
BOOK REVIEW

THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE NORTH-WESTERN ROMANIAN BORDER 100 YEARS AFTER THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES. RESEARCH REPORT – RADU BALTASIU

Narcis-Claudiu Rupe³⁶⁵

ABSTRACT

Following the First World War, Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia, territories with a predominantly Romanian population, were united with the “Mother Country”. The union, sealed by the Treaties of Versailles, made it possible to advance the Romanian frontier in the west of “Greater Romania”, a frontier very different from the old ethnocratic one under Austro-Hungarian dualism. Professor R. Baltasiu, director of the European Centre for Ethnic Studies (Romanian Academy), coordinated research that examined the current status of Romania’s western border, which underwent transformations a century ago. The results of this study have been published in the book “The current status of the north-western Romanian border 100 years after the Treaty of Versailles”. The author demonstrates how Romania’s western neighbor’s border is advancing while Romania’s border is retreating, even if the administrative border remains unchanged. The consequences of this geopolitical movement are felt by both the dominated minority (Romanian) and the dominant minority (Hungarian). The Carei-Satu Mare area, where the study was conducted, is becoming pauperized, and the Romanian identity is suffering. The Romanian community is discriminated both objectively (the emergence of a new infrastatality) and subjectively (“being Romanian” has become discreditable).

Keywords: frontier, discrimination, stigmatization, local minorities, Romania, Hungary.

INTRODUCTION

“The current status of the north-western Romanian border 100 years after the Treaty of Versailles. Research report” represents the outcome of research efforts undertaken by the European Centre for Studies in Ethnic Issues of the Romanian Academy (C.E.S.P.E.) on the state of ethnic communities in Romania and abroad. Under the coordination of PhD Radu Baltasiu, a university professor at the Faculty of Sociology and Social Work in Bucharest and director of C.E.S.P.E., has conducted several studies on the problems of Romanian communities. In a paper, “The weakening of the Romanian community in Harghita – Covasna. Research Report” (2013), C.E.S.P.E.’s researchers have developed their own theoretical apparatus for

³⁶⁵ Ph.Dc, Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, University of Bucharest, E-mail contact: narcisrrupe@gmail.com.

understanding multi-ethnic social realities. The 2022 book develops the theoretical apparatus discovered in 2013 using concepts such as local minority, dominant local minority, and neo-interpretive methodology.

A team from the C.E.S.P.E. investigated in the summer of 2020 in the Carei-Satu Mare area the current state of Romania's north-western border. This research is the first of its kind carried out a century after the "Great Union" (1918), when a new border was drawn between Romania and Hungary.

The reviewed book contains the results of the 2020 study. Published by the Ethnological Publishing in Bucharest in 2022, the book totals around two hundred pages and is translated into English. So far, the researchers have presented their work in Carei³⁶⁶ and Targu Mures³⁶⁷.

STUDY QUESTIONS

The frontier issue has been a topic of interest for Romanian geopoliticians since the fall of the communist regime in Romania (1989). During the interwar period, the elites strengthened the Romanian ethnic element on the country's western frontier through the 1921 agrarian reform, when Romanian peasants received land in the villages along Romania's new border with Hungary. The descendants of these peasants continue to remember that they are an element of the consolidation of the Romanian border³⁶⁸.

After the fall of the communist regime, intellectual elites in Romania, as in the interwar period, became interested in the country's contact with the outside world. This book, published under the aegis of the C.E.S.P.E., has the merit of empirically testing the assumptions made by Romanian geopoliticians after 1989:

"In short, we will try to verify whether the weakness of the border described in 1995, in one of the first Romanian sociology treaties after the fall of communism, is still a verified reality nowadays"³⁶⁹.

³⁶⁶ Daniela Ciută, „Lansări de carte la Carei sub egida Academiei Române. Despre situația românilor de pe granița de nord-vest” [“Book launches in Carei under the auspices of the Romanian Academy. About the situation of the Romanians on the North-West border”], September 3, 2022, in *Buletin de Carei*, Available at: <https://www.buletindecarei.ro/2022/09/lansari-de-carte-la-carei-sub-egida-academiei-romane-despre-situatia-romanilor-de-pe-granita-de-nord-vest.html>, Accessed on October 7, 2023.

³⁶⁷ Ana Trușă, „Lansare itinerantă de carte, la Casa Iancului” [“Itinerant book launch at Casa Iancului”], November 30, 2022, in *Zi de Zi*, Available at: <https://www.zi-de-zi.ro/2022/11/30/lansare-itineranta-de-carte-la-casa-iancului/>, Accessed on October 7, 2023.

