

Karla Melinda Barth, Mircea Brie, Dragoş Dărăbăneanu, István Polgár
(Eds.)

The Role of Intercultural Communication

*Adapting Ethnic Groups to the European Union
Social Space*

**The Role of Intercultural Communication.
Adapting Ethnic Groups to the European
Union Social Space**

The Role of Intercultural Communication. Adapting Ethnic Groups to the European Union Social Space

Edited by Karla Melinda BARTH, Mircea BRIE, Dragoş DĂRĂBĂNEANU,
István POLGÁR

The responsibility for the content of the articles belongs to the autor(s)

CONTENTS

Introductory Study

The Role of Intercultural Communication in Adapting Ethnic Groups to the European Union Social Space. Introductory Study Karla BARTH, Mircea BRIE, Dragoş DĂRĂBĂNEANU, Istvan POLGAR	9
--	---

Intercultural Dialogue and Interethnic Coexistence in the European Union

Intercultural Communication and European Social Compatibility in the Romanian Society Dragoş DĂRĂBĂNEANU	23
The Essential Role of Intercultural Dialogue in Social Cohesion, Equality Promotion, Reconciliation Between Peoples and Peace Among Nations, Ana DAMASCHIN.....	37
Switzerland - A multilingual State, not a Nation State Christian BERGMANN	55
Distinguishing the Multicultural from the Multiethnic and Eu Integration: Albanians in the Republic of North Macedonia Elsa POLLOZHANI.....	85
Macedonia-Greece Dispute Resolution Agreement and the Constitutional Amendments Jusuf ZEJNELI, Faton SHABANI.....	101
Republic of Moldova's Policies in the Context of Liberalization of Regime of The Visa Regime with the EU – the Impact on the Migration Process Natalia PUTINĂ.....	113

The Cultural Values of the Accession Negotiations Between North Macedonia and the European Union Emilia Nicoleta SCHIOP	135
Lack of the intercultural dialogues as a room for xenophobia Irina Pop	157
Refugee Students Education Requirements in EU, Example, Deterioration of Education in Syria Osman Mohamed ELMAHDI.....	175
Tools and Models of Minority Integration in the European Social Space István POLGÁR	183
 The Role of Intercultural Communication and European Education	
Theoretical Aspects of Romanian Vocational Education in European Context Maria Cristina FLORESCU, Sorin Ioan CUC	201
Intercultural Education Through Art Loredana MUNTEAN, Adina VESA	221
Intercultural education in educational institutions in Romania Various activities based on intercultural projects in the kindergarten Georgeta BARA, Marioara ROȘAN.....	229
Educational Cultural Development in the Rural Environment in the European Context Claudiu Gabriel BONACIU	237
Teaching and Learning in Special Education with Information Communication Technologies Project – a Way of Intercultural Research Adela BRADEA, Valentin Cosmin BLÂNDUL	259

Interculturality - a New General Competence in the Study of Romanian Language and Literature at the Secondary Education Adela BRADEA.....	267
The Multicultural Dimension of Storytelling in the Teaching and Learning Process Nicoleta Ramona CIOBANU.....	279
The Movie-Teaching Material. The Impact of Video Teaching Methods on Students Constantin Cătălin PASCARIU	289
The Impact of Active – Participatory Methods in the Teaching Learning Process Anamaria Cristina SABĂU.....	297
The Role of Multicultural Projects in the Development of the Personality of Children with Special Educational Needs Karla Melinda BARTH.....	307
Theoretical Approaches on the Role of the School-Family-Community Partnership in the Education of Disabled Children Daniela-Crina LEZEU.....	317
European Values and Intercultural Dialogue in Romanian Schools Alina PĂDUREAN, Florin VASILONI	329
European Union in History Textbooks Corneliu PĂDUREAN	347
Parental Options Concerning the Language of Preschool Education in Bihor County Réka NAGY	363
National minorities: levels of educational analysis Mircea BRIE.....	371

Social Values, Integration and Multicultural Compatibility in Europe

Analysis of the Activity of Public Authorities in Romania for the Socio-Professional Integration of Refugees Mădălina COCOȘATU	395
The Consequences of Divors on Children in Multicultural Families Iulia-Maria BARLA (SAID)	403
Desideratum of Unification in Socio-Cultural and Political Space of Republic of Moldova at Present Stage Alexandru SOLCAN	421
Romanian Children in Risk Situations Ionuț Mihai OPREA	439
Culturally Responsive Teaching Laurian Fitzgerald SIMONA, Fitzgerald CARLTON JAMES	449
Images of Romanian Jewish community reflected in the newspaper “Adevărul” Anca OLTEAN	461
Multiple Exclusions: Civic and Political Disengagement of Vulnerable Youth in the European Union Marius Ioan TĂTAR, Dan APĂTEANU	477
The Ideological Conflict on Migration Zsolt BOTTYAN	507
European Integrationist Aspirations - a Factor Driving the Moldovan-French Partnership Violeta COTILEVICI, Svetlana CEBOTARI	527
Effectiveness of European Structural and Cohesion Funds in the Process of Fighting Social Exclusion Diana GLIGOR	543

INTRODUCTORY STUDY

THE ROLE OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN ADAPTING ETHNIC GROUPS TO THE EUROPEAN UNION SOCIAL SPACE. INTRODUCTORY STUDY

Karla BARTH^{*}, Mircea BRIE^{**},
Dragoș DĂRĂBĂNEANU^{***}, Istvan POLGAR^{****}

Abstract. *The methodological and conceptual-theoretical architecture of this analysis is built with the central points of communication / intercultural dialogue and the identity of the national-ethnic groups in the European Union area. The focus is naturally on developing an intercultural model at the level of European society that promotes the integration and adaptation of ethnic groups, at all levels, with an emphasis on the social space. Education, first and foremost the one promoting interculturality, often referred to as intercultural education, naturally plays an essential role in the development of European society. Cultural diversity, pluralism and multiculturalism are specific elements of the European space. European integration is complex and it does not require, nor is it conditioned by the idea of cultural unity, or by the existence of a common culture to include all Europeans. Specificity and diversity belong to the realm of intercultural dialogue, prerogatives of the European peoples. Each of the European societies must find its own integrated solutions, depending on the specific traditions and its institutions.*

Keywords: *intercultural communication; ethnic groups; European Union; the european social space; multiculturalism; education*

* Associate Professor, University of Oradea, Romania, karla_barth@yahoo.com.

** Professor, PhD, Department of International Relations and European Studies, University of Oradea, Romania. E-mail: briedri@hotmail.com.

*** PhD in Sociology, lecturer professor at University of Oradea, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: darabaneanu@gmail.com

**** PhD., Lecturer, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of History International Relations, Political Science and Communication Sciences, University of Oradea, Romania, E-mail: polgaruoradea@gmail.com

The entire methodological and conceptual-theoretical architecture of this analysis is built with the central points of communication / intercultural dialogue and the identity of the national-ethnic groups in the European Union area. The focus is naturally on developing an intercultural model at the level of European society that promotes the integration and adaptation of ethnic groups, at all levels, with an emphasis on the social space. Education, first and foremost the one promoting interculturality, often referred to as intercultural education, naturally plays an essential role in the development of European society.

The trends expressed in the scientific environment of the European culture are either gathered around the concept of *cultural homogeneity*, a phenomenon in a strong causal connection with globalisation, or it designates an existing reality that cannot be denied or eliminated, that is *cultural diversity*. In the first case, we deal with universalization and uniformity of values, images and ideas broadcast by media or cultural industry. Within such construction, regional and national character suffers, as one may notice the insertion of a means of cultural “predominance” mainly issued by the United States of America, also known as “Americanisation” of world culture (La culture au cœur, 1998: 255-258). In the second case, cultural diversity involves plurality of ideas, images, values and expressions. They are all possible through a variety of expression and the presence of a great number of parallel local, regional, ethnic, national, etc. cultures. Moreover, given the context, certain authors speak of “identity revenge” and the “feeling of returning to historical, national and cultural identity”, particularly in an area such as Central and Eastern Europe and at a historical time when national features and identity are compelled to be redefined by being more open to the new geopolitical, historical, or cultural configurations (David and Florea, 2007: 645-646). Beyond the relative epistemological antagonism of the approach, our debate can have slight variations. The field of cultural cooperation tends to become „multipolar”, as the concept of “cultural networks” is introduced. These networks have begun to shatter old structures and support identity, communication, relationship and information (Pehn, 1999: 8). International stakeholders acquire an ever more important role; their projects, ideas, methods or structures, in other words their identity, are not only more visible (thus acquiring a multiplying effect on others); they

are also more specific and particular in expression (Brie, Polgar and Chirodea, 2012: 7-8).

Ethnicity is a concept around which discussion and controversy arise, generating emotions and feelings of extreme intensity. Each of us belongs to such communities. By default, there is a strong pressure on us to be subjective. Intercultural dialogue can be successfully provided where a community that is aware of the others comes to communicate, to cooperate, and to build the structure of a multicultural society. Studies have shown that ethnic diversity is poor when missing openness to other communities. On the other hand, this diversity, as it is the case throughout Central and South-Eastern Europe, reveals the less desirable realities. Today we are talking about discrimination, marginalization, low-status minorities, peripheral companies, inequitable distribution of resources; therefore, we can conclude that the majority-minority relations management highlights the demographic aspect (quantity) and the sociological aspect, i.e. the distribution of authority and power (Brie, 2013: 11-12).

Cultural diversity, pluralism and multiculturalism are specific elements of the European space. European integration is complex and it does not require, nor is it conditioned by the idea of cultural unity, or by the existence of a common culture to include all Europeans. Specificity and diversity belong to the realm of *intercultural dialogue*, prerogatives of the European peoples. Each of the European societies must find its own integrated solutions, depending on the specific traditions and its institutions. European societies and cultures do not repel each other in the European construction equation. It is time that everyone learns from the experience and the expertise of others. Central and Eastern European countries issued by the communist authoritarian regimes have experimented in the post-1990 a transition to a democratic model. This democratic model assumes, however, the acceptance of diversity, including those claims that had acknowledged the minorities. In some cases, the opportunities for cultural expression and political responses to these claims were not really the desired ones and thus, unfortunately, military settlements were sought (Brie, Horga and Şipoş, 2011: 14-15).

Over a long period of time, the minorities in Western Europe have gradually won self-recognition and equity in distribution of national resources (sudden changes were recorded in the central-eastern continent that manifested with a much higher intensity, both

through the minority claims and the resistance of the majority). Not the same situation can be found in minority rights from the old European colonies. Their proposals raised issues related to the question of social status, financial resources and, finally, the relations between European cultures and those from the world where these populations originate (La culture au cœur, 1998: 69).

The *problem of immigrants*, their access and integration, is another sensitive and important issue from the perspective of inter-ethnic or inter-religious relations. Diversity is not only ethno-religious; it is also cultural and mental. The attitudes of Europeans towards immigrants have not remained constant over time. If in the '70s the European countries were favourable to immigration, and in some cases such as West Germany and Switzerland, immigration was encouraged, as it addressed employment, then things have changed. In the late '80s, because of the overwhelming number of immigrants and their "non-European" character, the old continent proved to be less welcoming. Yet Europe has tried to cultivate a climate of openness and generosity." It is fundamental to create a welcoming society and to recognize that immigration is a two-way process involving both immigrants being adapted to the society, and the society that assimilates them. Europe is by nature a pluralist society, rich in cultural and social traditions that will further diversify" (Tandonnet, 2007: 50). Is it just a utopia this European optimism that Maxime Tandonnet identified? The presence of Islam in Europe is a certainty, but its Europeanization remains a contentious issue. As the French academician Gilles Kepel noted "neither the bloodshed of the Muslims in North Africa, fighting in French uniforms during both world wars, nor the toil of the immigrant workers, living in deplorable conditions, who rebuilt France (and Europe) for nothing after 1945, did not transform their children in ... European citizens in the true sense of the word" (Leiken, 2005: 1). If Europeans are able to assimilate Muslim immigrants, or if there will be a conflict of values remains an open issue. Stanley Hoffman observed that more and more Westerners are afraid of "being invaded not by armies and tanks, but by the immigrants who speak other languages and worship other gods from other cultures and will take their jobs, will occupy their land, will live far from the prosperity system and will threaten their way of life" (Stanley, 1991: 30, Huntington, 1998: 292).

Intercultural communication and the adaptation of ethnic groups to the European space is a topic of analysis and debate, necessary, even compulsory, in the context of the construction of economic, administrative and political bodies, which are compatible and ensure the consolidation of the European Union. The European space represents a difficult social construction in the first place due to its multicultural character. This multiculturalism brings together under one dome ethnic, religious or national groups with strong collective personalities, built in time on cultural arguments and on centuries-old traditions. Interethnic and intercultural relations are meant to ensure openness and cooperation between Europeans, this being the only way to strengthen a European welfare state.

An additional role of the debates on this topic is to emphasize the need for citizen involvement. The scientific constructions related to intercultural communication and the compatibility of ethnic groups from the perspective of their interactions are meant to increase people's desire to be considered themselves, citizens of Europe, to meditate on our common future, to participate in the consolidation of the European social space. Any communication expresses a need, so any communication has a purpose. The role of studies related to intercultural communication is to highlight the common purpose of Europeans in building a strong European Union. Through the research and studies specific to social science domain, effective strategies and ways of cooperation will be found to achieve this common goal. European society must overcome any trace of inter-ethnic and national conflicts that have ravaged Europe for centuries. Only in this way will the path to prosperity and civilization be assured.

Intercultural communication in the context of university education has the role of preparing individuals and societies to pay more attention to the cultural dimension of their existence. As a result, the European Union relies on increasing contacts and interactions between citizens of different ethnicities, religious denominations or national groups, which make up the social space of the European Union today. The scientific debates included in this volume are intended to analyze strategies and forms of manifesting the interactions between the citizens of Europe, to stimulate through communication the development of common objectives, which will

lead to an increase in the standard of living and of course to the evolution of all the societies in the European Union.

Romania is by tradition a multicultural social space; here they lived together, for centuries, together with Romanians, many other ethnic groups that contributed positively to the evolution and development of the Romanian society. We consider multiculturalism a welcome quality for any social space. We must remember, however, that ethnic plurality sometimes develops tensions and this happens everywhere, because it is of human nature, it is about the basic attributes of human societies. Therefore, multicultural relationships need to be educated, monitored and evaluated. The scientific approaches of this volume respond successfully to maintaining correct perspectives in the formation of public opinion, which is manifested not only at the level of daily life, but especially at the level of collaborations on an institutional level. Institutional environments are those that ensure the professional status corresponding to the positions and functions necessary for an institution, public or private, to develop efficiently. The professional activities represent personal stakes which are decisive for the citizens of the European Union. The practice of any profession ensures the individual a social status and determines the standard of living or well-being of people and families. Therefore, the social construction starts from the performances that the labor market shows, in particular regarding the social and pecuniary appreciation of the professional competences. From this perspective, at European Union level there are still significant differences between different national or even ethnic social media. By constantly explaining and monitoring these differences, one can reach the desirable situation of diminishing them in time. Of course, the research and analysis efforts must be complemented by the economic performance. On these principles the whole social system of the European Union is built, whose success depends exclusively on the success and efficiency of the institutional performances, which depend on the quality of human and institutional interactions, manifested homogeneously throughout the European Global State.

The volume entitled "*The Role of Intercultural Communication. Adapting Ethnic Groups to the European Union Social Space*" is based on three gnoseological dimensions that the authors develop from different perspectives, using interpretative

models and knowledge strategies specific to the humanistic and social scientific field:

1. "*Intercultural dialogue and interethnic coexistence in the European Union*" is a general theme that emphasizes the forms of interaction of the ethnic groups found in different geo-social spaces of the European Union.

The studies presented in the volume, regarding the mentioned topic, approach different situations that are found as usual practices in different social environments. A particular topic is represented by the emerging ethnic or national groups, which aspire to the level of specific and desirable social status in the European Union. In particular we will find presentations related to the defining cultural values of the communities in northern Macedonia; traditions and culture in the Roma communities; public and social policies related to the phenomenon of migration in the Republic of Moldova; social and cultural values of the Catalans. It also presents the role that the institution of the church plays in the process of motivating the interactions between different ethnic groups. We find a historical perspective that wants to explain the current image of the Protestant church in the European Union. The role of the study of languages in the construction of European society is a perspective that brings completions on the understanding of the social phenomena generated by the intercultural dialogue. In the same context we find also the analysis of the role that intercultural dialogue has in defining corporate identities at the level of the European Union.

2. "*The Role of Intercultural Communication and European Education*" is the second dimension that underlies this volume, emphasizing European education and its role in the development of the global society.

Here we find a more homogeneous approach to study subjects, which have as their starting point intercultural education. Intercultural education aims at a pedagogical approach to make cultural differences compatible. The contemporary society of the European Union implies the transfer of cultural values and models, customs and traditions, obliges the renunciation of ethnocentric stereotypes and the reform of the customs of representation of the other. Intercultural education is not a process that stops or is dedicated to educational institutions. On the contrary, intercultural education is necessarily required as a form of social pedagogy, which encompasses all social blankets and age

groups, regardless of national, religious or ethnic belonging. One proof of this is socialization in ontogeny, which is a socio-pedagogical phenomenon starting from the first year of life, through the process of cultivation for which the small family of the individual becomes responsible. At the age of 3 years, once children enter the kindergarten, they develop an intercultural process. They adapt to the socio-educational, cultural environment in the kindergarten, then later to the school cultural environment. Interculturality is a way of training the individual that is added to the primary culture, the latter remains active as a process of formation, until the maturity of the individual is reached.

It should be emphasized that education in general and intercultural education in particular are forms of determining social behavior, which remain effective as long as they manifest themselves constantly and indefinitely temporarily. Any form of cultural education, once interrupted, is replaced by another form of cultural education, specific to the new social context. That is why intercultural education must be permanent, but at the same time it should not be a cause for discomfort for the individual. Therefore, not only the forms or the content, but also the dosages of the implementation of the educational strategies, represent the determining factors in the efficiency of the intercultural education. The scientific debates related to intercultural education are in fact forms of monitoring the phenomenon, ways of identifying possible problems related to intercultural communication, building foundations of strategies for implementing a system of social norms and values, compatible with the basic values of the European Union. .

This volume contains studies on how schools in Romania manage to assume European values that will be later transposed into society in the form of intercultural dialogue. We also find a comparative study that deals with intercultural education from the perspective of the forms of manifestation of national identity in the minority groups in Central and Eastern Europe. We also mention from scientific materials that present concrete projects for the implementation of intercultural educational strategies at the level of pre-school education, but also the forms of cultural adaptation of children in Romania in the context of educational programs carried out in other countries of the European Union. In this part we also find a case study about Roma children and their experience in the

education systems in France and Romania. The educational and cultural development of rural areas is another point of interest found in this volume, being complemented by an interesting study on the ways in which art contributes to intercultural dialogue.

3. "*Social values, integration and multicultural compatibility in Europe*" is the third thematic basis of this volume. Multicultural compatibility is the basis of the principles of constitution and functioning of the social space of the European Union. The harmony of the relations between the different ethnic, religious and national groups is a mandatory condition in the functioning of the European space.

Multiculturalism, defined as a set of social policies and processes meant to ensure the preservation of the cultural identity of a distinct group within society, is a preoccupation already established within the systems of social construction worldwide. Examples of success in multicultural social construction can be mentioned in Switzerland, the United States of America, Australia or Canada. However, we have a radical difference between the mentioned social spaces and the European Union. The mentioned social standards were formed by mixing heterogeneous cultural groups, but characterized by a reduced or even non-existent cultural identity. Europe, on the other hand, contains ethnic, national or religious spaces with a strong cultural identity, formed and sustained over the centuries. These deep cultural identities are in certain situations a significant obstacle to the construction of the European multicultural social space.

The volume "*The Role of Intercultural Communication. Adapting Ethnic Groups to the European Union Social Space*" addresses the problem of European multiculturalism from different perspectives. The ideological conflicts manifested in the context of the migration phenomenon, are presented as not negligible aspects that are mainly found in the most economically developed societies. We also find analyzes that emphasize the desire for socio-cultural unification in the European Union. Concrete models for stimulating socio-cultural unification are presented, more precisely; the role and impact of Erasmus mobility programs as a direction of educational and professional development are discussed. The phenomenon of labor force migration is presented from an analytical perspective, being exposed concrete cases in this direction. These perspectives are complemented by the interest for the process of social integration at

European Union level. All these analyzes show that the forms of self-motivation of the ethnic, national or religious groups for the homogenization of the European social space depend to a large extent on the economic policies and on the common market of the labor force, which offers the European citizens broad possibilities, in relation to the professional development, but at the same time increasing the standard of living.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Brie, Mircea (2013), *Ethnicity, Religion and Intercultural Dialogue in the European Border Space*, in Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş (coord.), *Ethnicity and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union's East Border*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing
- Blaga, Daniela; Brie, Mircea, *Differentiated Integration - from Theory to Practice. Determiners in the Integration Process of the Western Balkans: Ethnicity*, în *Analele Universităţii din Oradea, Seria Relaţii Internaţionale şi Studii Europene*, 2013, p. 173-185.
- Brie, Mircea; Ioan Horga and Sorin Şipoş (coord.), *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union's East Border*, Editura Universităţii din Debrecen/Editura Universităţii din Oradea, Debrecen/Oradea, 2011
- Brie, Mircea; Istvan Polgar and Florentina Chirodea (2012), *Cultural Identity, Diversity and European Integration. Introductory Study*, în Mircea Brie, Istvan Polgar, Florentina Chirodea (coord.), *European Union. Identity, Diversity and Integration*, supliment *Analele Universităţii din Oradea, Seria Relaţii Internaţionale şi Studii Europene*, Oradea, p. 7-20
- Brie, Mircea; Dărăbăneanu, Dragoş, *Ethnic Identity and Social Borders. The Case of the Roma in Romania*, în Mircea Brie, Klára Czimre, Bogumiła Mucha-Leszko (eds.), *The Social Frontiers of Europe, Eurolimes*, nr. 17, Oradea, 2014, p. 123-134.
- Brie, Mircea, *European Culture between Diversity and Unity*, în *Analele Universităţii din Oradea, Seria Relaţii Internaţionale şi Studii Europene*, 2010, p. 79-92.

