my view, however, the level of interconnectedness suggested by the idea of world-polity is exaggerated. Surely, nation-states appear to be similar or even isomorphic to certain extent, especially in terms of institutional structure, but it is doubtful that they would define their identities based on common purposes and principles. What is perceived as a legitimate purpose of a nation-state differs throughout the world and one may find contradicting examples, such as, liberal-democratic, socialist, Islamic etc. This was, for instance, exemplified by the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 which overthrew monarchy under Reza Shah, who tried to heavily westernize Iran, and replaced it with theocracy, Islamic republic (Rajaei, 2000). Interesting was that the revolution was massively popular and did not stem from usual causes, such as, defeat at war, a financial crisis, peasant rebellion, or disgruntled military (Arjomand, 1988). If there was something like universally applicable models, why were then individuals, legitimate actors, content with the revolution and did not organize themselves or seek outside help against changes which were clearly misaligned with ideals of world-polity? The answer is because the universally applicable models can hardly dictate all nation-states what goals they can pursue and how they can pursue them. Even Meyer et al (World Society and The Nation-State, 1997) concede that there are differences in the degree to which internal practices of nation-states are aligned with the proclaimed values and that the

models cannot simply be imported wholesale as a fully functioning system. We could use the example of Greece, which in November 2004 effectively admitted that it lied about its government deficit to get into the Eurozone, to show that the correlation between policy and practice may be very low even in countries which publicly proclaim compliance with ideals of world-polity.

Nevertheless, my intention is not to refute the existence of world-polity. What I suggest is that world-polity only spreads ideals, such as human rights, justice, social progress, sustainable development etc., across the world. It can ensure neither their full application in particular nation-states nor the way these ideals are interpreted in particular localities. Even if two states proclaim, for example, that they are democratic, what is considered democratic will significantly differ in each of them.

### **1.3. Globalization in cultural terms**

The discussion above, where I have described the conception and the functioning of the world-polity, has an important implication for my further analysis. The discussion showed that the developments after 19<sup>th</sup> century allowed for a spread of certain ideals across the world. Important is that these ideals did not concern only nation-states but also other actors, mainly individuals. Specifically, thanks to the spread of ideals of humanity and citizenship individuals have not only become legitimate actors of the world society but, in my view, it also affected their mode of being. Friedman (The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity, 1992) calls a general mode of being an identity space and defines it as a hypothetical field of available identifications of the world. To put it differently, an identity space delimits the ways how we identify with the world and what meanings we attribute to the world. With the spread of ideals of world-polity our self-identification has become based on principles, such as individual liberty (freedom of speech, thought, conscience and religion), equality, socioeconomic progress, human development, etc. These principles have emphasized our uniqueness and individuality, and defined goals of humanity in progress, be it, collective socioeconomic progress or individual progress and development. Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) calls these principles “principles of modernity” and the worldview formed by these principles modernism or modernist position. If we abstract from the fact that these ideals are understood and applied differently across the world, we may say that development of world-polity and spread of its ideals causes the identity space to be dominated by modernity. According to Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) the modernist position (worldview) then sees anything that prevents individual freedom, such as religious, superstitious understanding of the world or close communities dominated by personal ties, as irrational. Modernists see the meaning in progress itself and cultivate capacity to change, to embrace the new, the sophisticated. In other words, thanks to ideals of world-polity individuals have developed a modernist worldview which gives them a sense of personal autonomy and individuality to develop themselves through openness to new influences. Now, the question is how this sense of individuality is relevant to the discussion about globalization.

I have already suggested that nation-states are becoming more and more interconnected and that in the phase of globalization, or de-hegemonization, there is a greater commotion in the world. In my view, it is precisely in this phase that we experience something what Robertson (Interpreting globality, 2003) calls the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole, which means an increase in the awareness of the fact that the world is more interconnected. We experience this interconnectedness through tourism, migration, foreign work, and inter-ethnic and inter-cultural contact. The experience gives us the knowledge that the way our society is organized is only one among several actual possibilities and gives us a chance to develop ourselves by creating new identities inspired by this knowledge. In the past when our social world was rooted in communities based on strong personal relations, we built our identities based on the membership in such communities. For example, if I was born in a family of farmers, I would end up carrying on family tradition because my identity would be defined through my family membership. However, thanks to ideals spread by world-polity I was given a personal autonomy to define my own identity. I go to school, I am taught the principles of modernity and I learn that I should freely choose my own future and define my own uniqueness. However, to be able to do so I need to be aware of other possibilities. Due to globalization I am becoming aware of these possibilities because the world is compressing as the capital and people move. Moreover, in current phase of globalization the compression is even intensified by technological progress, which means that it is possible to overcome ever greater distances in still shorter time. This time-space compression allows me to experience the same things as others in a distant location, sometimes almost at the same time<sup>8</sup> (Harvey, 1991).

Since the modernist identity prompts us to disconnect from religious, community, or other collective organizations and incites individualization and self-identification, we perceive globalization as a chance to develop ourselves through exposure to new experiences. Therefore, based on this logic the impact of globalization in cultural terms is detachment of our identities from our localities.

In my case, principles of modernism motivate me to become detached from the immersion in the family tradition of farming and hence I see the influences offered by the outside world as an opportunity to develop an alternative identity. Globalization gives me chance to define my uniqueness independently.

However, even though we develop a modernist worldview which disconnects us from our locality, I believe, that the extent to which we can detach from our local context, that is, historical, linguistic, ethnic, political and other conditions of our locality, is limited. Thus, the local context will still play an important role in our identity construction. To elaborate on this point I will use Arjun Appadurai's (Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy, 1990) framework of global flows or to use his words, "scapes". This framework organizes commotion evoked by globalization into five dimensions, namely, ethnoscap, technoscap, financescap, mediascap and ideoscap. Ethnoscap is constituted by a global flow of people, that is, tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers, and other

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<sup>8</sup> Via modern communication technology.

moving groups and persons. Technoscapes refer to the flow of technology, both mechanical and informational. Under financescapes Appadurai (*Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy*, 1990) understands rapid flow of money across national boundaries via currency markets, national stock and commodity exchanges. Ethnoscapes, technoscapes and financescapes are on one hand deeply disjunctive, since each of them is subject to its own incentives and constraints, and on the other hand each acts as a constraint and a parameter for movements in the other. As an example of the intertwinement of these three scapes I will use students studying abroad. For instance, there are around 3000 students from abroad studying at the University of Economics, Prague. Although the greatest portion of them comes from Slovakia, many still come from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, that is, culturally more distant countries. As there is a transfer of culture and customs across borders, exposing both parties to a new reality, this affects the ethnoscape which is demonstrated by, for example, offering a study program in Russian language. Due to existence and increased use of modern communication technologies the flow of people and the subsequent change in ethnoscape is even intensified because more students abroad will learn about the possibility to study in Prague. Lastly, since these students pay for their tuition, accommodation, food, public transport and other goods the financescape is affected, as well.

Upon these three scapes are built mediascapes and ideoscapes, as closely related landscapes of images. Mediascapes refer both to media themselves, such as newspapers, magazines, television stations, film production studios, etc. and to images of the world created by these media. The images offer series of elements, such as characters or plots, out of which people can form scripts of imagined lives. These scripts help them to create narratives of other possible lives and thus get transformed into metaphors by which people live. Such fantasies are then source for desire for acquisition of goods and movement. The further away the audiences are from the direct experiences of realities, the more likely they are to construct imagined world, that is, fantasies about other possible lives. For example, a story about Didier Drogba, successful footballer, enjoying a great lifestyle in the United Kingdom may fuel imagination of a fellow countryman living in Ivory Coast and create images of the United Kingdom as a country full of opportunities for Africans. Eventually, such fantasy may lead to an aspiration to migrate to the UK. Media have basically made imagination available to everyone so that it is no longer a sole domain of artists. Media images are now available to people at all social levels who can dream fantasies like never before and thus are not restrained to create new identities. Similarly as mediascapes, ideoscapes are also constituted by series of images. However, these images are of political nature and have to do with ideologies of state and their counter-ideologies. Appadurai (*Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy*, 1990) conceives them to be composed of elements of the Enlightenment world-view, that is, ideas as freedom, welfare, human rights, sovereignty, representation and democracy. He argues that worldwide spread of these ideas has caused them to lose their internal coherence and now different nation-states organize their political cultures around different keywords. As a result, these keywords are understood and used differently in different parts of the world. The fluidity in ideoscapes is, according to Appadurai (*Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy*, 1990), complicated in particular by the growing spread of intellectuals who continuously inject new meanings

into the discourse of democracy in different parts of the world. The notion of ideoscapes resembles to a great extent the idea of the world-polity. It also correlates with my suggestion that the ideals of world-polity are not applied in the same fashion across the world. In other words, my interpretation of ideals of, for example, individual liberty and equality will differ from the interpretation of someone living in the U.S. or anywhere else. These differences in interpretations can be best shown on the following example:

**Picture 2: Nelson Mandela and François Pienaar**



Source: (Hogan, 2012)

**Picture 1: Invictus movie**



Source: (Hogan, 2012)

*“The first is a photo of Nelson Mandela and François Pienaar at the 1995 Rugby World Cup in South Africa. Depending on the viewer of this photograph, the ideoscape that accompanies it varies wildly. To a black South African, it could carry the meaning of progress and equality. To a white South African, it could be viewed as threatening to the ideoscape they have always known (apartheid). To my little brother this is just two guys shaking hands. The next image is a movie poster for Invictus, a retelling of the 1995 Rugby World Cup and an example of reterritorialization and subsequent deterritorialization of the affair. This film, for some, is the only way in which they ever would have heard of the historical event, and, of course, is being manipulated by somebody’s view of the event. The narrative Invictus sets up is part of the “imagined world” mediascapes create.”* (Hogan, 2012)

The previous quote suggests that individuals interpret images in different ways depending not only on what kind of individuality they are but also where they come from or more precisely what is their local context. Images are transferred via media which do not present just plain images but put images into certain plots or stories. For example, one media can present the story of Nelson Mandela and François Pienaar as a positive breakthrough in society; another media can depict it as a negative threat. Now, my local context helps me to interpret these images as suggested by the quote. However, what is important to add is that if my local context has never been affected by apartheid and I am far from realities of racial segregation or racial hatred, I will be more likely to create an image of what is right or wrong based on the images that are presented to me via the newspapers I have read or the movie I have watched or any other medium. I may create a fantasy, for example, that racial segregation or hatred is a horrible thing, which will shape my identity and will eventually cause me to become an avid

defender of equality in society. This example is, however, based on an assumption that I am exposed to these images with certain intensity. In reality, I may not even come across these images and thus they won't affect me. Therefore, the identity that anyone constructs depends on what images they see and how they interpret them, which in turn depends on who they are and where they are. However, this doesn't concern only media- and ideoscapes because we attribute certain meanings to all scapes. Media are not the only source of images; they just serve readymade images constructed by someone else. In our everyday lives we come also across other scapes that evoke to us differing images based on our local contexts.

I will demonstrate this on Friedman's (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) observations regarding interpretation of tourism by two different indigenous groups, namely, Ainu and Hawaiians. Ainu are indigenous people of Japan who do not have an ethnic status. They exist as an economically and politically marginal minority whose culture has largely disappeared. However, in 1970s they established a cultural movement to gain recognition as a separate ethnic group. That involved building schools for teaching language and traditions but mainly founding traditional villages to showcase their traditional lifestyle for tourists and to emphasize the distinctive content of their ethnicity for tourists. Thus, the ethnoscape represented by tourism is interpreted as pivotal in the reconstruction of Ainu identity. On the other hand, as Hawaii became thoroughly Americanized, tourism significantly contributed to the displacement of Hawaiian cultural identity and Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) observed that the Hawaiian cultural movement positioned itself in a strong opposition to the tourist industry. Therefore, for Hawaiians the ethnoscape evokes negative images of tourism as oppressing Hawaiians' traditions and ethnic identity: *"The Hawaiian culture that tourists see is very tourist-oriented..."*<sup>9</sup> These two examples show that based on our local context we experience and interpret scapes, global flows, in different ways. Based on the interpretation we construct our identity and define our position in the world, that is, our identity. However, not only we interpret scapes in different ways, we are also exposed to particular flows with different intensity. Here, the nation-state plays often a crucial role of a regulator of the flows. For example, Chinese want to import Western commodities and technology but the Chinese state does not want Western ideas of democracy to threaten its control over ideas of nationhood and thus uses measures such as Internet censorship. Similarly, Japanese are open to import and export of goods, but oppose the idea of immigration and make efforts to dampen the immigration (see Figure 2).

The discussion about global flows showed that local context plays an important role in the process of identity construction. On one hand, it shapes the way we interpret the global flows, that is, what images these flows evoke to us and what meanings we attribute to these flows. Even though we have an access to the same TV shows, news reports, music etc. from all over the world through the use of TVs, radios or nowadays even Internet, we may not understand the language and to the images we see we may attribute meanings based on our local contexts which may have nothing to do with the original meaning. Even if the language is understood, the context of meaning attribution might be different. For example, even though Christians constitute only a half percent of the Japanese population (Fehrenbach & Poiger, 2000),

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<sup>9</sup> [http://www.usatoday.com/travel/destinations/2010-02-15-hawaii-tourism-survey\\_N.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/travel/destinations/2010-02-15-hawaii-tourism-survey_N.htm)



Christmas are widely celebrated in Japan. However, the meaning Japanese attribute to Christmas is significantly different from the meaning attributed to Christmas by people living in countries where Christianity is well established. For Japanese it is mainly a commercial event with its own consumption traditions, such as, eating KFC<sup>10</sup> (Japan Today, 2011 ). It is not even a national holiday but just a one-day celebration. Difference in the meaning attribution can be seen, for instance, in the fact that it is rather a romantic night for couples than a strictly family thing. *“Date places — restaurants, attractions and love hotels are busy on Christmas.”* (japan-talk, 2012) Even the depictions of Santa Claus, which have often little to do with their American equivalent<sup>11</sup>, suggest that Christmas symbols are interpreted and given meanings different from the Western ones. Hence, even though the global flow of ideals of world-polity shifts our mode of being towards modernism whereby we gain a sense of personal autonomy to construct our identities independently from local context; local context still affects the construction of our identities because it predetermines the way we see and interpret outside world. In case of Japanese, they are free to adopt western traditions, such as Christmas, and thus to demonstrate their modern identities but they do so in a culturally specific way, which means that these traditions have a different meaning for them than for Westerners. Robertson (Interpreting globality, 2003) describes this as interpenetrating processes of universalization of particularism and particularization of universalism. The universalization of particularism involves an extensive diffusion of the idea that there is virtually no limit to particularity, to uniqueness, to difference, and to otherness, that is, all people can have their distinctive identities. The particularization of universalism means appropriation of this universal idea in local contexts, that is, the distinctive identities are affected by specificity of local contexts. These processes are better known under the term, glocalization.

On the other hand, local context also partly determines to what extent we are exposed to respective flows. Thus, the local context may also regulate the degree to which we are subjected to ideals of world-polity and principles of modernity. Coming back to the example of farmer, if I was born in a family of farmers in the North Korea, my chances of developing personal autonomy would be truly low as the local political circumstances repel global flows and hence also ideals of world-polity.

To conclude, through the discourse of globalization in cultural terms I have intended to disprove a popular belief that globalization causes westernization, that is, adoption of Western life-style. I showed that thanks to spread of ideals of world polity our identity space (mode of being) is dominated by principles of modernism which tell us that we should choose our identity independently from our local context. Modernist principles also affect our interpretation of globalization and we see it as an opportunity to develop ourselves through exposure to new experiences. However, the global flows that emanate from the West are differently received and interpreted throughout the world. Based on the local context, we interpret these flows in our own culturally specific ways and therefore our uniqueness that we construct is affected by our local context. Therefore, even if we adopt western styles,

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<sup>10</sup> The people reserve their buckets of chicken a month in advance (Japan Today, 2011 ).

<sup>11</sup> See <http://www.japan-talk.com/jt/new/santa-claus-in-Japan>.

traditions, etc. we do it in a way affected by our local context. This precludes westernization. Moreover, it should be noted that the global flows do not originate only in the West and the world is also impregnated with Third World ideas, styles and genres concerning religion, music, art, cooking etc.

## **2. Globalization and consumption**

So far, I have defined globalization both in economic and cultural terms. In economic terms, I suggested that it is a phase within a long historical process when new economic centers emerge and the whole world is in greater commotion as capital, people, goods, technologies, ideals, etc. move. In cultural terms, I explained that globalization is in fact glocalization, that is, even though we do not derive our identities from belonging to certain closely tied groups where members adhere to certain moral schemes; our identity construction is affected by our local context. We interpret global flows in culturally specific ways determined by our local context and based on this interpretation these global flows affect our identity construction in a specific way. Now, since relation between globalization and consumption is central to my thesis, I will further expand on this relation.

Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) suggests that consumption defines the contours of a specific identity space. Sum of products that we consume then expresses what we are. Thus, consumption can be seen as a part of more general strategies of self-identification and hence is a reflection of our identity. Therefore, identity space dominated by modernism should be reflected by consumption of globalized products because it emphasizes detachment from the local and openness to the new. At the same time, however, this consumption will reflect cultural specificity of the local context as was already suggested. Let's demonstrate this on an example of a social group called La sape whose consumption practices were observed by Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994). This group can be found in the former French colony, the Republic of the Congo, specifically, in the capital Brazzaville. The French word la sape is derived from the word se saper, which means the art of dressing elegantly. Logically, sapeur should be someone who is concerned with his appearance, that is, someone whom we would describe with a more familiar word dandy. Arguably then, he may derive his well-being from admiring gazes of others. His consumption is based on a desire to be admired. However, this is not the case for the Congolese sapeurs whose consumption is not primarily based on the concern about elegance of their dress. They accumulate imported European branded clothes and thus progress through a hierarchy until moving to Paris and to higher rank of "parisien". In Paris they further accumulate, by any means available, famous designer clothes from France and Italy to become "un garnd". Afterwards they occasionally return to Brazzaville to perform a dance during which they display all the great name labels they have acquired sown into lapels of their jackets. They do not gain satisfaction from the lifestyle experience itself, as they basically live in poverty because all cash is used on luxury brands, but rather from acquiring the appearances of the powerful elites. Congolese believe that western goods are source of a life-force. *"When I dress like this, it's like I have the Holy Spirit in me, I'm at ease, as if I were sinless."* (Downey, 2011). Their goal is to overcome lack in the present via the importation of life-force from the

outside. Therefore, Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) draws a difference between a dandy and a sapeur. Dandy dresses to impress others. His practice of self-identification rests in manipulation of his appearance to come across as someone who he often times is not. Thus, distinction can be made between the appearance and the person beneath the surface. On the contrary, the sapeur is, in Friedman's (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) view, authentic and his identity is unequivocal. He does not create his outward appearance to fool the public, to appear as something other than himself. It is his very essence.