³⁶⁸ Radu Baltasiu (coord.), *Situația actuală a frontierei de nord-vest a României la 100 de ani de la Tratatul de la Versailles – raport de cercetare* [The current status of the north-western Romanian border 100 years after the Treaty of Versailles. Research report], Bucharest, Ethnologic Publishing, Sociologic Studies Collection, 2022, p. 126.

³⁶⁹ „Pe scurt, vom căuta să verificăm dacă slăbiciunea frontierei descrisă în 1995, într-unul din primele tratate de sociologie românești de după 1990, se mai verifică sau nu în prezent.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 107.

The author points out from the beginning the connection between the geopolitical and sociological aspects of the study. Border management is a function of the state and is part of the complex of powers called national sovereignty. The extent to which the state manages its borders can be seen on the ground through the state of the border communities and their coherence. A more accurate indicator of the state's ability to manage its borders is the vitality of the communities that it is constitutionally required to protect³⁷⁰.

The border is a social body, much more than an administrative border between two countries. This social body includes communities whose lives change because of contact with elements outside their own borders. If the state leadership does not take responsibility for managing its own border, the communities it is constitutionally obliged to protect suffer.

At the geopolitical level, the research sought to answer two questions related to the state of Romanian statehood on the western border:

1. A century after the Great Union, has the common border with Hungary become ethnocratic again, like the one during the Austro-Hungarian dualism?
2. Is the sovereignty of the Romanian state altered by contact with the Hungarian border?

From a sociological point of view, the state of the Romanian community on the border and the quality of co-existence between it and the "other ethnic group", especially the Hungarian community, was verified:

- "1. The vitality – (intra)community potential (intraculturality).
 - a. It is connected with the degree of community coherence and with
 - b. The perceived quality of the community's relationship with the government
2. Self-identification and related issues. Who is a minority and who is discriminated against?
3. The degree of internal coherence of the community and the 'distance' between the communities (intra-community vitality) and
- c. Latent and manifest conflict"³⁷¹.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH

University Professor Radu Baltasiu, together with his PhD students, discovered and theorized a neo-interpretive sociological research methodology during his 2013 studies on the Romanian community in Covasna and Harghita.

³⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

³⁷¹ „1. Vitalitatea – potențialul comunitar și intracomunitar (intraculturalitatea).

- a. [Care] Este conexată cu gradul de coerență comunitară și cu
- b. Calitatea percepută a relației comunității cu statul
2. Autoidentificarea și conexe. Cine este minoritar și cine este discriminat?
3. Gradul de coerență internă a comunității și «distanța» dintre comunități (vitalitatea intracomunitară) și
- c. Conflictualitatea latentă și manifestă.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 108.

The methodology has its roots in Weberian comprehensive sociology, gustian sociology, and Thomas' Theorem. Neo-interpretive methodology seeks to capture the "storytelling" of a place – "the whole discourse, of the mental projections on the place, approximately explained"³⁷² – necessary for the organisation and survival of a human community. By acting in accordance with these mental projections, social actors create and recreate their reality because, as Thomas's paradigm demonstrates "a social phenomenon (an object, a state, a situation, etc.) is largely the result of individual, subjective, collectively accumulated definitions"³⁷³.

The social researcher has a duty to consider the collective subjectivity of the studied community as it represents "a facet of objectivity, in addition to the statistical one"³⁷⁴. The results of the neo-interpretive study are, to a significant extent, expressions of collective subjectivity decoded by the body of scientific theories used by the researcher. To obtain such results, data must be collected on three levels:

1. The level of local truth – the object is also the subject: it has autonomy; its perspective on reality is justified and must be taken as such. (...)
2. The local normative level. Derived from the level of local truth, the normative level refers to the set of practices that make possible the coherence of the community. (...)
3. 'The world seen from Bucharest' – how do the first two levels appear in relation to the theories used in data collection?"³⁷⁵.

The innovation and originality of neo-interpretive methodology is that it turns common knowledge, often neglected, into scientific knowledge. The theoretical perspective takes precedence, but it is of no value unless it is brought into line with the narrative, based on which social actors create and recreate social reality.