- David, Doina; Florea, Călin (2007), *Archetipul cultural și conceptul de tradiție*, in *The Proceedings of the European Integration-Between Tradition and Modernity Congress 2nd Edition*, Editura Universității „Petru Maior”, Târgu Mureș, p. 645-652
- Huntington, P. Samuel (1998), *Ciocnirea Civilizațiilor și Refacerea Ordinii Mondiale*, București
- La culture au cœur(1998), *La culture au cœur. Contribution au débat sur la culture et le développement en Europe*, Groupe de travail européen sur la culture et le développement, Editions du Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg
- Leiken, Robert S. (2005), *Europe's Angry Muslims*, in *Foreign Affairs*, iulie-august 2005
- Pehn, Gudrun (1999), *La mise en réseau des cultures. Le rôle des réseaux culturels européens*, Editions du Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg
- Stanley, Hoffman (1991), *The Case for Leadership*, in *Foreign Policy*, 81 (iarna 1990-1991), p. 26-35
- Tandonnet, Maxime (2007), *Géopolitique des migrations. La crise des frontières*, Edition Ellipses, Paris

**INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE AND
INTERETHNIC COEXISTENCE IN THE
EUROPEAN UNION**

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND EUROPEAN SOCIAL COMPATIBILITY IN THE ROMANIAN SOCIETY

Dragoş DĂRĂBĂNEANU*

Abstract. *The article emphasizes some features specific to interpersonal communication from the point of view of the determining effects that they have on intercultural communication, a fact that is seen as a social phenomenon with a determining role in forming and sustaining global societies. The importance of these analyses is found in the common desire to create a united society and a unitary civic spirit to ensure positive evolution within the social framework of the European Union. Also, this article refers to one of the classic models of communication, namely the spiral of silence theory, elaborated by the German sociologist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. Neumann's theory refers to certain reactions of individuals in communication contexts that regard social perspectives. These reactions are based on psycho-social features that are determining factors in the specific frames of intercultural communication. The general conclusion of the article refers to the possibility of monitoring and knowing the aspects related to the phenomenon of intercultural communication. This data is necessary in order to implement strategies connected to intercultural education in the social space of the Union.*

Keywords: *intercultural communication, interpersonal communication, spiral of silence theory, social behavior.*

Intercultural communication is a very important subject in the context of the construction of a global society in Europe. This subject develops a series of principles that are mandatory for the European Union. The adaptation of ethnic groups to the general social space of the EU is a sensitive subject. The multi-ethnic character of Europe is difficult to regulate due to national and ethnic cultures that have a

* PhD in Sociology, lecturer professor at University of Oradea, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: darabaneanu@gmail.com

prolonged tradition. For a harmonious development of Europe, we need the cooperation and collaboration of the nations from this socio-geographical area. We are aiming to offer a few answers for the ways in which human interaction among different cultures, ethnicities or religions influence the social construction of the European Union. How should European citizens manifest so that they become a cohesive and united social group? This is the prerequisite for the well-being and security of people, families and communities that have the privilege of living the dream of a united Europe, which we want to be strong and lasting. Traditionally, Romania is a multicultural social space, as many other ethnic groups, which have contributed positively to the evolution and development of the Romanian society, have lived here together across centuries. Multiculturalism is a good quality for any social space. We must also emphasize that ethnic purity sometimes develops into tensions and this takes place everywhere, due to the nature of man and the basic attributes of human society. This is why multicultural relations must be cultivated, monitored and evaluated.

The main objective of this article is to describe intercultural dialogue, which is the essential condition for the development of a global society because the interaction among persons from different ethnic and national groups depends on it. This is why we consider that it is timely to present analyses regarding interpersonal communication.

Models of social reaction as determining factors of intercultural communication

Such as many other aspects of social science, interpersonal communication is a subject close to the common perception, due to the notoriety of this human interaction phenomenon. Due to this fact, at first thought, interpersonal communication is understood sufficiently with the methods of common perception and are easily accessible, as long as not only people, but also animals transmit signals that are usually codified from the point of view of the intent of the messages that they represent. We must not forget that the level of common sense does not develop means that are analytical enough to cover the need for knowledge, and the perspectives that it conveys in almost all situations are lacunary, incomplete, sequential, as it does not succeed in covering the domain in its entirety, considering all the

social, cultural, and historical contexts that are specific to it. Migration and integration of minorities in the European Union is related to the place of origin and receiving places of potential immigrants. Integration of minorities in the area of EU is considering as a solution for the concept of Europe without borders (Polgár, 2017). But integration is not possible without intercultural communication.

The phenomenon of interpersonal communication has always been a specific and defining characteristic of humanity, which is the basis for the most elementary associative forms, thus determining the evolution of criteria for the homogenization of groups (Kurtines, Gewirtz, 1991). Through interpersonal communication, people share their needs, faith, perceptions, experiences, which create a tendency to level all the visions related to the social perspective of human existence. This homogenization phenomenon, which will always have its limits that will ensure a permanent distance from absolute homogenization, is essential from the perspective of social evolution. Practically, it is at the foundation of common accomplishments, which exceed individual abilities, as well as at the basis of acceptance of the rules, social norms and institutions that are legitimized precisely through the idea of a collective accomplishment meant to ensure the change of social existence.

A type of interpersonal communication can be suggestive for the description of a basic social phenomenon, but, at the same time, it can be very complex due to the variety of its manifestations. Of course, the capturing of the means of interpersonal expression entails different points of view and multiple perspectives, in an attempt to capture the most eloquent features of this phenomenon. Considering the context in which it takes place, we discern two types of social communication:

a. Formal interpersonal communication, characterized by a set of communication and expression strategies meant to ensure the efficiency of a professional sector. As suggested by the presentation, this type of interpersonal communication is characteristic to public institutions, given that it is different from what takes places in a daily context. Formal interpersonal communication manifests in other fields of social life and it is characterized by the fact that it entails an official position, meant to establish a certain type of relations between participants, which are oriented towards the activity of the

institution. Because of the needs tied to efficiency in communicating with clients, institutions have encouraged the development of specialized services for formal interpersonal communication. These are public relations departments.

b. Informal interpersonal communication manifests itself in daily life, in regular contexts of human existence. It is a type of communication that is unscheduled from an institutional or collective point of view. This type has a set of specific functions:

- It contributes essentially to the development of daily activities of individuals, being the basic element of interaction among them.

- Spontaneous interpersonal communication takes place in different forms, depending on the social context and the positions of the persons involved at a certain point. In time, along with ageing, people acquire a certain experience in communication, which is expressed by models of attitude or behaviour in one form or another, depending on which people they enter into contact.

- One can also speak about a function of knowledge, when people are permanently obligated to improve their abilities in order to undertake some activities efficiently.

- The need for socializing takes place through interpersonal communication, and this contributes to the preservation of a feeling of safety and the satisfaction of the need to belong to a social group.

From the point of view of the number of individuals participating in communication, we can also describe two types of interpersonal communication that imply specific psycho-social processes:

a. Dyadic interpersonal communication, which takes place between two people. It is a special form of communication, which entails a certain degree of intimacy between the two participants resulting in a form of participation that is often times more involved than in case of group interpersonal communication. The means of expression are free, lacking some of the reactions that are specific to social formalism. With this type of communication, participants have the opportunity to share problems tied to their deepest preoccupations and experiences, in the dyadic context that stimulates the manifestation of an empathic approach from the participant. This encourages the strengthening of relations between the individuals and the preservation of a climate of mutual trust.

From another point of view, we can show that the dyadic form is the most appropriate means of adapting the transmitted message to the possibilities of understanding the participant. Usually in informal types of communication, the messages do not fall under a certain standard and, as a result, are not formulated under a specific form that follows the exact understanding of the message. The message formation takes place in concordance to the experience, the understanding and the possibilities of expression of the person transmitting the message. At the same time, the decoding of the messages takes place in accordance to the receiver's experience and the possibilities of understanding. In the context of dyadic interpersonal communication, the possibility to reconfigure the disparities between the transmitted and received message is much higher than in case of interpersonal communication with several participants.

b. Interpersonal communication with several participants has a series of characteristics that separate it from dyadic interpersonal communication. Compared to dyadic interpersonal communication, the abilities tied to acquired models of communication are used to a greater extent, as they represent standardized forms of expression and reaction, which are adapted to specific situations. These acquired models of communication are actually strategies of reaction to different communication contexts in which individuals participate. Continued preoccupation towards the effects that the attitudes and expressed position generate in a communication situation where more than two individuals participate is more pronounced than in the case of dyadic interpersonal communication. The possibility to amend a wrong or too personal point of view is higher in the context of multiple participation. On the one hand, singular points of view are fragile and, if uncovered by the legitimacy of approvals coming from the social entourage, they will be lost in their intensity of manifestation. On the other hand, the specifics of dyadic connection entail a bigger responsibility for the comfort of the participant, which increase the level of empathy towards his feelings, under a natural phenomenon. In the group context, this responsibility does not belong to one individual anymore, as it is decided by the majority reaction that describes the group reaction. For this reason, emotional reactions become more controlled and calculated, following certain spontaneous strategies, depending on group reactions. At the same

time, the acceptance of a point of view is easier to accomplish in group interpersonal communication, considering the conditions in which it is identified as being approved by the majority of the group to which they report.

The context of many crisis in Europe is not only financial and economic, but also political, social, mental and even ideological. This is showing need to strengthen dialogue between ethnic groups, even if we are confronted with the trends of returning to certain forms of nationalism and cultural cleavage. Without advocating for one or the other of these trends, we can see that Europe is at a crossroads (Brie, 2011). Interpersonal communication is determinant in dialog between people which belong to the European ethnic groups. In the comprehensive analysis of interpersonal communication, we must take into account the objectives of the communication process, even if these objectives are not usually acknowledged by the participants in the communication. Actually, this is an aspect that makes the difference between interpersonal communication and other forms of communication. In case of mass communication or even public communication, the means of transmitting different messages, as well as their context, are persuasion strategies resulted from a mental construction process, which is based on a good knowledge of the psycho-social context of the target audience. As regards interpersonal communication, the persuasion strategies for message justification and accuracy are more explicable based on intuitive, instinctual dimensions, which are adapted to the context on the spot. There are few situations when people analyse the ways to express different messages, a fact that ensures the spontaneity of interpersonal communication. Spontaneity itself is an argument for message attractiveness, stimulating the participant and maintaining its attention to the issues discussed. We must also state that spontaneity is not a sufficient attribute to communication processes, as it must be adapted to the approximative models of audiences and it must be accompanied by the general interest for issues discussed.

The objectives of interpersonal communication are various, but they can be found either as unique forms or as combined ones. Beyond the need to persuade the participant regarding the debate on which the communication is focused, the interest for self-knowledge or knowledge of the environment is present. All these objectives are manifested in the same communication act. The functional diversity

of interpersonal communication conveys the complexity of this psycho-social phenomenon that can be analysed even from the perspective of its objectives that are interpreted through forms of manifestation, context and subjects. The persuasion of the participant is based on a general behavioural model, according to which people have the tendency of imposing their points of view, even in a subconscious manner. This phenomenon is based on the need to sustain an individual's functional position in the social context to which s/he belongs, which guarantees efficient integration in the group and the appreciation of peers. The phenomenon of persuasion also has a subjective connotation, which is defined as the tendency of individuals to consider their own points of view and interpretations as a personal, original characteristic, based on which the individual builds his/her own identity and develops the feeling of his/her uniqueness in relation to others. The models for the self-definition of identity take place in a comparative cognitive manner, oriented towards the overrating personal experiences and aptitudes, which the individual places instinctively at a superior level of existential meaning, from the perspective of relating to the experiences of aptitudes of others.

On the other hand, the need for self-knowledge is another important quality of humans, with important social valences. Based on the self-knowledge phenomenon, a series of self-evaluation processes takes place, based on which people build professional, familial, socialization strategies that offer them existential meanings and social identities. The need for self-knowledge manifests itself in the context of interpersonal communication by directing communication interactions so that the participant unveils his own conclusions regarding the expressed reactions and points of view. In some situations, people become more aware or they are forced to become aware of their subjectivity, especially when their own analyses are in disagreement with those of the members of the groups of peers. As a result, even the evaluation processes of the self implies the need to be confronted with other points of view, in order to be sure of their objectivity and fidelity. Alternatively, the process of interpersonal communication entails the phenomenon of decodifying the transmitted message, which is a characteristic of all forms of communication. The means of understanding certain messages can be different from the intent of the transmitters and, from this point of

view, people need to verify the ways in which their own actions have been received, understood or interpreted. Social reality entails a powerful interpretative, symbolic dimension, which is defined through the perceptions on material dimensions and on relations with others. Due to different cultural dimensions and social contexts, but also due to individual experiences, the perceptions of the same phenomena are often very different and even contradictory. Interpersonal communication generates the possibility to find a common denominator in order to interconnect the ways of interpreting the facts and phenomena that define social reality.

At the same time, our knowledge about the world is due to the contact with different sources, through which the direct exchange of information with members of different reference groups occupies an important place in the hierarchy of possible sources of information. Personal representations of reality are built through interpersonal communication contact whose role is to certify the importance of defining features of different facts and phenomena connected to the existence of individuals.

The “spiral of silence” model as a means of determining intercultural communication

One of the most consistent approaches on public opinion interpreted as a mechanism of social control was realized by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. She was the founder and director of the Allensbach Institute for Public Opinion Research and a professor in communication research at the University of Mainz. Neumann presents the public opinion by referring to “opinions on certain controversial issues that can be publicly expressed without the one expressing them to isolate oneself through it”. With this point of view, Neumann emphasizes the process of communication and its effects. From the 1970s, her studies have been translated in English and spread through the scientific community, so that the interest of research is much more pronounced on the ways to approach the public opinion. A series of social tests and verifications of Neumann's studies have been done and her theory withstood the text of critics. The evolution of research on this model was confronted with the phenomenon of the involvement of the politics and different personalities in this undertaking, which lead to several difficulties in tracing certain impartial and generally accepted conclusions.

A major issue in the debate on the spiral of silence refers to the connection between the macro-social and the micro-social level of analyses. Based on the study of Solomon Ash (1970) on conformism that is a characteristic of small groups, Neumann underlined the fact that individuals have an innate fear of social isolation. To be alone, to be a separate entity from the other is a state, which most people cannot endure, to dress in unpopular clothes, to support an idea that many think is outdated or, even worse, socially unacceptable, is a risk of attracting disapproval from others, a fact that many people try to avoid. As a result of this concern, individuals must constantly monitor the social environment and look for clues regarding feelings, ideas, knowledge or the fashion that are shared or not by most part of individuals. Neumann says that, because of this fear, individuals develop a "quasi-statistic organ" (which she subsequently named "a quasi-statistic sense" that entails an extension of the explanation model from biology to the social domain) in order to measure the nuances of social culture and its dynamism. Mass-media has a complex role in supplying the clues, which are meant to structure the options determining an individual behaviour (Mehltretter Drury, 2014).

It is thus assumed that individuals have options that they want to and can clarify by themselves, so that different possible options tied to a certain type of behaviour, reaction of expression of opinion compete among each other and the one that was designated by the quasi-statistic organ to be the closest to the majority opinion will win. Sometimes, the individual is placed in the situation where s/he is obligated to articulate an opinion in a social context, in which the private sentiment tied to one issue must become public. Neumann uses the term "public in public opinion", which is more of an adjective than a noun, and which refers to an opinion that can be expressed publicly without fearing social censorship.

There are two distinct levels from whose perspective one can talk about the implications that the spiral of silence model has on public opinion (Noelle-Neumann, Petersen, 2004). One is a static process and the other a dynamic one that take place at the level of the expressing an opinion by individuals. In the case of the static phenomenon, if an individual concludes that his/her beliefs are shared by the majority of individuals with whom s/he enters into contact, then s/he will be encouraged and will wish to express these convictions. On

the other hand, if the individual considers that his opinion is a minority point of view, s/he will be restrained in expressing his/her opinion publicly. There are two situations when, despite the personal convictions felt as minority, the individual will not refrain from expressing his opinion publicly. One first case is the situation when the individual realizes that s/he is in a minority, but believes that his/her opinion will gain traction, that the opinion is valid and will be shared by most individuals around. In this situation, despite the self-perception of a minority opinion, the individual will want to make his/her opinion public. The second situation is represented by that category of individuals that are careless and immune to social censorship. They will permanently want to express their opinions even if they are in discord with the convictions of the majority. This category of individuals is a small percentage of the population. Neumann stated that they represent approximately 15% of the total population in 1984.

Compared to the static process that can be tested through a transversal approach of the state of public opinion at a certain point, the dynamic phenomenon of the spiral of silence requires longitudinal analyses including time as a new element. As a momentary reaction, a small part of the members of a society are willing to express unpopular opinions. But these unpopular opinions will attract the reaction of the majority, once they are expressed. In time, this reaction loses intensity, the unpopular opinion will escape the consequences of public judgement, provided that there is no partisan that constantly expresses them. In time, the majority will get used to the unpopular perspective and this opinion will start to penetrate in relation to the majority opinion. The mismatch between the minority opinion will be marked by the silence of the supporters, while the majority feelings will be focused on other opinions contradictory to the dominant convictions. The members of political structures monitor the informational environment to understand the general opinion climate, a necessity stemming from the perspective of obligations that they have towards the voters or simply from the need for political survival. Politicians observe that certain opinions are expressed frequently, while others are not expressed at all. This social perception is translated politically from the perspective of the idea that opinions cannot influence social change, while silence has not impact on this phenomenon.

As stated above, many of the elements of the spiral of silence have not been recently invented, they have been the subject of writers for centuries. Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann has not brought new elements in the construction of this model. Her creative contribution consists of the fact that she has made the connection between social control, mass-media and the process of interpersonal communication. The originality of this contribution has been contested, so that it has become a controversial subject, next to most aspects of the model. Leo Bogart (1991), a researcher in mass communication and public opinion, states that the model is "more a footnote of the history of Nazism in Germany than a model of the public opinion", because the model has its origins in the horrors of the Second World War and in the direct experience of the author as a writer for the Nazi publication *Das Reich*. Without a doubt, the political conditions in Nazi Germany have generated a real danger connected to public expression of opposition towards the politics of the regime and towards the dominant points of view. A totalitarian regime characterized by the cruelty of the Gestapo and the threat of the concentration camps generated fear against physical torture and extermination, which was, without a doubt, the main reason for social submission and silence as a form of defence.

As a researcher of public opinion at the end of the 1930s and as a journalist during the war, feeling the censorship of the Nazi, Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann was the witness of the process by which a minority is systematically intimidated, being reduced to political impotence and silence. Neuman has argued that the Nazi experience was not an inspiration in the construction of the model, but rather the 1965 elections in Federal Germany, when she studied the confrontation between the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party from the perspective of the relation between communication and public opinion (Fuchs, 2013). Through polls conducted in the election year, she found that the two political parties benefited from equal support for six months. The expectations related to the end of the elections have been very dynamic, so that they varied in the course of six months on an interval of 18 percentage points. Finally, the Christian Democratic Party won the elections and the German researchers was forced to explain these significant fluctuations of the voters' perceptions and preferences. The explanation offered was that millions of voters took part in the later

called "last minute balance", meaning that the voters were associated to the majority in the last minute.

The interpretation of this phenomenon ignored the "bandwagon" phenomenon initiated by American research. Neumann rallied in the interpretation of the phenomenon to the theory of the German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies (1922) (Kurtines, Gewirtz, 1991) for whom the public opinion represents a social force, an informal mechanism of social control: "public opinion always entails an assertion of the authority". It entails consent or constraint to silence and imposes the absence of contradictions. Neumann concluded that eventually social convictions, habits, norms, have always been included in the studies on public opinions. The public opinion imposes sanctions for those who are against the norms, thus representing a process of social control. The empirical observation of the change in electoral preferences and the political climate have represented the support in understanding the public opinion as a form of social control, which later lead to the creation of an ambitious and influent research program.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann & Thomas Petersen: The spiral of silence and the social nature of man. In: L.L. Kaid (Hrsg.): Handbook of Political Communication (pp. 339–356). Lawrence Erlbaum, London 2004.
- Fuchs, Christian. (2013). Review of Jörg Becker's Book "Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. Demoskopie zwischen NS-Ideologie und Konservatismus" (Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. Pollster between Nazi-Ideology and Conservatism). *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique*. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society, 2013, 11. 310-317.
- Jeffrey P. Mehlretter Drury, *Speaking with the People's Voice: How Presidents Invoke Public Opinion*, PUBLISHER: Texas A&M University Press, 2014
- Mircea Brie, *Ethnicity, Religion and Intercultural Dialogue in the European Border Space*, in Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş, *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union's East Border*, Editura Universităţii din

- Oradea/Editura Universității din Debrecen, supliment
Eurolimes, Oradea/Debrecen, 2011, p. 11-18
- Polgár István, The Phenomenon of Migration and Integration of
Minorities in the European Union in Polgár István, Ioan Horga,
Mircea Brie (Eds), Migration and European Integration of
Minorities, Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany, 2017, pp.
9-17
- Polgár István, Ioan Horga, Mircea Brie (Eds), Migration and European
Integration of Minorities, Lambert Academic Publishing,
Germany, 2017
- William M. Kurtines, Jacob L. Gewirtz, Handbook of Moral
Behavior and Development, Publishers by Lawrence Erlbaum
Associates, Hillsdale, New Jersey Hove and London
1991(Chap. 12 "In a Gemeinschaft Voice: The Cross-Cultural
Expansion of Moral Development Theory")

THE ESSENTIAL ROLE OF INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE IN SOCIAL COHESION, EQUALITY PROMOTION, RECONCILIATION BETWEEN PEOPLES AND PEACE AMONG NATIONS

Ana DAMASCHIN*

Abstract. *In the contemporary world, we are talking one more time about the restructuring of the European Union. Cultural differences, namely traditions and customs, language, norms, and values still dominate European society. Eleven years after the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008, which referred to the transition from multiculturalism (which is a process of cultural separated coexistence), to intercultural dialogue (a prerequisite for mutual respect between cultures, communities and peoples, integrity, inclusiveness, cultural diversity and social cohesion), today we are talking about a return to nationalization and internalization of borders. Cultural differences caused by cross-border migration, ethnic or religious origins, emphasize the inability of mutual understanding in the complex society in which we live. In this article, we aim to present some theories of intercultural dialogue as a vital social phenomenon of the European Union. And to explain why intercultural dialogue is a prerequisite for social cohesion, reconciliation between peoples and peace among nations. We underline the importance of intercultural dialogue as a fundamental element of regular communication and respect for cultural diversity, the development of equal opportunities, and the development of a free European society. Currently, intercultural dialogue is a prerequisite for peace, an essential tool for resolving conflict management, a community in which different voices are heard.*

Keywords: *intercultural dialogue, multiculturalism, cultural diversity, integrity, communities and peoples, social cohesion.*

* Ph.D. student, Faculty of European Studies, University of Babeş-Bolyai, Faculty of European Studies, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, e-mail: damaschinana1@gmail.com

Introduction

This article aims to analyze the role of intercultural dialogue as a vital social phenomenon of the European Union and to explain why intercultural dialogue is a prerequisite for social cohesion, reconciliation between peoples and peace among nations.