The cross-boundary movement of people and goods described here is an obvious manifestation of globalization in the sense that people from such a distant part of the world as the Republic of the Congo have access to and consume globalized products. On the other hand, they attribute specific meanings to these objects as they assimilate Western goods to an expression of a process that is entirely African, which demonstrates the notion of glocalization. Sapeurs construct their uniqueness by consumption of globalized products in a culturally very specific way.

This example, although very insightful, is a bit extreme in that that sapeurs resemble a religious group and their identities seem to be derived from affiliation to beliefs of a close community to some extent. Therefore, it is a question whether they partake in globalization to develop unique identities or the global products they consume serve only for certain ritual purposes. The latter would mean that sapeurs have not developed a modernist worldview and are tied to their locality. However, one way or the other, the example implies that consumption reflects one's identity.

To better show that even if we develop a modernist worldview the consumption of globalized products is culturally specific, I will further discuss a case-in-point which concerns the most obvious global product, that is, McDonald's and specifically its expansion into Russian market. McDonald's is often viewed as a symbol of cultural imperialism of the West cf. (George, 2004). Its expansion is then often seen as westernization of the globe. Therefore, on this example I also intend to emphasize that even consumption of the most obvious global products reflects cultural specificity of the local context and that these products are attributed meanings specific for given local contexts.

McDonald's opened its first outlet in Russia in 1990. At that time, the local context was characterized by important changes in Russian society, such as reforms introduced in 1980s by Mikhail Gorbachev which freed public access to information after decades of heavy government censorship, tearing down of the Berlin Wall and ending of the Cold War, the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Russia had all of sudden become open to the global flows and Russian consumers were keen on buying foreign goods in order to demonstrate their modernist worldview. However, after this initial period, perceptions that foreign cultures are displacing local cultural forms led Russian officials to a launch of "Buy Russian" campaign. This emphasis on the localness of goods was further heightened by the Russia's financial crisis which erupted in August 1998. On one hand, a massive departure of transnational companies from Russian market due to a huge drop in the value of Ruble created

opportunities for domestic producers. On the other hand, economic reasons, such as dramatic drop in federal subsidies to the agricultural sector, required intensive promotion of domestic produce. The nationwide “Buy Russian” campaign struck the right note of patriotism with Russian consumers who had refocused their attentions on domestically produced goods. The campaign explicitly appealed to nationalism through the use of a classification of foods and other products as either “Nash” (ours) or “Ne nash” (not ours) and the description of local products as superior to the foreign ones in terms of taste, quality and healthfulness. Caldwell (Domesticating the French Fry: McDonald’s and Consumerism in Moscow, 2004) argues that the rhetoric of Nash employs dual sense of home as it refers to both the imagined space of the nation and the physical space of home. Thus, this rhetoric is more than just a simple distinction between local and foreign. For Russian consumers Nash refers also to feelings of intimacy, such as, sentimental familiarity, trust and comfort.

Caldwell (Domesticating the French Fry: McDonald’s and Consumerism in Moscow, 2004) observed that McDonald’s noted these changes and instead of highlighting its novelty and foreignness, rather focused on immersing into Russian daily life by emphasizing its very ordinariness. Hence, the company positioned itself as a place where ordinary people work and visit. Furthermore, it undertook several initiatives with regards to the concept of Nash. McDonald’s not only made efforts to become a responsive member of local community through charity work and sponsorship of local events but also promoted the local origins of their produce. Based on the knowledge that Russian consumers consider fruits and vegetables grown on farms in the Russian countryside or gardens at private summer cottages to be healthier and of higher quality, McDonald’s sealed a contract with a Russian agricultural corporation whose name explicitly invoked the symbolic power of the Russian countryside and personal gardening, *Belaia dacha* (“white cottage”). Eventually, the company started using the rhetoric of Nash which was, for example, demonstrated by running posters saying Nash Makdonalds. Caldwell (Domesticating the French Fry: McDonald’s and Consumerism in Moscow, 2004) further argues that these initiatives brought about a shift in Muscovites’ attitudes towards McDonald’s as the restaurants started to be perceived as ordinary or even domestic. Caldwell (Domesticating the French Fry: McDonald’s and Consumerism in Moscow, 2004) suggests that by undergoing a specifically Russian process of localization – Nashification – McDonald’s has become a locally meaningful, and hence domesticated, entity. She observes the process of domestication on several accounts. Firstly, from her ethnographic study we learn that McDonald’s got included into Russian cuisine. The spread of foods inspired by McDonald’s has concerned not only the commercial sphere but Muscovites themselves have incorporated McDonalds into their home cooking. "What was particularly instructive about these individuals' insistence that foods prepared at home are authentically Russian was that their repertoires of Russian cuisine included imitations of McDonald's foods." (Caldwell, 2004, p. 16) McDonald’s was practically transformed into local food habits. "Muscovites...transformed it not simply into something that is familiar and ordinary, but into something that is authentically indigenous as well as desirable and personally meaningful." (Caldwell, 2004, p. 17) Secondly, apart from taking aspects of McDonald’s into their homes, Muscovites started also taking their home lives into McDonald’s restaurants. Caldwell (Domesticating the French Fry: McDonald’s and

Consumerism in Moscow, 2004) observed that visitors used the restaurants for various purposes, such as bathing or washing up clothes and dishes in bathrooms or they would bring their own homemade lunches to eat if they lived nearby the restaurant. More importantly, they have also transferred their social lives to McDonald's as it has become place of choice for meetings, birthday parties and other social gatherings.

The example of McDonald's expansion into Moscow substantiates the notion of glocalization. It also implies that glocalization is manifested by what Robertson (Globalisation or Glocalisation?, 1994) calls globalized expectations towards local particularism. In other words, McDonald's expected cultural specificity of local context, that is, preferences for Nash products, and proactively responded to it by manipulating meaning attributed to its restaurants to align it with these preferences. Moreover, this example demonstrated that to understand local reactions to globalization one needs to first understand the local context and the meanings attributed to globalized products. In case of McDonald's, Muscovites first started consuming burgers because they wanted to try the new and the foreign as a result of developing modernist worldview due to political changes. Later the local context shifted towards patriotism. Muscovites, however, hadn't stopped going to McDonald's because prompted by the company's initiatives their perception of McDonald's changed together with the shift in local context. Simply, McDonald's didn't want to be perceived as foreign in the actual local context when people were becoming patriotic because that would discourage Muscovites to eat there and thus made efforts to be interpreted as domestic.

### **3. Identity crisis**

The case about McDonald's expansion not only justifies the notion of glocalization but it also points to an interesting phenomenon which was indicated by the shift in Muscovites' preferences towards Nash products. This shift was also noted, but in a more general sense, by Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994).

Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) argues that in the decade between 1975 and 1985 changes in the cultural state of the world started occurring. What he suggests is that the identity space is not dominated by modernity anymore but is rather a combination of three poles due to emergence of traditionalism and postmodernism. Identity space was defined as a general mode of being that delimits the ways how we identify with the world and what meanings we attribute to the world. I suggested that with the spread of ideals of world-polity the identity space became dominated by modernity. Modernity emphasizes individual liberty and progress, and dismisses local traditions because they are seen as restrictive to liberty. Modern identity motivates us to disconnect from our locality and to become more exposed to the outside world. However, in Friedman's (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) view this modern identity is receding as a general mode of being in favor of traditionalism and postmodernism.

Traditionalism can be seen as longing for the re-establishment of local community and traditional values. Traditionalists see modernism as a disintegration of meaningfully organized existence. By meaningfully organized existence they understand living in a

community dominated by direct interpersonal relations where individual identity is dependent on a larger group or at least its moral scheme. Modernism and its emphasis on individualization and progress causes dissolution of personal relations and creates an abstract system of impersonally defined roles. In the past our role was defined by our membership in specific communities and the values these communities stood for. Our role was to carry on the traditions and to reproduce the fixed values, and thus it was quite concrete. In the modern world, however, our role is more abstract. We are motivated to disconnect from our locality and to focus on ourselves and our self-fulfillment and self-progress. For example, we strive for a successful career throughout which we are playing impersonally defined roles that emphasize formality rather than personal relations. Meaning for us lies in progress, movement, self-development and not in reproduction of traditional values. Focus on career as an expression of individuality takes precedence over family. Traditions are seen as a thing of the past that hinders the development. According to Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) this has, however, started to change by emergence of traditionalism and he attributes the change to an implosive loss of faith in the progress of civilization, that is, a collapse of modernism and ensuing identity crisis. He relates the identity crisis to the de-hegemonization and resulting economic fragmentation of the world-economy and decentralization due to occurrence of new centers. This link can be found also in the discussion about McDonald's expansion into Russian market. Russia's financial crisis as a result of economic fragmentation of former Soviet Union led apparently also to a collapse of modernism and shift towards traditionalism. The shift towards traditionalism was particularly obvious by preference for not simply local products but products that also carried a meaning of sentimental familiarity and trust. In case of food products, this need for return to traditions was demonstrated by the fact that consumers privileged fruits and vegetables that were grown on farms in the Russian countryside or in gardens at private summer cottages (dachas) and then collected or prepared by friends or relatives (Caldwell, 2004).

Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) further indicates that identity crisis does not necessarily lead to a need to return to traditions. It may also result in occurrence of postmodernism. Postmodernist image of modern society is similar to the traditionalist in that that it sees it as a repertoire of abstract rules, of formal etiquette, etc. However, it doesn't see it as destroying meaningful community-based way of life but as rather repressing nature. In this sense, nature is defined in Freudian terms (Friedman, Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) as basic instinctual needs, that is, id<sup>12</sup>. Progress is seen as submission to rules and formality. If we want to progress, to get promoted to achieve our goals, we must follow the

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<sup>12</sup> Sigmund Freud defined mind (psyche) as a three-layered structure composed of id, ego and super-ego **Invalid source specified..** The id is an unconscious part of our personality that contains a human's basic instinctual drives or what Freud calls libido, that is, instinctive energy. It acts according to the "pleasure principle" whereby it seeks to avoid pain or displeasure and strives to bring about the satisfaction of the instinctual needs. Ego is part of id that was modified by the direct influence of the external world. It is what we call reason and common sense and it contains psychic functions, such as judgment, memory, intellectual functioning, tolerance, etc. It acts according to the "reality principle"; i.e. it seeks to please the id's drive in realistic ways which means with respect to society's morals, norms, and taboos. It employs defense mechanisms to cover up impulses that conflict with this reality. Super-ego is basically our conscience as a result of symbolic internalization of cultural regulations under the influence of our parents, teachers, and role models. It stands in opposition to the desires of the id and strives to act in socially appropriate manner. It punishes misbehavior with feelings of guilt.

formal rules of society. We must be politically correct and put on a mask of politeness and tolerance in any event. Our super-ego is given precedence over our id (desires). However, with the loss of faith in the progress of civilization and emergence of postmodernism in our identity space we are starting to realize this oppression of formal rules and may tend to revolt against them in order to liberate ourselves. We may try to destroy our individual boundaries (internalized social norms) to freely express ourselves. According to Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) the shift towards postmodernism is demonstrated by emergence of such movements as punks who revolt against the civilization, its rules and formality, by exhibiting primitivity.

The opposition between traditionalism and postmodernism is based on an opposition between the need to return to traditions and that to return to nature. Modernism then stands in an opposition to both postmodernism and traditionalism as it sees both nature and traditions as hindrances and things of the past and periphery of the world. These three opposing kinds of self-identification are, however, extremes. In reality self-identification will involve combination of these three poles.

Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) justifies his argument on observations of proliferation of nationalist or ethnic movements (e.g. Ainu, Hawaiians), and a trend towards local autonomy and community self-control both in the center and periphery of the world system. He, however, does not suggest when in the phase of de-hegemonization the collapse of modernism occurs and what conditions it. Although he indicates that it happens during a period of economic crises<sup>13</sup>, it is not clear how exactly these crises cause the shift in identity space. This relation is further blurred by the fact that the period when Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) observes the emergence of traditionalism and postmodernism is also a period when current phase of de-hegemonization (globalization) was starting as it coincides with the decline of US hegemony. By definition traditionalism and postmodernism should hamper the globalization as they are in opposition to modernism, that is, they do not see meaning in progress and movement. However, since I suggested that we are still in the phase of globalization and increased commotion in the world, their emergence certainly did not put a damper on globalization. The question is then, what is their significance? Do they emerge during an economic recession and then recede? If the self-identification involves combination of the three poles, how can such mix look like? Friedman (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) unfortunately leaves these questions unanswered.

Nevertheless, the notion of identity crisis has some practical validity as was suggested by the example of McDonald's expansion into Russian market. In that particular example Russia was undergoing a deep economic crisis with which the occurrence of traditionalism coincided. The occurrence of traditionalism can be explained also from psychological perspective. Specifically, economic crisis intensifies the experience of uncertainty as people start to increasingly worry about their jobs and incomes. It may even lead to an experience of insecurity or anxiety. Hermans & Dimaggio (Self, Identity, and Globalization in Times of

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<sup>13</sup> 1970s and 1980s were marked by a series of crises, such as 1973 oil crisis, 1973-1974 stock market crash, secondary banking crisis of 1973-1975 in Great Britain, 1979 energy crisis, Latin American debt crisis, banking crisis of the 1980s in the U.S. etc.

Uncertainty: A Dialogical Analysis, 2007) suggest that the primary way of responding to these experiences is to seek reaffirmation by drawing closer to any localized group that is seen as capable of reducing insecurity. Particularly, people tend to resort to religion and nationalism in times of rapid change and uncertain future. Also, Kinnvall (Globalization and religious nationalism: Self, identity, and the search for ontological security., 2004) pointed to the significance of the notion of “home” as a bearer of certainty and security. This helps to explain why it was so important to Russians that Nash products were not only national but also evoked the feelings of sentimental familiarity, trust and comfort. The example further indicated that both modernism and traditionalism may conflate. Traditionalism led Muscovites to a need to consume goods representing more traditional values, Nash products, but since McDonald’s was seen as locally meaningful in terms of representing traditional values, Muscovites didn’t condemn it even though it wasn’t national.

Therefore, I hypothesize that there is a direct link between economic crisis and emergence of traditionalism and a possibility of a combination of worldviews.

#### **4. Theoretical conclusions and research question**

The theoretical introduction to my thesis has suggested that globalization is not a new phenomenon and has implications reaching beyond economic interconnectedness of the world. In economic sense, it was indicated that it is a recurring phase within a longer historical process related to de-hegemonization and eruption of new centers in the world system. In the cultural sense, it is a localized human experience because it compresses the world to the experience space of the subject. The globalized objects and representations are packed into TV, computer or other form and enter a restricted social space of an individual. On one hand, the experience is affected by one’s worldview. There appear to be three basic types of a worldview, namely, modernism, traditionalism and postmodernism. Modernism sees meaning in progress and movement. Traditionalism sees meaning in reproduction of traditional values and is based on a need to return to a more traditional way of life in a community with strong personal ties. Postmodernism sees meaning in unrestrained expression of desire and is based on a need to revolt against rules. On the other hand, the experience of globalization is affected by local context of the social space of the individual, that is, by its political, linguistic, ethnic and other conditions. In this sense, globalization will be always localized. Local context determines to what extent we are exposed to particular global flows and partly affects what meanings we attribute to them. The combination of our worldview and realities of our local context will then determine our interpretation and reactions to globalization. For example, modernism may prompt one to adopt new styles from the outside world but it will be always done in a culturally specific way. Moreover, the worldview we develop doesn’t have to be one-sided but may conflate, for instance, both modernism and traditionalism as was the case of McDonald’s in Russia. Also, postmodernist worldview may cause us to adopt styles from abroad if they represent our need to express primitive desires.

Theory, however, does not present eloquent evidence that would suggest what conditions a more significant occurrence of traditionalism and postmodernism. It implies that it is related to a dramatic loss of faith in the progress of civilization but what events lead to this “identity



crisis” stays unanswered. I hypothesize that one of the possible causes might be the economic crisis. The theory also doesn’t sufficiently substantiate the claim that the worldview may be a combination of modernism, traditionalism and postmodernism.

Since the world has recently undergone an important economic crisis, there are favorable conditions to verify these hypotheses. Particularly, in the practical part I will try to answer the following questions: Are we able to observe reactions to globalization that would suggest emergence of traditionalism? If yes, how does it interact with our modernist worldview and realities of our local context?

# Practical part

## 5. Methodology

To verify whether we are able to observe emergence of traditionalism and to determine how it interacts with modernist worldview in terms of consumers’ reactions to globalization I have conducted a netnographic study. Netnography is defined as a “...qualitative research methodology that adapts ethnographic research techniques to the study of cultures and communities emerging through computer-mediated communications. As a marketing research technique, “netnography” uses the information publicly available in online forums to identify and understand the needs and decision influences of relevant online consumer groups.” (Kozinets, 2002, p. 2)

I have opted for this method not only because it is less costly and time-consuming than other methods, such as focus groups or personal interviews, but mainly because it is unobtrusive and allows for observation of naturally occurring discussions which, in my view, offer more insights as they are spontaneously formulated. Moreover, online forums provide an environment of anonymity to certain extent and hence the users are prompted to formulate their opinions almost without restraints. Even if the users know each other, they, in my opinion, still tend to express themselves more openly than if they were confronted with each other face-to-face. Also, they have more time to better organize their arguments before stating them.

Since it is based on ethnography it is reasonable to first take a closer look on specifics of ethnography. Ethnography is an anthropological method based on the study of the distinctive meanings, practices and artifacts which are specific for certain social groups. It requires participation and observation in particular cultural arenas where the researcher must employ his reflexivity.

Common ethnographic procedures are (Kozinets, 2002):

- Making cultural entrée
- Gathering and analyzing data
- Ensuring trustworthy interpretation

- Conducting ethical research
- Providing opportunities for culture member feedback.

These procedures have to be, however, adjusted to specificities of networked computing. Therefore, I further provide a general description of the steps and procedures involved in conducting “netnography”.

Entrée involves two initial steps. Firstly, specific research question needs to be defined and then with regards to this definition particular online forums have to be identified. Secondly, entrée requires learning as much as possible about the forums, the groups, and the individual participants.