Another advantage of the neo-interpretive methodology is that it can combine several research techniques. In the Carei-Satu Mare area, field data were collected through semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and the mental maps technique³⁷⁶. To measure the inter-ethnic quality of life in the area, the researchers applied the Bogardus scale, which was adapted to local realities, and a stigma scale designed by the research team. These two scales considered the

³⁷² „(...) ansamblul discursului, al proiecțiilor mentale mai mult sau mai puțin explicate asupra locului.”, in *Ibidem*.

³⁷³ „(...) un fenomen social (un obiect, o stare, o situație etc.) este în bună măsură rezultatul definițiilor individuale, subiective, acumulate colectiv.”, in *Ibidem*.

³⁷⁴ „(...) o fațetă a obiectivității, pe lângă cea cifrică.”, in *Ibidem*.

³⁷⁵ „1. Planul adevărului local – obiectul este și subiect: are autonomie iar perspectiva lui asupra realității este îndreptățită și trebuie luată ca atare (...);

2. Planul normativ local. Derivat din planul adevărului local, planul normativ se referă la ansamblul de practici care fac posibilă coerența comunității (...);

3. «Lumea văzută de la București» – cum apar primele două etaje în raport cu teoriile întrebuintate în culegerea datelor?”, in *Ibidem*, p. 109.

³⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

“degree of acceptance of one community by the other, the new scale of stigmatization refers to the contraction of the collective sense of self that the community experiences because of the interaction with the other’s community”³⁷⁷.

ADVANCE OF THE ETHNOCRATIC FRONTIER

The study found that the Romanian border is contracting, and the Hungarian border is taking its place. Romania’s sovereignty is violated, and both communities suffer.

“After 1989, geopolitical tension at the Western frontier returned to the same terms of the exclusive and ethnocratic minority that begun in 1867, only that, at the time, the Romanian state had no authority in the area”³⁷⁸.

The advancing Hungarian border has administrative, economic, and interethnic consequences, especially for the local Romanian minority. The Carei-Satu Mare area is being suburbanised and becoming poorer. The book proves that the reactivation of the ethnocratic frontier in western Romania had economic effects on Transylvania, which, between 1867 and 1918, became an economic periphery of Budapest. Peripheralization then meant that the province was reduced to the status of a supplier of raw materials to the city of Budapest³⁷⁹. In these circumstances, the State should have improved the poor condition of the area. However, this did not happen because instead of a local administration responsible for the problems of the place, a new infrastatality emerged, led by the dominant Hungarian minority:

“While infrastatality refers to the subtle mechanisms of operation of the state apparatus, the new infrastatality refers to its diversion and emergence of an institutional network that replaces state authority, often by re-vectorizing existing institutions for purposes other than those legitimate and constitutional. Infrastatality is part of a non-Romanian geopolitical project, but one that uses the network of competence of legitimate public institutions, the weaknesses, especially their politicization, policies of nepotism and cross-party affairs, vanities, and personal rivalries”³⁸⁰.

³⁷⁷ „(...) gradul de acceptare a unei comunități de către cealaltă (...) [cât și] (...) contracția sentimentului de sine colectiv pe care îl trăiește comunitatea ca urmare a interacțiunii cu cealaltă comunitate.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 110.

³⁷⁸ „După 1989, tensiunea geopolitică la frontiera de vest a revenit la aceiași termeni ai minorității exclusive și etnocratice, de după 1867, numai că, atunci, statul român nu avea nicio autoritate în zonă.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 206.

³⁷⁹ Ilie Bădescu *et al.*, *Sociologia și geopolitica frontierei [Sociology and Geopolitics of the Border]*, Vol. I, Bucharest, Blue Flower Publishing, 1995, p. 284, quoted by *Ibidem*, p. 198.

³⁸⁰ „Dacă infrastatalitate se referă la mecanismele subtile de funcționare ale aparatului de stat, noua infrastatalitate se referă la deturnarea acesteia și la apariția unei rețele instituționale care substituie autoritatea de stat, adesea prin revectorizarea instituțiilor existente spre alte scopuri decât cele legitime și constituționale. Infrastatalitatea este parte a unui proiect geopolitic neromânesc, dar care se folosește de rețeaua de competență a instituțiilor publice legitime, de slăbiciunile, mai cu seamă de politizarea

The substitution of Romanian authority at the local government level makes it possible to discriminate against Romanians through public policies, which are no longer implemented based on democracy but on ethnicity, race or language³⁸¹. In addition, the Romanian community feels the abandonment of the Romanian state and the increasing presence of the Hungarian state, although the latter's investments in Satu Mare county are more than 2.5 times lower than those made through the programs of the central authorities in Bucharest, such as the National Investment Program³⁸².