The world is more and more interconnected, but it does not mean that individuals and societies live together. Today there is more information, technology, and knowledge available than ever before, but adequate wisdom is still needed to prevent conflicts, to eradicate poverty or to make it possible for all to learn to live in harmony in a safe world.¹ Today, cultural differences, namely traditions and customs, language, norms and values still dominate European society, so it is becoming noticeably clear that the promotion of intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity are two interrelated parts of the European Union mandate. According to the "European Union Agenda," intercultural dialogue presupposes cultural diversity and offers an effective instrument for connecting people with different backgrounds, interests, perspectives and enabling them to co-orientate; it is a way to involve migrants and refugees and 'increase their participation in cultural and societal life.'

However, realizing intercultural dialogue in daily practices is a challenge in itself. Eleven years after the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008), which referred to the transition from multiculturalism (a process of cultural separated coexistence) to intercultural dialogue (a prerequisite for mutual respect between cultures, communities, and peoples, decrease tensions, integrity, inclusiveness and cultural diversity and strengthen social cohesion), today we are talking about a return to nationalization and internalization of borders. Cultural differences caused by cross-border migration, ethnic or religious origins, emphasize the inability of mutual understanding in the complex society in which we live. The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, emphatically argues in the name of the governments of the 47 member states of the Council of Europe that our collective future depends on our ability to safeguard and develop human rights, democracy and the rule of law and to promote mutual understanding.

¹ <https://en.unesco.org/themes/intercultural-dialogue>, accessed at 16.04.2019.

1. Intercultural Dialogue - a Vital Social Phenomenon of the European Union

It's important to note that the concepts of multiculturalism, migration, and interculturality are not a new phenomenon for humanity, and especially for Europe, due to globalization processes and peoples' mobility, multiculturalism is already a reality. Cultural diversity, pluralism, and multiculturalism are specific elements of the European space (Brie, 2011).

In this context, the acknowledgment of diversity, the promotion of intercultural dialogue and the essential protection of human rights are the main parameters for the consolidation of democracy, freedom, respect, equality, peace and social cohesion. However, we confronted now with a situation that has no precedent in history. Millions of refugees have come to Europe in the last few years to find a new life. Many of them will stay. The question is if this could be a good sign for the European continent?

Regretfully, it should note that nowadays, the European continent is not ready yet to recognize this diversity. As today, we are still talking about the return to the nationalization and internalization of borders - "self-protection" feeling. As professor Brie explains in his studies, there is a time when many European peoples come to the foreground and "re-find their identity" by turning to the national trend despite the "unity" and solidarity stated by the Member States officials at European institutions. (Brie, 2011:12).

In a society with a high level of immigration, in condition of growing xenophobia, racism and discrimination, the first step in order to secure harmonious social co-existence is recognition of this diversity as a norm, because cultural diversity leads to new perspectives, to new directions and the full respect of the right to cultural difference. For this reason, the decision of the European Parliament and the Council to promote intercultural dialogue is not just another measure of the initial European Union's cultural strategy. It is a vital social phenomenon of the European Union. An additional motive to raise awareness of European citizens for the elimination of bias and xenophobia and to create the conditions for identifying cultural diversity as a factor of renewal, inspiration, and development that would unite people and not divide them. The Third Summit of the Heads of State and Government (2005) identified intercultural dialogue (including its religious dimension) as a means of promoting

awareness, understanding, reconciliation, and tolerance, as well as preventing conflicts and ensuring integration and the cohesion of society. Besides, diversity, being and developing free from obstacles and bias, enriches and becomes the source of progress and gives impetus for new, creative beginnings in all sectors, enhancing the quality of our democracy and forging social peace.²

According to the concept of interculturality, cross-cultural communication between two or more cultures in a society characterized by mutual understanding and respect, results in mutual influence. It is the first step to understand the advantage of different cultural traditions and histories, to expand the list of possible solutions for common problems. Intercultural dialogue is thus an essential tool in the effort to resolve intercultural conflicts peacefully, and a precondition for cultivating a culture of peace (Fer, 2018). In a profound sense, the basic principle of intercultural dialogue is not to give preference to any single voice, perspective or worldview, but to embrace the diversity of interacting voices and points of view on an equal basis.

Europe is a conglomeration of various cultures, where cultural differences, namely traditions and customs, language, norms and values still dominate. The goal of the European strategy is no longer the emphasis on the difference but the coexistence of different people in conditions of mutual respect beyond the framework of discrimination. Since 2008 (European Year of Intercultural Dialogue), the European Parliament and the Council of Europe, NGOs and other civil society actors continue to develop tools for promoting dialogue between cultures, simply because there are so many different cultures, and we need to learn about them as much as possible. Accepting diversity requires an intellectual and moral attitude that facilitates dialogue and the ability to listen to each other. In light of this, interculturality is a process aimed at raising awareness about the importance of intercultural dialogue among European citizens and encouraging them to create a multicultural space. Intercultural dialogue is aimed at strengthening respect for cultural diversity in the context of the coexistence of different cultural identities and beliefs, while also combating prejudice and intolerance.

² http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/pdf/doc891_en.pdf, accessed at 30.03.2019;

It is also relevant to specify that the concept of intercultural dialogue is not only a mean of expressing political values, such as equality and justice, as claimed by the supporters of multiculturalism; instead, it is a factor of change and innovation of the public domain, a model of governance based on each citizen's participation and in common fields of cooperation and exchange.³

The terrorist attacks of 2016, the Brexit, the current refugee crisis, a changed migration pattern in a time of globalization, the rise of far-right tendencies and the gap between people with a non-European background and those born in Europe, have had a substantial impact on international public opinions. Analyzing these recent developments, we notice that Europeans are more reluctant to welcome refugees and are less accepting current immigration trends; across Europe, there is more suspicion of Muslims in general, and Muslim refugees and migrants in particular, and less tolerance of conspicuous symbols of religious affiliation; and finally, there is less confidence in European identity and values. It would, therefore, be useful to recommend that the EU and its Member States, international institutions and other states should support intercultural dialogue that contributes to promoting a feeling of belonging to Europe for both host populations and newcomers. Intercultural dialogue should contribute towards fighting against stereotypes and strengthening the 'living together' (UNESCO, 2017). Our goal in this study is to emphasize the importance of intercultural dialogue as a fundamental element of regular communication and respect for cultural diversity, the development of equal opportunities and the event of a free European society. As a tool of connecting people with different backgrounds, interests, and perspectives and enabling them to act as one, intercultural dialogue makes sense in this context. Currently, intercultural dialogue is a prerequisite for peace, an essential tool for resolving conflict management, a community in which different voices are heard – it is a vital social phenomenon of the European Union.

In recent decades, the revolution in telecommunication and the media – particularly the emergence of new communication services like the Internet, the development of transport and tourism, the interconnection of contemporary economies and cultures has brought

³ http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/pdf/doc891_en.pdf, accessed at 24.04.2019;

more people than ever into face-to-face contact, engendering more and more opportunities for intercultural dialogue. As a result, it may be argued that intercultural dialogue is a vital social phenomenon of the European Union, and there is a necessity not only for overcoming conflicts but also for rethinking and responding to global challenges faced by humanity:

- the concept of intercultural dialogue is included within general and specific purposes and addressed through the tolerance and mutual understanding between European citizens; has an increasingly vital role to play in fostering European identity and citizenship;
- increases respect for cultural and linguistic diversity, human rights, and freedom;
- develops a sense of community in multicultural populations;
- promotes pluralism, openness, mutual respect;
- intercultural dialogue is a necessary environment for social cohesion and peace, and is instrumental in achieving related goals (UNESCO, 2017:16); improves ways of living together;
- strengthens democratic governance;
- increases peace and harmony in a multicultural world; and prevents and/or resolves inter-group conflicts;
- in particular, provides a way of balancing an appreciation of diversity with the importance of finding shared, collaboratively adopted principles for governing the cooperation.

1.1. The essential role of intercultural dialogue in social cohesion

According to Waters, globalization is the direct consequence of the expansion of European culture across the planet via settlement, colonization, and cultural replication. In the modern world, if we relate to the international situation, the term "globalization" can be defined as a set of economic, social, technological, political and cultural structures and processes arising from the changing character of the production, consumption and trade of goods and assets that comprise the base of the international political economy (Patraşcu, Allam, 2015: 281). Globalization is a process of integrating nations, economies, societies, polities, and cultures. But at the same time, the

process of globalization is witnessing cultural conflict among civilizations.

In the present era of globalization, in this world full of diversity, in an unequal European Union, the questions that arise are: How can intercultural dialogue help in the process of European social cohesion? Where the EU heading is and what kind of people will we become? Moreover, these questions raise the particular issue of sustainable community building and establishing common spaces of life and intelligibility beyond attempts at uniformity by those in power. Many authors argue that intercultural dialogue can help the international community to achieve the common interest for all, or can solve the challenges arisen from the process of globalization. The development of intercultural dialogue, bringing together communities, has a better impact on integration. Intercultural dialogue is thus essential to achieve social cohesion, as was noted.

It is important to note that social cohesion shifts the emphasis from 'unity through diversity' to 'unity through commonality.' Diversity and multiculturalism emphasize differences and minimize similarities, and this is what social cohesion aims to address. In the context of eliminating inequalities, intercultural dialogue is one crucial aspect of developing socially cohesive polities (Narine Nora Kerelian & Gizem Arat, 2016).

European integration must build on a joint base. This base is not a closed identity, an essential reference inherited from the past, but a legacy that is composite and complex and ongoing construction, beyond the vagaries of history and conflicts.

The concept of social cohesion allows us to understand the interactions between populations. Indeed, the notion of coherence creates a space for a shared protagonist of host societies and migrants within a typical process of territorial development and thus seems to respond better to the issues involved in intercultural dialogue⁴ The concept of "Social cohesion" is based on the social capital of individuals, their ability to interact with others to the benefit of society as a whole. At the same time, social cohesion refers to «the process of developing a community based on shared values, common challenges and equal opportunities within the European Union, established on a sense of trust, hope, and reciprocity for all citizens.

⁴ https://www.learning.uclg.org/sites/default/files/documents/20_social_cohesion_and_dialogue_lisboa_june2016.pdf, accessed at 30.04.2019;

Social cohesion, as understood by the Council of Europe, denotes the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimizing disparities and avoiding polarization. A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these common goals by democratic means (White Paper on Intercultural dialogue, 2008). Social cohesion is grounded on five axes (The New Urban Agenda, 2016:12):

1. Belonging as opposed to isolation, which refers to the notion of universal values, identity and sense of commitment;
2. Inclusion, as opposed to exclusion, which refers to equality of opportunity;
3. Participation, as opposed to non-commitment;
4. Recognition, as opposed to rejection, which relates to respect and tolerance in pluralistic societies;
5. Legitimacy, as opposed to illegitimacy, which refers to institutions.

From a theoretical point of view, social cohesion involves three main elements:

- Actions to fight against inequality by guaranteeing equal rights;
- The reinforcement of common values, mainly based on mutual recognition;
- The implementation of mechanisms for political participation to correct inequalities of representation.

The Lisbon Treaty has specified the values of the Union, namely respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. Moreover, the societies of the Member States characterized by pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity, and equality between people.⁵ According to this, intercultural dialogue is a necessity for our times, a prospective model for managing cultural diversity. It allows us to prevent ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural divides. It enables us to move forward together, to deal with our different constructively identities and democratically based on shared fundamental values -

⁵ http://kultur.creative-europe-desk.de/fileadmin2_Publikationen2017_Kultur_als_Foerderung_des_Interkulturellen_Dialogs_komplett.pdf, accessed at 21.01.2019;

respect for common heritage and cultural diversity, respect for the equal dignity of every individual. Only dialogue allows people to live in unity in diversity. As for the conclusion, we need to create and expand the space for intercultural dialogue to ensure social cohesion and prevent conflicts. Intercultural dialogue does not exclusively deal with social, economic, and political issues. It also considers the importance of discussion in the relationship between religion, culture, and science due to the diverse religious conflicts around the world caused by a lack of knowledge of the other's culture.

1.2. Equality promotion

Dialogue is fruitful to the extent that all parties to it permanently stretched beyond their opening views (Fer, 2018: 96). In one exciting publication in "Platform for Intercultural Europe", Sabine Frank argues that several years of engagement with the topic 'intercultural dialogue' – stimulated mostly by the 2008 European Year of Intercultural Dialogue – have strengthened the view that ethnic and cultural diversity must live through mutual engagement and underpinned by recognition of the fundamental equality of all people. Intercultural dialogue is an essential feature of inclusive societies, which leave no one marginalized or defined as outsiders. It is a powerful tool of equality: it addresses real concerns about freedom of choice, freedom of expression, mutual respect for human dignity, open-mindedness, willingness to engage in dialogue and allow others to express their point of view — a capacity to resolve conflicts by peaceful means and a recognition of the well-founded arguments of others.

Nowadays, intercultural dialogue highlights the growing gaps between people with a non-European background and those born in Europe and makes this gap a subject for discussion, negotiation, and debate. This gap dis-empowers migrants and limits the space in which they can act on their terms. Moreover, it gives them a sense of despair, resentment, and not being taken seriously. Intercultural communication aims to reverse these processes by enabling people of different backgrounds to interact and share experiences. To make their voices heard in the public sphere and become the subject of their knowledge and action.

European societies continue to suffer from the growth of racist hostility and intolerance towards minorities and foreigners. For this

reason, the Council of Europe deeply convinced that it is our collective responsibility to achieve a society where we can live together as equals in dignity since European identity based on respecting the equal dignity of each. Furthermore, true equality between men and women, among peoples and nations is crucial for economic and social development, for peace, for social and cultural harmony and the fight against radicalization.

To conclude, in our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied, and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together. Policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens are guarantees of social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace (Article 2 – From cultural diversity to cultural pluralism).⁶ To create a vibrant and open society without discrimination that will benefit all of us, European people must:

- emphasize the importance of intercultural dialogue to achieve respect for cultural diversity societies of today;
- recognize the role of dialogue and greater mutual understanding in the development of equal opportunities for all;
- acknowledge that “unity in diversity” is the only way to preserve and promote the unity of Europe, as well as the development of a free, open and modern society and European cultural diversity;
- to believe that intercultural dialogue can help create a sense of European identity and European citizenship.

1.3. The essential role of intercultural dialogue in reconciliation between peoples and peace among nations.

Racism, nationalism, fascism, discrimination and asylum policies are subjects which appear to serve national interests above all, but which also have a European dimension.⁷In my opinion, the dialogue between cultures – the fundamental principle of democratic dialogue, is an antidote to brutal discrimination and violence,

⁶ http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13179&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, accessed at 24.03.2019;

⁷ http://cingo-strasbourg.eu/Archive/Site_web_en/B_prat/EU_prat_en.pdf , p.22, accessed at 03.04.2019;

stereotypes, racism, xenophobia, intolerance, and rejection; a precondition for cultivating a culture of peace and cooperation, respect, tolerance, and openness. In this new, turbulent international globalized landscape, a central message must be heralded: peace is more than the absence of war, it is living together with our differences – of sex, race, language, religion or culture – while furthering universal respect for justice and human rights on which such coexistence depends.⁸

According to the paper of Intercultural Dialogue for Peace and Security⁹, peaceful relations among peoples and nations are threatened in the contemporary world by misconceptions, lack of respect, exclusion, marginalization, and ignorance of other cultures, traditions, beliefs, and history. Also, these tensions have arisen due to essential approaches to religions and civilizations, mutual fears, stereotyping and preconceived ideas, perceptions of injustice, disregard for international law. In this context, we must to more comprehensively address the need to promote cross-cultural communication for peace and security so as to overcome prejudice and hostile perceptions, combat ignorance and xenophobia, and advance to a culture of reconciliation based on the values of respect, tolerance, diversity, equality, justice, the protection of human rights and the rule of law. European citizens should consider intercultural dialogue for peace and security as a particular instrument of conflict management and resolution and peace-building. Moreover, in this globalized century, it is becoming ever more critical than ever to promote and disseminate the values, attitudes, and behavior that encourage dialogue, non-violence, and the convergence of cultures.

Congruent to the Action Plan for the International Decade for the Rapprochement of Cultures (2013-2022), adopted by the 194th session of the Executive Board of UNESCO and endorsed by the UN General Assembly on December 2014, cross-cultural communication increasingly recognized for its contribution to maintaining peaceful societies and addressing conflict prevention. Another essential element is the acceptance of diversity, difference, and the ‘other.’ For better understanding, Figure 1 highlights the principles of intercultural dialogue to achieve a lasting peace. Lasting peace rests on a complex and fragile fabric of interrelated values, attitudes, and

⁸ <https://en.unesco.org/themes/intercultural-dialogue>, accessed at 16.04.2019;

⁹ <https://www.un.org/press/en/2010/sc9936.doc.htm>, accessed at 24.03.2019;

behaviors required both in the implementation of international treaties and in the course of daily life. From this point of view, European citizens should consider intercultural dialogue in the interests of peace and security as a unique tool for managing conflicts, resolving them, and building a friendship.

Fig. 1. The importance of intercultural dialogue principles to lasting peace



Source: (UNESCO survey on intercultural dialogue, 2017: analysis of findings; 2018).

In the case of a multicultural model, the goal of intercultural dialogue is to enable people to live peacefully and constructively together, to develop a sense of community and belonging. Thus, there the need for people to understand the necessity and importance of the concept of intercultural dialogue in our multicultural society because intercultural dialogue can provide an opportunity for a better understanding of cultural models with all their advantages and disadvantages.

In the paper “Role of intercultural education in making a global world,” the authors Ecaterina Patrascu and Mohammad Allam believe that there should be an understanding among the peoples of diverse cultures. Europe that is marching from a unique perception to a multicultural society needs a robust intercultural education to keep peace on the continent. There is a need that people understand the necessity of diverse culture in a global world since the different cultures is not a ban but a boon for the society, economy, and politics. (Patrascu, Allam, 2015:79)

It is essential not to forget that intercultural dialogue does not happen by itself. According to the report of the European Union, this can only be possible by deliberate efforts of people with different ethnicities, faiths, and backgrounds. It is necessary to start by identifying various tools by which obstacles in the way of intercultural dialogue can be removed (European Union, 2017).

Barriers can be approached in different ways - as more active investments, enlightened leadership, dominant educational values, extensive research in social innovation, and a progressive media world (UNESCO- Intercultural Dialogue, 2018)¹⁰. An obstacle-denying approach cannot contribute to intercultural dialogue. The proper method is then to recognize that there are real obstacles like xenophobia and racism and try to find the means to overcome them. By doing so, we, firstly, make intercultural dialogue possible and, secondly, use it as a tool for empowerment. Finally, cross-cultural communication can be truly productive as a mean of conflict prevention and resolution, as well as peace-building and for maintaining international security, and for that reason, it was essential to treat all cultures and faiths with equal respect; to strengthen intercultural dialogue in an inclusive spirit, and to settle conflicts by peaceful means.

Conclusions

Of course, cultural diversity is not a problem in itself. But this expanding diversity raises opportunities for conflict and misunderstanding, complicates the task of social coordination, and increases the probability that the subordinated margins of society become further fragmented. Besides, the preliminary perception that cultural diversity is a threat more also heightens concerns about migrants and minorities, which exacerbates discrimination and future cycles of oppression, violent unrest, or security suppression. In this situation, the need for dialogue, tolerance, respect, and mutual understanding among different cultures has never been so crucial for Europe. Intercultural dialogue can help by studying the various cultures and civilizations and develop models for a better understanding among the peoples and the nations. Intercultural dialogue can minimize resistance against globalization and make people appreciate the customs of each other.

European integration means that nation-states with very different cultural, religious, and political traditions must work together. Moreover, intercultural dialogue is recognized for its capacity to nurture the values and principles that underpin interconnected society. The critical possibility of intercultural

¹⁰ Every one and each of these constitutes a requirement relevant to the mission of UNESCO.

dialogue rests on not favoring any single voice, perspective, or worldview. Instead, it builds on a diversity of views and interpretations. It is an essential concept for a peaceful, prosperous, and just Europe. A strong and cohesive Europe capable of effectively addressing the problems of cultural diversity. Intercultural dialogue presupposes cultural diversity and offers an effective instrument for connecting people with different backgrounds, interests, perspectives, and enabling them to co-orientate. It is a way to involve migrants and refugees and ‘increase their participation in cultural and societal life,’ contributes to promoting awareness, understanding, reconciliation, and tolerance, as well as preventing conflicts and ensuring integration and the cohesion of society.