Kozinets suggests (*The Field Behind the Screen: Using Netnography for Marketing Research in Online Communities*, 2002) that there are at least five different types of online community which may provide useful for “netnography”. First are boards, which function as electronic bulletin boards. They are also called newsgroups, usegroups, or usenet groups. These are often organized around particular products, services or lifestyles. Second are independent web-pages as well as web-rings composed of thematically linked World Wide Web pages. Third are lists, which are e-mail mailing lists united by common themes (e.g., art, diet, music, professions, toys, educational services, hobbies). Finally, multi-user dungeons and chat rooms tend to be considerably less market-oriented in their focus, containing information that is often fantasy-oriented, social, sexual and relational in nature (Kozinets, 2002).

Generally, online communities should be preferred with (Kozinets, 2002):

- A more focused and research question relevant segment, topic or group,
- Higher “traffic” of postings,
- Larger numbers of discrete message posters,
- More detailed or descriptively rich data, and
- More between-member interactions of the type required by the research question.

After the online communities have been chosen the second netnographic procedure, that is, data collection and analysis commences. This data collection has two important elements (Kozinets, 2002):

- The data that the researcher directly copies from the online community
- The data that the researcher inscribes regarding his/her observations of the community, its members, interactions and meanings.

In this sense, “netnography” brings several benefits. Firstly, it allows for a nearly automatic transcription of downloaded documents. Secondly, search costs are much lower than in the case of face-to-face ethnography because data is often plentiful and easy to obtain. It is, however, important to choose which data to save and which to pursue. This should be guided by the research question and available resources (Kozinets, 2002).

It makes sense to classify the messages as primarily social or primarily informational, and also as primarily on-topic or primarily off-topic (where the topic is the research question of

interest). Obviously, the primarily informational and primarily on-topic messages will be the most insightful.

The posters of online messages may also be categorized. Kozinets (1999) suggests following classification on “tourists” who lack strong social ties and deep interest in the activity (they often post casual questions), “minglers” who have strong social ties but minimal interest in the consumption activity, “devotees” who have strong consumption interests, but few attachments to the online group, and finally, “insiders” who have strong ties to the online group and to the consumption activity, and tend to be long-standing and frequently referenced members. Focus should be on “devotees” and “insiders”.

It is further recommended to write field notes. In these field notes, “netnographers” should record their own observations regarding subtexts, pretexts, contingencies, conditions and personal emotions occurring during the research.

In the data analysis the netnographer must contextualize the online data and must be aware that he is analyzing the content of an online community’s communicative acts rather than the complete set of observed acts of consumers in a particular community to ensure trustworthy interpretation (Kozinets, 2002). “Netnography” must recontextualize conversational acts because the characteristics of conversation in “netnography” are very different than they are in traditional ethnography: they occur through computer mediation, are publicly available, generated in written text form, and the identities of conversants are much more difficult to discern. However, triangulation of “netnographic” data with data collected using other methods, such as in interviews, focus groups, surveys, or traditional in-person ethnographies may be useful.

One of the most important differences between traditional ethnography and “netnography” may concern issues of research ethics. “Netnographer” should consider and follow ethical guidelines. There are two important ethical concerns over “netnography”:

- Are online forums to be considered a private or a public site?
- What constitutes “informed consent” in cyberspace?

A clear consensus on these issues, and therefore on ethically appropriate procedures for “netnography,” has not emerged (Kozinets, 2002). Kozinets (The Field Behind the Screen: Using Netnography for Marketing Research in Online Communities, 2002), however, recommends following procedures:

- The researcher should fully disclose his/her presence, affiliations and intentions to online community members during any research
- The researchers should ensure confidentiality and anonymity to informants
- The researcher should seek and incorporate feedback from members of the online community being researched.

Final “netnographic” procedure refers to member checks whereby some or all of a final research report’s findings are presented to the people who have been studied in order to solicit their comments.

I have defined following research questions for my netnographic study:

- Are we able to observe reactions to globalization that would suggest emergence of traditionalism?
- If yes, how does it interact with our modernist worldview and realities of our local context?

As a focus group for my study I chose consumers of beer. Beer brewing has a long tradition in the Czech Republic as a result of which it attained a prominent role of a national drink in minds of Czech people. Czechs' emotional relationship to their beer is considered so strong that it is often referred to as beer patriotism. I will explain the phenomenon of beer patriotism closer in the situational analysis. The beer industry in the Czech Republic has, however, undertaken important changes with the demise of communism and arrival of globalization. Specifically, major breweries including national icon, Plzensky Prazdroj, were sold to foreign companies which brought in modern technology to improve efficiency and capacity of production. At the same time companies invested into marketing to boost sales and profits. This penetration of capitalism ruled by the "cold" logic of profit into an industry formerly marked and dominated by tradition creates, in my view, an interesting case for exploring potential occurrence of traditionalism under massive expansion of capitalism.

To study whether such emergence is observable I have decided to follow discussions of a group of consumers who are not only enthusiastic and devoted to beer drinking but also possess a good knowledge about beers and brewing. In my opinion, this type of consumers work as predictors of possible future changes of consumer behavior on a larger scale because their deep interest in the consumption of a given commodity motivates them to interpret their consumption experiences and to provide guidance for others.

In this sense, I found a suitable community at the website <http://forum.lide.cz> under the subcategory Beer which can be found in the category Alcohol, under Drinks, under Drink, Food and Cooking, under Interests and hobbies. I chose the forum because it includes large number of posts (9143) which span a period of almost three years (from 17.12.09 to 24.08.12). At first glance, the data also seemed to be descriptively rich. It contains a group of approximately fifteen insiders, that is. It also contains many devotees who stay on the forum for only couple of months and then leave or contribute only occasionally. Finally, there are many who just come and go with specific queries. Posters are mainly male, although there are two women in the core group of insiders. The age of the members ranges between 20 to 40 years. On average there are between 5 to 10 new posts posted each day.

First, I have scanned through the majority of posts. I specifically looked for posts from insiders and devotees which were relevant to my research question. I downloaded 351 posts which spanned from December 18, 2009 to May 5, 2012. All of these posts were translated and thoroughly read. Afterwards, I have created four categories, namely interpretation of globalization, that is, how members perceive the acquisitions of local breweries and their modernization; reactions to globalization; posts indicating the worldview that underlies the interpretation and reactions; influence of local context. Based on this categorization some of the downloaded posts were filtered away and I eventually managed to categorize 117 posts from 35 distinct members. These posts were then further interpreted with relation to the

theoretical concepts defined in the theoretical part. I have ensured confidentiality and anonymity to informants. Member checks were not conducted due to time constraints.

## **6. Analysis of local context**

Before I delve into the netnographic study I would like to first put the study into context of Czech social and economic environment because realities of our local context also determine our interpretation and reactions to globalization. In terms of the social environment, I aim to explain the importance of beer in the Czech society. Specifically, I will explore the alleged beer patriotism. With regards to the economic environment, I want to describe how the beer industry was affected by globalization.

Thus, by conducting the analysis of local context I pursue two goals. Firstly, by examining the beer patriotism I want to avoid potential misinterpretation of messages collected in the online forum which could occur in case I didn't understand this phenomenon properly. Secondly, by analyzing the economic context I want to define which global flows are relevant in terms of Czech beer industry so that I can filter relevant messages during the collection of data.

### **6.1. Social context**

“If we have something that is in today's cosmopolitan age typically Czech, that influenced us, molded us and helped us to become aware of the national identity, it was and is our beer. Therefore, the relation between Czech culture and beer is an obvious and logical bond that we cannot marginalize.” says Jan Veselý from the Union of Czech breweries. The previous quote gives one a sense of what may be the significance of beer in the Czech society.

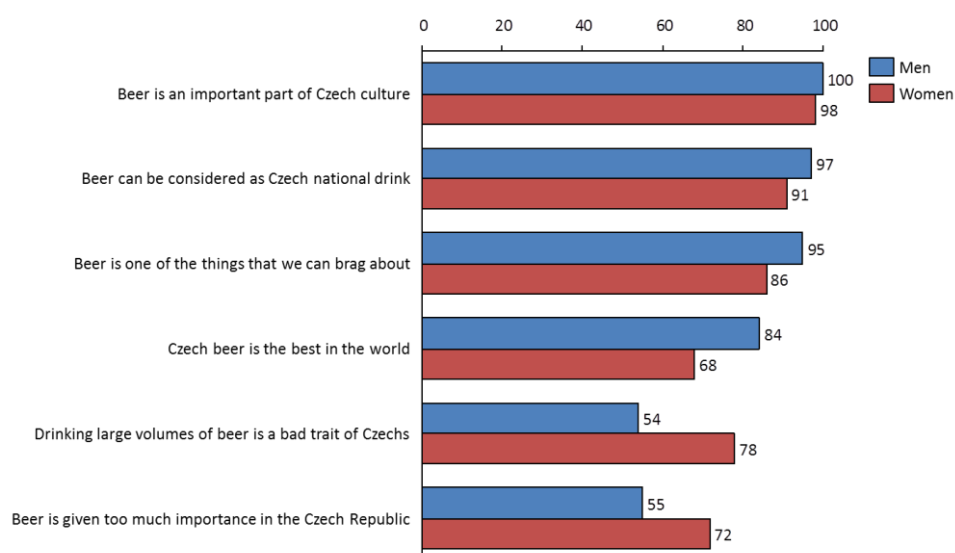
As one may assume, beer production has a very long history in the Czech lands. The beginnings of hop cultivation and beer production reach back to the onset of second millennium. Both climate changes and early laid scientific basis for brewing craft caused beer to gain a dominant position in the Czech lands and to become a national drink by 15<sup>th</sup> century. According to Vinopal (Fenomén pivního patriotismu v české společnosti, 2005) Czech beer then became a national symbol between 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. Social meaning of beer drinking is tightly intertwined with taverns. However, whereas beer was well received by the society, taverns were perceived as causes of family distress and misery (Ryšavá, 1997). However, this perception took a new turn with the arrival of the Czech National Revival during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. In this period taverns together with beer became indispensable parts of the nationalistic efforts. Beer was important mainly in symbolic terms as a constitutional feature of nationalistic ideology (Rak, 1997) whereas taverns played a role of platforms for further development and sharing of the ideology (Macura, Hospoda v české vlastenecké kultuře, 1997). Vinopal (Fenomén pivního patriotismu v české společnosti, 2005), for example, suggests that nationalistic songbooks used beer for nationalistic goals. However, as of the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century reverence of beer and taverns started to be perceived as an expression of Czech weakness and undevelopedness. The shame that Czechs do not have any other developed culture than the pub culture prompted literature to caricature Czech land as a land where activity was dissolved in beer (Macura, Hospoda v české vlastenecké kultuře,

1997). Beer drinking stopped being viewed as an attribute of a patriot, but of an average Joe (Rak, 1997). In the following periods the relationship towards beer cooled off and beer attained a position of regular drink (Vinopal, 2005). Vinopal (Fenoménu pivního patriotismu v české společnosti, 2005), however, argues that despite that fact, beer has managed to keep all the former labels (e.g. reminiscence of national drink).

The long and rich tradition of beer in the Czech history is a source of beer patriotism which is often ascribed to Czechs. “Czechs are convinced that beer is a Czech national drink and that Czech beer is even the best in the world.” (Vinopal, 2005)

In general, such conviction is also reflected in results of sociological research. The following figure presents results of a survey conducted among 1066 respondent older than 18 years by the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.

**Figure 3: Consent with statements about Czech beer and relationship of Czechs towards it among men and women in 2007 (states percentage of affirmatives, that is, definitely + rather agree)**



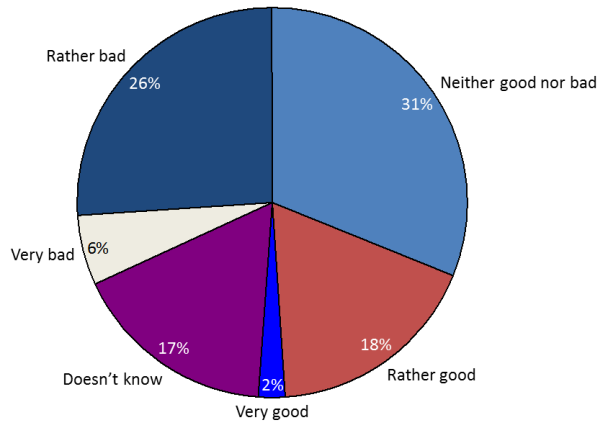
Source: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, v.v.i., Naše společnost 09/2007

The results suggest two things. On one hand, Czechs have very idealized perception about their beer. Almost all of them see it as an important part of Czech culture which attains a position of a national drink. Also, a great majority takes pride in beer and perceives it as the best in the world. On the other hand, Czechs have negative attitudes towards high consumption of beer and its prominence in the Czech Republic. This is quite interesting contradiction for one would expect a nation that sees itself to be culturally and historically intertwined with beer to have only mild objections towards high consumption of beer.

If we further explore how the beer patriotism affects Czechs' attitudes, we learn that it is also not significantly present in their attitudes towards the import of foreign brands. Looking at the following figure we learn that only third of the respondents see the import of foreign brands

as a bad thing. This can be, however, partly explained by the fact that foreign brands constitute only a tiny fraction of the beer market (approximately 5% of total volume sales).

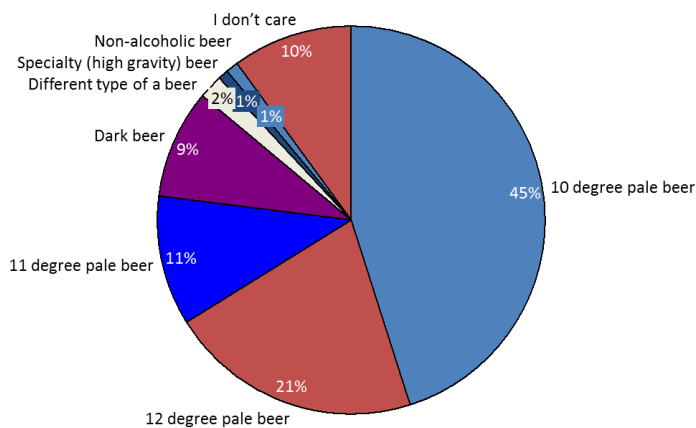
**Figure 4: Attitude towards the import of foreign brands to the Czech Republic (898 respondents; >18yo)**



Source: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, Naše společnost 09/2006

Nevertheless, Czech beer patriotism can be strongly observed in consumer behavior. Specifically, Czechs drink practically only bottom fermented beer of the pilsner type. The figure 5 suggests that Czech consumers do not experiment much and are loyal to one type of a beer (pale beer).

**Figure 5: Popularity of beer types in 2006 (898 respondents; >18yo)**



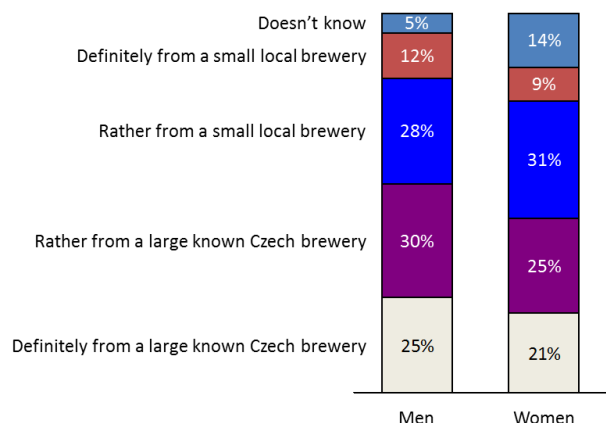
Source: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, Naše společnost 09/2006

So far, I have been discussing only general beer patriotism. However, it is also reasonable to explore local beer patriotism. The local beer patriotism can be analyzed in two dimensions, that is, loyalty to a specific brand and loyalty to a beer from the local region.

With regards to loyalty to a brand, the following figure depicts reactions of consumers to a hypothetical situation when they are on holiday in a different part of the Czech Republic than they live and are confronted with a choice between beers either from a large known Czech brewery or a small local unknown brewery. The fact that a significant percentage of both men

(49%) and women (40%) would opt for the known brand indicates a notable significance of conservatism. One may expect that this conservatism then leads to loyalty to a specific brand.

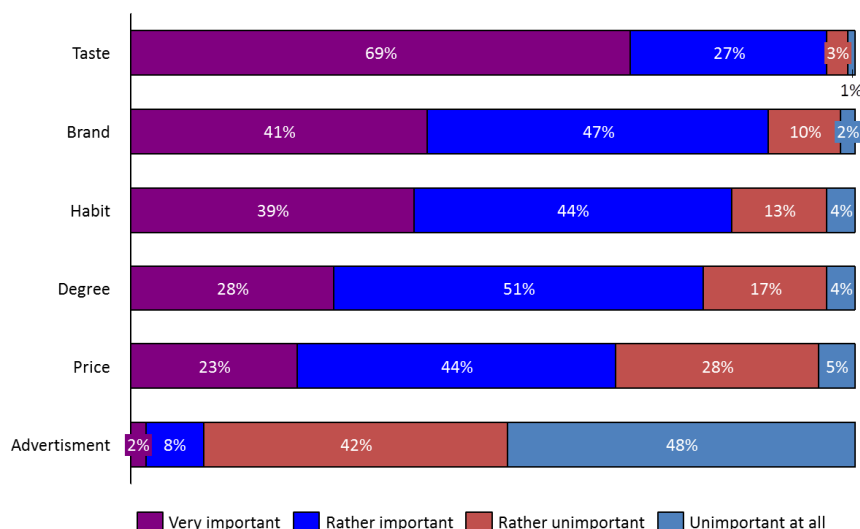
**Figure 6: Choice between known and unknown beer among men and women in 2007 (1066 respondents – drink beer at least occasionally; >18yo)**



Source: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, v.v.i., Naše společnost 09/2007.

The conservatism can be explained by the fact that habit is an important decision criterion for Czech consumers when choosing a beer as is shown on the figures 7 and 8. Although the information merit of the results is limited by the fact that they do not truly represent the real consumer behavior because they are skewed by consumers' perceptions about their own decision making, the mere fact that consumers marked habit as an important aspect for them further substantiates the notion of conservatism among Czech beer drinkers. This conservatism in combination with importance of a brand for consumers then creates loyalty.