At the community level, the researchers confirmed that in the Carei-Satu Mare area, Romanians have become a local minority and the Hungarian community acts as a dominant local minority, as in Covasna and Harghita counties.

- the dominant minority: “the national minority that has a monopoly on local power”³⁸³;
- the local minority:
“the national majority population who are in a political minority and are more or less discriminated/stigmatised locally”³⁸⁴.

By advancing the ethnocentric border in the Carei-Satu Mare area, the dominant minority is ideologized, stimulating among ethnic Hungarians a feeling of superiority over the other communities in the area:

“The ethnocentric state is ‘governed’ by the ideology according to which it would represent the will of a notion bearing an ethno-historical superiority, thus trying to impose itself in relation to other ‘inferior’ nations”³⁸⁵.

The advancing border of the neighbouring state exacerbates the differences between the two communities, making it difficult or even blocking the formation of a climate of good interethnic co-existence. The ethnic criterion of relation to the Other predominates, and the local Romanian minority is discriminated against.

“Most of the interviewed subjects, especially those of Romanian ethnicity, feel discriminated, even more, stigmatized, their ethnic identity being a real social

acestora, de politicile de cumetrie și de afacerile transpartinice, de vanitățile și rivalitățile personale.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 172.

³⁸¹ *Ibidem*.

³⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 139.

³⁸³ „(...) minoritatea din plan național care are monopolul puterii în plan local.”, in Radu Baltasiu et al., *Slăbirea comunității românești din Harghita – Covasna. Raport de cercetare [The weakening of the Romanian community in Harghita – Covasna. Research Report]*, Bucharest, Ethnologic Publishing, Sociologic Studies Collection, 2013, p. 49.

³⁸⁴ „(...) populația majoritară în plan național care se află în minoritate politică și este mai mult sau mai puțin discriminată/stigmatizată în plan local.”, in *Ibidem*.

³⁸⁵ „Statul etnocratic este «governat» de ideologia conform căreia ar reprezenta voința unui popor cu superioritate etnicoistorică, încercând, astfel, să se impună în relația cu alte popoare «inferioare».”, in Radu Baltasiu, *op cit.*, 2022, p. 104.

handicap, especially when it manifests itself as social solidarity, cultural identity, political aspiration, economic initiative, etc. (...) We can say that the discrimination on ethnic grounds is part of the everyday life in this part of Romania's frontier"³⁸⁶.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST LOCAL ROMANIAN MINORITY IN THE CAREI-SATU MARE AREA ON OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE LEVELS

The advancement of the Hungarian border and the aforementioned consequences create a discriminatory inter-ethnic climate for Romanians. The research team identified that discrimination against Romanians occurs both at the level of the system (objective discrimination) and at the level of public representations (subjective discrimination):

“Objective discrimination refers to the administrative and economic apparatus through which two important demographic masses are treated separately, often despite their will. (...)

Subjective discrimination refers to individual gestures, assumed by individuals, various perpetrators, and acts of violation of the rights of fellow citizens of other ethnicities, especially those belonging to the local minority”³⁸⁷.

In what follows, we will mention only some of the acts of discrimination against the local minority, with mention that in the book, the number is much larger, and the presentation is more extensive. At the system level, the Romanian community faces the following problems:

1. The emergence of infrastatality. Key positions in local government are not equally distributed between the two ethnicities. The dominated minority has a monopoly on key functions. Electoral behaviour is the main cause for this situation. Romanians vote according to political preferences while the Hungarian community votes according to ethnic preferences.

³⁸⁶ „Majoritatea subiecților intervievați, în special cei de etnie română, se simt discriminați, chiar mai mult, stigmatizați, identitatea lor etnică fiind un veritabil handicap social, mai ales atunci când se manifestă ca solidaritate socială, identitate culturală, aspirație politică, inițiativă economică etc. (...) Putem spune că discriminarea pe criterii etnice este parte a cotidianului în această parte de frontieră a României.”, in *Ibidem*, pp. 166–167.

³⁸⁷ „Discriminarea obiectivă se referă la angrenajul administrativ, economic prin care două mase demografice importante sunt tratate separat, adesea în ciuda voinței acestora. (...) Discriminarea subiectivă trimite la gesturile individuale, asumate de particulari, diverși responsabili, acte de încălcare ale drepturilor concetățenilor de altă etnie, mai cu seamă cele ale minorității locale.”, in *Ibidem*, pp. 112–113.