Intercultural communication aimed at strengthening respect for cultural diversity in the context of the coexistence of different cultural identities and beliefs, while also combating prejudice and intolerance, providing an environment based on respect, tolerance, and acceptance. Another essential element of intercultural dialogue is the acceptance of diversity, difference, and the ‘other.’ Analyzing these perspectives, we can emphasize the importance of intercultural dialogue. The emphasis, as a fundamental element of regular communication and respect for cultural diversity, the development of equal opportunities, and the development of a free European society. Currently, intercultural dialogue is a prerequisite for peace, an essential tool for resolving conflict management, a community in which different voices heard.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allam, Mohammad; Patrascu, Ecaterina, *Role of Intercultural Education in Making a Global World*. International Conference RCIC’15. Redefining Community in Intercultural Context, Brasov, pp.21-23, May2015,pp.279-286.
- Anderson, Joel; Kaur-Stubbs, Sukhvinder, *Intercultural dialogue: enabling free, full and equal participation*, Platform for Intercultural Europe Discussion Papers 1 & 2, London, 2010;
- Ball, Charlene; *Intercultural Dialogue for Civic Engagement: Perspectives from the Multicultural Community*, School of International Studies and Intercultural Relations, 2016;

- Brie, Mircea; Horga, Ioan; Şipoş, Sorin, *Ethnicity, confession and intercultural dialogue at the European Union Eastern Border*, Editura Universităţii din Oradea, 2011;
- Brie, Mircea; Istvan, Polgar; Florentina, Chirodea, *European Union. Identity, Diversity and Integration*, Editura Universitatii din Oradea, 2012;
- Brie, Mircea, *Ethnicity, Religion and Intercultural Dialogue in the European Border Space*, în Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Sorin Şipoş, *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union's East Border*, Editura Universităţii din Oradea/Editura Universităţii din Debrecen, supliment *Eurolimes*, Oradea/Debrecen, 2011, p. 11-18.
- Brie, Mircea, *European Culture between Diversity and Unity*, în *Analele Universităţii din Oradea, Seria Relaţii Internaţionale şi Studii Europene*, 2010, p. 79-92
- Carp, Radu; et all “*Multilingualism and intercultural dialogue in the European Union, A Romanian Perspective*”, European Institute of Romania, 2008;
- Chomsky, Noam; *Cine conduce lumea?*, Editura Litera, Bucureşti, 2018.
- Conference Volume, „*Dialogue with European Union. The Voices of the European Citizens*”. International Conference in Bucharest on “Intercultural Dialogue and Involvement through Volunteering”, 2011;
- Croucher M., Stephen, “*Global Perspectives on Intercultural Communication*”, British publisher Routledge, 2017;
- DRAFT REPORT on the New European Agenda for Culture (2018/2091(INI));
- European Agenda For Culture, Work plan for culture 2015-2018, “*How culture and the arts can promote intercultural dialogue in the context of the migratory and refugee crisis*”, 2017, http://kultur.creative-europe-desk.de/fileadmin/2_Publikationen/2017_Kultur_als_Foerderung_des_Interkulturellen_Dialogs_komplett.pdf, accessed at 21.01.2019;
- European Network Against Racism, *Intercultural dialogue: The European Year and Beyond*, 2008, http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/pdf/ENARgy_10_2008_version_EN_Low.pdf, accessed at 24.03.2019;

- Evaluation of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008. Final Report ;
- Fer, Simona, „*Values of Intercultural Communication in the relationship between the European citizens*” în *Analele Universității din Oradea. Seria Relații Internaționale și Studii Europene*, 2017, http://www.analerise.igri.ro/resurse/reviste/2017/Anale_2017.pdf, accessed at 04.02.2019;
- Grillo, Ralph, „*A Year of Living Interculturally: The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008). Draft*”, *University of Sussex*, DOI:10.13140/RG.2.2.19243.85284 , 2016;
- Harari, Yuval Noah; *21 Lessons for the 21st Century*, Jonathan Cape, London, 2018;
- Ionescu, Alina; Vasiloni, Florin; *Perspective culturale și interculturale într-o societate multiculturală/Cultural and Intercultural Perspective in a Multicultural Society*, Trivent Libri, 2018. Online sources, <https://trivent-publishing.eu/libri/comunicare/9.%20Alina%20Ionescu.pdf>, accessed at 16.04.2019;
- Leeds-Hurwitz, Wendy, “*Intercultural Dialogue*” in *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*, First Edition, DOI: 10.1002/9781118611463/wbielsi061, 2015;
- Leeds-Hurwitz, Wendy, (Traducător- Frumuzachi, Gabriel); *Dialogul Intercultural*, *Concepte Cheie în Dialogul Intercultural*, Center for Intercultural Dialogue, Nr. I, 2017;
- Narine Nora Kerelian & Gizem Arat, “*Social Cohesion*” in *Key Concepts in Intercultural Dialogue*, No. 79, 2016 ;
- Rezoluția Parlamentului European din 19 ianuarie 2016 referitoare la rolul dialogului intercultural, al diversității culturale și al educației în promovarea valorilor fundamentale ale UE (2015/2139(INI)). Rolul dialogului intercultural, al diversității culturale și al educației în promovarea valorilor fundamentale ale UE;
- Schriefer, Paula; *What's the difference between multicultural, intercultural, and cross-cultural communication?*, 2016, <https://springinstitute.org/whats-difference-multicultural-intercultural-cross-cultural-communication/>, accessed at 16.04.2019;

The New Urban Agenda, *Social cohesion and intercultural and inter-religious dialogue; The role of local authorities in public policies for the social inclusion of migrants*, Lisbon, 2016;
The Value and Values of Culture, Published by Culture Action Europe, 2018;
UNESCO survey on intercultural dialogue 2017. Analysis of findings. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, 2018;
UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, 2001;
White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue “Living together as equals in dignity”, Launched by the Council of Europe Ministers of Foreign Affairs at their 118th Ministerial Session, (Strasbourg, 7 May 2008).

Online Sources:

<http://ec.europa.eu>
https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/concept_EN.asp
<http://portal.unesco.org>
<https://www.un.org>
<http://cingo-strasbourg.eu/>
<https://www.ne-mo.org>

SWITZERLAND - A MULTILINGUAL STATE, NOT A NATION STATE

Christian BERGMANN*

Abstract. *The topic of multilingualism in Switzerland is as old as the Confederation itself, in fact it is the oldest characteristic of Switzerland, going back to the reigning of Charlemagne in the ninth century AD. This paper wants to depict the traces of multilingualism in Switzerland and also describe the status quo as of today. In the course of the article, we will see where the languages are geographically located and how they are distributed among the people, we will discuss the legal framework of multilingualism in every multilingual canton. By doing so, we will start with the Federal Constitution and see, how the Swiss Federation is handling the languages. After, we will go a little bit deeper and have a look at cantonal constitutions of multilingual cantons. For that matter, we will examine a precedent: how the canton of Jura was formed due to language issues in the bilingual canton of Bern.*

Keywords: *Switzerland, multilingualism, state, nation.*

Historical background of Swiss multilingualism

“Most people are accustomed to think of Switzerland simply as a country of mountains and lakes, of summer tourists and hotels but only a few realize that one can enjoy the fruits of German thought and French clearness and incisiveness on the shores of the Swiss lakes and within sight and easy reach of the glories of the higher Alps” (Snyder 1893, p. 109). Mr. Snyder forgot to mention the Italian and Romansh language and the skiing activity in winter, but in the 19th Century, skiing wasn't a big thing as it is today and obviously Italian and Romansh did not enjoy too much publicity among Americans back then. Before we discuss today's facts and figures of Swiss

* Ph.D. student, Faculty of European Studies, University of Babeş-Bolyai, Faculty of European Studies, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, e-mail: bergicv@gmail.com.

multilingualism, I will bother you with a bit of history to understand where multilingualism has its roots and heritage.

Paul Widmer argued „there would be no multilingualism without the federation“ (Widmer 2007, p. 151), that is because officially it was only in 1481 that a French speaking canton, Fribourg, joined the Old Confederation. That means, multilingualism and federalism are closely connected but for this work, I will have to separate the two. We must travel back to the early Middle Ages (around 600-1500 AD), a time characterized by christianization, influence of the Roman Catholic church, monarchy, feudality and everlasting disputes between different people on today's Swiss territory: Francophonic Burgundians in the south-west, Germanic Alemanni in the north and Lombards in the south-east (Schelbert 2007, p. XX).

The Alemanni moved south from today's Baden-Württemberg (south-west Germany) and settled in the northern territory of Switzerland, the Burgundians have been settled in the south-west by the Romans, early linguistic demarcations are visible (Helbling 1982, p. 19-20).

During this time period, we cannot leave out Charlemagne (as King from 774 until 814), he was important for the further development of the linguistic character of Switzerland. During his reign, there were no frontiers running through Switzerland, only the language boundaries started to develop and they remained unchanged until today (Osterwalder 1977, p. 331).

The Old Confederacy evolved in the 14th century, out of a network of ties within the Holy Roman Empire, at the time around 1300, Switzerland had developed two poles, the lake of Geneva and the lake of Bodensee, one was under the Francophonic influence of Burgundy and the other under the Germanic influence of the Alemanni, during that time, two of the most important dynasties, Savoy and the House Habsburgh settled their disputes and draw the influence frontiers through Switzerland, basically along the Sarin river, canton Fribourg and Bern (Maissen 2010, p. 16-17).

Let us have a look at the multilinguistic character. Prior to 1481 the Old Confederacy knew only German as a language of communication, between 1481 and 1798 it was bilingual (French and German) and after 1798, the Italian language joined the confederacy with today's canton of Ticino but between 1815 and 1848, the

German language was again the only official language of the new Swiss Confederation, the final state of Switzerland and the language structure, evolved during the last half of the 18th century (Bakic 2010, p. 109). The remarkable elements of that time are, the more centralized government of the Helvetic Republic of 1798 decided to teach the pupils of each region in their mother tongue, Rumantsch included, but also the fact that more Francophonic and Italian speaking regions wanted to join the Confederation, after the Congress of Vienna 1815, instead of following France or the Cisalpine Republic (later to become the precursor of the Italian Republic) (Widmer 2007, p. 155).

While in France, after the revolution, a nation state evolved with “one state, one people, one language“, Switzerland went the contrary route, it gave up its Alemannic imprint and became a multilinguistic state – a unique act at that time (Widmer 2007, p. 156). But why would they do that? Because of the liberal character of the Old Confederation, the communal democracy and the ample autonomy of the single cantons. Although the Francophonic cantons liked the ideas of the French revolution, „liberté, égalité, fraternité“, they preferred the precise rights of liberty, granted in the ideas of the Old Confederacy which was partially restored after 1815, over the more abstract French ideology of liberty (Widmer 2007, p. 156). Paul Widmer also describes some evolving problems, today (2007) French is not the prestigious language anymore among the youth, it is English (Widmer 2007, p. 163). The relations between the language groups are prone to atrophy, today lots of pupils are more attracted to spending a high school year abroad in the USA or GB, not in the other parts of Switzerland to learn French or Italian.

What are the advantages of multilingualism one might ask? We have internal and external ones: the internal advantages are, it constituted Switzerland! Not the one language made Switzerland but three, it is not the one language holding society together but the core elements: people`s democratic rights, federalism and neutrality. This circumstance is the best showcase of the *nation of free volition* (Widmer 2007, p. 166).

And external advantages? Switzerland has very close ties to the three neighbouring language cultures: France, Italy and Germany/Austria, and the best example would be Geneva with its international institutions, a German speaking city would not enjoy the

ample support of France and several African countries. It is a location advantage in the battle for international companies and organizations (Widmer 2007, p. 167). Leon Dominian wrote already in 1915 that the history of Switzerland shows pertinently that, language does not always suffice to constitute nationality, the diversity of language has not impaired Switzerland's existence as a sovereign nation (Dominian 1915, p. 410). Francois Grin wrote, Switzerland is defined precisely by its linguistic diversity, gaining its sense of national self and expressing its very soul through lingual diversity, not in spite of it (Grin 1998, p. 2). And Nicholas Schmitt wrote in an article 2017, Switzerland's multilingualism created an extraordinary proximity between regions, citizens and authorities (Schmitt 2017, p. 90).

As you can see, the subject of multilingualism is very broad and very old, more than 1,000 years, today the only concerns are to properly maintain this situation and make sure that every citizen masters at least two national languages (Widmer 2007, p. 163).

Some facts about multilingualism in present day Switzerland

Today (2019), Switzerland is still divided into three language regions, one for the German speaking population, one for the French and one for the Italian. The fourth language spoken in Switzerland is Romansh and is only found in some places in Ticino and Graubünden, the cantons in the south-east, bordering to Italy and Austria.

We can have a look at the facts and figures concerning multilingualism and for that matter, I will quote the Federal Offices for Statistics and Languages, information can be obtained online directly from their websites, I will mention the source in the bibliography at the end of the article.

German is the main language of around 63% of the Swiss population. It is not standard German but rather various Alemmanic dialects which are collectively known as „Schweizerdeutsch“ (Swiss German), almost every German speaking canton has its own type of dialect, which leaves us with roughly 18 types of Swiss German dialects.

Figure 1: Switzerland. The language regions



Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics

The second language is French and is spoken by around 22.7% of the Swiss population, there are 4 cantons which have French as their main language, in this case it is standard French, there is no distinct Swiss French except in some alpine regions, there is a certain French dialect called Arpitan or Franco-Provençal belonging to the Gallo-Romance family spoken by about 7000 people (Paviour-Smith 2016, p. 233). Next is Italian, spoken by around 8.1% of the Swiss population in its standard form, again there is no distinct Swiss Italian. It is the main language in one canton, Ticino. Graubünden has it as an official language next to German and Romansh.

Four Cantons are multilingual: Bern (French and German), Fribourg (French and German), Valais (French and German) and Graubünden (Italian, Romansh and German). Next you will see the linguistic regions of today's Switzerland in Figure 1.

I also want to mention the distribution of the languages within each language region, which are not monolingual as you might think, the Federal Bureau of Statistics conducts periodically a survey and

they publish the results on their website and here are some interesting findings about the distribution:

Within the German speaking part of Switzerland, 88,3% of the population use German as their main language, 3.5% use French, 4.5% Italian, 0.4% Romansh and 18.7% use other languages; within the French speaking part of Switzerland, 85.1% use French as their main language, 7.1% use German, 5.2% Italian, 0% Romansh and 24.4% use other languages; within the Italian speaking part of Switzerland, 87.7% use Italian as their main language, 11.3% use German, 5.2% French, 0% Romansh and 16.4% use other languages and last but not least within the Romansh speaking parts of Switzerland, 67.4% use Romansh as their main language and 50.4% use German, no other languages are spoken in those areas. The reason why we have more than 100% in the areas is because there are no Swiss mastering only one language but there are Swiss in the German, French and Italian part not using more than one official language (Federal Bureau of Statistics, June 2012).

Next in Table 1, you will see the development of the languages spoken in Switzerland from 1970 until 2017, you will see a decline in German and Italian, French gained and Romansh stayed somehow unchanged. The biggest gain is on the non official side, those languages more than doubled their share within the population over the last almost 60 years.

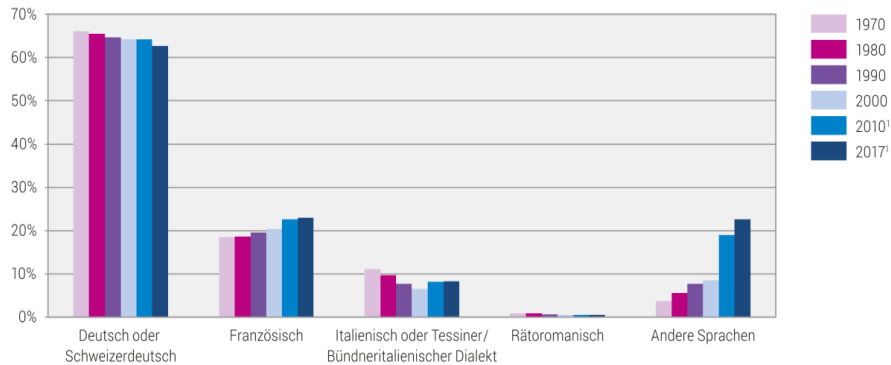
It is also noteworthy to mention that over 42.6% of the population aged over 15 regularly use more than one language and the most commonly spoken foreign languages are English and Portuguese.

Next to those two foreign languages spoken in Switzerland, we have Spanish, Serbian, Croatian and Albanian.

These circumstances imply the Federal Government to serve a multilingual public, and therefore it must provide publications in German, French and Italian. Some texts are published in Romansh and English too. The language specialists at the Federal Chancellery must ensure that all laws and official texts are clear and legally correct in the given language because they are equal and legally binding.

Table 1.

Ständige Wohnbevölkerung nach Hauptsprache(n), 1970–2017



¹ Das Total übersteigt 100%, weil die Personen mehrere Hauptsprachen angeben konnten. Das Vertrauensintervall ist in jedem Fall weniger als +/- 0,2%.

Quellen: BFS – Volkszählung (VZ) 1970–2000; Strukturhebung (SE) 2010–2017

© BFS 2019

Source: Federal Bureau of Statistics 2019

I also want to briefly mention religion, the linguistic borders do not correspond to religious boundaries. The French- and German-speaking Switzerland is fairly evenly split between historically protestant and historically catholic cantons. Only the canton of Ticino is quite homogeneously catholic, but the very small Romansh-speaking areas of Graubünden, totalling less than 40'000 inhabitants, comprise communities of one or another religion in fairly comparable numbers (Grin 1998, p. 3).

There would be more tables and numbers about the languages but i think i mentioned the most important developements for our description. Next will be some theoretical background on the subject.

A few theoretical ideas about multilingualism

We finished the last chapter describing the religious landscape, now let us see about the linguistic matters; while modern states can take a neutral stand in regard to religious matters, it is said (Vertovec, Wessendorf 2006, p. 178) that it would be structurally impossible for a state to be equally neutral with regard to linguistic diversity. Due to brevity reasons, we will not go too deep into theories about multilingualism. When speaking about language we should keep in mind what functions the language serves. Without going too much into a detailed description about language itself, i will focus on the

main functions and for that matter, i will quote Michael Clyne and how he defined the functions of language in his 2011 article:

The most important medium of human communication; a symbol of identity; an expression of culture; a medium of cognitive and conceptual development; an instrument of action. Language is sufficient to perform acts such as promise, complaint, invitation and reprimand (Clyne 2011, p. 53).

These functions are the arena in which the relationship and expression of multiple identities are played out, plurilingualism enables us to consider diversity, dynamism and hybridity (Clyne 2011, p. 53).

Mark Turin conducted a case study about multilingualism in the Himalayas in 2005, he also made some important remarks about languages „Linguistic diversity is an integral component in ecological stability and the fabric of cultural life, and we should remember that the evolution of a species or a language takes much longer than its extinction. Languages, like species, adapt to and reflect their environment“ (Turin 2005, p. 5).

He goes further „The preservation of a language in its fullest sense entails the maintenance of the speech community. Reversing language death therefore requires the preservation of the culture and habitat in which a language is spoken“ (Turin 2005, p. 7).

Switzerland is not the Himalaya and none of the three main languages are prone to extinction, maybe Romansh, but you will see later on why this is still important for some people living in a certain area. We will talk about that in the precedence case. For our work, the aspekt of culture and identity will be important to understand the situation in the region of Jura and its people, but also how Switzerland`s federal arrangements have helped to meet the demands of religious and linguistic groups for autonomy over policy areas such as education, religion and language thus alleviating cultural grievances (Bakke, Wibbels 2006, p. 5).

Before we go on, we must adress the principle of territoriality when talking about multilingualism in a federal state like Switzerland, on a theoretical basis but also on a legal basis. According to this principle, law is applied to the territory of a state or on parts of it, insofar as subordinate state levels (in our case the cantons) are responsible for regulations (Grünert 2012, p. 463) which is the case for Switzerland since the cantons enjoy vast authonomy.

Legal framework of multilingualism in Switzerland

Let us have a close look at the legislation concerning multilingualism. We start at the federal level with the Federal Constitution of 1999 and the National Languages Act of 2007, after that we go deeper and have a look at the cantonal constitution of the multilinguistic cantons of Bern, Fribourg, Valais and Graubünden.

Starting with the Federal Constitution, I will use an article written by Nicolas Schmitt in 2017 about the linguistic policy in Switzerland. He identifies three constitutional provisions forming the Swiss linguistic constitution (Schmitt 2017, p. 92):

Art. 4 National languages

The national languages are German, French, Italian and Romansh

Art. 18 Freedom to use any language

The freedom to use any language is guaranteed

Art. 70 Languages

1 The official languages of the Confederation are German, French and Italian. Romansh is also an official languages of the Confederation when communicating with persons who speak Romansh.

2 The cantons shall decide on their official languages. In order to preserve harmony between linguistic communities, the cantons shall respect the traditional territorial distribution of languages and take account of indigenous linguistic minorities.

3 The Confederation and the cantons shall encourage understanding and exchange between the linguistic communities.

4 The Confederation shall support the plurilingual cantons in the fulfilment of their special duties.

5 The Confederation shall support measures by the cantons of Graubünden and Ticino to preserve and promote the Romansh and the Italian languages.

(Swiss Federal Constitution of 1999)

Before we go on, i have to mention another important article of the Federal Constitution:

Art. 3 Cantons

The cantons are sovereign except to the extent that their sovereignty is limited by the Federal Constitution. They exercise all rights that are not vested in the Confederation.

This article is one of the principle pillars of Swiss Federalism (Vatter 2016, p. 443). I have to mention it for you to better understand the implications and the validity of the following principles. But now, let us get back to Schmitt's article, he goes on to identify four principles on which the Swiss linguistic constitution is based upon:

- 1. equality of languages.*
- 2. freedom of citizens concerning the language.*
- 3. territoriality of languages.*
- 4. protection of minority languages*

We can have a look at each principle, the 1. principle means that all of the four national languages from Art. 4 are equal, on federal level. The 2. principle means, every Swiss citizen has the right to use one of the four national languages, the one which he or she prefers, on federal level. The 3. principle means, the three linguistic regions in Switzerland, plus the small regions with Romansh, remain monolingual. There is no official bilingualism at the local level, each point of its territory can be viewed as unilingual (Grin 1998, p. 3). A principle of territoriality and decentralization means that language policy is delegated to the purview of each of the twenty-six cantons, with most declaring themselves monolingual territories. In the case of the bi- and trilingual cantons, official language policy is determined at the subcantonal level, either by the district, or even smaller, by the commune (Paviour-Smith 2016, p. 232). This third principle represents the cornerstone of Swiss linguistic law, it is based upon the fact that every language is historically linked to a certain territory (Schmitt 2017, p. 93).

It also means that neither federal nor cantonal authorities should ever try to modify the current linguistic borders. This has been the case for more than 1000 years and the supremacy of territorial separation in Switzerland, is established over any other consideration. The federal government does not define the linguistic borders, the cantons do (Schmitt 2017, p. 93).

And that is why i mentioned Art. 3 of the constitution after the language provisions, on the previous page. Finally, the 4. principle of protection of minority languages means that, according to the Federal Constitution, the preservation of the four national languages is guaranteed and the federation obliges special measures to be taken to protect Italian and Romansh.

As you could see, i had to add the words: *on federal level* after principles one and two. That is important because the described principles are only valid on the federal level, that means a citizen can decide in which language he or she wants to communicate with the federal institutions and agencies, not the cantonal or communal ones! A German speaking Swiss from Zürich moving to Geneva, must understand French, otherwise he will not be able to communicate with the cantonal and communal authorities. We will see the situation in the cantons after the description of the next federal institution:

The Federal Act on the National Languages and Understanding between the Linguistic Communities or in short *Languages Act (LangA)* of 2007.