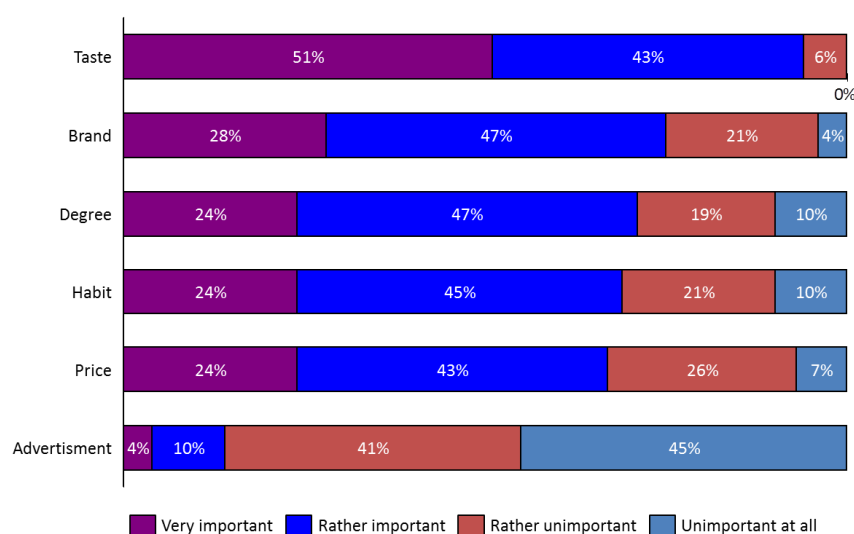
**Figure 7: Importance of aspects of choosing a beer for men in 2007**



Source: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, v.v.i., Naše společnost 09/2007.



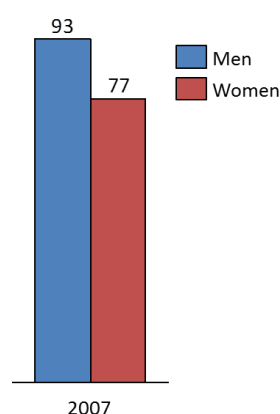
**Figure 8: Importance of aspects of choosing a beer for women in 2007**



Source: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, v.v.i., Naše společnost 09/2007.

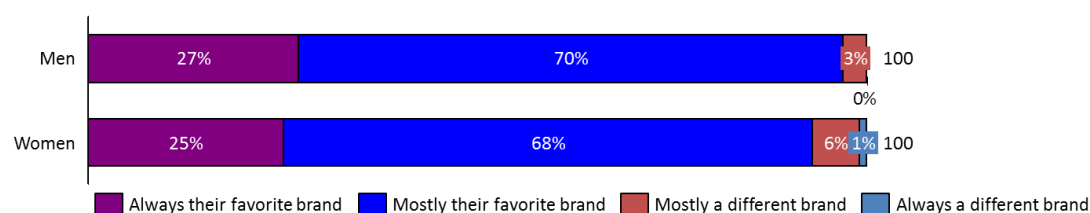
The figures 9 and 10 show that not only almost all men and three quarters of women have their favorite brands but they are also very loyal to these brands.

**Figure 9: Percentage of people who consider certain brand as their favorite in 2007**



Source: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, v.v.i., Naše společnost 09/2007

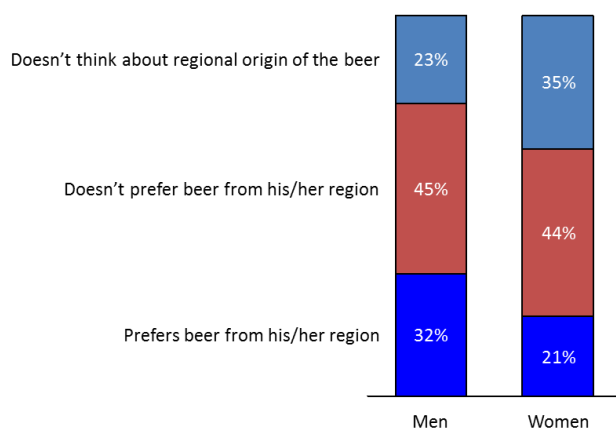
**Figure 10: Loyalty to the favorite brand among men and women in 2007**



Source: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, v.v.i., Naše společnost 09/2007

As for the loyalty to a local region figure 11 indicates that the loyalty to a region is significantly lower than the loyalty to a brand.

**Figure 11: Choice of beer produced in a region in 2007**



Source: CVVM SOÚ AV ČR, v.v.i., Naše společnost 09/2007

To conclude, the research shows that both Czech men and women are very patriotic when it comes to general perceptions about Czech beer. The beer patriotism is further observable in consumption of beer. On a general level, the patriotism is reflected in the fact that consumers largely prefer only one type of a beer, that is, bottom fermented beer of the pilsner type. On the local level, we can observe conservatism of consumers and preference for certain brands which lead to loyalty to brands. Loyalty to regional beers is not that obvious.

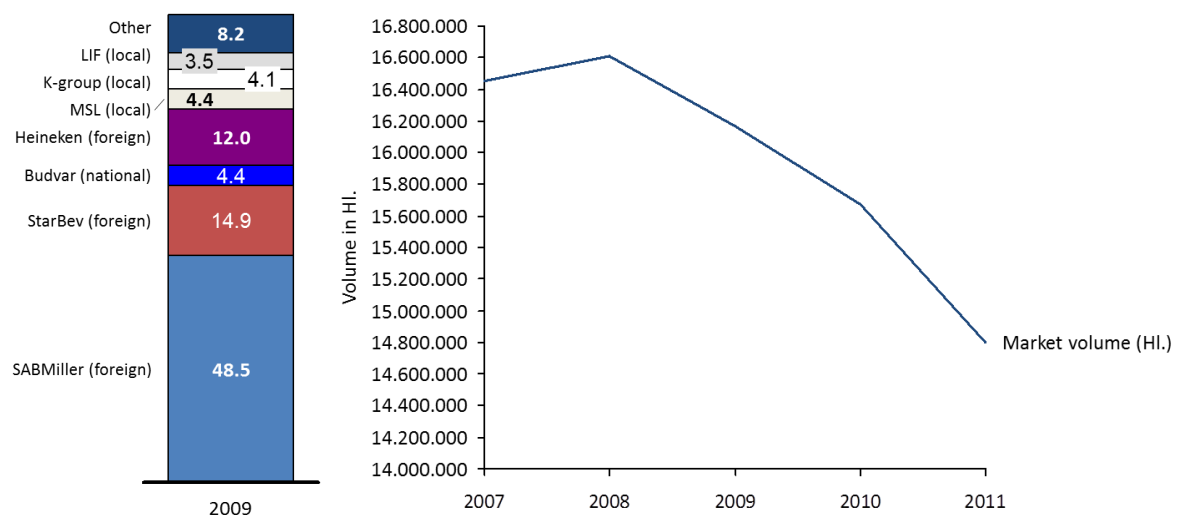
## 6.2. Economic context

In terms of globalization, the beer industry in the Czech Republic was affected mainly by global consolidation of the beer industry, that is, acquisitions. The entry of foreign capital into The Czech Republic started in 1993 and within a decade all the major breweries were sold to foreign investors. Figure 12 gives a snapshot of the competitive structure of the Czech beer industry. Foreign companies control now three quarters of the Czech beer market and all the major brands. SABMiller, the second largest brewery in the world, owns Plzeňský Prazdroj and with it the bestselling brands, such as Pilsner Urquell, Gambrinus, Radegast, Velkopopovický Kozel, etc. Starbev is the 21<sup>st</sup> largest brewery in the world and in the Czech Republic owns Staropramen, Braník and Ostravar. Heineken is the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest brewery in the world and in the Czech Republic sells mainly Starobrno, Zlatopramen, and Krušovice. The influx of foreign capital was also accompanied by a substantial modernization of breweries and investments into marketing. Jan Vesely, chairman of the Czech Beer and Malt Association, comments in an interview: "When our modern history of Czech brewing started, in 1990, the technical level of equipment was extremely poor. During the forty years of Communism, practically no investment went into brewing and malting, mainly brewing. In 1990, fifteen years ago, some beers were produced in wooden vessels. Open vessels in main fermentation and maturation in wooden casts." (Veselý, Czech beer better, not worse thanks to foreign investment, 2004) "That was the first feature, the very bad technical shape. The

second factor was that distribution of beer was not sales, it was not a commercial activity, it was not marketing. It was just basic distribution.” (Veselý, Toasting three decades in brewing: beer and malt association director Jan Veselý, 2011)

Especially, in the last five years when market has been declining, breweries had to focus on increasing both efficiency and marketing efforts. However, as the Czech consumers are very conservative, the market has not seen significant innovations until the last year when Staropramen introduced radler. After the success of Staropramen’s radler, the market has started taking a new turn this year and other new products have been introduced. Not only other major breweries introduced their radlers but also new types of beer were introduced on a large scale (e.g. wheat beer Fénix from Plzensky Prazdroj).

**Figure 12: Volume shares of breweries and market volume sales in the Czech Republic**



Source: Český Svaz Pivovarů a Sladoven, Plzeňský Prazdroj, a.s.

## 7. Netnography

### 7.1. Interpretation of globalization

In the netnographic study I first analyze the general interpretation of globalization, that is, what the members of the online community think about acquisition of big breweries by foreign capital and their consequent modernization. Secondly, I explore how the members, based on this perception, react to globalization. Understanding the perception and consequent reactions to globalization will give me a clue whether it makes sense to further look for indications of traditionalist worldview in the second step of my analysis.

The netnographic study that I have conducted has indicated that the members interpret globalization of the Czech beer market very negatively. Specifically, the perceptions are constituted by a strong stand against breweries owned by foreign capital and this stand is best represented on the following thread. The thread concerns one of the novelties introduced by Krušovice, brewery owned by Heineken. This novelty has supposedly received good feedbacks from beer drinkers and one of the users, Tobik.Michy, asks for the opinion of the

members. It is interesting that he is approaching the group with an expectation of negative opinions “*I know that no one drinks Krušovice here*”. Krušovice is a mainstream brand with high sales and is precisely the type of a beer that members of the forum dislike. I will elaborate on the reasons of such dislike gradually throughout this part. For now, I just want to show that members’ opinion about beers produced by breweries owned by foreign capital is a priori negative. The opinion Tobik.Michy is getting for his query is that the users wouldn’t try it from principle. The beer may be getting good reviews but members do not seem to care as if they distrusted the company. This case is also specific by the fact that the company itself launched a big campaign together with the introduction of the beer where it claimed that the beer tasted as before. In this way the company itself is making an implicit suggestion that the beer tasted better in the past. The user Mauler.Milan picks up on this claim and expresses his doubt that the company would start caring about the consumer all of sudden. In his comment we can also see that he associates caring about the consumer with making beer as before. Only the user da.Rock counters with an opinion that it is nonsense not to give it a chance. At the same time, however, he concedes that resistance towards global brands, in this case Heineken, is justified and conditions the liking of the beer by its honesty, that is, that it is genuinely produced as in the past “...*non-diluted, non-pasteurized, non-accelerated and non-counterfeited...*” It is also striking that he relates the beer to a global brand, although it is locally produced and has a local name with a long history. It appears that the mere fact that a local brewery is owned by foreign capital causes the consumers to perceive its products as global. Finally, the last comment by Jura.Indra sheds a light on the hostility to foreign owned breweries. He suggests that they spoiled everything around.



**Tobik.Michy** - 06.05.10 21:12:31

#### **Krušovice 10 tka**

Měli jste tohle nové pivo?? Vím že Krušovice tady asi nikdo nepije, ale tohle nové pivo je docela kvalitní a není jako ostatní piva z Krušovic. 😊

*Translation: Have you had this new beer?? I know that no one drinks Krušovice here but this beer is quite good-quality and not like other beers from Krušovice. 😊*



**michalbre** - 07.05.10 08:45:37

#### **RE: Krušovice 10...**

Možná to časem ochutnam, ale jenom abych zjistil, jestli se (podle mě) ta největší sračka v zemi fakt změnila k lepšímu. Jinak tohle už z principu pít nechci, nebudu sypat prachy do kapes zkurvenc\*m z Heinekenu.

*Translation: I may try it in time but only to find out whether the biggest cr\*p in the country (in my view) has really changed for the better. Otherwise **I don't want to drink this only from principle, I won't pour money into pockets of sons of b\*tches from Heineken.***



**Mauler.Milan** - 07.05.10 10:16:19

**RE: Krušovice...**

Četl jsem na to samou chválu, ale nechce se mi tomu věřit (desítka jako dřív tomu se dá těžko věřit, proč by to Heineken dělal na spotřebiteli mu přeci nezáleží)... Jak říkáš z principu se mi do toho nechce... Ale, zkusím to... taktéž ten Malvaz.

*Translation: I've read only praise on it but I cannot believe that (ten as before – one can hardly believe that, why would Heineken do that, they do not care about consumer)... As you said I am not keen on doing it from principle ... But, I will try... the Malvaz, too.*



**1500dm** - 07.05.10 12:33:03

**RE: Krušovice....**

Já to z principu ani nezkusím, jelikož jsem si řekl, že poslední koruna, kterou jsem tímto zmrď\*em dal, byla za poslední Louny.

*Translation: I won't even try it from principle because I told myself that the last crown that I paid to these f\*ckers was for the last Louny.*



**da.Rock** - 07.05.10 13:11:24

**RE: Krušovice.....**

To je přece nesmysl. Když to bude poctivé pivo, neředěné, nepasterované, neurychlované a nešizené, tak ať to vaří třeba Bill Gates v Silicon Valley. Ta nechuť ke globálním značkám je sice pochopitelná, ale neměla by se měnit ve fanatismus. Nedávno na pivnim.info o tomto pivu vyšla recenze a rozhodně nedopadlo nejhůř.

*Translation: That's nonsense. If it is honest beer, non-diluted, non-pasteurized, non-accelerated and non-counterfeited then may it be brewed by Bill Gates in Silicon Valley. The disgust towards global brands is comprehensible but it should turn into fanaticism. Recently there was a review of this beer issued at pivni.info and it didn't fare the worst.*



**Jura.Indra** - 07.05.10 15:07:57

**RE: Krušovice.....**

Tady nejde o krušovickou desítku. Tady jde o to, jak zrpznili všechno okolo.

*Translation: Here it is not about krušovice ten. Here it is about how they spoiled everything around.*

### 7.1.1. Capitalism and its rationality

What is meant by spoiling everything around, we can learn in several other discussions in the internet forum. Mainly, it is associated with modernization of the production and consequent decrease in perceived quality. In the following excerpt the user da.Rock refutes hectolitre's claim that the quality of big brands is low because of high production volumes and explicitly names the technologies that negatively affect the quality of beer and are associated with the entry of foreign companies into the Czech beer market. His comment also partially reveals the

possible reason for distrust towards foreign owned breweries uncovered by previous posts as he points to economic reasons. Especially, in connection with his following comment indicating a feeling of nostalgia for the taste of beer during communism, we may understand his blame of economic reasons as a blame of the penetration of capitalism into the beer industry. Specifically, his comment appears to be referring to perceived rationality of capitalism demonstrated by adoption of modern technologies which bring in the efficiency (see footnotes).



**hectolitre** - 12.01.11 20:12:25

**Kvituju**

Kvituju (vyjma té poslední věty :-)

Kvalita a kvantita se prostě obtížně slučují.

*Translation:*

*I acknowledge that (except for the last sentence ☺) Quality and quantity hardly go hand in hand.*



**da.Rock** - 12.01.11 20:54:13

**RE: Kvituju**

To není až tak docela pravda. Naše pivovary, přestože byly dost velké už před privatizací, tak dokázaly vařit dobré pivo. Plzeň bývala výborná, Radegast taky, Krušovice byly super. Pak přišli zahraniční vlastníci a z ekonomických důvodů se zavedly nové technologie - CKT, HGB, pasterizace, chmelové extrakty, náhražky sladu... a kvalita šla dolů.

*Translation: That is not entirely true. Our breweries, even though they were quite big before privatization, were able to brew a good beer. Pilsner used to be great, Radegast, too. Krušovice were perfect. **Then the foreign owners came and due to economic reasons implemented new technologies – CKT<sup>14</sup>, HGB<sup>15</sup>, pasteurization, hops extracts, malt substitutes...and the quality went down.***



**hectolitre** - 13.01.11 20:21:34

**RE: Kvituju**

No jo... Jenže já pil před privatizací jen sodovku, \*'79 😊

Krušky vůbec nemůžu, jednou za uherák je zkusím, ale dycky mě po nich ráno bolí hlava.

*Translation: Well...But I drank only soda before privatization. \*'79 😊 I cannot Krušky at all, I try them once in a blue moon but I have always headache the next morning.*

<sup>14</sup> Cylindrical tanks used instead of open vats in the cellars to accelerate lagering (A period following or including fermentation in which the temperature of the beer is slowly reduced, which helps to reduce the harsher secondary products of fermentation, while clarifying and mellowing the beer.)

<sup>15</sup> High Gravity Brewing, a technique that allows brewing a larger end-batch volume without buying larger fermentation equipment. A higher specific gravity beer (strong beer) is first fermented and then blended with water to create a lower alcohol beer with less final gravity than the originally fermented beverage.



da.Rock - 15.01.11 00:51:14

**RE: Kvituju**

Tak to já mám částečnou výhodu, že si pamatuju, jak chutnalo to pivo kdysi, ještě za komančů a krátce po revoluci.

Třeba Plzeň 10°, to bývalo pivko! To už nevaří dobrých dvacet let.

*Translation: Then I have a partial advantage that **I remember how beer tasted during communism** and short after the revolution. For example, **Pilsner 10° that used to be some beer!** They don't brew it for good 20 years.*

This perception of capitalism and its rationality as being harmful to the Czech beer industry can be also found among other users. When da.Rock poses a rethorical question how someone could manage to spoil such great beer as Prazdroj used to be, the answer from other users is straightforward, capitalism. The user 1500dm then argues that the rationality of capitalism justifies use of modern technologies at all events and therefore not even such a great beer as Pilsner could stay unaffected. This rationalization of the production may be then viewed as a production of a beer that is not honest as was suggested by the first excerpt that I have discussed where the user da.Rock claims that an honest beer is a beer produced as in the past. This perception that breweries that succumb to the rationality of capitalism, i.e. modernization, do not produce an honest beer may then cause the members to see such breweries as not trustful.



da.Rock - 19.01.10 21:28:14

**RE: Zdravím...**

Já doufám, že minimálně HGB Prazdroj nepoužívá, jelikož dělá pouze 12° ležák, takže by to bylo zbytečné. To má opodstatnění tam, kde se dělá více piv o různé stupňovitosti.