“If the Romanians are divided into 5–7 thousand little parties and form associations alongside them (...) people don’t even know where to start (D., female, 38, entrepreneur)”³⁸⁸.

2. Romanians must know the Hungarian language if they want to work for companies owned by ethnic Hungarians, which are more numerous than Romanian ones.

“One has a problem here is if you don’t know Hungarian, not if you don’t know Romanian, because no one hires you. (I., male, 61, retired)”³⁸⁹.

3. Classes taught in Romanian are closed. Because the Romanian state does not recognise them as a minority, the children of ethnic Romanians do not enjoy the same privileges as the children of ethnic Hungarians. The latter can study in classes of three to four pupils, a privilege that Romanian children do not enjoy.

“The problem is that the Hungarian section is not merged [like the Romanian one] because there are certain facilities and rights. A class with 12 Hungarian children can work because they are a minority, but in our case, if they are under 12, the classes are merged. For Hungarians that is not allowed, it is an order from above (O., male, 41, retired military)”³⁹⁰.

Regarding the subjective aspects of discrimination, it should be mentioned from the outset that Romanians live in an interethnic environment where “being Romanian” has become a discreditable thing. Being associated with something discreditable triggers the following problems:

1. Traumatic memory. Researchers have found that ethnic Romanians act on a traumatic memory caused by the “negative traumatic events in 1940–1944 and 1989–1990, when the Hungarian government-initiated processes of ethnic cleansing through physical and symbolic violence”³⁹¹. Traumatic memory is the opposite of founding memory, the only basis on which a peaceful inter-ethnic climate can develop³⁹². Some of the Romanians interviewed live with the fear that those events may be repeated.
2. Fear of publicly expressing oneself in accordance with one’s national identity.

³⁸⁸ „Dacă românii sunt dezbiinați în 5–7 mii de partidulețe și mai fac și asociații pe lângă (...) nici nu mai știi oamenii pe unde să apuce. (D., feminin, 38, întreprinzător)”, in *Ibidem*, p. 190.

³⁸⁹ „Aici e problemă dacă nu știi maghiară, nu dacă nu știi românește, că nu te angajează nimeni (I., masculin, 61, pensionar)”, in *Ibidem*, p. 140.

³⁹⁰ „Problema e că la secția maghiară nu se comasează pentru că sunt anumite facilități, drepturi. O clasă cu 12 copii maghiari poate să funcționeze, pentru că sunt minoritari, dar la noi dacă sunt sub 12 copii se comasează clasele. La maghiari nu e voie, e ordin de sus (O., masculin, 41, militar pensionar)”, in *Ibidem*, p. 185.

³⁹¹ „(...) evenimentele negative traumatice din anii 1940–1944 și în 1989/1990, când autoritățile ungurești au inițiat procese de purificare etnică prin violență fizică și simbolică.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 128.

³⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 127.

“People are afraid [to participate to the Romanian events in Carei, referring to the teachers in the city]. Here is Hungarian leadership and if they are seen there, it wouldn’t look good, and they would not receive classes or the class master quality. In our school, two people have the courage [to participate at Romanian events]. Otherwise, [teachers] don’t come on the national day either (V., male, 49, teacher)”³⁹³.

3. Stigma and self-stigma. In addition to the fact that “being Romanian” has become something to be avoided, the research reveals the tendency of Romanians to accept low self-esteem to live their lives in apparently normal conditions. This phenomenon has been termed “self-stigmatisation”.

“(…) self-stigmatization is the cost that the discriminated person is willing to pay to be frequentable. It is related to the fear of social rejection. An almost normified component of self-stigmatization is confusion among the Romanian community between patriotism/nationalism and extremism”³⁹⁴.

All these forms of discrimination decrease the vitality of the Romanian community. Without the intervention of the Romanian authorities, the Romanian community will massify, lose its identity, or migrate from the area.

REFLECTIONS

The study coordinated by University Professor Radu Baltasiu in the Carei-Satu Mare area attempts to inform the Romanian state about the realities at its border. The book brings the problems of Romania’s western border to the attention of a worldwide public and is translated into an international language. This is of great importance because the ideologization of a border within the European Union and NATO raises security concerns for Eastern Europe, whose neighbor is the Russian Federation.

The advancing Hungarian border, pauperization of the area, ideologization of the dominant minority, and discrimination of the local minority are realities documented by the research team. Critics of the scholarly approach would label the work subjective because it raises real issues that may upset a minority of Romanians, or even the leaders of the country.