This Act regulates the use of the official languages by the federal authorities and in dealings with them. It promotes the understanding and exchange between the linguistic communities. It supports the plurilingual cantons in fulfilling their specific tasks. It supports the measures by the cantons of Graubünden and Ticino that benefit the Romansh and Italian languages (Art. 1, LangA, 2017).

The aim of this act is to strengthen quadrilingualism as one of Switzerland`s fundamental characteristics, to consolidate the internal cohesion of the country, to encourage individual and institutional plurilingualism in the national languages, to preserve and promote Romansh and Italian as national languages (Art. 2, LangA 2017).

The act applies to the following authorities: the Federal Assembly and its organs, the Federal Council, the Federal Administration, the federal courts (there are 3 in Switzerland) and the extra-parliamentary committees of the Confederation (Art. 4, sec. 1, LangA 2017).

Next comes another important article from the LangA, it regulates the choice of languages:

Any person dealing with a federal authority may do so in the official language of their own choice.

The federal authorities shall answer in the official language in which they are addressed. They may agree with persons who contact them to use a different official language.

Persons who speak Romansh may address the federal authorities in its idioms or in Rumantsch Grischun. The authorities answer in Rumantsch Grischun.

The Federal Council may restrict the free choice of official language for dealings with authorities whose activities are limited to a specific region.

In dealings with persons who have no command of an official language, the federal authorities shall if possible use a language that these persons understand.

The special provisions on the administration of federal justice are reserved.

(Art 6, LangA 2017)

The Language Act also regulates communications, signs and identity documents:

The federal authorities shall use the local official language for public communications.

The federal authorities shall communicate with the public in the four official languages, in particular in the design:

- a. of its printed matter;
- b. of its internet home pages;
- c. in signs in its buildings.

Personal identity documents shall be issued in the four official languages.

Federal forms intended for the general public must be made available in all the official languages. The federal authorities may allow exceptions for forms intended for a limited group of persons (Art. 12, LangA 2017).

As you can see, this federal institution is additionally taking care of the implementation of languages on the federal level and to some extent on the cantonal level, in regards of preserving and promoting the minority languages Italian and Romansh. Within the Federal Council, the plurilingualism will be promoted much stronger, 70% of the employees have to be German speaking, 22% French, 7%

Italian and 1% Romansh (Federal Department of Internal Affairs „EDI“, press release from June 4th, 2010).

So far we have talked about the constitutional rights on federal level, now let us go deeper and see about the cantonal level. Each canton has its own constitution and enjoys vast autonomy from the confederation as stated in Art. 3 of the Federal Constitution. We stay focused on the constitutions only, i don't want to go any deeper in this analysis and therefore we will talk only about the juristical, political and normative rights of a citizen, which, in a democracy, is statuted law represented by the constitution (Vatter 2016, p. 413). Also we will not look at 26 cantonal constitutions, only at four because they are multilingual:

Bern, Fribourg, Valais and Graubünden.

We start with the constitution of the canton Bern, dated 1993:

Art. 4

Minderheiten

1 Den Bedürfnissen von sprachlichen, kulturellen und regionalen Minderheiten ist Rechnung zu tragen.

2 Zu diesem Zweck können diesen Minderheiten besondere Befugnisse zuerkannt werden.

The constitution starts to talk about minorities with art. 4; section 1 means that linguistic, cultural and regional minorities' needs have to be met. Section 2 continues and states that for those reasons, special authorizations have to be awarded.

Art. 5

Berner Jura

1 Dem Berner Jura, der die Verwaltungsregion Berner Jura bildet, wird eine besondere Stellung zuerkannt. Diese soll es ihm ermöglichen, seine Identität zu bewahren, seine sprachliche und kulturelle Eigenart zu erhalten und an der kantonalen Politik aktiv teilzunehmen.

2 Der Kanton trifft Vorkehren, um die Verbundenheit zwischen dem Berner Jura und dem übrigen Kanton zu stärken.

Art. 5 continues to describe the Jurassic part of the canton of Bern, sec 1 states that the administrative region of the Jura Bernois (not to be confused with the canton of Jura) gets a special position to conserve its identity, to preserve the language and its cultural heritage and yet to allow for political participation in the canton politics. Sec 2 makes sure that the canton strengthens the bond between both regions.

Art. 6

Sprachen

1 Das Deutsche und das Französische sind die bernischen Landes- und Amtssprachen.

2 Die Amtssprachen sind:

a das Französische in der Verwaltungsregion Berner Jura

b das Deutsche und das Französische in der Verwaltungsregion Seeland sowie im Verwaltungskreis Biel/Bienne

c das Deutsche in den übrigen Verwaltungsregionen sowie im Verwaltungskreis Seeland.

3 Die Amtssprachen der Gemeinden in den Verwaltungskreisen der Verwaltungsregion Seeland sind

a das Deutsche und das Französische für die Gemeinden Biel/Bienne und Leubringen

b das Deutsche für die übrigen Gemeinden.

4 Kanton und Gemeinden können besonderen Verhältnissen, die sich aus der Zweisprachigkeit des Kantons ergeben, Rechnung tragen.

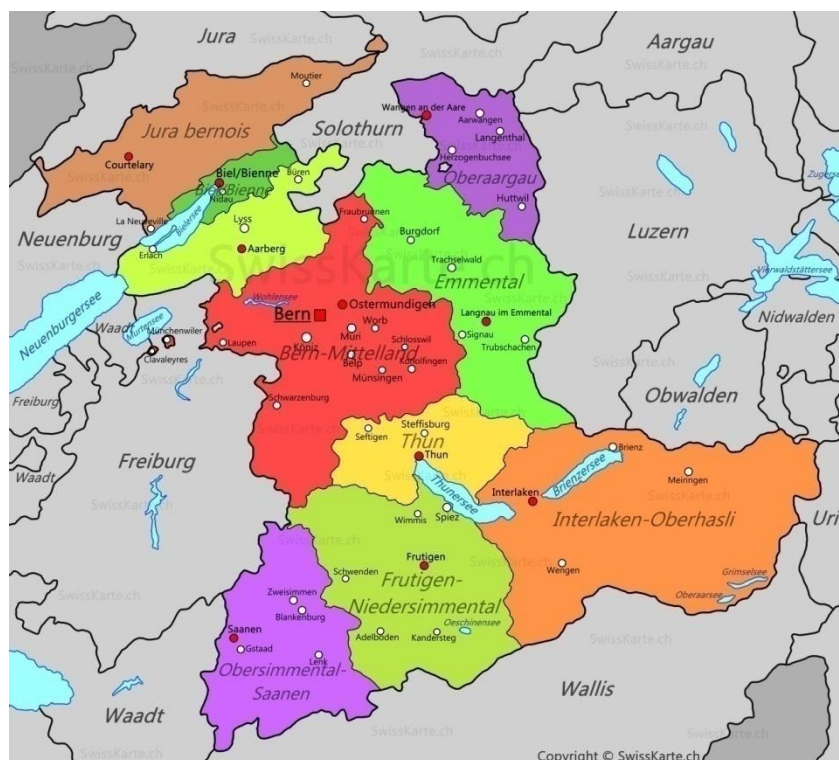
5 An die für den ganzen Kanton zuständigen Behörden können sich alle in der Amtssprache ihrer Wahl wenden.

Art. 6 is a bit more complex, it starts in sec 1 with the official languages of the canton, which are French and German. Sec 2 defines in which administrative districts those languages are used, French for the Jura Bernois, German and French in the Seeland and Biel/Bienne district, German for the rest of the canton. Sec 3 defines the languages used in the bilingual administration districts of the Seeland, German and French for Biel and Leubringen, German for the rest of the communities.

Sec 4 states that the canton and its communities can meet the special circumstances of bilingualism with corresponding requirements. Sec 5 means that each citizen can address the canton authorities in one of the official languages, but only the canton ones, not the communal ones.

In the following you can see figure 2, it shows the canton of Bern with its administration districts, Jura Bernois is in the north-west of the canton, brown colored and is French speaking, right next to it is Biel/Bienne, darker green and bilingual and next to it is the Seeland, light green colored and also bilingual.

Figure 2: Switzerland. The canton of Bern



Source: SwissKarte.ch

Bern is handling the two languages with precision and is taking care, that the needs of both language groups are met and nobody suffers discrimination because of his or her linguistic background.

Next will be the canton of Fribourg and its constitution, dated 2006:

Art. 6

Sprachen

1 Französisch und Deutsch sind die Amtssprachen des Kantons.

2 Ihr Gebrauch wird in Achtung des Territorialitätsprinzips geregelt: Staat und Gemeinden achten auf die herkömmliche sprachliche Zusammensetzung der Gebiete und nehmen Rücksicht auf die angestammten sprachlichen Minderheiten.

3 Die Amtssprache der Gemeinden ist Französisch oder Deutsch. In Gemeinden mit einer bedeutenden angestammten sprachlichen Minderheit können Französisch und Deutsch Amtssprachen sein.

4 Der Staat setzt sich ein für die Verständigung, das gute Einvernehmen und den Austausch zwischen den kantonalen Sprachgemeinschaften. Er fördert die Zweisprachigkeit.

5 Der Kanton fördert die Beziehungen zwischen den Sprachgemeinschaften der Schweiz.

Art 6, sec 1 defines the official languages as French and German, sec 2 defines where the two languages are to be used, according to the territoriality principle and the historic settlement of the language groups, but not geographically specified; sec 3 states that the official language of the communities is German or French and in some communities both can be applied, sec 4 promotes the coexistence between the two language communities within the canton and sec 5 points out that the canton is also promoting a positive relation between the language communities within the whole Switzerland.

Art 17

Sprachen

1 Die Sprachenfreiheit ist gewährleistet.

2 Wer sich an eine für den ganzen Kanton zuständige Behörde wendet, kann dies in der Amtssprache seiner Wahl tun.

Art 17, sec 1 states that the freedom of language is given and is followed by sec 2 which states that who is addressing to a canton authority, can do it in one of the official languages.

Fribourg has only two articles in its constitution dealing with the languages and language groups. It is lacking the precision of the

constitution of Bern. There is no article in the constitution defining the language of each administration district. On the next page you will find figure 3, a map of the canton of Fribourg and the seven administration districts.

Figure 3: Figure 2: Switzerland. The canton of Fribourg



Source, SwissKarte.ch

The district of See, light green and in the north, and Sense, yellow and in the east, are traditionally German speaking. Saane, red and in the middle, is bilingual and the other four districts are French.

In line with the French and German speaking cantons, we will take a look at our next bilingual canton, Valais. The constitution dates from 1907:

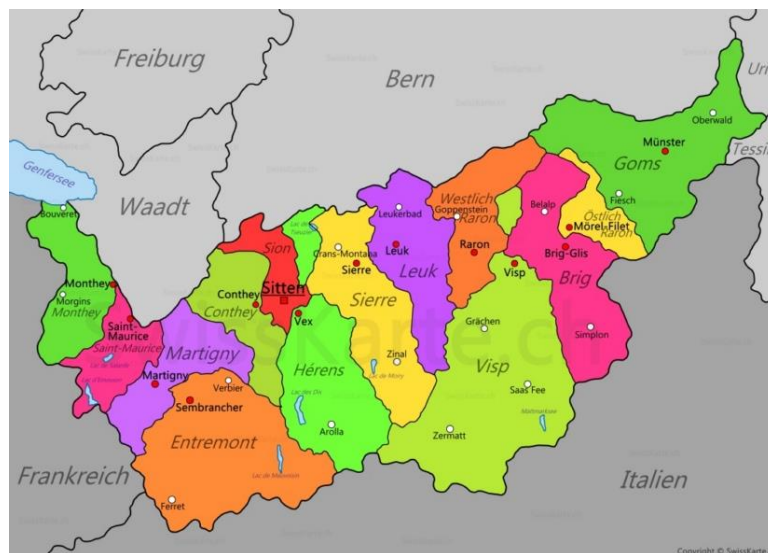
Art 12

1 Die französische und die deutsche Sprache sind als Landessprachen erklärt.

2 Der Grundsatz der Gleichberechtigung beider Sprachen soll in der Gesetzgebung und in der Verwaltung durchgeführt werden.

The languages are only regulated in article 12, and it does not have a title like in the constitutions of Bern or Fribourg. Sec 1 states that French and German are the official languages of the *Land* (they still call it land, not canton). Sec 2 defines that the principle of equality should be respected within the legislation and within administration.

Figure 4: Switzerland. The canton of Valais



Source: SwissKarte.ch

The Valesian constitution leaves even more room for interpretation, also the distribution of the languages within the canton is not regulated at all, sec 2 is pointing towards the direction that both languages can be used when addressing cantonal authorities but no more information is given. In figure 4 you will see the canton and its administrative districts.

The language barrier lays right between the district of Sierre, Leuk and Visp, from north to south, between Bern and Italy. The

eastern part or, as the habitants call it, the upper Valais, is traditionally German speaking. The western part, or lower and middle Valais, is traditionally French speaking (Meyer 1992, p. 126).

Our last canton which we will visit is the trilingual canton of Graubünden. Here we have German, Italian and Romansh as official languages. The constitution dates from 2003:

Art 3

Sprachen

1 Deutsch, Rätoromanisch und Italienisch sind die gleichwertigen Landes- und Amtssprachen des Kantons.

2 Kanton und Gemeinden unterstützen und ergreifen die erforderlichen Massnahmen zur Erhaltung und Förderung der rätoromanischen und der italienischen Sprache. Sie fördern die Verständigung und den Austausch zwischen den Sprachgemeinschaften.

3 Die Gemeinden bestimmen ihre Amts- und Schulsprachen im Rahmen ihrer Zuständigkeiten und im Zusammenwirken mit dem Kanton. Sie achten dabei auf die herkömmliche sprachliche Zusammensetzung und nehmen Rücksicht auf die angestammten sprachlichen Minderheiten.

In the constitution of Graubünden, we find only one article regulating the languages, that is art. 3. Sec 1 names the three official languages as German, Romansh and Italian, they are also the languages used by the authorities. Sec 2 requests the canton authorities to protect and promote the minority languages Romansh and Italian. Sec 3 states that each community chooses the official language for communicating with authorities and school teaching, they respect the historical linguistic composition and care about the minorities.

This is it, there are no more precise informations in the constitution about where each language is spoken. Next you will find in figure 5 the map of Graubünden and the linguistic regions (not districts!)

Figure 5. The map of Graubünden and the linguistic regions



Source: graubuenden.ch the official site of the canton

There is blueish for Italian and tan for German, the other colors show the different idioms of Romansh.

As you can see, there is no distinct separation between the languages like in the French/German speaking cantons (Grünert 2012, p. 472-473). According to the official website of the canton, German is the main language of two thirds of the population and even for those who don't use it daily, they still know it. The next most used language is Romansh followed by Italian. Matthias Grünert points out that Romansh is not only the language of a small minority in Switzerland, but is also a language that does not receive any support from a strong community in a neighbouring country, as do German, French and Italian (Grünert 2012, p. 471).

I will speak more about some of the problems with the languages in Switzerland in the final chapter, but for now we will stop the subject and have a look at the precedent of the canton Jura.

The Jura „Problem“

We finally reached the real issue in recent Swiss societal history, the Jura case. I have to introduce you to some of the history and theoretical background considering that case to make my point clear. „The violent language conflicts which continue to afflict a number of contemporary societies both in Europe and overseas all result from the conception of the modern state as an ethnically homogeneous nation. As we shall see, the Jura problem also fits this pattern“ (Mayer 1968, p. 709). „The Jura Problem is one of the thorniest contradictions that the Swiss Confederation has experienced since its foundation“ (Bassand 1975, p. 139). During this subchapter i would like to briefly examine three questions: first, what was the problem with the Jura? Second, how did they solve it? And third, was it legal or was it by coercion? This subchapter will not explain the Jura problem entirely, it will give you just an overview of the things which happened.

To answer them, we have to take a look at the history and some facts about the canton, some are courtesy of the Association jura.acceuil in Delémont, published 2017. Most European countries evolved into the nation-state, Switzerland never went into that direction, it never was a nation-state (Mayer 1968, p. 708). But i don't want to about the genesis of a nation-state, that would be another story. We start at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, after the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire, the restauration and regeneration in Europe started. The former Diocese of Basel, to which the Jura belonged since 990 (Mayer 1968, p. 720) is assigned to „Their Excellencies“ of Bern as compensation for the loss of the Vaud and Aargau territories. At this point it is important to know that 63% of the population is catholic and situated in the northern part of the canton and 69% speak French (Bassand 1975, p.139). Prior to the Congress, there were several demands made by people in the region of Jura but the powers in Vienna, the most important Metternich, left only two options for the people, forming an own canton or joining Bern. The second option was chosen (Mayer 1968, p. 723, Bassand 1975, p. 140).

So Jura had been given to Bern and that is when the problems started, the people of Jura had been assured that Bern will protect the Roman Catholic church of Jura and that each citizen of Jura, will enjoy the same political rights as the citizens of Bern but by this

annexation, the Jura became a minority representing only 15% of the population of the canton Bern which was German speaking and Protestant (Mayer 1968, p. 723, Bassand 1975, p. 140). Bern refused to grant demands by the Jurassian delegates for recognition of the French language as an official language and it did not concede the Jura any special minority representation in the legislative or executive of the canton (Mayer 1968, p. 723). So the problem we have at hand was the contrary to the logic of the Swiss Confederation`s political development: a specific ethnic entity was attached to a fundamentally different „Nation State“, the canton of Bern (Bassand 1975, p. 149). Never the less, this conflict was fought on purely linguistic and political, not on religious, grounds (Mayer 1968, p. 724). Here we can remember quickly the theoretical chapter of this work, about expressing the culture and identity of people through language. The Relations among the linguistic groups were very peaceful and calm in the three cantons discussed, in Bern, however, there was intense conflict among language groups and if violence can be used as an index of intensity, there is no question that linguistic conflict is more intense in Bern than anywhere else in Switzerland (Keech 1972, p. 388). Best example is the Moeckli Affair of 1947: The Grand Council of Bern refuses to put the Jurassian Georges Moeckli in charge of the Public Works Departement because they feel that a major department of this kind should not be given to anyone from French-speaking Switzerland (Mayer 1968, p. 732). The outraged reaction of the Jurassiens lead to the creation of the Jura separatist movement in 1948: Rassemble Jurassien (RJ) (Jura.acceil 2017, p. 3). The arguments for a demand of the leaders of the RJ, for a separate canton, are two fold: the Jurassian people form a separate ethnic group because they differ from Bern both by their different historical experience and the French language and culture; since 1815 the people of Jura are beeing forced to play the role of a minority whose culture is oppressed because this minority can be crushed legally by majority vote, by democratic totalitarianism or also known as the infamous „tyranny of the majority“. The Rassemble Jurassien therefore demanded the Jura be granted the rights of self-determination and be liberated from the Bernese yoke (Mayer 1968, p. 734).

At this point, i would like to have a few words on secession and self-determination. Dr jur. Dietrich Murswiek argued in an essay

from 1993, that if autonomy is granted at the right point, it will counteract secessionistic aspirations within people, from his point of view the best prevention against secession is granting the right to secession (Murswiek 1993, p. 332). But Bern did react to the demands of the people, In March 1970, an "Addendum to the Constitution of the Canton of Bern on the matter of the Jura Region" was adopted by an overwhelming majority. It acknowledged the right of the population of the Jura to self-determination. That population was now to go to the polls to decide "whether the whole area or individual parts thereof wished to form a new canton, join another canton, or continue to form part of the canton of Bern" (Schoch 2000, p. 52).

You can see, the Jura question was sticky and according to Bruno Schoch "The fact that the Jura question did not turn into a powder-keg in the midst of quadrilingual Switzerland is due primarily to French-speaking Switzerland, which, despite its sympathies for the Jurassiens, toiling under the heavy hand of Bern, remained alert to anti-Helvetic endeavours to bring about a united dissenting Romandie." (Schoch 2000, p. 53-54) Now we have a fair overview of the problems in the Jura, i would like to point out to the chapter about the theoretical background of multilingualism, i mentioned the language as a manifestation of culture and identity. If we take a close look at the problems of the Jurassien people, one could agree that they felt their culture and identity was being threatened by the majority, the German speaking Protestants of the canton Bern. But according to the constitution of Bern, that was not the case. It should be noted that the claim concerning Bernese tutelage and sacrificed rights does not hold water, for the minority rights of the Jurassians are liberally protected both by the federal constitution and by the cantonal constitution, as amended already in 1950. I don't want to go any further into the regional socio-economic problems of the Jura and switch to the next question: how did the people solve the problem?

In Switzerland, this is not that difficult, theoretically and in the case of the Jura also practically. A peoples referendum is held on June 23rd 1974, and a majority of the inhabitants of seven Jura districts supported the foundation of the canton of Jura. Nevertheless, in 1975 the three Southern districts (Moutier, Courtelary and La Neuveville) opted to stay in the canton of Bern. Laufon rejoined the

canton of Basel-Country in 1994 and the village of Vellerat left Bern for the Jura in 1996. In 1978, the people of Switzerland and all the cantons accepted the Republic and canton of Jura as part of the Swiss Confederation. The new canton, consisting of the three districts of Delémont, Porrentruy and Franches-Montagnes, gained sovereign status on January 1st 1979 (Jura.acceil 2017, p. 3).

Now you have a closer look at the way the people of the Jura got their demands granted, next we will discuss our last question: was that procedure legal or was it forced?

To answer that, we must again have a look at the Federal Constitution of Switzerland.

Old Federal Constitution of 1874:

1. *Abschnitt. Allgemeine Bestimmungen der Verfassung von 1874*

Art. 1. Die durch gegenwärtigen Bund vereinigten Völkerschaften der zweiundzwanzig (22) souveränen Kantone, als:

Zürich, Bern, Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden (ob und nid dem Wald), Glarus, Zug, Freiburg, Solothurn, Basel (Stadt und Landschaft), Schaffhausen, Appenzell (beider Rhoden), St. Gallen, Graubünden, Aargau, Thurgau, Tessin, Waadt, Wallis, Neuenburg und Genf, bilden in ihrer Gesamtheit die schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft.

As you can see, the canton of Jura is missing in this article depicting the Swiss Confederation. The people of Jura needed to change the article and the right to have a constitutional change is stated in **Art. 118** of the Federal Constitution of 1874:

Die Bundesverfassung kann jederzeit revidiert werden.

That means, the Federal Constitution can be revised anytime. In 1892, the option of a partial revision was introduced too. 50`000 citizens` votes are needed for the partial revision to change certain articles of the Federal Constitution (Art 121).