Ale je fakt, že nechápu, jak se mohlo někomu za 20 let podařit zničit tak výborné pivo, jakým Prazdroj býval.

*Translation: **I hope that Prazdroj isn't using HGB** at least because they make only 12°lager so that it would be useless. It has justification where there are more beers of different grading. In fact, **I don't understand how someone could manage to spoil such great beer as Prazdroj used to be.***



Egyptan.Sinuhet 🏆 - 19.01.10 23:14:09

**RE: Zdravím...**

Já to chápu - kapitalizmus! Ať mi někdo neříká, že je lepší než komunisti... Moje babička má zlaté heslo:

"Ti by si mohli z jedné prdele připíjet a z druhé nalévat!" 😡😡

**I understand that – capitalism!** Don't tell me that it is better than comunism... My grannie has a golden maxim: "They could toast from one butt and pour from the other one!" 😡😡





1500dm - 20.01.10 10:41:03

**RE: Zdravím...**

Tak to doufáš marně. Ono to má u těchto ekonomů opodstatnění i u jednoho druhu piva. Protože když na varně uvaříš pivo na větší stupňovitost, pak to šlahneš do CKT a posléze doředeš vodou, tak výrazně ušetříš, jak místem tak energií. Jo a Plzeň není 12° ale ředí se na 11°.

*Translation: Your hope is in vain. Those economists justify it even with one sort of beer. Because if you brew a beer in a brew kettle at a higher degree then toss it into CKT and afterwards dilute with water, you will save significantly both on space and utility bills. And Pilsner is not 12° but is diluted to 11°.*

### 7.1.2. Eurobeer

To describe a beer that is produced by these untrustful breweries the group uses a pejorative – “eurobeer”. In the following discussion Michalbre also makes an important distinction between eurobeers and other beers. He emphasizes that eurobeers have to be produced. Therefore, he is implicitly drawing a line between brewing and producing. The emphasis on the word producing suggests, in my view, certain perception of commodification of eurobeer. Eurobeer is then seen just as mere product without any sentimental value, commodity sold for profit. Brewing, on the other hand, evokes tradition. Moreover, the term eurobeer also seems to be used to express the perception that even though the beers are produced locally, they are seen as global because of the foreign ownership.



plom - 02.02.10 00:38:36

**Europivo**

O nicem jinym se v podstate nebavime, ale ktery piva to jsou?  
Coz takhle udelat seznam? Nebo to jsou vsechny velke pivovary s vystavem nad x tis. hl?

*Translation:*

**Eurobeer...**

*We don't talk about anything else basically but which beers are these? What about doing a list? Or are those all big breweries with production over x thousand Hl?*



da.Rock - 02.02.10 08:29:05

**RE: Europivo**

Já myslím, že ono to do značné míry souvisí, protože ty velké pivovary jsou z ekonomických důvodů nuceny šetřit a zároveň stále zvyšovat produkci, což znamená třeba zrychlovat výrobu (CKT, HGB) a zároveň využívat pasterizaci, aby mohly v dobách nižšího odběru vyrábět zásoby pro dobu vysokého odběru.

*Translation: I think it is to large extent related because the big breweries are forced to save from economic reasons and at the same time to increase*



*production* which means, for example, accelerating production (CKT, HGB) and simultaneously utilizing pasteurization in order to produce to stock in times of lower demand.



**michalbre** - 02.02.10 11:34:16

**RE: Europivo**

Spíš nad mega ročně, to se nedá vařit klaasicky, to se už musí "vyrábět" a různě urychlovat, specialitkama jako právě HGB, CKT 🙄🙄

*Translation: Over a million a year rather, it cannot be brewed traditionally, it must be "produced" and accelerated in various ways such as precisely HGB, CKT 🙄🙄*

They further use the pejorative in other iterations, such as "eurosewage" and "eurochemical", to better express their perception of beer produced by big breweries owned by foreign capital.

Not even the national icon Plzensky Prazdroj escapes the belittling label. When discussing Lobkowicz which was at that time a new premium beer (in terms of the price) introduced by K-brewery trade, a company that is not owned by foreign capital., da.Rock makes a comment about Pilsner where he suggests that it has become a eurobeer. Lobkowicz, which emphasizes nonuse of HGB, hop extract and other non-traditional methods, is then considered by da.Rock to be reminiscent of the old and much better Pilsner. The user vterina.vecnosti uses even stronger term, i.e. euro-sewage, to describe production in Pilsen.



**da.Rock** - 31.01.10 15:27:36

**RE: Lobkowicz**

Jsem téhož názoru. Připomíná mi Plzeň. Tedy ne to současné europivo, ale starou Plzeň, jak chutnala před 15-20 lety.

*Translation: I am of the same opinion. It reminds me of Pilsner. Not the current eurobeer but the old Pilsner the way it tasted 15-20 years ago.*



**vterina.vecnosti** - 24.04.11 21:05:30

**RE: Ohrožují polské...**

...piji svá krajová piva, jedenáctky Litovel a Poličku, když je nejhůř polknu Zubra i Holbu, dvanáctka Primátor je taky nadstandard, až na ten maltézový sirup, který cítím mimo Primátora i v Zubrovi, ale jinak jsou to všechno nadstandardní piva s ohledem na euro-močkovitou produkci z Plzně....

*Translation: ...I drink my regional beer, 11° Litovel and Polička, when worse comes to worst I swallow Zubr and even Holba, 12° Primátor is above-standard, except for the maltez syrup which I sense apart from Primátor also in Zubr. But otherwise these are all above standard beers with regards to the euro-sewage production in Pilsen...*

It also seems that the label eurobeer is used because it evokes certain homogeneity of the production of the big breweries. In the following messages the users use the adjective homogenous either directly with the pejorative eurobeer or with the indirect reference to eurobeer, i.e. “*beer from a giant corporation*”. This confirms the finding about eurobeer being perceived as a commodity since it is a feature of a commodity that it is homogenous, not distinctive.



da.Rock - 26.04.11 17:09:03

**RE: Ohrožují...**

Bernard už mi chutnat přestal. Jednak mám pocit, že je čím dál tím podobnější unifikovaným europivům a druhak mi vadí ta kovová pachut', co tam poslední dobou cítím.

*Translation: I don't like Bernard anymore. On one hand, I have a feeling that it is still more similar to the homogenous eurobeers and on the other hand, I mind that metal aftertaste that I have been sensing there lately.*



kahn - 18.07.11 10:08:03

**Kde sehnat?**

Ahoj, chtěl bych se zeptat, dá se sehnat někde v supermarketu pivo Becks a Carlsberg?...zatím sem je totiž nikde neviděl a rád bych je ochutnal...Děkuji

*Translation: Hello, I wanted to ask if it is possible to get Becks or Carlsberg beer somewhere in a supermarket...I haven't seen them yet and I would like to try them...Thanks*



Mauler.Milan - 19.07.11 12:38:14

**RE: Kde sehnat?**

Je to obyčejné unifikované pivo z obří korporace...

S velkou reklamou...

Co více k tomu říci...Nyní jde pouze o značku a vaření ve velkém...A pokud dovedou někomu namluvit, že se jedná o nejlepší pivo na světě -umí v tom prostě chodit...

Navíc Dánské pivo...že,by bylo nejlepší na světě...

*Translation: It is a regular homogenous beer from a giant corporation...With big advertising...What else to say...Today it is all about a brand and brewing in bulk...And if they are able to convince someone that it is the best brand in the world – they know the ropes...On top of that...Dannish beer should be the best in the world?*

### 7.1.3. Marketing

The last quote also suggests that for the members one of the indications of eurobeer is the level of advertising. Especially, Mauler.Milan's comment that “*today it is all about a brand*

*and brewing in bulk*” aptly synthesizes two aspects that the users perceive as negative with regards to production of eurobeers. On the one hand, there is the “*brewing in bulk*” which symbolizes the rationality of capitalism, that is, focus on the efficiency and the volume increase. On the other hand, there is the “*brand*” which symbolizes marketing. The continuum of the development of beer industry has then two discrete poles in minds of the consumers, that is, the past which was symbolized by an honest beer and the present which is symbolized by economic rationality and marketing which pushed away the honesty. I have already suggested that economic rationality is one of the sources of distrust to big breweries. The second source is, in my view, the marketing. In the following excerpt from a discussion where users chat about Lobkowicz we may actually spot the influence of both economic rationality and marketing on users. The general attitude of members towards this beer is mediocre. Some of them like it, others find it average. The mediocrity can be explained by the fact that it is not strictly a eurobeer because K-brewery is locally owned and it emphasizes nonuse of HGB, hop extract and other non-traditional methods in the production of Lobkowicz. Jura.Indra’s comment is interesting in two ways. Firstly, he ascribes an attribute typical for eurobeers, i.e. homogeneity to it but he somehow avoids the use of the term eurobeer. Instead, he just notes that the beer reminds him of the artificial beers. I hypothesize that the reason that he doesn’t label it as a eurobeer is that it is locally owned and the company emphasizes absence of certain modern methods in its production. Secondly, he explicitly suggests that advertising is a put off. This is confirmed also by wild.rebeca who would actually like to try the beer but the massive TV campaign deters her. What is, however, truly intriguing is that the user da.Rock does not perceive the campaign to be massive and at the same time he is one of the few who find the beer to be good. This raises a question whether the marketing affects not only the expectations about the quality but also the perceived quality of a beer. It may well be that Jura.Indra finds the taste of the beer to be like the one of eurobeers because he sees the marketing to be as intensive as with eurobeers.



**Jura.Indra** - 19.12.09 22:52:04

**RE: Lobkowicz 12**

Měl jsem teda akorát jednoho lahvátora, ale že by mě to nadchlo, to jako ne-e. Jednak tam není napsáno, kde se to vaří. A chuť byla takové unifikované-jaktojenpopsat... Připomínalo mi to strašně takový ty umělý piva, chuť poměrně výrazná, ale moc moc chudá, slabý dozvuk... Nevím no. Čím větší reklama, tím slabší pivo...

*Translation: I only had one bottle but I cannot say that it moved me. On one hand it doesn't say where it is brewed. And the taste was such homogenously-how to put it...It reminded me of the artificial beers, taste quite strong but too light-bodied, little aftertaste...I don't know. The bigger the advertisement, the worse beer.*



**wild.rebeca** - 31.01.10 13:48:30

**RE: Lobkowicz**

Já kolem něj už několikrát v obchodech váhavě chodila, ale pořád mě od koupě tak nějak vnitřně odrazuje ta jeho masivní reklamní kampaň...

*Translation: I have already passed it hesitantly several times in the shops but I am still internally put off from the purchase by the massive TV campaign...*



da.Rock - 31.01.10 15:28:36

**RE: Lobkowicz**

Ona zas není tak masivní ve srovnání s jinými pivovary (Kozel, Starouš, Radeg...)

*Translation: It **isn't that massive** in comparison with other breweries (Kozel, Starouš (Staropramen), Radeg (Radegast)...)*



da.Rock - 24.01.10 22:22:13

**Už se tu probíral Lobkowicz?**

Podle mě je to dobré pivo, výrazně kvalitnější, než většina současných europiv, i když poměrně drahé. A taky nevím o žádné hospodě, kde by se čepoval, alespoň v Ostravě taková neexistuje. Je to škoda, určitě bych byl za něj ochoten připlatit. Narodil od Prazdroje, za ten už si nikdy připlácet nehodlám...

*Translation:*

***Was Lobkowicz already discussed here?***

***In my opinion, it is a good beer, significantly better in quality than most of current eurobeers, although relatively expensive. Also, I don't know about any pub where it is on a tap, at least not in Ostrava. It's pity, I would be certainly willing to pay extra for it as opposed to Prazdroj which I am not willing to pay extra for...***

The negative perception of advertising deserves a further exploration. Especially, it should be explained what is the reason behind such perception. In the next excerpt, we may see that for the users the negative perception of advertising is associated with their negative experiences with eurobeers deceiving and manipulating consumers through advertising. In the following thread users lively discuss these experiences and indirectly dismiss advertising. The first post from michalbre, where he sarcastically puts the adjective new in quotation marks, confirms again that there is a sense of distrust to large breweries (in this case Plzensky Prazdroj) among members of the forum. In this case, however, the users are not referring to the use of modern technologies as a source of distrust but to marketing. Specifically, Egyptan.Sinuhet suggests what kind of marketing slogans they are exposed to and by employing irony expresses his distrust towards them. Michalbre then goes on to explain quite in detail how the company actually lies about its product (Gambrinus original).



michalbre - 08.05.12 07:55:40

**G originál**

Už někdo z vás měl tu čest pít "novej" gambrihnus originál? 🤔

(snad nebude příspěvek smazán, když se to netýká piva) 🤔 😊

*Translation: Have someone of you already had the honor to drink the “new” gambrihnus original?  
(I hope the post won't be deleted when it doesn't concern a beer)*



**Egyptan.Sinuhet** 🙋 - 09.05.12 08:24:25

**RE: G originál**

Co je to zase za super tajnou původní recepturu, postavenou na nejkvalitnějších surovinách, kterou jejich sládci určitě střeží jako oko v hlavě? 🤔 🤔 🤔 🤔

*Translation: What kind of **super secret traditional recipe based on the best ingredients and watched like a hawk** by the brewers is that **again**?*



**michalbre** - 09.05.12 17:49:57

**RE: G originál**

Tajemství: Je to G10, nezměnili vůbec nic, je to jenom PR. Akorát si vymysleli pohádku 🤔

*Translation: **The secret: It is a G10, they didn't change anything, it's just a PR. They just made up a tale.***



**Egyptan.Sinuhet** 🙋 - 10.05.12 08:36:44

**RE: G originál**

KECÁŠ!!! 🤔

*Translation: You're kidding!!!*



**michalbre** - 10.05.12 17:27:19

**RE: G originál**

Ke kámošovi do hospody chodí lidi z pivovaru a ty se prej o "novym" G dozvěděli až z reklamy, prej koukali jak puci, co že to jako má bejt, když oni tam furt dělaj všechno stejně a žádný změny neproběhli.

Prazdroj si nechal udělat takovej malej průzkum, degustaci. Nalili lidem pivo a ke každému vzorku jim něco řekli, co je to zač a tak dále. Lidi to pak ohodnotili. Samozřejmě každý vzorek úplně jinak. Prdel byla v tom, že furt pili jedno a to samý pivo, nebyl v tom žádný rozdíl. Ale vedení z toho vyplynulo, že stačí udělat jenom dobrou reklamu, nějaký ty PR kecy o poctivosti a návratu ke kořenům a lidem to bude stačit. Stádečko si zabéká, jak že je to nový G výborný a lepší než to starý a vůbec nikomu nedojde, že pijou stejnou sračku jako doteď, akorát v jiným obalu...

Dobrý co 🤔 Takhle se to dneska dělá...

*Translation: There are people from the brewery going to my friend's pub and they allegedly learned about the “new”G only from a commercial. Supposedly, they*

*were bulging their eyes like what was that supposed to mean when they were still doing everything in the same way and no changes happened.*

*Prazdroj had a small survey done, tasting. They poured a beer to people and told them something about each sample, what is it etc. People rated it then. Of course, each sample differently. The fun was that they drank the same beer all along, there were no differences. **But the management concluded that it is enough to make a good advertisement, some PR, drivel about honesty and return to the roots and it is enough for people. The crowd will baa how the new G is great and better than the old one and no one will realize that they are drinking the same cr\*p as so far but in a different package...***

#### **7.1.4. Summary**

In this part I have focused on defining how the members of the forum interpret globalization. The understanding of the interpretation of globalization is important because it helps to explain reactions towards globalization and globalized products. It also provides clues about what the potential drivers of such interpretation may be or to be more precise what is the underlying worldview.

Based on the findings so far we can say that globalization is perceived by the users as a penetration of capitalism into the Czech brewing industry which turns honest beers into eurobeers. Eurobeers are considered to be not honest because the perceived rationality of capitalism dictates the foreign companies to shift from brewing a beer to production of homogenous commodities with artificial taste and to deceive the consumers through marketing which as one user comments “...turns poor quality products into bestsellers – such a time we live in.” The perception that eurobeers are not honest then creates distrust towards breweries owned by foreign capital. The distrust then affects the reactions to the actions of these breweries, be it perception of current products, introduction of new products, further expansion, etc. In my view, the reactions are affected by the distrust significantly. For example, I showed that not only the expectations about quality of the beer may be negative due to the distrust but also the actual perceived quality of the beer.

However, to better understand the significance of the distrust to foreign owned breweries I will now focus on further examination of the reactions to globalization. By reactions to globalization I mean the reactions to the actions of breweries owned by foreign capital because as the findings have indicated, although the breweries are physically local the fact that they are under control of foreign owners makes them to be perceived as global by the members of the forum.

#### **7.2. Reactions to globalization**

Apart from the reactions with regards to the perceived quality of the beer, the members manifest two kinds of reactions to globalization in the discussions and hence they are either showing disdain of eurobeers and their producers through mockery or fear and anger over capitalism.

### 7.2.1. Disdain and mockery

The users usually resort to mockery when a “tourist” comes to the forum to proclaim his affinity for one of the eurobeers. It appears to be unimaginable for them that someone may actually like that kind of beer. They often even consider such statement to be a hoax or a joke. In the following excerpt users Marvi1989 and bohumil.seba come to the forum to post statements praising Gambrinus beer which is basically an epitome of eurobeer for the members of this online community. The statement obviously causes an outburst of laughter. There are, however, a few more insightful reactions. Particularly, the user Arakaph suggests that Gambrinus only pretends to be a beer. Therefore, his comment eloquently shows the underlying distrust to eurobeers. In other words, what Arakaph may be actually saying is that Gambrinus is not an honest beer and thus the meaning he attributes to the beer is deception. Also, other users that explain bohumil.seba’s comment as fake may in fact see the beer itself as a fake, that is, they associate this meaning with the beer. This notion is supported by the fact that the user bohumil.seba is most probably honest in his statement. From his other posts that I analyzed it can be concluded that he is just an unsophisticated old beer drinker.



**Marvi1989** - 22.12.09 17:14:14

**můj názor**

myslete si co chcete ale nejlepší pivo je Gambrinus!!!!