Sociology is a multiparadigmatic science, a competition between different paradigms to explain the same groups of social phenomena³⁹⁵. The most important

³⁹³ „Oamenilor le e frică [să participe la evenimentele românești din Carei, cu referire la profesorii din oraș]. E conducere maghiară și dacă îi vede nu dă bine, nu le dă ore, nu-i pune diriginți. La noi în școală doi oameni avem curajul [să participe la evenimente românești]. În rest, nici la ziua națională nu vin [profesorii] (V., masculin, 49, profesor).”, in *Ibidem*, p. 188.

³⁹⁴ „Autostigmatizarea este costul pe care persoana discriminată este dispusă să îl plătească pentru a fi frecventabilă, este încercarea celui care se știe discreditabil de a ieși din această zonă.”, in *Ibidem*, p. 187.

³⁹⁵ See Ion Ungureanu, *Paradigms of society knowledge [Paradigme ale cunoașterii societății]*, Iași, Junimea Publishing, 2002.

thing is for the researcher to recognize the paradigm from which he/she comes to present to the reader its possible flaws.

There may be other theoretical perspectives on the state of Romania's western border, which may lead to different results. For the moment, Professor Baltasiu's research is a pathbreaker for researchers interested in the subject, and the fact that it "causes problems": does not detract from its "objectivity", since the author has openly assumed the paradigm from which he approached the problem.

The future of the Romanian community is bleak without real help from the Romanian state. There are still "one-man-institutions" – "those who, often at their own expense, have assumed the protection of the identity and interests of the local minority community"³⁹⁶, while others have accepted the discriminatory situation. The impact of this study on the authorities in Bucharest remains to be seen.

REFERENCES

- Baltasiu Radu (coord.), *Situația actuală a frontierei de nord-vest a României la 100 de ani de la Tratatul de la Versailles – raport de cercetare* [The current status of the north-western Romanian border 100 years after the Treaty of Versailles. Research report], Bucharest, Ethnologic Publishing, Sociologic Studies Collection, 2022.
- Baltasiu Radu, Săpunaru Gabriel and Bulumac Ovidiana, *Slăbirea comunității românești din Harghita – Covasna. Raport de cercetare* [The weakening of the Romanian community in Harghita – Covasna. Research Report], Bucharest, Ethnologic Publishing, Sociologic Studies Collection, 2013.
- Baltasiu Radu, Bulumac Ovidiana and Dumitrescu Lucian, „Abordarea neinterpretativă” [“The neo-interpretative approach”] in Bădescu Ilie, Cucu-Oancea Ozana and Șișeștean Gheorghe (coord.), *Tratat de sociologie rurală* [Treatise on rural sociology], Bucharest, Little Wallachia Publishing, 2009.
- Bădescu Ilie and Dungaciu Dan, *Sociologia și geopolitica frontierei* [Sociology and Geopolitics of the Border], Vol. I, Bucharest, Blue Flower Publishing, 1995.
- Bădescu Ilie, Cucu-Oancea Ozana and Șișeștean Gheorghe (coord.), *Tratat de sociologie rurală* [Treatise on rural sociology], Bucharest, Little Wallachia Publishing, 2009.
- Ciută Daniela, „Lansări de carte la Carei sub egida Academiei Române. Despre situația românilor de pe granița de nord-vest” [“Book launches in Carei under the auspices of the Romanian Academy. About the situation of the Romanians on the North-West border”], September 3, 2022, in *Buletin de Carei*, Available at: <https://www.buletindecarei.ro/2022/09/lansari-de-carte-la-carei-sub-egida-academiei-romane-despre-situatia-romanilor-de-pe-granita-de-nord-vest.html>, Accessed on October 7, 2023.
- Trușă Ana, „Lansare itinerantă de carte, la Casa Iancului” [“Itinerant book launch at Casa Iancului”], November 30, 2022, in *Zi de Zi*, Available at: <https://www.zi-de-zi.ro/2022/11/30/lansare-itineranta-de-carte-la-casa-iancului/>, Accessed on October 7, 2023.
- Ungureanu Ion, *Paradigme ale cunoașterii societății* [Paradigms of society knowledge], Iași, Junimea Publishing, 2002.

³⁹⁶ „(...) cei care, adesea pe speze proprii, și-au asumat protejarea identității și intereselor comunității aflate în minoritate locală”, in *Ibidem*, p. 95.