We can answer now the last question about the legality of the act, it was constitutional, nothing illegal happened. Following i will present you the results of the public referendum of 1978, provided by the Federal Chancellery online archives.

Peoples Initiative of September 24th 1978

Die Vorlage wurde angenommen

(The template was accepted)

Stimmberechtigte (eligible for vote)		
Total Stimmberechtigte (total)	3'848'961	
davon Auslandschweizer (Swiss abroad)	4'607	
Stimmbeteiligung (participation)		
Eingelangte Stimmzettel	1'618'463	
Stimmbeteiligung (in %)	42.04%	
Ausser Betracht fallende Stimmzettel (non considerable votes)		
Leere Stimmzettel (empty votes)	24'377	
Ungültige Stimmzettel (invalid votes)	2'372	
In Betracht fallende Stimmzettel (considerable votes)		
Gültige Stimmzettel (valid votes)	1'591'714	
Ja-Stimmen (Yes votes)	1'309'841	82.3%
Nein-Stimmen (No votes)	281'873	17.7%
Annehmende Stände (cantons accepting)	19 6/2	
Verwerfende Stände (cantons discarding)	0	

Some comments on the outcome, you can see the second row showing the number of Swiss eligible for vote have been more than 3.8 million, out of a total population of 6`269`783 people in 1978. The participation rate was 42%. Although 1.3 million voted for the Jura cause, there had been 281`873 voting against it. Since Switzerland has a bicameralistic legislation, not only the people have to agree on a template but the cantons too. That outcome is shown in the two last rows, the first shows the cantons accepting the vote and the last shows the number of cantons rejecting the vote. All cantons accepted the vote, not one objected it. After that vote, the art. 1 of the Federal Constitution mentioned Jura as the 23rd canton of Switzerland on January 1st 1979.

Conclusion

We reached the end of the article, i would like to talk about a few issues within Swiss federalism, related to multilingualism. For that matter, i will go back to Nicolas Schmitt`s article from 2017.

Things evolve, and Switzerland is not outside of this rule of thumb. But it is one of the strengths of federalism to be able to deal

with this evolution. At the beginning of the Swiss federal state, the tensions that existed were between Catholics and Protestants. With time, the importance of religion faded, and currently (2017) the tensions that exist are between French- and German-speaking communities. Preserving the peace is therefore a never-ending process, meaning that not only minorities and/or minority languages have to be recognised, but also that this recognition must be dynamic in order to adapt itself to the constant changes in the socio-political conditions within the country (Schmitt 2017, p. 98). The Jura case is one good example for this evolution, even if some might not agree, but today the Jurassians are not setting up IEDs in Bern, they don't rally communal assemblies in the region, they don't use violent means to get their demands through anymore and that is the whole point, solving issues in a civilized and legal manner. But still, there are some new tensions within the federation, they have arisen over the obligation to teach French at primary schools (Schmitt 2017, p. 100). As we have seen, the cantons are responsible for teaching and education, it would be unconstitutional for the federation to demand special teachings from the cantons. Another issue is the endangered French chair of 19th - and 20th century French literature at the University of Zürich, this fear could suggest that the global context is clearly not very favourable to the national cohesion and to the respect for linguistic diversity (Schmitt 2017, p. 102). We can see, the linguistic issue is still present although one might think Switzerland is handling it very well, and the mentioned examples are about the French language, we haven't even scratched the surface of the problems with the Italian or Romansh languages, the real minority languages in Switzerland. I don't think that federal intervention will solve the problem, if people are forced to learn something they don't support, they will not maintain the knowledge after the school, when nobody is forcing them to learn anymore. People must do it out of free will, that only will guarantee the survival of a language, they must convince themselves to keep the multilingual character of Switzerland alive and master at least two national languages, like Paul Widmer already mentioned it in 2007 (p. 3 in this article). But also English in order to compete with the demands of the new globalized world. And that means, the Swiss must stay trilingual at least.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bakic, Nada *Sprachliche Minderheiten in serbien und in der Sweiz. Ein Vergleich im Bereich Bildung und Verwaltung* Arbeiten aus dem Juristischen Seminar der Universität Freiburg Schweiz, Schulthess, Verlag Zürich, 2010
- Bakke, Kristin M, Erik Wibbels *Diversity, Disparity, and Civil Conflict in Federal States*. World Politics Vol. 59, Cambridge, 2006
- Bassand, Michel *The Jura Problem*. Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 12, No. 2 Special Issue: Peace Research in Switzerland. Sage Publications Thousand Oaks, 1975
- Clyne, Michael *Multilingualism, Multiculturalism and Integration in Multiculturalism and Integration* ANU Press Canberra, 2011
- Dominian, Leon *Linguistic Areas in Europe: Their Boundaries and Political Significance* Bulletin of the American Geographical Society Vol. 47, No. 6 New York, 1915
- Grin, Francois *Language Policy in Multilingual Switzerland: Overview and Recent Developements* Paper presented at the Cicle de confèrencies sobre política linguística Direcció general de política linguística Barcelona, December 4. 1998
- Grünert, Matthias *Does the territoriality principle work in practice? The principle`s applicability to the Romansh area in the Swiss Canton of Grisons* in *Methods in Contemporary Linguistics*, De Gruyter Berlin, 2012.
- Helbling, Hanno *Geschichte der Schweiz*. Werner Classen Verlag Zürich, 1982
- Keech, William R. *Linguistic Diversity and Political Conflict: Some Observations Based on Four Swiss Cantons* Comparative Politics, Vol. 4, No. 3. Comparative Politics, Ph.D. Programs in Political Science, City University of New York, 1972
- Mayer, Kurt B. *The Jura Problem: Ethnic Conflict in Switzerland*. Social Research Vol. 35, No. 4, Focus – Conservative Approaches in the Human Sciences. The John Hopkins University Press Baltimore, 1968
- Maissen, Thomas *Geschichte der Schweiz* Jetzt+hier Verlag Baden, 2010

- Meyer, Jean-Pierre *Zur Geschichte des Sprachgrenzverlaufs im Wallis* in *Blätter aus der Walliser Geschichte*, Bd. 24 Sitten, 1992
- Murswiek, Dietrich *Die Problematik eines Rechts auf Sezession – neu betrachtet* *Archiv des Völkerrechts*, Bd. 31, No. 4, Tübingen, 1993.
- Osterwalder, Christin *Die ersten Schweizer* Scherz Verlag Bern, 1977
- Paviour-Smith, Martin *Cutting accross Linguistic Borders? Interlingual Hair Salon Names in Plurilingual Switzerland* in: *Crossing Languages to Play with Words*, De Gruyter Berlin, 2016
- Schelbert, Leo *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland*. Lanham Maryland, 2007
- Schmitt, Nicolas *Linguistic Policy in Switzerland: The Paradigm shifts but the Complexity remains* in *Revista de Llengua i Dret, Journal of Language and Law*, No. 67 Barcelona 2017
- Schoch, Bruno *Switzerland – A Model for Solving National Conflicts?* Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Report No. 54 Frankfurt, 2000
- Snyder, P.W. *Theological Instruction in Switzerland, I* in *The Biblical World*, Vol. 1, No. 2, The University of Chicago Press Chicago, 1893
- Turin, Mark *Endangerment and Linguistic Rights in the Himalayas: A Case Study from Nepal* *Mountain Research and development*, Vol 25, No. 1 Bern, 2005.
- Vatter, Adrian, *Das politische System der Schweiz* Nomos utb Baden-Baden, 2016
- Vertovec, Steven and Susanne Wessendorf *Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Diversity in Europe: An Overview of Issues and Trends* in *The Dynamics of International Migration and Settlement in Europe*, Amsterdam University Press, 2006
- Widmer, Paul *Die Schweiz als Sonderfall*. Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung Zürich, 2007

Online Sources:

Bundesamt für Statistik or Federal Bureau of Statistics
[bfs.admin.ch/statistiken](https://www.bfs.admin.ch/statistiken), look for statistics, catalogues and
databases, maps

Der Bundesrat or The Federal Council

<https://www.admin.ch/gov/de/start/dokumentation/medienmitteilungen> Pressrelease concerning the federal
language act

Bundeskanzlei or Federal Chancelery [bk.admin.ch/politische rechte](https://www.bk.admin.ch/politische_rechte)
(Political Rights), [olsabstimmungen](https://www.olsabstimmungen.ch) (Public Referendum),
Vorlage Nr. 288 Übersicht. (not available in English)

Discover Switzerland

<https://www.eda.admin.ch/aboutswitzerland/en/home/gesellschaft/sprachen/mehrsprachigkeit.html> About Swiss
multilingualism

JURA.CH

<https://www.jura.ch/fr/accueil/Carrousel/juraaccueil.html#>

Homepage of the Canton Jura [graubünden](https://www.graubuenden.ch/de/)

<https://www.graubuenden.ch/de/> Homepage of the Canton
Graubünden

DISTINGUISHING THE MULTICULTURAL FROM THE MULTIETHNIC AND EU INTEGRATION: ALBANIANS IN THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA

Elsa POLLOZHANI*

Abstract. *Intercultural communication and dialogue, as well as interethnic cooperation and coexistence, represent some of the main conditions of a country's membership to the European Union. Despite functioning for thirty years as an independent state, currently, the RNM has reached only the first step – screening – which implies the analytical examination and harmonization of the candidate country's legislation with EU's legislation. It should be emphasized the fact that RNM has made progress towards intercultural and interethnic cooperation; however, there is certainly a lot of work needed to be done for the ethnic and socio-cultural advancement of minorities. Yet, it should be pointed out that in RNM, very often it occurs that, intentionally or incidentally, the multicultural reality is equaled with the multiethnic reality. Therefore, this paper will examine the difference between the contingent of cultural rights and ethnic rights, which constitute two separate constitutional categories. While, the Macedonian majority is in favor of a mono-ethnic state with a multicultural society, the Albanian ethnic group aims for a more advanced multicultural and multiethnic state. Since Albanians compose the second largest group according to the number of the population in RNM, the paper will bring specific examples where cultural rights are considered as ethnic rights.*

Keywords: *majority, minorities, multiculturalism, multiethnicity, integration.*

* Institute of Spiritual and Cultural Heritage of the Albanians, Skopje, Republic of North Macedonia. Address: Boulevard Ilinden, 171. E-mail address: elsapollozhani@live.com

Introduction

The Republic of North Macedonia is undoubtedly one of the most multiethnic and multicultural country not only within the Balkan Peninsula, but also in the context of European space. This occurs in a period when in Europe multiethnicity is seen as a crisis generator, while multiculturalism is declared dead by some of the most important European politicians, as German chancellor Angela Merkel would say: *Multiculturalism proved to be an unsuccessful project even in Europe*. Therefore, I approach this issue through the perspective of the reality that currently reigns in the RNM. Multiethnicity and multiculturalism as concepts have always been present in the spaces of RNM. Therefore raises the question: multiculturalism or multiethnicity? This represents an issue which requires the right answer in order to define the inner situation that currently reigns in the Republic of North Macedonia. When these two components are in question, there exists a definition which explains that the multicultural and multiethnic imply the coexistence and cooperation of two or more cultures and peoples (ethnicities) in one state (or society). However, it also implies the distribution and use of state goods in a fair manner and without discrimination.

In building the scientific article titled “*Distinguishing the Multicultural from the Multiethnic and EU integration: Albanians in the Republic of North Macedonia*” I have chosen the qualitative research method as the most appropriate method. The process of gathering research data includes primary and secondary sources. Official documents, reports and surveys as well as scientific articles have been consulted in order to draw opinions from diverse sources and give a more accurate description and analysis of the current situation in North Macedonia. Some of the questions that this paper will try to answer include: Is North Macedonia a multiethnic state? To what extent discrimination based on ethnicity is present in North Macedonia’s society? What is the role of political actors in fighting inequality? How does this marginalization influence North Macedonia’s integration to the European Union? Through a clear description of the situation in North Macedonia, the historical context, analysis and elaboration of actions and decisions made in the last three decades, I will provide data about a rather visible discrimination.

Historical context

It should be emphasized that North Macedonia's subjectivity is connected directly with the communist period and Tito's Yugoslavia. Within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Macedonia's territory had a status of southern *banovina* of Serbia, known as the Vardar Banovina, with Skopje as its capital. However, with the arrival of the Communist Party at the head of Yugoslavia, Macedonia was declared the sixth republic of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which initially was named Democratic Republic of Macedonia to later be renamed to Socialist Federal Republic of Macedonia (Устав на Социјалистичка Република Македонија, 1974). During the coexistence within former Federal Yugoslavia, apart from state subjectivity, Macedonians gained also the right to create a nation. Within that republic, particularly with the Constitution of 1974 even minorities such as Albanians, Turks, Roma people, Vlachs, etc (considered as nationalities) enjoyed advanced ethnic and cultural rights. Moreover, the Republic experienced also a high degree of economic, educational and cultural development.

With the flowering of democratic ideas and the fall of communism at the beginning of the 90s of the twentieth century, among other things, the monist system was replaced by the pluralist system. After gaining its independence in 1991, Macedonia went through a process of socio-economic and political transition. These years were characterized with ethnic tensions, refugee crises, and changes in the political system. These developments led to the introduction of political pluralism in the country. Apart from politics, there were changes also in the economic system, with Macedonia transitioning from "socialist economic system (system of production where goods and services are produced directly for use), to capitalist economic system (goods and services are produced to generate profit). As it often occurs during transitional periods, there was a lack of growth in the gross domestic product which resulted in a deeper gap between rural and urban areas and as a consequence the unemployment rate increased (Serafimovska, Markovikj, 2016, p.7).

Theoretical framework

The idea on multiethnicity and multiculturalism in the post-modern era of globalization and information technology, also

economic crises, homes of conflicts and wars, large scale migrations and mobility of the population, are some of the most important debate topics in different forums. Such processes influence the development of relations between different ethnic cultures which coexist in a country or one local community. The trajectory of socio-political developments during the last three decades in RNM-revolves around the triangle – ethnocentrism- multiculturalism- biethnicity whereas political discourse is continuously flooded by syntagmas such as multiethnicity and multiculturalism. According to William G. Sumner's definition ethnocentrism (Bizumic, 2014) is the technical name for such a perspective on things, where his group is the center of everything, while others are subjected and ranged according to that belief.

The issue of coexistence represents a rather complex problem which every multiethnic and multicultural society faces. One of the possible ways to deal with this problem is placing the individual at the center of attention, while the other option is to deal with his rights as a member of a specific collective or ethnicum. Multiethnicity in the few last decades and particularly today is one of the most popular and exploited notion. In fact, quite often when we talk about multiethnicity it is a matter of an unusual disagreement. Precisely the space where North Macedonia's territory is extended has a long and wealthy tradition of multiethnicity, which takes global dimensions. The following text will help to identify and know the infinite roads of multiethnicity, both in the past and in the future. If the previous paragraphs elaborate and draw conclusions on the fact if multiethnicity is desirable and as such is possible, then I aim to give the necessary answers to some of the questions that are related to this concept. Although, even today, there is no general agreement about the fact that history is a tale of linear progress, or it is simply a cyclical motion of the development of human society. Multiethnicity, coexistence (particularly peaceful coexistence), entities, all these represent notions which until a few years ago were unknown to the majority of the population living in this space. However, today, these environments constitute some of the most characteristic places of the globe. All external attempts for the harmonization of these notions in favor of an efficient performance and functioning of countries with mixed population, seen from a historic point of view, seems as the foreigners come to teach us about things that we think we know and

do better than them. This conviction is justified by the fact that precisely the context of multiethnicity and coexistence in these spaces has been one of the most “exploited” spheres during history. For centuries people were born and lived in mixed environments.

The phenomenon of historical relations certainly is difficult to be seen in the right perspective, particularly in such an ethnically mixed space. However, one of the guides for a perception as objective as possible of the complexity of these spaces, would remain the aim of underlining the primary aspirations of Macedonians and Albanians, but also other minorities living in the country. Multiculturalism, as a liberal-idealist movement, spreads the idea of the individual uniqueness of cultural groups and in 1996, as a social-intellectual movement, seeks all cultural groups to be equal. Respectively, the goal of this moral movement is to increase the dignity, the rights and the recognition of the differences of different groups.

Problems that result from the multiethnic and multicultural character of the population in different places are identified and defined in different ways, and in order to overcome these problems there have been applied different politics. However, there is no place where a universal solution is found, which is applicable and completely satisfying for the problems that derive from this context. Even though, Prof. dr. Petar Atanasov (Atanasov, 2018) rightly concludes when he says that “there is no multicultural model as a definition that would solve what we call multiethnic society”, however, the affirmation and the use of these two social categories continuously remains the key word of the political structures of the country. Yet, this idea, reasonable in theory, no matter how right it sounds; still there are facts that show that this does not properly function in practice.

It should be reminded that the inner social and state reality of the Republic of North Macedonia is rather complex and it lies in the four following categories: the multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual and multi-confessional. Macedonia’s multi-ethnicity consists of Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Roma people, Serbs, etc. It should be noted that according to the last population census in 2002 (Population Census, 2002) the total number of residents in Macedonia reached a number of 2022547 people, out of which 129781 were Macedonians, 509083 were Albanians, 77959 Turks,

53879 Roma people, 35939 Serbs, 17018 Bosnians, 9695 Vlachs and 20993 others. The multicultural character derives from the Macedonian culture, Albanian culture, Turkish culture, Vlach culture, Roma culture, etc, whereas the confessional diversity is made up of the Orthodox religion, Islam religion, Catholic religion and other smaller religions. Despite the fact that the concept of multi-ethnicity was one of the main paradigms of the politics of all governments during the last three decades of pluralism, an issue that is discussed and promised to be dealt with by the current government, neither the factual situation nor the practical actions do not reflect this claim of the politics that is implemented in the Republic of North Macedonia.

Communication, intercultural dialogue, inter-ethnic coexistence and cooperation not only constitute values of every society, including here the society of RNM, they at the same time represent some of the main conditions for the country's accession to the European Union (See Copenhagen Criteria). However, they are not yet at the appropriate level. Therefore, despite solving the name dispute with Greece, which now can be considered a done deal, the issue of ethnic and cultural right of Albanians (but also other ethnicities) in North Macedonia, can be considered as a cause of slowing the country's integration process to the EU. The category of multiculturalism and multiethnicity occupies an important place even in programs of the NRM's political parties, which plays a rather active role in encouraging and reevaluating public politics with the aim to find an adequate and right way to fulfill the requirements of the different groups in the country's society.

The most radical Macedonians would argue that Macedonia is transforming from a multiethnic society to a multiethnic country, whereas Albanians believe that this multiethnic society should be transformed into a genuine multiethnic state. And precisely this process represents the greatest challenge that not only the official politics but also the whole society of RNM is facing. However, it should be reminded that the rights of nationalities part of which are also Albanians, derive from Article 48 of the Constitution of the Republic of North Macedonia (Constitution of RNM, 2002). Moreover, some of these rights are regulated by special laws, such as is the Law on Use of Languages, the Law on Higher Education, etc. It should be emphasized the fact that these rights are conditioned by

the scale of the “percentage” of nationalities on the state level. Since Albanians make 25% of the population in the country, a required constitutional and legal percentage of the total number of citizens of the RNM, they are eligible of the use of these language and education rights. Yet, these legal rights are not always respected and implemented in the required level for the nationalities, respectively, Albanians. Therefore, it appears that Macedonians are the most privileged ethnic group, whereas Albanians as the second ethnic group, by the number of people, are dependent on their percentage at the cities where they live, while other smaller ethnic groups are on the “mercy” of politics.

The Republic of North Macedonia, as a heterogonous country, in an ethnic, cultural and confessional sense, in reality it faces problems of this nature for almost thirty years now, since gaining its independence. As a result of a nonfunctional society (state), more than once, the multicultural and multiethnic coexistence has been put to test. Precisely, in this paper, will be discussed the complexity of (un)solved issues on a (multi)ethnic and (multi)cultural aspect in the RNM. Taking into consideration the fact that according to political-judicial theories, the “multicultural” and “multiethnic” reality of a state (society) implies two different things, this reality should not be dealt only through the academic distinction as well as the practical aspect. The current state, stance and behavior of official politics toward the approach to these categories, speaks about a confusion which causes uncertainty and discontent. Accidentally or deliberately, very often, the multicultural reality is equaled with the multiethnic reality. While the Macedonian majority is in favor of a mono-ethnic state with a multicultural society, the Albanian ethnic group strives for a more advanced multicultural and two-ethnic state. Therefore, it is necessary that a distinction is made between the contingent of cultural and ethnic rights, which represent two separate constitutional categories.

By confusing these two categories begins the abuse with the violation of these rights. This is the primary factor that pushes ethnic Albanians in RNM to rely more on their ethnic identity than on the national (state) identity. This comes as a result of the fact that Albanians believe that the state, more in the past but even now, does not treat them the same as Macedonians. This is covered in the adoption of the Law on Prevention of and Protection against

Discrimination (Official Gazette, 2010), which has given its results but not enough. In this way, the inefficiency of the state has challenged and continues to challenge the interethnic and intercultural coexistence. This inefficiency of state politics has occasionally caused tensions in the interethnic situation in the country. The selective reaction of the government two decades ago led to an armed conflict between the National Liberation Army and the military-police forces of the Republic of Macedonia (which in the United Nations is recognized as FYROM- Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia). The military conflict between the two parties ended with a reached agreement and implemented with international surveillance which is widely known as the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

The Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA, 2001, 2-4) was signed with the aim to “promote the peaceful and harmonious development of civil society while respecting the ethnic identity and the interests of all Macedonian citizens”. The significant changes brought with this agreement were the following: cessation of hostilities, meaning complete voluntary disarmament of the ethnic Albanian armed groups and their complete voluntary disbandment; development of decentralized government, with enhanced competencies related principally to the areas of public services, urban and rural planning, environmental protection, local economic development, culture, local finances, education, social welfare and health care; non-discrimination and equitable representation, implying employment in public administration and public enterprises, and access to public financing for business development; special parliamentary procedures; education and use of languages, making any language spoken by at least 20 percent of the population an official language and finally expression of identity, allowing for emblems of the majority in the municipality to be placed in front of local public building. It should be noted that this Agreement led to changes to the constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. Many points of this Agreement were translated into legal acts which were incorporated in the new constitution of the country. It should be emphasized that through the Ohrid Framework Agreement, the Albanian population advanced some of its rights. Among those rights we should mention the following: increasing the space for information in the mother tongue within the public/national service;

the right to establish public cultural institutions; the right to primary, secondary and particularly higher education in the mother tongue; adequate and proportional representation in state administration, etc. After a long time, more precisely, after seventeen years and the two changes that the law on the use of Albanian language underwent, the government adopted the Law on the Use of Languages, through which Albanian language gained status of the second official language in the RNM. OFA managed to impose and establish a new state concept, i.e. a multicultural concept that implied real and proper coexistence within the different communities.