*Translation: think what you want but Gambrinus is the best beer!!!*



**kolda72** - 22.12.09 17:38:55

**RE: můj názor**

👉 ty řádiš všude

*Translation: 🤔 you advise everywhere*



**Crazypunisher** - 22.12.09 18:46:24

**RE: můj názor**

Taky zastávám názor že každému chutná něco jinýho. 🤔

*Translation: I am of the same opinion that everyone likes something else. 🤔*



**Arakaph** - 23.12.09 00:49:57

**RE: můj názor**

někomu pivo a někomu to co se za něj vydává? 🤔

*Translation: someone likes beer and someone just what pretends to be one? 🤔*



**Crazypunisher** - 23.12.09 11:53:08



**RE: můj názor**

Ano 🍻

Translation: Yes 🍻



**Tobik.Michy** - 23.12.09 10:23:25

**RE: můj názor**

Je Hnus.

*Translation: It is a cr\*p.*



**Crazypunisher** - 23.12.09 11:57:36

**RE: můj názor**

Asi jsi moc piv ještě neochutnal.

*Translation: You probably haven't tried many beers.*



**marias.gol** - 24.12.09 01:26:33

**RE: můj názor**

fakt sorry ale když si loknu gambu...zvedne se mi kufr...

*Translation: really sorry but when I take a sip of gamb...I get revolted...*



**wild.rebeca** - 27.12.09 09:48:57

**RE: můj názor**

LOL!!! 🍻 🍻



**bohumil.seba@email.cz** - 01.02.10 14:50:19

**Gambáč**

Já teda nejraději gambáč.

*Translation: I like gambáč the most.*



**Jura.Indra** - 01.02.10 14:51:36

**RE: Gambáč**

Promiň, ale vypadáš na to...

*Translation: Sorry, but you look like you do...*



**da.Rock** - 01.02.10 14:58:06

**RE: Gambáč**







**Egyptan.Sinuhet** 👑 - 01.02.10 21:06:39

**RE: Gambáč**

Tenhle fake tu už před cca rokem? byl... 🤔 🤔

*Translation: **This fake** was here already ca. a year ago?... 🤔 🤔*



**michalbre** - 02.02.10 11:51:19

**RE: Gambáč**

Promiň, ale teď sem spad ze židle 🤔 🤔 🤔

*Translation: Sorry, but **I just fell off a chair** 🤔 🤔 🤔*



**wild.rebeca** - 02.02.10 09:58:59

**RE: Gambáč**

🤔 Že by takový tréninkový únorový apríl? 🤔

*Translation: 🤔 A practice **April joke** in Feburary? 🤔*

The mockery is also present in the way the users often refer to eurobeers. They use many pejorative puns, such as “*Gambrihnus*” (Gambricr\*p), “*G-hnus*” (G-cr\*p), “*Sralobrn*” (Sh\*tbrno), etc., to express their disdain of these beers. Also, mocking and doubt are present in the discussions about novelties introduced by “*eurobeer*” breweries. These reactions further indicate a strong distrust towards big breweries underlying the reactions.



**Egyptan.Sinuhet** 👑 - 20.01.10 14:23:57

**G**

Ted' sem koukal v krámě, že G-hnus má na etiketě nějaký DRY. Že by už sám pivovar konečně přiznal, že vyrábí (příčí se mi říct "vaří") DRYják??? 🤔 🤔 🤔

*Translation: I was just wondering in the store that G-rubbish has some Dry on its label. **Has the brewery finally admitted that they produce (I am repelled to say “brew”) DRYják (a repugnant drug considered to be miraculous but in fact ineffective)???** 🤔 🤔 🤔*



**machy43** - 20.01.10 14:25:23

**RE: G**

Napadlo mě úplně to samý. 🤔

*Translation: **The same occurred to me.** 🤔*



**Tobik.Michy** - 22.01.10 05:44:30

**RE: G**

No další hnus do serie, i když už je na pultech dlouho.

*Translation: **Another rubbish to the series**, it has been on the shelves some time though.*

In case of Prazdroj the distrust borders on disappointment. Some of the users seem to be almost angry with the way Prazdroj is managed. Especially, in the following discussion which is initiated by lochotin1's post concerning the launch of a novelty from Prazdroj, i.e. Fénix beer which is quite an innovation because it is a wheat beer, we may notice how strong the distrust to the brewery is. It is interesting that michalbre's critique focuses on the fact that the brewery declined in the past that they would produce such a beer. One would expect that a user, who finds himself, as will be shown later in my analysis, to be someone who likes to try new and different beers, will be excited by such novelty since it intends to bring a new type of a beer to such conservative market as the Czech Republic certainly is. Instead, he feels cheated by the company or rather by the African owners of the company and by highlighting that the beer is even imported he indicates that it is not an honest beer. This perception of a dishonest beer further motivates the user to mock the beer and to attribute a meaning of fake to it "glass from KBT" – points to the similarity of the glass with a glass used by K-brewery trade, "beer copies Hoegaarden" – points to the similarity of the taste with the Hoegaarden beer, i.e. a very popular wheat beer from Belgium, "mythological name" – points to a worn out marketing gimmick. In the end he expresses a wish that Prazdroj returned to brewing as they did 25 years ago, that is, before capitalism took over.



**lochotin1** - 01.03.12 09:34:59

**Fénix od Prazdroje bude vonět po pšenici a koriandru**

Pivo se bude točit nejprve v pražském klubu Blink a poté v podnicích uvedených na [www.fenixinspiration.cz](http://www.fenixinspiration.cz)

Těším se na ochutnávku 🍷

*Translation: **Fénix from Prazdroj will smell of wheat and coriander***

*The beer will be first on tap in Prague club Blink and then in businesses stated at [www.fenixinspiration.cz](http://www.fenixinspiration.cz)*

*I am looking forward to tasting 🍷*



**michalbre** - 02.03.12 09:56:19

**RE: Fénix od...**

Soudruzi z Afriky zase ladili, až doladili. Když sem čet, že ladili recepturu 3 roky, tak sem spad ze židle. Zase zaspali, ostatně jako dycky. Hlavně, že loni ještě tvrdili, že to nemaj zapotřebí, že pšenice dělat nebudou, že zůstanou u klasiky, spodně kvašeného ležáku. Blbý kecy, ostatně jako dycky. Rok se s rokem sešel a je to tady - pšenice. Co na tom, že sou zase poslední, každá větší skupina už jí má dávno. Mimochodem, tuto je prej vařený (vyráběný v Holandsku, v pivovaru Grolsch, že

prej tady na to nemaj technologie, takže je to čistej dovoz - báchorce o tom, že to dělaj jenom a výhradně pro Prazdroj nevěřim ani za mák - možná tu várku pořadí trošku jinak... - takže zase pohádky PR oddělení). Kdybych na to náhodou někde narazil, tak to ochutnam, ale vyhledávat to nebudu, očekávám "klasiku" - neurazí nenadchne... 🤔

*Translation: Comrades from Africa have been tuning again until they fine-tuned. When I read that they have tuned the recipe for 3 years, I almost fell off a chair. **They overslept again as always.** Especially, they claimed last year that they didn't need it, they wouldn't make wheat beer and they would stay with the classic, bottom-fermented lager. **Stupid drivel as always.** One year has passed and here we come – wheat. Doesn't matter that they are the last ones and every bigger group had it already long ago. By the way, it is allegedly brewed in Holland in Grolsch brewery because they do not have technology for it here, so that it is a net import – I don't believe the story that they (Grolsch) produce it exclusively for Prazdroj at all – maybe they dilute the batch a bit different... - **so again only tales from PR department**). If I came across it accidentally, then I would try it but **I won't look for it, I expect the "classic" – won't impress...*** 🤔



michalbre - 02.03.12 10:10:22

RE: Fénix od...

<http://pivnirecenze.cz/8810-recenze-fenix>

Ta sklenice je tak trošku kopie sklenice "Cesta pivních znalců" od KBT 🇧🇪

To je vážně k smíchu, sklenice od KBT, pivo kopie Hoegaardenu, název mytologickej (aby se na to dala nabalit nějaká historka, jako u Masteru)...s křížkem po funuse.

Někdo to v nějaké diskusi napsal dobře: Kdyby se vysrali na tuty experimenty a radši začli vařit TEN Prazdroj jako před 25 lety, tak by udělali nejlíp a lidi by se po tom umlátili.

*Translation: That glass is a bit copy of the "Cesta pivních znalců" glass from KBT (K-brewery trade) 🇧🇪*

***That's really funny, glass from KBT, beer copies Hoegaarden, mythological name (to make a story around it, as with Master)...***

***Someone summed it up in a discussion: If they dropped the experiments and rather started brewing THE Prazdroj as 25 years ago, they would do the best and people would go crazy for it.***



Egyptan.Sinuhet 🇪🇬 - 04.03.12 11:33:25

RE: Fénix od...

Přesně, taky mohli vymyslet něco originálnějšího!!! 🤔 🇧🇪 🇪🇬

Víš co Michale??

Neumí nic! NIC!!!!!! 🤔 🤔

*Translation: Exactly, they could have come up with something more original!!! You know what Michal?? **They can do nothing! NOTHING!!!!***

Finally, the mocking takes place when the users learn about a success of eurobeers at a world competition. Their comments further confirm that the users perceive eurobeers as dishonest and engaging in deception of customers. Some of the users even assume that the breweries send special samples there that are far from what is actually sold on the market.



**lochotin1** - 13.04.10 18:34:44

**Gambrinus Excelent, Gambrinus 10' a Kozel (beers produced by Plzensky Prazdroj)**

Získali stříbrné medaile na největší pивní soutěži v Chicagu, kde soutěžilo více než 3000 piv z více než 600 pivovarů ze 44 zemí. Rozhodovalo 167 rozhodčích-degustátorů.

*Translation: have gained silver medals at the biggest beer competitions in Chicago where more than 3000 beers from more than 600 breweries and 44 countries competed. 167 degustators judged.*



**Neo000** - 13.04.10 19:43:37

**RE: Gambrinus...**  
**no comment**



**Pramech** 👑 - 13.04.10 19:57:44

**RE: Gambrinus...**

Co to je za putyku, to "Chicago"?

*Translation: What kind of honky-tonk that "Chicago" is?*



**da.Rock** - 13.04.10 20:00:11

**RE: Gambrinus...**

Cituji: Česká piva z Plzně uspěla v Chicagu v konkurenci 3330 přihlášených piv ze 642 pivovarů a 44 zemí světa. Vzorky posuzovalo 179 rozhodčích degustátorů. Z Česka bylo přihlášeno celkem 13 pivních značek různých pivovarů. Takže Gambrinus skončil druhý ze 13 přihlášených českých piv. To už tak velkolepě nezní.

*Translation: Quote: Czech beer from Pilsen succeeded in Chicago in a competition of 3330 signed-up beers from 642 breweries and 44 countries. Samples were judged by 179 judges-degustators. From The Czech Republic there were 13 beer*

*brands signed up from various breweries. So, Gambrinus placed second from the 13 signed-up Czech beers. That doesn't sound that pompous.*



**wild.rebeca** - 14.04.10 12:22:57

**RE: Gambrinus.....**

Třeba šlo o soutěž "Největší parodie na pivo," kdo ví... 🤔

*Translation: Maybe it was a competition "The biggest beer parody" who knows...*



**da.Rock** - 13.04.10 21:43:25

**RE: Gambrinus.....**

No ano, ale kolik tam bylo z toho českých? Na prvním místě v kategorii 39 se umístil nějaký Asia Brewer nebo co. To je pro G-hnus velká výhra, že se umístil hned za nějakýma rákosníkama!

Můj názor je, že světlé ležáky pilsenského vaříme nejlíp tady u nás. Takže ať G-hnus raději soutěží s našimi pivovary a ne s nějakými asijskými. I když i ty ho, jak je vidět, dokážou porazit. 🤔

*Translation: Well yes but how many of them were Czech? At the first place in the category 39 ranked some Asia Brewery or what. That's for G-cr\*p a big win that it placed right behind some coolies! My opinion is that we brew the best pale lagers of pilsner here at home. So Gambrinus may rather compete with our breweries than with some Asian. Although, even they can beat it obviously.* 🤔



**Tobik.Michy** - 13.04.10 21:17:42

**RE: Gambrinus....**

To je stejně divný 2. místo Gambrinus. Stejně to bylo podplacený! 🤔

*Translation: That is really weird, 2. place for Gambrinus. It was bribed anyway!*



**AleisterCrowley@email.cz** - 13.04.10 22:21:22

**RE: Gambrinus...**

Jde o to z čeho se degustovalo. V Plzni určite dokazou vyrobit dobre pivo. Jen ho bezne nevari.

Ja si nejsem jisty jestli se ochutnava pivo standartne podavane.

*Translation: The main point is what they degusted. Surely they can made a good beer in Pilsen. They just don't brew it. I am not sure whether standardly served beer was degusted.*



**Lenny88** - 14.04.10 09:38:33

**RE: Gambrinus...**

to se musela Česká Republika reprezentovat zrovna těmahle euromočkama? Jakoby se u nás nevařilo jiné, chutnější, a kvalitnější pivo....

*Translation: did the Czech Republic really have to represent itself with these eurosewages? As if there wasn't other, tastier and more superior beer brewed here...*



**Dm.666** - 14.04.10 15:45:21

**RE: Gambrinus...**

bodovala se i projímavost?

*Translation: was diarrhea-ness graded, too?*



**Lenny88** - 14.04.10 19:20:46

**RE: Gambrinus....**



**wild.rebeca** - 14.04.10 23:57:03

**RE: Gambrinus....**

"...na dalších místech se umístil Gotalax..." 🇪🇺

*Translation: "...other places were taken by Gotalax..."* 🇪🇺



**Matyseczek** - 15.04.10 16:24:57

**RE: Gambrinus...**

mě je fuk kde se umístil gambrihnus. podstatný je, že ho pít nebudu!

*Translation: I don't care where Gambrinus placed, the important thing is that I won't drink it!*

### 7.2.2. Anger over capitalism

With regards to the anger over capitalism, the users have much more radical reactions. Specifically, from their reaction to news about government's intention to sell Budejovický Budvar, which is the last national brewery, we can learn that they equate sell of the brewery to a foreign company with its demise. The reactions also indicate strong nationalistic tendencies. Michalbre comments on the potential sale of Budvar with words "*we will have sh\*t and eyes for tears...good old communists, do we own anything here, I mean the state?*" whereby he indicates his strong national identity and expresses an anger over the fact that the state has sold its businesses. This anger may be potentially a result of an anxiety that selling national businesses dissolves traditions which define his national identity. Egyptan.Sinuhet sees the solution in nationalization of businesses. I think this is not meant literally but rather as a figurative need for return to traditions. The fact that it is the capitalism that users see as the culprit of the deterioration of the Czech beer industry is demonstrated on michalbre's



comment that it basically doesn't matter which company will acquire Budvar. Thus, we may say that the underlying distrust to foreign owned breweries is built upon distrust to capitalism in general.



**michalbre** - 28.07.10 09:12:14

**A nedaj si pokoj...**

<http://pivni.info/news/6693-budvar-dostal-jeste-jeden-rok.html>

Zkurvená vláda, to sme si hovno pomohli. Doufam, že jestli k tomu dojde, tak toho sráče, kterej to bude mít na svědomí sežehne blesk 🤬 Vůbec nechápu, komu tím prospějou? Proč se v tutej podělanej banánovej republice furt musí kurvit věci, co fungujou? Podnik, kterej měl za minulej rok zisk 300 mega chtějí rozmrdat a někomu prodat a pak místo aby měli 300 míčů v kapse, tak budou mít leda hovno. Teda voni ne, voni si nahrabou z toho prodeje, nám tu zůstane hovno a oči pro pláč...zlatý komunisti, patří tady ještě vůbec něco nám, jako státu? Asi už ne (kromě Budvaru zatím), všechno rozprodali a rozkradli. Na pranýř s nima, ze zlodějema, možná ještě líp - čelem ke zdi, to bejvávalo účinný řešení. Kurva já sem tak nasranej, že to ani nejde vyjádřit slovy 🤬

*Translation: F\*cked-up government, we really helped ourselves. I hope that if this happens, the \*ss-hole, who's going to be responsible, will be struck by lightning 🤬 I don't understand at all to whose benefit it is? Why do the things that work have to always screw up in this screwed banana republic? They want to f\*ck up a business that had a profit of 300 million last year and sell it to someone and then instead of having 300 million in a pocket they will have sh\*t. Actually not them, they will rake it in from the sale and we will have sh\*t and eyes for tears...**good old communists, do we own anything here, I mean the state?** Probably not (except for Budvar) they sold and stole everything. To the stake with them, thieves, or even better, against a wall with them, that used to be a powerful solution. F\*ck I'm so p\*ssed that I cannot even express it with words 🤬*



**Egyptan.Sinuhet** 🏆 - 28.07.10 10:05:51

**RE: A nedaj si...**

Víš co? Většinu zisku z prodeje rozdělí mezi sebe, zbytek se rozplyne ve snaze snížit státní schodek a Budvar půjde do řiti!

Víš... ono nejde jen o ten pivovar, ale i o jeho trhy!!!! Budvar má podle mě MNOHEM větší cenu. Například trhy Budvaru a značka by byly pro Anhajzla zlatej důl nevyčísitelné hodnoty!

V naší banánové republice už pomůže jen jedna věc (a trochu se toho bojím): Kolaps EU, nesametová revoluce a něco na způsob znárodnění všech podniků...

*Translation: You know what? They will split the most of the profit between themselves and the rest will vanish in an effort to decrease the state deficit and Budvar will be screwed! You know... it is not just about the brewery but about its markets!!!! Budvar has in my view MUCH higher price. For example, Budvar's*

*markets and brand would be for Anhajzl golden mine of incalculable value! **Only one thing will help in our Banana republic (and I am little scared of it): Collapse of EU, non-velvet revolution and something kind of like nationalization of all businesses...***



**michalbre** - 28.07.10 12:58:40

**RE: A nedaj si...**

No jestli to pak prodaj zrovna jim, tak je to v řiti úplně. Vůbec nechápu, jak si nějaký američani můžou nárokovat Budvar jako svojí ochranou známku. To je na blití. Ale jestli to padne někomu jinýmu (SABMiller, Heineken) tak to stejně bude do kytek. Snad se ještě stane zázrak a nechaj to bejt tak, jak to je, i když v tutej banánovce tomu už moc nevěřim... 🙄 😡

*Translation:*

***Well, if they sell it right to them then it's all screwed. I don't understand at all how some stupid Americans can stake a claim to Budvar as their own trademark. That's revolting. But if it falls to someone else (SABMiller, Heineken) then it will go belly up anyway. Perhaps a miracle will happen and they leave it how it is even though I don't believe in that in this banana republic...*** 🙄 😡



**Dm.666** - 28.07.10 11:48:42

**RE: A nedaj si...**

tohleto je k zblití

*Translation: This is gross.*

Similarly radical reactions come upon news that Heineken quits production of beer in one of their local breweries. Here, the members manifest their rage over the rationality of capitalism, that is, the focus on efficiency. Mauler.Milan claims that the alleged crisis is only an excuse to further rationalize the production. This together with Tobik.Michy's hope "*that they won't f\*ck up more breweries!!!*" further points to the deep underlying distrust towards global labels based on distrust towards capitalism.



**Mauler.Milan** - 25.01.10 13:54:06

**RE: HEINEKEN!!!!...**

se dalo čekat,prý krize,takovej m parchantům to hraje do karet...propouštět,rušit pivovary,prznit značky.Mor na ně.

*Translation: one could expect that, supposedly **crisis**, it is playing into such bastards' hands...downsizing, closing down breweries, spoiling brands. A plague on them all.*



**Tobik.Michy** - 25.01.10 16:51:34

**RE: HEINEKEN!!!!...**

No ty kecý co tvrdí, že se snižuje spotřeba piva! To doufám, ale jenom u toho




hnusnýho heinekena!

Zakázal bych jim jejich styl při kterým zavřou pivovar a značku přesunou jinam. Jenom v tom dělají bordel a nedivil bych se, kdyby začali v Ústí vyrábět Starobrno a naopak...

Je to tvrdý zásah do kvality českých piv a můžeme jen doufat, že nám nezkur.. víc pivovarů!!!

*Translation: The drivel they assert that the consumption of beer is decreasing! I hope only of that disgusting heineken! **I would ban their technique when they close down a brewery and move the brand somewhere else.** They only mess things up and I wouldn't wonder if they started producing Starobrno in Ústí and the other way around...**It is a tough blow to the quality of Czech beer and we can only hope that they won't f\*ck up more breweries!!!***



 machy43 - 25.01.10 22:35:14

**RE: HEINEKEN!!!...**

Nelze než souhlasit. Hainekenu a podobným kazisvětům smrk!

*Translation: One can only agree. **Death to Heineken and similar spoilers!***



 Egyptan.Sinuhet 🏰 - 26.01.10 11:48:43

**RE: HEINEKEN!!!...**

HOWGH bratře! Otvírákem na láhve je připravit o jejich mrzké skalpy a vobřezat je tupou lžící! 🚫🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷

*Translation: HOWGH brother! **Scalp them** with a bottle opener and circumcise with a blunt spoon! 🚫🍷🍷🍷🍷🍷*

### 7.3. The underlying worldview

In the theoretic part I have concluded that the combination of our worldview and of our local context determines our interpretation and reactions to globalization. So far, I have found out that globalization is interpreted as turning honest beers into eurobeers. The dominant meanings that are attributed to globalization can be defined as untrustworthy and spoiling quality. Members do not trust that the globalized breweries, that is, the ones under control of foreign companies, produce an honest beer. They perceive the beer to be a homogenous commodity, a result of a rationalized production. Moreover, members' experience with them is marked by perceptions of deceitful behavior and thus they do not even trust the messages that the breweries communicate to them. This whole concept of distrust towards globalized breweries is built upon the distrust to capitalism as a whole. Capitalism is seen as destroying the honesty symbolized by traditions by rationalizing production through modernization, downsizing, moving production to different breweries, etc.

This interpretation then leads towards reactions of disdain of eurobeers and their innovations and towards a fear and anger over further expansion of eurobeer producers and rationalization of production.

Now, based on these finding I am able to define what worldview underlies this interpretation and consequent reactions and what role play the realities of local context in this.

### 7.3.1. Traditionalism

First, I will start with the worldview. The reactions that I described as anger over capitalism point to the phenomenon of a loss of faith in the progress of civilization, that is, identity crisis which was introduced in the theoretical part. Specifically, the members of the forum see the present to be dominated by capitalism. This domination, in their view, has widely wiped out “honesty”. They feel that they are constantly being cheated by large companies. Firstly, these companies do not serve them beer but a homogenous commodity. Secondly, they lie to them that this commodity has a good quality. This dishonesty is blamed on the capitalism and its rationality focused on efficiency a volume increase. Honesty is, on the other hand, seen as a matter of the past. Users call for the nationalization of businesses and praise communists because they associate nationalization with conservation of traditions. They have the image of the past in minds that shows communists in a favorable light because they didn’t interfere in production methods and kept things unchanged. That’s why they are not actually calling for the return of the communist regime but for the return of traditions. The period before 1989 simply symbolizes preservation of traditions. On the other hand, today’s period symbolizes destruction of traditions. Further progress of capitalism symbolized by the sale of Budvar brewery is received with anger. The users state that there is nothing good that can come out of that. Their predictions about what happens after the sale are extremely bleak and pessimistic “*if they sell it right to them then it’s all screwed*”. The only hope they see is either a miracle or some sort of revolution which would lead to nationalization. This loss of faith indicates the identity crisis. The longing for the return to traditions signals the emergence of traditionalism.

The occurrence of traditionalism is best shown on users’ reactions to a documentary about Czech beer posted by one of the users. The documentary is from 1989 and showcases traditional production methods of Plzensky Prazdroj. At the end of the documentary a British documentarist expresses a wish that Czechs will not succumb to the Western pressure and will keep their traditional methods of producing beer. He also states that he would rather see the price increase. The users express grief over the change, that is, modernization of the brewery. Michalbre then describes in detail what tearful things the Africans did to the brewery and notes that the small fraction of the beer that is brewed in the old way is, compared to the regular one, like chalk and cheese.



**M.A.D.Butcher** - 05.02.12 19:58:19

**Doporučuji zkouknout**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HPMzAbIR-Ks>

*Translation: I recommend watching*



**vterina.vecnosti** - 05.02.12 21:56:34

**RE: Doporučuji...**

.....brečím, už nejsme národem pivařů, ale močkářů... :-((

*Translation: .....I am crying, we are not a beer nation anymore but a sewage nation...:-((*



**michalbre** - 06.02.12 12:33:43

**RE: Doporučuji...**

Člověk by fakt zaplakal, když to vidí dneska 😞 Bohužel to přání na konci zůstalo jenom přáním, stal se pravej opak 😞😡

*Translation: Seeing it today makes one cry 😞 Unfortunately, the wish at the end ended up only being a wish and the exact opposite happened 😞😡*



**michalbre** - 08.02.12 12:14:12

**RE: Doporučuji...**

Ty postupy, konkrétně z Prazdroje, to nemá s komárama nic společného, takhle se to vařilo od roku 1842 až do roku 199x (teď nevím, kdy přesně to prodali afričanům). Jediný co, tak že neměnili technologický postupy a v 70. letech začali stáčet do hliníkových sudů. Jinak je teda pravda, že se do toho aspoň nesrali a neškodili, to co s tím pivovarem provedli afričani je k pláči. Ty podzemní chodby, kterejma se tam prochází, ty se začaly s "modernizací" zasypávat, páč většinu přesunuli do CKT, takže už je nepotřebovali a stálo je to prachy je udržovat...dneska z těch x km jich zbyl zlomek jako turistická trasa. Bednáři tam taky ještě sou, ale je jich pár, taky už jenom tak, pro turisty, občas udělaj nějakej soudek, rozhodně už to není to, co to bejvalo.

Jo a ty dřevěný spilky, pár si jich nechali, dělá se v tom zlomek produkce, nevím, jestli to ještě dávaj chutnat turistům, ale opravdu jenom hodně malou část tam maj opravdu jako poctivě vařený pivo ze starejch časů. Možná, že to posílaj na ty světový soutěže, to se to pak vyhrává, když jim tam pošlou něco úplně jinýho, než co se pak dostane do hospod a obchodů...

Jinak pro šenk na Parkáně by se to pivo mělo vařit postaru v tom jejich pokusným minipivovaru, akorát netuším, jestli to nechávaj zrát v dřevěnejch spilkách. Každopádně to chutná úplně jinak, než běžná produkce (rozdíl mezi Parkánovým Prazdrojem a Prazdrojem běžným, nefiltrovaným z tanku, třeba z PUBu - nebudu to srovnávat s běžným pasterovaným - to je jako nebe a dudy)

Smutná realita 😞

*Translation: Those methods, specifically from Prazdroj, have nothing to do with commies, it was brewed this way from 1842 until 199x (now I don't know when exactly they sold it to Africans). The only thing they changed in 70s was that they started to keg beer in aluminium barrels so that they didn't change technological methods. However, it is true that they at least didn't meddle with it. **What the Africans did to the brewery is really tearful.** Those underground cellars, through which one walks there, were earthed up with "modernization" because they started*

*using CKT and thus didn't need them and it cost them money to maintain them...today, there is just a fraction from those x km left which serves as tourist trail. Also, coopers are still there but they are just a few only for tourists. They make a barrel from time to time but it certainly isn't what it used to be.*

*Yes and those wooden fermentation vessels, they kept a few of those and are used for a fraction of the production. I don't know whether they still give it to tourists for tasting but **they really have there only a very small part as honestly brewed beer from the old times**. Maybe they send it to the world competitions. Then it is easy to win when they send there something completely different from what ends up in pubs and stores...*

*Otherwise, **for the tavern at Parkáně, the beer should be brewed the old way in that experimental microbrewery**. I just don't know whether they let it mature in the wooden barrels. One way or the other, **it tastes completely different than a regular production** (the difference between Prazdroj from Parkan and regular Prazdroj, non-filtered from tank from the PUB, for example – I cannot compare it with a regular pasteurized – **it is like chalk and cheese**)*

*A sad reality 🤔*

The emergence of traditionalism is also seen in other contexts. Most notably, the users make opinions about a quality of a beer based on their belief whether the beer is produced traditionally or based on modern methods. Using open vats in the cellars for lagering of the beer and not the cylindrical tanks (CKT), brewing beer at final gravity instead of high gravity brewing (HGB) when the beer needs to be diluted, not pasteurizing the beer, and using hops instead of hop extracts are considered to be the most important traditional methods for users. In practice, the use of traditional methods ensures that the beers have distinctive tastes which can be hardly found anywhere else. “Yes, it's true, that sometime in history every beer from every brewery had a specific sensory profile - or taste and smell, to be more human in my expressions,” explains Jan Vesely (Czech beer better, not worse thanks to foreign investment, 2004), chairman of the Czech Beer and Malt Association. Based on this logic, the perceived quality for users is then constituted by the distinctiveness of the beer in terms of the taste and smell because that's what the use of traditional methods leads to. We can then say that the eurobeer is considered dishonest because it lacks the distinctive flavor which should be typical for each brewery and not homogenous. The need to return to traditions then basically represents the need to return to distinctiveness of flavor.

In the following excerpt the user da.Rock confronts a supportive opinion about Holba beer which is based on the fact that it was recognized as the best lager in the Europe with a claim that it uses modern methods. He states that they brag about using traditional methods but in fact they use hop extracts, cylindrical tanks (CKT) and pasteurization. When he is confronted back about his favorite beer, he defends the beer by stating his believes about nonuse of modern methods. This indicates the perceived relation between quality and traditional methods among members. In the last post, the user Egyptian.Sinuhet defends Budvar by highlighting its use of traditional ingredients, mainly absence of hops extract. What is, however, more interesting is how he describes the hops processing. It almost seems as if the

brewery was adding to the brewing process some sort of personal touch “*to nicely cut pressed hops, to put it in bags, to bring it to kettle, and then nicely based on the recipe to break it up several times during boiling into brew kettle*”. This may actually create the distinctiveness of the beer for him and serve as a mark of quality.



**Tobik.Michy** - 25.01.10 16:57:34

#### **Holba**

Příspěvek pro ty, který tady kecají o tom , že jim Holba nechutná!!<http://www.pivnidenik.cz/clanek/4074-Nejlepsim-lezakem-v-Evrope-je-Holba-Premium/index.htm>

*Translation: A post for all those who babble that Holba doesn't taste them!!*



**da.Rock** - 26.01.10 08:25:21

#### **RE: Holba**

Ona se Holba holedbá, že používá tradiční postupy a suroviny, ale přitom používá chmelové extrakty, CKT a na závěr to zpasterizuje. A na výrobu levnějších piv (Lahvác, Ambrosius) používá i HGB. To mi vůbec jako tradiční nepřijde.

*Translation: Holba is bragging that they use traditional methods and ingredients but in fact they use hops extract, CKT and pasteurization. And for the production of the cheapest beers (Lahvác, Ambrosius) they even use HGB. I don't find it traditional at all.*



**1500dm** - 26.01.10 11:37:06

#### **RE: Holba**

A co dělají Svijany, bez kterých bys na území Holby nevydržel? HGB, CKT, Chmel. extrakt, cukr. Jinak že ti to nechutná ti nijak neberu. Akorát nesnáším, když někdo o něčem říká, že je to nejhorší na světě, samoser apd. Já osobně nevidím na Holbě nic špatného. Piju u nás v hospodě točenou 12°. Co mně na ní chutná, je hlavně taková ta výrazná chmelová příchut'. Podobně jako třeba u Svijanského rytíře, Tambora nebo různých německých pilsů.

*Translation: And what about Svijany without which you wouldn't endure on Holba's territory? HGB, CKT, hops extract, sugar. I don't mind the fact that you don't like it. I only hate when someone says about something that it is the worst in the world, crapade etc. I personally don't see anything bad about Holba. I drink 12° on tap in our pub. What I like about it is the striking hops flavor. Similarly as with for example Svijany Rytíř, Tambor or various German Pilsner.*



**da.Rock** - 26.01.10 14:06:15

#### **RE: Holba**

Svijany nepoužívají CKT a chmelový extrakt.

Jak je to s HGB nevím, možná už na to taky přešli, je fakt, že Svijany před takovými 4-5 lety byly přece jen o něco lepší. Ale pořád je to pivo, které je na

špici.

A když si dám současně 11° Poličku a 11° Svijany, tak ta Polička vyjde o ždibec lépe.

*Translation: Svijany do not use CKT and hops extract. I don't know how it is with HGB, maybe they switched to it, too, the fact is that Svijany were a bit better 4 to 5 years ago. But it is still a beer that is on the top. And if I have 11° Polička and 11° Svijany at the same time, then Polička turns out a little better.*



**Egyptan.Sinuhet** 🇪🇬 - 11.04.11 15:03:08

**RE: Zdravím všechny...**

Nedá mi to, abych trochu neobhájil BUDVAR.

Učil sem se tam na sládka v letech 1992 - 1995. Ano, od té doby se už věci trochu změnili. Už není klasická spilka jako dřív a uvažuje se o tom (jestli už to tak není), že ležák bude ležet ve sklepě 60 místo 90 dní.

Na druhou stranu je to jeden z mála pivovarů (a věřím že jedinej z těch velkejch), kterej vaří pivo z vody, sladu a CHMELE. Ano, bez žádných extraktů a upravovaných chmelů a podobných produktů. Pěkně nasekat lisované chmel, napytlovat, odvést na varnu a pak pěkně podle receptury několikrát během chmelovaru pěkně nalámat rukama do chmelové pánve.

Spíš si myslím, že špatnej Budvar je spíš věcí hospody a ošetření.

Ale každej máme vlastní chutě...

*Translation: I can't help myself to defend BUDVAR. I learned there to be a brew master in 1992 – 1995. Yes, the things have changed a bit ever since. There are not the open barrels in the cellars as before and they are thinking about (if it is not like that already) leaving lager to lie in a cellar for 60 instead of 90 days. On the other hand it is one of few breweries (and I believe the only one from the large ones) that brews beer from water, malt and hops. Yes, without any extracts and adjusted hops and similar products. To nicely cut pressed hops, to put it in bags, to bring it to kettle, and then nicely based on the recipe to break it up several times during boiling into brew kettle. I rather think that bad Budvar is rather a thing of a brewery and a treatment. But we all have our own tastes...*

Also, the users see the return to traditional methods as a way for Pilsner to regain its authenticity. When one of the users informs the group about Pilsner stopping production of beer in Poland, the reaction is that they rather care about the production methods than about the place of the production. This can be explained by the fact that the need to return to traditions is mainly constituted by the need to return to distinctiveness of the beer taste.



**lochotin1** - 03.03.11 18:03:16

**Konečně krok správným směrem**

<http://plzensky.denik.cz/podnikani/pilsner-urquell-uz-se-v-polsku-vyrabet-nebude.html> Ještě by měli zastavit výrobu v Rusku, aby to zas byla jen skutečná PLZEŇ 🇨🇪



Translation:

**Finally a step in the right direction**

They should further stop the production in Russia to become the genuine Pilsner again 🍺



da.Rock - 03.03.11 18:22:15

**RE: Konečně krok...**

Krok správným směrem by spíše bylo, kdyby přestali pivo ředit, urychlovat v CK tancích a pasterizovat.

Translation: **The step in the right direction would rather be if they stopped diluting the beer, accelerating it in CK tanks and pasteurizing it.**



jlalis - 04.03.11 10:08:39

**RE: Konečně...**

tak nějak - mě na geografických poměrech( kde pivo vyrobí ) fakt nesejde, záleží na postupu a na surovinách ,prokrista

Translation: *exactly – geographical realities (where they produce beer) don't really matter to me, **the method and ingredients matter**, for Christ's sake.*

However, traditional brewing methods are not the only driver of a preference for a certain beer. In the following excerpt a user posts a picture of Opat beer, which is bottled into retro bottles, and other users express their strong liking for such design.



Jura.Indra - 26.06.10 10:56:53

**Pivní pozdrav z výjezdu na broumovsko**

<http://imb.lide.cz/big/4c25c03caeb106b7b4780100.jpg>

Opat se s trapnou modernou nesere :) Mimochodem skvělé pivo, škoda, že jsem ho nikde neviděl točit.

Translation: **Opat doesn't give a sh\*t about lame modernity** 😊 *By the way, a great beer, pity that I haven't seen it anywhere on tap.*

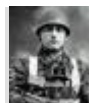


da.Rock - 26.06.10 11:22:21

**RE: Pivní pozdrav z...**

To je snad ještě poctivá euro flaška, ne? 🍺

Translation: *This is perhaps an **honest** euro bottle, isn't it?* 🍺



Queripel - 26.06.10 17:45:26

**RE: Pivní pozdrav z...**

ty voe to je snad jeste etiketa z totace? 🍺 líbí se mi to

*Translation: dude, that is perhaps still a label from totalism? 😊 I like that.*



**Egyptan.Sinuhet** 🙌 - 27.06.10 07:51:35

**RE: Pivní pozdrav z...**

Tak to je fakt nádherna!!!! A ještě stará lahev!! 😊😊

*Translation: This is really beautiful!!!! And even an old bottle!! 😊😊*

Finally, one of the users describes how his experience of drinking a beer is improved when he is drinking it in a more traditional way, that is, when a pub provides ceramic beer mats.