However, despite these positive trends and despite declarations and claims made by the government that the OFA is completely implemented, and figures that show improvement of the situation in different social and state segments, still, there are facts that show that there is still a lot of work needed to be done in this regard. Therefore, it is necessary that a distinctive line is drawn between ethnic and cultural rights guaranteed by law. Taking into account the fact that Albanians constitute numerically the second-largest ethnic group, I will bring specific examples where cultural rights are often considered as ethnicity rights! It should be emphasized that Albanians have a guaranteed education at all levels, in their mother tongue. Albanians have the right to establish cultural institutions, associations in the field of science and other fields, in order to cultivate and develop their identity. Apart from elementary and secondary education, today they have two public universities, one semi-private university, and several other private universities in Albanian language. They have a television channel in Albanian language within the Macedonian Radio Television.

Discrimination based on ethnicity

Multicultural societies deal with problems which result from the changes in the modern world. Marginalization and in some cases even exclusion of minority groups from society, represents one of the fundamental problems that these multicultural societies are dealing with. As a result, this issue requires action and mobilization from political actors. This feeling can be translated into discrimination, which in this case is made on the basis of ethnicity. Certainly, there is a difference in perceptions when it comes to discrimination on ethnic basis, with two opposite parties having different opinions and views

when such discrimination is concerned. People of different ethnic groups experience discrimination and the goal of this paper is to show to what extent. It seeks to identify in which spheres smaller ethnic groups experience such discrimination, in which areas it is most present. The aim is to show the difference between those that are privileged and those that are marginalized in Macedonian society.

Certainly, many surveys, reports and other statistical data show that in the RNM even today there is a visible presence of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity. This has been concluded by research project by Aleksandar Krzhalovski (Krzalovski, 2011, 10-13) and his team, conducted in the second half of 2010, MCMS, on an initiative of the OSCE, also supported by the Secretariat for Implementation of Ohrid Framework Agreement (SIOFA). According to some researches it is concluded that in the RNM discrimination appears as direct and indirect. Even though the OFA has been signed almost two decades ago, there are data which show that discrimination on ethnic basis has not been eliminated yet. Cases of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity are present in employment even at the public sector, but this occurrence is increasing even at the private sector. There are public (state) institutions where the number of employees is rather small; moreover, there are institutions which are ethnically clean. According to this report, employment represents the most adequate sphere of direct discrimination, even though the representation of ethnic groups in public administration has been improved to a considerable extent (reaching a level of 25% in 2009). The Republic of North Macedonia, with the help of the OFA and other mechanisms has applied a system of affirmative measures to reach a real equality of ethnic groups (including here proper representation in public administration) which in essence make exceptions from discrimination, and as such should be applied until a respective balance is achieved.

Seen from the statistical aspect, despite the above-mentioned improvements, during new employments, even today, the majority Macedonian population is the most privileged. This phenomenon does not occur only as a cause of the balancing mechanism but also because of the fact that the power is mostly under the control of the Macedonian political parties. Even in these sphere, Albanians follow the percentage (meaning the 25%) while other minorities (particularly the Roma people) are even more marginalized.

Discrimination in the RNM continues to be present even today and this is confirmed by several institutions, organization and local and international associations. Although with a somewhat lower intensity, even more pronounced appears to be discrimination based on political affiliation followed by discrimination based on ethnicity. According to reports carried and published by the Macedonian Center for International Cooperation, conducted in 2010 by the author Kerzalovski, it results that discrimination based on ethnicity is very high. The majority of the citizens participating in the survey (around 53,3%) believe that discrimination is present in Macedonia, while discrimination based on ethnicity is the second most represented discrimination (preceded by discrimination based on political affiliation). The respondents believe that discrimination has increased particularly in the last five (5) years. According to their reports, and based on the experiences of the citizens, the most frequent fields where discrimination on ethnic basis is present are the following: employment (relations in the workplace), services in the public sector (public administration, in particular the police and healthcare services), education but also in some services in the private sector such as coffee places, night clubs, pools, etc.

From this research it can be concluded that discrimination based on ethnicity, but also on other basis, it appears to be more present on the employment field. A large percentage of Macedonia's citizens (around 47,4% of the respondents) have the opinion that members of other ethnic communities take the jobs of the people of the other ethnic communities and only 23,8% of the respondents do not agree with this claim. The majority of the citizens (around 79%) believe that discrimination in the employment field is more common/present in the public sector than in the private sector (54%). According to target-groups, for ethnic Albanian the problem lies in previous long-term discrimination by governmental institutions, but also by large private enterprises, where the main positions for hiring new workers are commonly held by ethnic Macedonians. However, respondents belonging to other ethnic groups indicate the OFA as a cause of discrimination, an agreement which favors ethnic Albanians.

The majority of the respondents (above 50%) believe that discrimination is present also in the health sector, education, judiciary and security/police. Ethnic Albanians argue that even in the agriculture and culture sectors there is an emphasized discrimination

based on ethnicity. The presence of discrimination based on ethnicity, especially in the employment field is concluded also seven years later by the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia in Skopje (Survey Report, 2016). The annual report published in September of 2016, by this Committee, was based on data of 2016, gathered mainly from associations of the civil sector as well as institution that deal with the issue of discrimination, shows that *“the most common cases when citizens of North Macedonia have been discriminated were based on ethnicity, political affiliation, health status, gender and individuality”*. According to this data, the citizens were mostly discriminated in workplace relationships, health, education and access to services. In relation to the systemic monitoring of discrimination, the Helsinki Committee encourages respective institutions in a complete evidencing of discrimination. It can be noted in this report that this Committee asks for a specific engagement also from other institutions. *“The courts are advised to start with the registration process of judicial procedures which were initiated for protection from discrimination, whereas the ombudsman should keep a special statistical register for cases of the respective judicial representation and cases of discrimination”*. Moreover, the HCM has recommended the adoption of Law on Prevention of and Protection against Discrimination within the shortest possible time.

Discrimination based on political affiliation, which continues to be more present in RNM's society, is researched by Vllado Dimovski from the Center for Interethnic Tolerance (Koha, 2017). *“Highest level of political discrimination is reached during election campaigns. During this period different types of discrimination are visible, such as labeling, insults, and threats and even layoffs or other similar forms of pressure. All this is made with the aim of gaining political points, but I believe that this form of violence has come to an end, because through different insistences, whether ethnical or political one cannot gain political points”* has concluded Dimovski. Discrimination based on ethnicity is noticed even at the treatment that former political prisoners of the communist regime receive, because even after thirty years, this category of citizens politically mistreated has not yet been indemnified. This is also asserted by Shpetim Pollozhani (Koha, 2017) of the Association of Political Prisoners and Persecuted Albanians, who claims that its members have never been compensated for the damages received by

the communist regime. *“In 2002, a law was adopted, with which the status of Macedonian former political was recognized and they were indemnified and those that are still alive, enjoy the benefits of that law. Albanian political prisoners were not included in that law, because we were told that it only applied to Macedonians”*, argued Pollozhani.

There exists a potential even for indirect discrimination, which is rather sophisticated but strongly influences the social condition of minorities. This form of discrimination is particularly noticeable in the distribution of the state budget, whether it's the central government or that at the level of local government. Furthermore, this is visible also in large governmental projects. This type of discrimination has caused harsh reaction, especially from the Albanian opposition parties, which has led to multiple debates, in particular concerning the model of distribution of local government finance, with special emphasis on the municipalities that are governed by Albanians.

Minority groups in the modern world face numerous forms of disadvantages and exclusion. They may face political exclusion, which means that they may be denied access to citizenship, or the right to vote, or the right to run for political office, or not have access to public media, meaning they cannot express their views. Certainly, in RNM this right is guaranteed by the Constitution. Moreover, they can also face economic exclusion, by not being allowed to own a land, or not be able to practice certain professions or not be allowed to have access to public-sector employment. (Kymlicka, 2004) Perhaps it can't be said that this rather extreme form of discrimination is present in RNM, however, exclusion from using certain economic goods is a form practiced against smaller ethnic groups. Indirect discrimination can also be noticed in the way of distribution and financing of larger governmental projects such as the distribution of subventions, allocation of social apartments, etc. Even though an equal representation is guaranteed, in this sphere also the majority benefits, going beyond the rights guaranteed with the constitution and the adopted laws. Even in capital investments that are financed by state budgets and foreign investments, there is a feeling of injustice towards the regions inhabited by the Albanian ethnic group. Meantime, the smaller national groups come to second plan, and in particular the most marginalized groups (for example the

Roma people) not only use less state benefits, but they do not have equal opportunities in meeting the required conditions to apply.

Conclusion

This paper reevaluates the possibilities and limitations of theoretical prescriptions and practical implementation of the politics of citizenry multiculturalism currently in the Republic of North Macedonia. Even though we cannot give a complete and all inclusive image of the use of state benefits as constitutional rights on basis of ethnicity, which in fact makes it difficult to mirror the real situation, the given data show that RNM has to work more intensively in order to reach its goals for a genuine, multiethnic and later multicultural society. The RNM is facing a paradox, because, on one hand it claims and affirms the functioning of a multiethnic and multicultural society while on the other hand, there is still domination of a mono-ethnic and mono-cultural state. Most certainly, this situation causes confusion, discontent and tension in the country and this slows down the integration process to the EU. In order to open the path towards EU, we need a greater willingness and transparency from the governmental institutions and particularly from the political parties that are in power. What is indispensable today, first and foremost, is that it is related to political thinking, normative solutions as well as with practical politics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Атанасов, Петар, (2018), "Македонски мултиетнички јазли", Скопје.
- Bizumic, Boris (2014), Who coined the concept of ethnocentrism? A Brief Report, Retrieved June 6, 2019 from <https://jspp.psychopen.eu/article/view/264/html>
- Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia (2002), Republic of Macedonia State Statistical Office, Retrieved April 21, 2019, from <http://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/knigaXIII.pdf>
- Diskriminimi etnik mbetet sfile (2017), Koha. Retrieved June 9, 2019, from <https://www.koha.mk/diskriminimi-etnik-mbetet-sfile/>

- Krzalovski, Aleksandar (2010) Discrimination based on ethnicity, Survey Report, Macedonian Center for International Cooperation,. Retrieved March 6, 2019 from:<https://www.osce.org/skopje/116791?download=true>
- Kymlicka, Will (2004) Culturally Responsive Policies, Retrieved April 2, 2019 from: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.422.4676&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Ohrid Framework Agreement (2001) Retrieved May 10, 2019 from <https://www.osce.org/skopje/100622?download=true>
- Serafimovska Eleonora, Marijana Markovikj, (2016) Monograph: Challenges of personality in 21st century, Case: Republic of Macedonia, 2016, Retrieved May 5, 2019 from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331405824>
- Закон за спречување и заштита од дискриминација, Службен Весник, бр.50/2010,13.04.2010;
- Устав на Република Македонија, Службен Весник на РМ бр..52/1991.22.11.1991
- Устав на Социјалистичка Република Македонија, 1974
- Устав на Република Македонија, Службен Весник бр.91/2001.20.11.2001; Амандант IV
- Закон за спречување и заштита од дискриминација, Службен Весник, бр.50/2010,13.04.2010;
- Хелсиншки Комитет за човекови права на Република Македонија (2016), Годишен извештај за состојбите во областа на човековите права во Република Македонија во 2016 година

MACEDONIA-GREECE DISPUTE RESOLUTION AGREEMENT AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Jusuf ZEJNELI*
Faton SHABANI**

Abstract. *Each country qualifies itself with different features of its functioning, such as the form of government that is defined by the constitution, basic constitutional institutions, election, their constitution and mandate, degree of respect for the fundamental rights of citizens, institutions for guaranteeing them and of course its relationship with international organizations. Within the specifics of the organization of a country, the relationship with other countries, especially the neighboring countries, has a special role. In this regard, the Republic of North Macedonia has had a long-running name dispute with the Republic of Greece, a dispute that has had a high impact on the process of Euro-Atlantic integration of the country, by the very fact of Greece's influence in that direction. But now the feud – which for years has appeared to be an incurable problem – is heading a resolution. The country formerly known as Macedonia has officially changed its name, in a bid to end decades-long naming dispute with its neighbour Greece. Therefore, reaching agreement to resolve this dispute (known as the Prespa Agreement) is a crucial step forward for the Republic of North Macedonia, because it is in action which paves the way for the country's integration perspective, especially in NATO and the European Union. The authors through the methods of analysis, synthesis, historical and empirical, aim to give an insight into the journey made by the two countries until the resolution of the dispute, as well as the challenges that this agreement will reflect in the perspective of the Republic of North Macedonia.*

Keywords: *Prespa Agreement, neighbor's relations, NATO, European Union integration.*

* Jusuf Zejneli, Associated Professor, University of Tetova, Faculty of Law, Tetova, Republic of North Macedonia, jusuf.zejneli@unite.edu.mk.

** Faton Shabani, Assistant Professor, University of Tetova, Faculty of Law, Tetova, Republic of North Macedonia, faton.shabani@unite.edu.mk.

1. Challenges of the signing of the Greece-Macedonia Agreement and its priorities

The Republic of North Macedonia, in addition to facing the challenges of reforming the domestic legal system, has constantly faced a challenge of harmonizing relations with neighboring countries, as this process has been crucial in terms of the country's integration perspective. The prospect of approaching the Western Balkan states and their full integration into the EU have played an important role in stabilizing policies, economy and society, mitigating the effects of internal and systematic transformation conflicts in the countries of the region.¹ It should be noted that the signing of the Macedonia-Greece Agreement known as the Prespa Agreement was preceded by the Macedonia-Bulgaria Agreement. On January 15, 2018, the Assembly ratified the Agreement with Bulgaria, the aim of which is good neighborly relations, mutual friendly relations, bilateral and multilateral relations, in accordance with international law, and the same agreement was signed on August 01, 2017, by the prime ministers of both countries, Zoran Zaev and Bojko Borisov. It was the result of five-year negotiation process of the working groups by both foreign ministries based on the 1990 agreement.

The relations between Republic of North Macedonia and Greece are characterized by different developments, on September 13, 1995, they signed the Interim Agreement resulting in the opening of the connection offices in Skopje and Athens and in 2004 a Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of Offices for Consular, Economic and Trading in Thessaloniki and Bitola. However, the relations between these two states will be characterized by the differences that refer to the name from the time of constitution of Republic of North Macedonia. From 2009 we will have a freshness of their relations in the framework of international processes. But at the Bucharest Summit, Greece will hinder the takeover of Republic Of North Macedonia's NATO membership invitation. Meanwhile, it will intensify official visits to Greece by some deputy ministers on European issues of the Macedonian government. At the same time after 25-year name dispute, on June 17, 2018, the agreement between Republic of North Macedonia and

¹ Blerim Reka, Otman Höll, Ylber Sela, *Institucionet dhe Politikat e Unionit Evropian*, Tetovë 2010, p.182.

Greece, the Prespa Agreement, is reached. In the presence of international representatives, delegations from both countries to support the signing of this act by Macedonian Foreign Minister Nikola Dimitrov and his Greek counterpart, Nikos Kotzias, signed an agreement named historical for the Macedonian name, which will be called the Republic of North Macedonia. This attitude towards the Government of the Republic of North Macedonia is from the *Program of Government 2017-2020*: “Stemming from the Constitution of the Republic of North Macedonia, the Government will actively engage in building consensual positions on all matters of state and national interest with all relevant stakeholders in the country. We will actively engage in overcoming the imposed name issue by Greece and will not accept discussion on identity grounds. We will consult the citizens for possible solutions”.²

On September 30, 2018, a referendum for the same agreement was reached with the question “Are you for EU and NATO membership with the agreement between the Republic of North Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?”. On July 30, 2018, the Assembly of the Republic of North Macedonia adopts a Decision on the Promulgation of a Referendum, Decision No 08-4666/1. The referendum was held on September 30, 2018. The total number of votes in the electoral register was 1,806,336 of which 666,344 or 36.89% voted. Out of this number 609,427 (91.46%) voted PRO and 37,687 (5.66%) voted AGAINST.

On October 19, 2018, the Macedonian Assembly with 80 votes in favor approved the government’s proposal for constitutional changes that paved the way for the name change, according to the agreement with Greece. Voting will take place after the referendum is held on the same issue. At this session, eight opposition MPs voted in favor of the agreement with Greece. This development was also highly appreciated by the international community as a crucial step in the country’s integration process, including statements by European Council President Donald Tusk and NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg. The Government has a deadline of 15 days to submit amendments to the Constitution to the Assembly.

² *Program of Government 2017-2020*, file:///C:/Users/Administratori/Documents/Romania%202019/Programa_Vlada_2017-2020_ENG.pdf (last acceded on 24.02.2019).

On January 11, 2019, the Macedonian Assembly with 81 votes for, no vote against and restrained adopted the constitution changes envisaged by the Prespa Agreement and subsequently promulgated it. In this case, the new name will be: the Republic of North Macedonia. It is noted that these changes pave the way for membership in NATO and EU. During the constitutional changes, the opposition was not present in the Assembly hall.

The agreement consists of a preamble and three parts. The preamble states that the parties, based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and other important documents, agree to resolve the name issue: “Recalling the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, the relevant Acts of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (“OSCE”) and the values and principles of the Council of Europe”. At the same time, along with the above-mentioned principles and documents, democratic leadership, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, dignity, obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence, the need to strengthen peace, stability, security and further promote cooperation, not to interfere on any pretext or in any form in the internal affairs and jurisdiction, are emphasized in the preamble.

The first part of the agreement includes 8 articles, in which the issues relating to the new state name and the procedures for its adoption are largely determined. The official name of the second party shall be the “Republic of North Macedonia”, which shall be the constitutional name of the second party and shall be used *erga omnes*, as provided for in the agreement. The short name of the second party shall be “North Macedonia”.³ Upon entry into force of the agreement, the parties shall use the name and terminologies of Article 1(3) in all relevant international multilateral and regional Organizations, institutions and fora, including all meetings and correspondence, and in all their bilateral relations with all Member States of the United Nations (Article 1(5), Agreement). As regards the validity of already existing documents and materials issued by the

³ Article 1(3)(a) of the Macedonia-Greece Agreement, signed in Prespa on June 17th, 2018, <https://vmacedonia.com/politics/macedonia-greece-agreement.html> (last accessed on 27.02.2019) (hereinafter the Agreement).

authorities of the North Macedonia, the parties agree that there shall be two transitional periods, one ‘technical’ and one ‘political’:

a) The “technical” transitional period shall relate to all official documents and materials of the Public Administration of the North Macedonia for international usage and to those for internal usage that may be used externally. These documents and materials shall be renewed in accordance with the new name and terminologies of the agreement within five years from the entry into force of the agreement, at the latest.

b) The “political” transitional period shall relate to all documents and materials exclusively for internal usage in the North Macedonia. The issuance of the documents and materials falling under this category shall commence at the opening of each EU negotiation chapter in the relevant field, and shall be finalized within five years thereof (Article 1(10), Agreement).

On the other hand, through this agreement, Greece agrees not to object to the application by or the membership of the North Macedonia under the new name and terminologies in international multilateral and regional Organizations and institutions of which Greece is a member (Article 2(1), Agreement). In particular with respect to the North Macedonia’s EU and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (“NATO”) integration processes, Greece shall seek admission to NATO and the EU under the new name and terminologies. Accession to NATO and the EU will be under that same name and terminologies (Article 2(4), Agreement).

Moreover, the parties hereby confirm their common existing frontier as an enduring and inviolable international border. Neither party shall assert or support any claims to any part of the territory of the other party or claims for a change to their common existing frontier. In addition, neither party shall support any such claims that may be raised by any third party (Article 3(1), Agreement). Each party commits to respect the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the political independence of the other party. Neither party shall support any actions of any third party directed against the sovereignty, the territorial integrity or the political independence of the other party (Article 3(2), Agreement). The parties shall refrain, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, from the threat or use of force, including the threat or

use of force intended to violate their common existing frontier (Article 3(3), Agreement).

If either party believes one or more symbols constituting part of its historic or cultural patrimony is being used by the other party, it shall bring such alleged use to the attention of the other party, and the other party shall take appropriate corrective action to effectively address the issue and ensure respect for the said patrimony. Within six months following the entry into force of the agreement, North Macedonia shall review the status of monuments, public buildings and infrastructures on its territory, and insofar as they refer in any way to ancient Hellenic history and civilization constituting an integral component of the historic or cultural patrimony of Greece, shall take appropriate corrective action to effectively address the issue and ensure respect for the said patrimony (Article 8(1)-(2), Agreement).

The second part of the agreement includes 10 articles which mainly define intensification and enrichment of cooperation between the two parties. The parties agree that their strategic cooperation shall extend to all sectors, such as agriculture, civil protection, defence, economy, energy, environment, industry, infrastructure, investments, political relations, tourism, trade, trans-border cooperation and transport. This strategic cooperation shall apply not only to the sectors included in the agreement but also to those that in the future may be deemed beneficial to both countries and indispensable. All these sectors should be incorporated into a comprehensive Action Plan during the course of the development of bilateral relations (Article 9(1), Agreement).

The parties agree to reinforce and further develop their bilateral political relations through regular visits, meetings and consultations at high political and diplomatic levels. The parties shall further develop their economic cooperation in all areas. Particular emphasis shall be placed on the strengthening, enhancement and deepening of their bilateral cooperation on agriculture, energy, environment, industry, infrastructures, investments, tourism, trade, and transport. To achieve this objective, the parties shall capitalize on and utilize the existing CBMs, constituting a mutually beneficial cooperative platform, which will evolve into an Action Plan (Article 14(1), Agreement).

In the age of the new industrial revolution and second age of machines, the deepening of cooperation amongst states and societies is necessary now more than ever, in particular with respect to social activities, technologies and culture sense. In furtherance thereof: both in a narrow and a broad. The parties shall develop and improve their scientific, technological and technical cooperation as well as their collaboration in the area of education. They shall intensify their exchanges of information and of scientific and technical documentation and shall strive to improve mutual access to scientific and research institutions, archives, libraries and similar institutions. The Parties shall support initiatives by scientific and educational institutions as well as by individuals aimed at improving cooperation and exchanges in the areas of sciences, technology and education. The parties shall encourage and support events as well as scientific and educational programmes in which members of their scientific and academic communities shall participate. They shall also encourage and support the convening of bilateral and international conferences in these areas (Article 15(1)-(2), Agreement).