**Queripel** - 03.06.10 16:40:13

**haha**

tak včera jsem byl po dlouhé době v jedné klasické hospůdce v Žatci a zjistil jsem, že tam maj kvasnicovou žateckou 12° - velmi doporučuji. nejhezčí na tom je, že ten číšník točí do půlitru s ouškem a jako pod tácky dává keramický..fakt konečně u nás normální hospoda

*Translation: So yesterday I was in one traditional pub in Zatec after a long time and I found out that they had yeasty žatecká 12° - I really recommend. **The best thing** about it was that the waiter taps is into a glass with handle and gives ceramic beer mats...finally a normal pub.*



**Queripel** - 03.06.10 17:45:53

**RE: haha**

já nenávidim ty papírový..nevím mě ten keramickéj pomáhá so trosku to pivo víc vychutnat

*Translation: I hate the paper ones...I don't know the ceramic ones help me to better enjoy the beer.*

The previous posts suggest that users associate traditional brewing methods with a better quality beer or better drinking experience. Better quality of beer is defined as certain distinctiveness of taste and smell. Similar distinctiveness, however, may be also achieved by using retro bottles or serving beer with ceramic mats. Therefore, the whole need for return to traditions seems to be constituted by a need for distinctive experiences. Honesty of beer is then basically associated with its distinctiveness. By employing modern production methods the beer automatically loses this feature because processes get standardized across breweries and there is not the personal distinctive touch of respective breweries anymore. Even if the beer itself is of high-quality according to industry standards the users may still perceive it as eurobeer. This precisely what, in my opinion, happens to Pilsner.

In the following exchange of opinions about resistance towards Prazdroj the user Alf.Daemon suggests that the underlying reason for the dislike is Prazdroj's alienation. In general, alienation means emotional isolation or dissociation. I think what the user has on his mind is that Prazdroj is abandoning the personal touch of distinctiveness. He states that "the owners of



*Prazdroj gain only from its famous name and are interested only in the volume of produce."* Thus, he is implicitly saying that the beer is not given a proper care needed to create the personal touch. Sterile conditions and modern technology make the production impersonal. Hence, there is no one cutting pressed hops, putting it in bags and adding it to the brew kettle based on a recipe as in Budvar brewery (see Egyptan.Sinuhet's post from 11.04.11 15:03:08). Everything is automated and rational so that no money is wasted.



**Pramech** 👑 - 01.10.11 10:13:34

**Hoši,**

když na tu Plzeň nemáte, tak ji aspoň nekritizujte.

*Translation: Guys, if you don't have money for Pilsner, then at least don't criticise it.*



**Tobias12** - 02.10.11 20:44:57

**RE: Hoši,**

Takovej humus bych nepil ani cenu desítky!

*Translation: I wouldn't drink such cr\*p even if it was for a price of 10°!*



**Alf.Daemon** - 02.10.11 21:26:25

**RE: Hoši,**

Plzeň není humus, ale taky žádný zázrak. Věřím, že točená z tanku je skvělá, ale to ostatní piva taky. Není to o penězích, ale o určitém "odporu", vypěstovaném postupným jakýmsi "odcizením se" nebo nevím, jak to mám správně napsat. Majitelé Prazdroje těží jen z jeho slavného jména a zajímá je jen množství vyprodukované suroviny. Věřím, že alespoň Prazdroj se zatím vyhnul rychlovýrobě piva, ale vidina zisku prostě jasně představuje majoritní zájem, kvalita pak minoritní.

*Translation: Pilsner is not a cr\*p, but also not a miracle. I believe that draught from a tank is great but the same goes with the other beers, too. It is not about money but about certain **resistance created by some "alienation"** or I don't know how to write it correctly. **The owners of Prazdroj gain only from its famous name and are interested only in the volume of produce.** I believe that at least Prazdroj has avoided the fast-production of beer but the sight of profit represents the major interest, quality then the minor.*

### 7.3.2. Modernism

After I have established that members' reactions to globalization can be explained by their traditionalist worldview, the question is whether this is the only driver. In other words, has this worldview (position) replaced modernist position?

In the theoretical part I defined modernist position as seeing meaning in progress and liberated self-fulfillment. This worldview basically motivates us to define our own uniqueness

and to develop ourselves through exposure to new experiences. In case of the members of the forum it is, however, possible to observe also this position. Specifically, they make a clear distinction between them and other beer drinkers. In this sense, following discussion between the users is very insightful. They describe other beer drinkers as close-minded conservative patriots. Thus, in relation to them they implicitly define themselves as open to new experiences and individualistic, that is, not dependent on other's opinions but forming own opinion based on own experiences, which clearly indicates a modernist worldview. Michalbre and da.Rock suggest the other drinkers are driven by local patriotism, specifically by loyalty to certain brand. The opinions of the users therefore correlate with the results suggested in the situation analysis, that is, that the local patriotism is significant in the Czech Republic. Da.Rock also blames this mass of beer drinkers for miserable choice of beers.



**Tobik.Michy** - 01.02.10 15:24:39

**RE: Konzervativnost...**

To už se nezmění jsou to tisíce a tisíce lidí, kteří svou značku nezmění, ani kdyby se nedala pít.

*Translation: It won't change. There are thousands and thousands of people who won't change their brand even if it is not potable.*



**1500dm** - 01.02.10 15:41:33

**RE: Konzervativnost...**

Řekl bych, že je to hlavně v těch spotřebitelích, zmasírovaných buď patriotismem nebo reklamou.

*Translation: I would say that this is mainly in consumers who are **manipulated** either by patriotism or advertising.*



**Mauler.Milan** - 01.02.10 18:03:21

**RE:...**

patriotismem-tím si myslím,že to je...

Lidi prostě mají rádi své pivo at' je jakékoli

*Translation: **Patriotism – that is the cause**, I reckon...People simply love their beer whatever it's like.*



**wild.rebeca** - 01.02.10 18:22:30

**RE:...**

Což je však spíš kombinace tuposti, konzervativnosti a rádoby patriotismu, než patriotismu jako takovýho...

*Translation: This is a combination of **dumbness, conservatism and quasi-patriotism** rather than patriotism itself...*



michalbre - 02.02.10 11:44:38

RE:...

Já se třeba nepovyšuju, ale když ti pak někdo do ksichtu vmete slova typu "to pít nebudu, dyť to není z Plzně, já piju jenom Plzeň a Gěčko, páč sou nejlepší" a jiný pivo ani neochutná, už jenom z toho důvodu, že není z Plzně - co bys mu na to řekl? To je těžký s tutěma lidma. Pro mě je to ta skupina tvrdohlavců, co už předělat nejde, nikdy, i kdyby pili vodu z rybníka s panákem vodky a řeks jim, že to je Plzeň, tak to budou chválit do nebes, když to přeženu (i kdyby se po tom měli posrat - pak přijdou na řadu výmluvy, že to nebylo z piva, ale že ten utopenec byl nějaký divnej atd.) 🍷

*Translation: I am not condescending but if someone spits into your face words such "I won't drink it, it is not from Pilsen and I drink only from Pilsen and G because they are the best" and won't try a different beer only because it is not from Pilsen – what would you tell them? It is difficult with those people. For me it is **a group of mules that can be never redone**, even if they drank water from a pond with a shot of vodka and you told them that it is Pilsner, they would praise it to the sky, if I exaggerate (even if they got sh\*t from it afterwards, they would find plethora of excuses that it wasn't from the beer but that pickled sausage was weird etc.) 🍷*



da.Rock - 01.02.10 16:39:06

RE:...

Hm, to věřím. Oni to chlastají celý život a budou to chlastat, i kdyby jim do toho v Nošovicích chcali.

Pak se nemůžeme divit, že je tak mizerný výběr piva v hospodách a že je člověk odkázán na pití europiva kamkoliv vkročí.

Chtělo by to větší osvětu, ale to už je na těch malých pivovarech, aby vymyslely nějakou kampaň. Je jich plno, takže kdyby se spojili a něco zaplatili, tak by je to nemuselo ani vyjít moc draho.

*Translation: Hm, I believe that. **They drink it their whole life and will drink it even if they p\*ssed in it in Nošovice. Then we cannot wonder that there is such miserable choice of beers in pubs and that one is dependent on drinking eurobeer wherever he comes.** It would require bigger enlightenment but it is up to small breweries to come up with a campaign. There are plenty of them so that if they joined forces and paid something, it wouldn't necessarily cost much.*

Users also seem to ascribe part of the blame to the big breweries as they use their resources to convince pub owners to have their beer on tap.



michalbre - 02.02.10 11:40:43

RE: Konzervativnost...

V Plzni to tak máme s Gěčkem 🍷 Ale vážně - když pivovar nabídne hospodskému komplet vybavení putyky/restaurace (G/Prazdroj) plus mu k tomu dá ještě nějaký

sto papírů na ruku, čímž si ho v podstatě "koupí" (samozřejmě je smlouva na x let a samozřejmě v ní zanesená pozn., že nesmí točit jiný pivo - možná tak přejít v rámci koncernu, to jim nevadí . tzn. z G > Kozel, Prazdroj > Master atp.), tak co pak má hostinský dělat, pokud sám nemá za sebou silnej kapitál? Pokud má holou prdel, tak je jasný, že na tohle přistoupí, ostatní (menší, střední) pivovary tolik nenabídnou, ještě možná tak to vybavení, ale rozhodně nikomu nebudou solit prachy na dřevo. O tom to je. Bohužel.

Pak je tu samozřejmě ten falešnej lokální patriotismus lidí, to dělá taky hodně, ale poslední dobou se to u nás aspoň trochu zlepšuje. A pokud někdo pije jenom G a ostatní odmítá jenom z toho důvodu, že to není Plzeň, tak vůbec nemá cenu s ním diskutovat 😊🍀

*Translation: It is like that in Pilsen with G 🍀 But seriously – **when a brewery offers a pub owner a complete furnishing of the pub (G/Prazdroj) plus gives him 100k cash on hand whereby they basically “buy” him** (an agreement for x years with a note that he cannot have any other beer on tap is a sure thing –they may not mind switching within a concern i.e. from G to Kozel, Prazdroj to Master etc.), what can he do then if he doesn't have strong capital behind his back? If he's got a bare ass, then it is clear that he is going to accept, other (**small, midsize**) **breweries** won't offer him that much, maybe yet the equipment, but they **definitely won't pour money on him. That's how it works.** Unfortunately. Then there is that false local patriotism of people, that does a lot too, but lately it has been getting a bit better. And if someone drinks only G and refuses other brands only because it is not Pilsen then it is worthless to discuss with him 😊🍀*

The modernist view is further manifested by users' reactions to an article where a beer expert claims that Czechs are beer barbarians. The expert claims that when it comes to beer drinking culture, the Czech Republic is in the Stone Age because people know only one type of a beer, that is, bottom fermented beer of pilsner type, and are loyal to one brand which is usually an average “factory” beer without any distinctiveness or character. The members obviously agree with him. The fact that they are not infuriated by his comments suggests that they perceive themselves as beer experts or at least as people who are trying to swim against the tide, to experiment and to relish a good beer. His comments then do not insult the members of forum because they are aligned with their perception of the world, their modernist worldview. This also shows that they try to differentiate themselves from the local context which is defined by both general and local beer patriotism. By definition modernism tell us that we should choose our identity independently from our local context, it can be argued therefore that in the identity space of the members of the community modernism has a firm place.



kovin666 - 23.04.10 13:38:13

**Češi jsou pivní barbaři!!!**

[http://xman.idnes.cz/xman-styl.asp?c=A100422\\_224341\\_xman-styl\\_fro](http://xman.idnes.cz/xman-styl.asp?c=A100422_224341_xman-styl_fro)

*Translation: **Czechs are beer barbarians!!!***



**Mauler.Milan** - 23.04.10 14:27:42

**RE: Češi jsou...**

Ovšem neřekl nic zázračného, to tady ví každý... Že Češi pijou jenom ten svůj Gambáč a, že je pivo zdravé a, že jsou různé druhy k různým příležitostem. Spoustu lidí si prostě neumí pivo vychutnat jako třeba víno nebo knedlo, zelo, vepřo...

*Translation: However, he hasn't said anything magical, everyone knows that here... that Czechs drink only their Gambáč and that beer is healthy and there are different beers for different occasions. **Many people simply cannot relish beer as for example wine or dumplings, sauerkraut, pork...***



**Egyptan.Sinuhet** 🙌 - 23.04.10 14:38:58

**RE: Češi jsou....**

To je pravda.

A dalším faktem je i rozsah sortimentu ve většině našich obchodů a restaurací tak, jak ho zná většina členů tohoto fóra! Myslím, že o tom se nemusím dál rozepisovat... 🙄 🙄 🙄

*Translation: That's true. And **another fact is the extent of the sortiment in the most of our shops and restaurants** how it is known to most members of this forum! I think that I don't have to elaborate on it any further... 🙄 🙄 🙄*

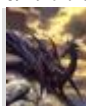


**TerezaBukovska** - 23.04.10 16:12:05

**RE: Češi jsou.....**

Taky ho dost lidí pije kvůli ceně, navíc kde by vzal např. člověk jako já tolik peněz na 1 lahev toho, o čem tam píše? Radši ani nemluvím o výběru... Klidně bych pila lepší pivo, ale jsem ráda že jednou za čas si dám něco lepšího a jinak piju obyč piva jako třeba Ferdinand no.

*Translation: Also, many people drink it because of price, moreover, where would, for example, a person like me take so much money for one bottle of that what he writes about? I rather don't talk about the choice... I would easily drink a better beer but I am glad that from time to time I have something better and otherwise I drink a regular beer such as Ferdinand/.*



**Matyseczek** - 27.04.10 20:39:10

**RE: Češi jsou pivní...**

nesouhlasím s celým článkem, ale to, že češi sedí v hospodě a pijou tu svoji jednu značku, to že dávají přednost kvantitě před kvalitou je pravda. Je spousta lidí co při slově kvasnicové pivo říkají: "to je nějaká sr\*čka." Pak ochutnají a pochopí....

*Translation: I don't agree with the whole article but **the fact that Czechs sit in a pub and drink their one brand and that they prefer quantity over quality is true.** There are many people who when hearing the word yeasty beer say: "that is some cr\*p." Then try and understand...*

## **7.4. Local context**

In the situation analysis I defined the local context as characterized by beer patriotism. This beer patriotism works both on general and local level. On the general level the analysis suggested that Czechs perceive beer as an important part of their culture and are very proud of their beer. On the local level the analysis revealed that there is a strong loyalty to brands, that is, majority of beer drinkers typically have their favorite brand to which they are loyal.

I have suggested in the theoretical part that realities of our local context determine our interpretation and reactions to globalization, too. With regards to the members of the online forum, it can be said that the local patriotism does not affect them. Contrarily, they try to disassociate themselves from the local patriotism and define themselves in opposition to it. They do not have a single brand that they religiously consume but look for variety and new experiences. However, on the general level the beer patriotism affects them. The general beer patriotism is a result of the long and rich tradition of beer in the Czech history. Specifically, the members have this inherent idea that the Czech beer in the past, especially during communism, was great. Most of them, however, cannot remember how the beer tasted in the past because the age of the members ranges between 20 to 40 years. Thanks to this inherent idea, however, the identity crisis leads to traditionalism. Therefore, in this case the local context creates favorable conditions for the emergence of traditionalism.

## **7.5. Key findings**

My findings suggest that the members of the on-line community have both traditionalist and modernist worldview. At first glance this seems to be a bit contradictory finding because on one hand they long for re-establishment of traditional values but, on the other hand, they are driven by a need for self-progress to look for new experiences and to differentiate themselves from local context, that is, beer patriotism. However, the truth is that these positions are not mutually exclusive, at least not in the case of this group, but rather we can say that modernism draws on traditionalism. If we think about it, the globalization is perceived negatively because sale of local breweries and consequent influx of foreign capital has caused commodification of the market. This commodification of the market is seen as dishonest because it erases the differences between breweries in terms of their distinctiveness of taste and smell. Traditions from the past are seen as honest because thanks to these production methods there was a great variation in tastes. It is important to realize that for the members the traditional methods are about distinctiveness of taste. The user who was describing what the Africans did to Plzensky Prazdroj suggested that the difference between the regular production and the beer brewed the old way was like chalk and cheese. He stressed that the taste was completely different which clearly evokes the perceived distinctiveness of beer brewed based on traditional methods. Therefore the difference the users make between now and then is based on the distinction between homogeneity and distinctiveness. Thus, the urge to return to traditions is based on the need to return to distinctiveness. Now, we can say that the members have developed a traditionalist worldview. However, this was enforced by the fact that they perceive globalization or capitalism as conflicting with their modernist worldview. The modernist worldview tells them to disconnect from the local context of beer

patriotism and to differentiate. However, globalization and the correlated expansion of capitalism prevent them to achieve this differentiation because they lead to commodification of the market. They lose faith in the progress of capitalism, which leads to an identity crisis. The identity crisis is, however, locally specific. The local specificity is determined by the general beer patriotism which instills into the members the idea that the Czech beer was great in the past. The identity crisis in combination with the general beer patriotism then cause emergence of traditionalism. Traditionalism arouses the need to return to the traditions. These traditions of the past are seen as a time when beer was not homogenous but rather distinctive. The search and preference for beers that are produced in a traditional way is, however, also aligned with their modernist view because these beers are perceived as distinctive and as bringing new experiences. Therefore, we may say that the traditionalism serves as a resource for modernism because the traditional values allow for self-identification and individualization.

The findings also show that identity crisis did not emerge because of economic crisis. The identity crisis erupted as a result of conflict between principles of modernist worldview and rationality of capitalism which commodifies the market.

Also, the findings contradict Friedman's (Cultural Identity & Global Process, 1994) claim that identity crisis is related to collapse of modernism. In this case, modernist position basically didn't change and only found a new resource in traditionalism.

However, my findings require further validation by members of the online community. I have made several bold statements which could eventually turn out to be false. For example, the statement that the traditional quality is associated with distinctiveness is more based on logic that it is the opposite of homogeneity than on spontaneous reactions of the members which would clearly point to it.

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