Upon entry into force of this agreement, the parties shall in their relations be directed by the provisions of the following bilateral agreements that had been concluded between the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the First Party on 18 June 1959: (a) The convention concerning mutual legal relations, (b) The agreement concerning the reciprocal recognition and the enforcement of judicial decisions, and (c) The agreement concerning hydro-economic questions (Article 18(1), Agreement).

In the third part, which includes two articles, it is decided that the parties shall settle any disputes exclusively by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, while the agreement shall be signed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the two parties (Articles 19(1) & 20(1), Agreement).

2. The process of constitutional changes in the Republic of North Macedonia

The Republic of North Macedonia implements the parliamentary system of government, combined with elements of the presidential system. The parliamentary elements are mainly expressed in the important role of the Assembly, in the parliamentary control of the government and in the possibility for the Assembly to

initiate the President's responsibility before the Constitutional Court, a right of veto, a right to distribute the Assembly, etc (Bajrami, 2010: 359). The state power is exercised in harmony with the principle of separation of state power. Sovereignty in the Republic of North Macedonia derives from the citizens and belongs to the citizens. The citizens exercise their authority through democratically elected Representatives, through referendum and through other forms of direct expression (Article 2, Constitution of the Republic of North Macedonia).

Legislative power is exercised by the Assembly, the executive by the Government and judicial power by the courts. The basic institution of parliamentary democracy is the Assembly, it carries out the legislative, electoral and supervisory function. The main function is the legislator, the right to adopt the laws and the constitution of the country. The Assembly performs legislative activity through these activities: adopts laws and gives authentic interpretation of laws, approves the Republican budget and final budget account, ratifies international agreements and approves the spatial plan of the country (Шкарик & Силјановска-Давкова, 2007: 644). The election function involves selecting and dismissing the Government and bodies elected by the Assembly. The supervisory function is based on overseeing the activity of the Government, its members, whereby the Assembly may initiate the confidence motion of the Government as a whole or its members. Government parliamentary scrutiny mechanisms include MP's questions, budget approval, interpellation, polling commissions, government's vote of confidence, and government dismissal. The entire legal system functions in harmony with the constitution of the country. It defines the fundamental constitutional institutions, the form of governance and the way of functioning of the legal system. It is amended and supplemented by constitutional amendments. The issue of constitutional changes is defined in a separate chapter, ie this process is regulated by Chapter VIII of the Constitution of the Republic of North Macedonia: "A proposal to initiate a change in the Constitution in the Republic of North Macedonia may be made by the President of the Republic, by the Government, by at least 30 Representatives, or by 150,000 citizens" (Article 130, Constitution of the Republic of North Macedonia). The President of the Assembly shall convey the proposal to proceed to amending of the constitution to the members

of the Assembly, the President of the Republic and the Government, when they are not the initiators of the proposal (Article 195, Rules of Procedure of the Assembly). The Assembly shall, at its session, hold a debate on the proposal to proceed to amending of the Constitution in its entirety, which shall last ten days at most (Article 196(1), Rules of Procedure of the Assembly). In order to realize the constitutional changes, the Assembly decides by a two-thirds majority of the total number of MP's and the draft for amending the Constitution is determined by the Assembly by a majority vote of the total number of MP's and put it into public discussion: "A proposal to proceed to amending the Constitution shall include specific directions for changing and amending of the Constitution and explanatory notes of the reasons for proposing changes and amendments to the Constitution" (Article 194, Rules of Procedure of the Assembly).

Based on the fact that the Constitution represents the basic act of a state, the process of proposing its amendment must certainly be well-reasoned, in order to contribute to the improvement of the regulation of social relations in the respective state. The Assembly, after taking the decision to implement the constitutional amendment, by a conclusion determines the deadline according to which the submitter drafts the text of the draft amendments. The debate in the Assembly shall be held on the draft text of each amendment separately and opinions and suggestions may be given. the review of the text of each draft amendment shall last for three working days at most. An MP during the debate shall take the floor several times in duration of a total of 20 minutes; the coordinator of a parliamentary group shall speak a total of 30 minutes. a representative of the proponent shall speak several times, but not more than 30 minutes in total (Article 198(1), Rules of Procedure of the Assembly). The review of the in the committee on constitutional affairs and the legislative committee shall last three working days at most for each amendment. member of the committee on constitutional affairs and the legislative committee and MP during the review shall speak several times in duration of 20 minutes in total, the coordinator of the parliamentary group a total of 30 minutes. the representative of the proponent shall speak several times, but not longer than 30 minutes in total (Article 198(2)-(4), Rules of Procedure of the Assembly). The initiator, every member of the Assembly, working body and the Government when not an initiator, may submit amendments to the

text of the constitutional amendment proposals, not later than eight days before the Assembly holds the session on which the amendments of the constitution are to be adopted. As an exception, the initiator may submit amendments to the constitutional amendment proposals until the end of the debate only with a view to harmonising the text of the amendment proposals that have been changed as a result of the adoption of an amendment (Article 200, Rules of Procedure of the Assembly). The amendments to the Constitution shall be adopted by a two-thirds majority of the total number of members of the Assembly. The Assembly shall adopt a decision for amendment to the preamble, the articles on local self-government, article 131, any provision concerning the rights of the members of communities, including in particular articles 7, 8, 9, 19, 48, 56, 69, 77, 78, 86, 104 and 109, as well as a decision for adding any new provision related to the issues covered with these provisions and these articles, by a two-thirds majority vote of the total number of members of the Assembly, which has to include majority vote of the total number of members of the Assembly belonging to the communities that are not majority in the Republic of North Macedonia (Article 202, Rules of Procedure of the Assembly). The Assembly shall adopt the decision on proclamation of the amendments to the constitution by a two-thirds majority vote of the total number of its members (Article 203, Rules of Procedure of the Assembly).

3. Republic of North Macedonia and the European Union

In 2001, Republic of North Macedonia signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement, in 2005 won the candidate status for EU membership. Regarding country's progress in Euro-integration processes the European Commission prepares a report in which the developments in this regard are presented in a textual way. Dreams for having an European Unit are not from today, but have begun since the time of ancient Rome (Reka & Sela, 2011: 12). Of course, this is an argument that states alongside want to be its members, in order to benefit from the transparent functioning of their legal order.

Our country is clear in this regard: "Membership in NATO and the European Union are Macedonia's strategic commitments. They imply better living standards, modern legislation, and higher wages, security of the state and its citizens, new investments, free

movement. They are a guarantee for private ownership, freedom and independence of the person, legal and economic safety. Membership in NATO and the European Union implies support for policies that will put an end to partisan judiciary and prosecution, biased partisan media and oligarchs" (Program of Government 2017-2020: 12). Of course, the process of harmonizing domestic legislation with that of the EU represents a genuine basis for strengthening the country's democracy and respect for the fundamental freedoms and rights of citizens: "Integration, progress and security are highly dependent on good and productive neighborly relations. The Government of the Republic of North Macedonia will impose new dynamics in Macedonia's relations with its neighbors, and insist on constructive cooperation in all spheres on both bilateral and regional level" (Program of Government 2017-2020: 12).

Within the framework of Republic of North Macedonia and EU relations, the opening of negotiations on meeting the criteria for full membership is expected, a process which will affect the efficiency and transparency of the institutions of the judicial system, strengthening the rule of law and advancing respect for freedoms and rights of citizens.

4. Conclusion

After almost three decades, one of the most intractable Balkan disputes has ended on the banks of a lake as Greece and Macedonia signed an accord formally heralding a new era of peace. To get to this point has not been easy – and challenges posed by nationalist hardliners could yet scupper the deal. But the significance of a day, as heavy in symbolism as historic import, was lost on neither. The pact opens the way to Macedonia joining Nato and beginning EU accession talks. Previous such moves have been blocked by Athens and triggered growing western security concerns in a region that has become increasingly susceptible to Russian influence.

By agreeing to rename itself the Republic of North Macedonia the country will replace an interim accord under which it joined the UN 23 years ago as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bajrami Arsim (2010), *Parlamentarizmi (Aspekte krahasuese)*, Kolegji FAMA, Prishtinë
- Reka Blerim & Ylber Sela (2011), *Hyrje në të Drejtën e Unionit Evropian*, SEE University, Tetovë
- Reka Blerim & Otman Höll & Ylber Sela (2010), *Institucionet dhe Politikat e Unionit Evropian*, Tetovë
- Constitution of the Republic of North Macedonia*, Official Gazette of the Republic of North Macedonia, No. 02/91, amended by Amendments to the Constitution, Official Gazette of the Republic of North Macedonia No. 01/1992, No. 31/1998, No. 91/2001, No. 84/2003, No. 107/2005, No. 03/2009, No. 49/2011, No. 06/2019.
- Macedonia-Greece Agreement, signed in Prespa on June 17th, 2018*, <https://vmacedonia.com/politics/macedonia-greece-agreement.html> (last acceded on 27.02.2019)
- Program of Government 2017-2020*, file:///C:/Users/Administratori/Documents/Romania%202019/Programa_Vlada_2017-2020_ENG.pdf (last acceded on 24.02.2019).
- Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the Republic of North Macedonia*, Official Gazette of the Republic of North Macedonia, No. 91/2008, amended by Amendments to the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, Official Gazette of the Republic of North Macedonia No. 23/2013
- Шкарик Светомир & Гордана Силјановска-Давкова (2007), *Уставно Право*, „Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje“, Faculty of Law „Justinianus Primus“ Skopje.

REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA'S POLICIES IN THE CONTEXT OF LIBERALIZATION OF REGIME OF THE VISA REGIME WITH THE EU – THE IMPACT ON THE MIGRATION PROCESS

Natalia PUTINĂ*

Abstract. *The dialogue between the European Union and the Republic of Moldova on the abolition of visas for Moldovan citizens traveling to the EU was launched in June 2010 and in January 2011, Action Plan on was approved by the EU member states. The plan was focus on key areas such as: travel document security, including the introduction of biometric passports; illegal migration, including readmission; public order and security, personal data protection, external relations and fundamental rights.*

Keywords: *visa liberalization regime, EU visa policy instruments, EaP countries etc.*

General context

The EU is conducting visa liberalization dialogues with some non-EU countries to achieve the long-term goal of visa-free travel, provided that there is safe and well-managed mobility. The origins of the EU visa policy are to be found in the *Schengen acquis*. The EU has exclusive competence in the issuance of Schengen short-stay visas – those for a period up to 90 days within half a year. The visa liberalization process follows a pattern of conditionality whereby neighboring countries should fulfill a set of benchmarks before the abolition of the regime. In this regard, the Stockholm Programme establishes that “visa policy must also be part of a broader vision that

* PhD, lecturer at Department of Political and Administrative Sciences, Vice-dean of Faculty of International Relations, Political and Administrative Sciences, Moldova State University, Chişinău, Republic of Moldova, E-mail:nataliaputina@yahoo.com

takes account of relevant internal and external policy concerns (Council of the European Union, 2010).

Dialogues on visa liberalization have been successfully organized between the EU and five Western Balkan countries Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia, as well as three Eastern Partnership countries Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. These led to the establishment of a liberalized visa regime for the citizens of these states; for Montenegro, Serbia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in December 2009, for Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of 2010, for Moldova in April 2014, for Georgia in March 2017 and for Ukraine in June 2017.

These dialogues were based on the *Visa Liberalization Road Map for the Western Balkan countries and the Visa Liberalization Action Plans (VLAPs) for the Eastern Partnership countries*. These Road Maps and Action Plans included four sets of requirements, called "benchmarks", which countries had to meet. These were related to the degree of security of documents, including biometrics; border management, migration and asylum; public order and security; and external relations and fundamental rights. The reference requirements focused on the policy and institutional frameworks (legislative and planning) and on the effective and sustainable implementation of this framework.

Since the implementation of the visa liberalization regime with the EU, it has been 5 years. Visa liberalization should have for Republic of Moldova a huge transformative potential on political system across justice, liberty and security policies of the country. Free regime visa should bring benefits for the most category of Moldovan society. This study analyses the current state of play of the implementation of the EU visa policy instruments and assesses the positive impact of visa-free travel on trans-border mobility according to current visa application statistics. Another purpose of the paper is to highlight the impact of visa liberalization process on migration process from Moldova to EU countries and pointing on problematic nature of migration process in a demographic, social, economic, political sense.

During the visa liberalization dialogues, the Commission closely monitored the implementation of the Road Phases and Action Plans through regular reports on their progress. Negotiations have

been divided into two stages: the harmonization of our legislation with EU standards and standards and, subsequently, the effective implementation of the measures. In order to follow the course of our country, the European Commission has submitted to Parliament and the European Council regular reports on the implementation of the plan. On 28 April 2014, the liberalization process reached its final point by amending the EU Regulation no. 539/2001 of 15 March 2001 on the abolition of the visa requirement for Moldovan citizens holding a biometric passport and travelling in the Schengen area (UE Mission in Republic of Moldova, 2017).

The EU has conducted ‘Visa Liberalisation Dialogues’ with three Eastern Partnership countries, namely Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia. Through these dialogues, the EU has taken gradual steps towards the long-term goal of visa-free travel on a case-by-case basis, provided that conditions for well-managed and secure mobility are in place. These dialogues, led by DG Migration and Home Affairs, were built upon ‘Visa Liberalisation Action Plans’ (VLAP), which include four blocks of benchmarks related to:

- document security, including biometrics;
- border management, migration and asylum;
- public order and security;
- and external relations and fundamental rights.

The benchmarks concerned both the policy and institutional framework (legislation and planning) and the effective and sustainable implementation of this framework. The implementation of the Action Plans has been closely monitored by the Commission through regular progress reports, transmitted to the European Parliament and the Council, and which are publicly accessible. In addition, progress has been monitored through regular meetings of senior ranking officials from the European Commission and the partner countries (European Commission, 2019).

Table 1. Benchmarks to be fulfilled in the roadmaps and action plans on visa liberalisation

Block of reforms	Western Balkans roadmaps	Ukraine and Moldova action plans
1- Document security	-ICAO -EU standards	-ICAO
2- Irregular migration – readmission	-Readmission agreement -Signature FRONTEX Working Arrangement -Asylum : Geneva Convention / EU regulations	-Readmission agreement -Deepening FRONTEX Working Arrangement -Asylum: Geneva Convention / EU standards/ subsidiary protection
3- Public order and security	-Council of Europe: organised crime, fight against corruption, data protection)	-Council of Europe: organised crime, fight against corruption, data protection -FATF standards on fight against money laundering
4- External relations – fundamental rights	-Antidiscrimination (protection of minorities) -OSCE	-Antidiscrimination: protection of minorities -OSCE -Combating hate crimes. -Ensuring freedom of religion

Source: Raül Hernández i Sagrera (2014), *The Impact of Visa Liberalisation in Eastern Partnership Countries, Russia and Turkey on Trans-Border Mobility*. Centre for European Policy Studies, in *CEPS Papers in Liberty and Security in Europe*, No. 63 / March 2014, p.9

Relations with the EU’s Eastern Partners

Europe’s neighbourhood is central in achieving the European Union’s key objectives to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples. visa regimes have a great potential in fostering civil society exchange and cooperation, mobility and people-to-people contacts in half of the Eastern Partnership countries. Pursuant to the countries’ positive track record in the area of fundamental rights, and adherence to common values and precise conditions defined in visa liberalisation action plans, the EU should open visa dialogue with Armenia; encourage the implementation of Visa Facilitation and Readmission Agreements (VFA/RA) by Azerbaijan with a prospect of opening a visa dialogue in the future; and conclude negotiations on VFA/RA with Belarus that would foster individual citizens’ mobility (European Movement International, 2017).

Ahead of the 2017 Eastern Partnership Summit in Brussels, the European Movement International takes the opportunity to renew its position on the European Neighbourhood Policy, to assess the implementation of the ENP review, and to highlight the key elements for the EU's relation with its Eastern and Southern partners. In this exercise, the debate on the Future of the European Union takes centre stage. Europe's Eastern and Southern partners need to be taken into account when discussing Europe's future, especially in terms of geopolitics, (energy) security and climate change.

First of all, because the visa liberalization is not free-entry ticket, the benefiting countries should comply with the commitments of the Visa Liberalization Action Plans, which remain mandatory to this day.

Under the conditions of the new mechanism for visa suspension, established as a consequence of 2015 migration crises, the Commission performs annual assessments. Two reports of 2017 and 2018 assessing all visa-free regime-benefiting parties have already addressed the visa-free regime deviations in five Western Balkan states and the three Eastern Partnership states - Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia (European Movement International, 2017).

The Eastern Partnership officially launched by the EU in May 2009 extended the ENP political limits, and this has enabled the EU to meet the Moldovan authorities' wishes visas and the mobility of persons. Thus, the Eastern Partnership has come to the fore the need for the EU to implement a structured visa policy which will start a step-by-step process of visa liberalization with partner countries in Eastern Europe (Chirilă, 2012: 2).

The Republic of Moldova has become the first of the currently semi-forgotten CIS states to obtain a visa-free regime with the countries of the European Union. The Baltic states were the first three post-Soviet countries to integrate into Europe, which happened quite a while ago. And now Moldova has become the fourth "visa-free" country from the former post-Soviet area. Among the Eastern Partnership countries, Moldova is the frontrunner in the visa liberalisation process.

Commissioner of Home Affairs Cecilia Malmström announced in December 2013 that the Commission had assessed positively the implementation of the action plan in Moldova and that it proposed that the Parliament and the Council allow visa-free travel and

therefore amend Regulation 539/2001 to allow for the establishment of a visa-free regime. The decision is significant because it sets a precedent in the visa liberalisation process in the Eastern Partnership and it shows that the technical approach of the Commission based on the fulfilment of benchmarks is credible. The Government of the Republic of Moldova adopted a “pre-emptive approach” whereby most of the provisions of the Action Plan were planned beforehand in order to speed up the process. The Action Plan to Moldova was delivered by Commissioner Malmström to Prime Minister Filat during a conference held in Chişinău at the end of January 2011 (Sagrera, 2012). The implementation of the 2008 EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership and the cooperation on readmission and return (in the framework of the readmission agreement) are giving positive results (Sagrera, 2012).

Public order and security, anti-corruption and migration irregularities dominate EU’s concerns in case of EaP country group. According to the latest 2018 report, Georgia appears to be the least problematic country at the level of policies conducted by the state. Ukraine and Moldova received a bigger portion of criticism. Besides the need to strengthen anti-corruption policies, EU objects to Ukraine’s controversial asset declaration scheme imposed on civil society. The major discontent with Moldova consists of the continuously failing investigation of USD 1 billion banking fraud that drained 15% of country’s GDP between 2012-2016. Even if these issues are negative, they contain a less direct danger to the visa-free regime, contrary to what some opposition politicians claim. However, these pending shortcomings are damaging EU’s confidence in how these countries implement the strategic commitments within the Association Agreements (Cenuşă, 2019).

The process of strengthening the visa regime requires complex, stimulatory and restrictive actions that are carried out by both parties. The Republic of Moldova, as a beneficiary state, had to strengthen the migration control inside and outside the country under the conditions of an uncontrolled territory on the left bank of the Dniester.

At the same time, the EU has provided support for a visa-free regime and the prevention of possible risks. The experience of the Republic of Moldova in strengthening the migration control at the administrative border with the Transnistrian region by minimizing

and not admitting illegal migration is a positive one. This control is carried out jointly with the Moldovan-Ukrainian border authorities. In order to overcome the problems related to the border control in the eastern part (the Transnistrian side), the EUBAM mission has been created, which in large part solves these difficulties.

At present there are about 14 border checkpoints with the Transnistrian region created since 2005 and 6 opened in 2014 at the initiative of the Migration and Asylum Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova (Vasiloï, 2017)

Table 2. Visa facilitation agreements and visa liberalization processes in enlargement countries and the Eastern Partnership and Russia

Third country	Visa facilitation agreement	Visa liberalisation process
Enlargement		
Albania	In force since January 2008	Visa-free regime in January 2011
Bosnia-Herzegovina	In force since January 2008	Visa-free regime in January 2011
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)	In force since January 2008	Visa-free regime in November 2009
Kosovo	-	Road map launched in June 2012
Montenegro	In force since January 2008	Visa-free regime in November 2009
Serbia	In force since January 2008	Visa-free regime in November 2009
Turkey	-	Road map launched in December 2013
Eastern Partnership		
Armenia	In force since January 2014	-
Azerbaijan	Signed in November 2013	-
Belarus	Start of negotiations in January 2013	-
Georgia	In force since March 2011	Action plan launched in June 2012
Republic of Moldova	In force since January 2008 / amended in July 2013	Commission proposes to allow visa-free travel in December 2013

Third country	Visa facilitation agreement	Visa liberalisation process
Ukraine	In force since January 2008/ amended in July 2013	Action Plan launched in November 2010
Russia	In force since June 2007	Common Steps agreed in December 2011

Source: Raül Hernández i Sagrera (2014), *The Impact of Visa Liberalisation in Eastern Partnership Countries, Russia and Turkey on Trans-Border Mobility*. Centre for European Policy Studies, in *CEPS Papers in Liberty and Security in Europe*, No. 63 / March 2014, p.9

Countries of destination for Moldovan migrants

In order to cope with various situations on the ground the countries have established specific migration policies that include cooperation with their two biggest neighbours: the European Union and the Russian Federation.

Moldova have had a more EU-focused agenda in migration terms, being among the first wave to sign and implement the bilateral and EU readmission agreements and visa facilitation agreements. Border management, the fight against irregular migration, trafficking in human beings as well as asylum policies have been at the top of the agenda, while considerations on migration and development and diaspora policies have emerged as a political priority only in Moldova. Moldova is the only Eastern European country that signed the EU Mobility Partnership and, in fact, Moldova has developed a rich policy portfolio of initiatives in the domain of migration and development. It is also the only country with a specialized legal framework on integration (European University Institute, 2013).

The EU and Russia are key countries of destination for Moldovan migrants. However, in contrast to the trade area, Moldova also has tight interdependencies with a third external actor, namely Ukraine. Over 60 % of Moldovan migrants are working in Russia. These are mostly men from Moldovan rural areas, who, once in Russia, work in the construction sector (74 % of male migrants work in this sector, MMVD/South-East Europe 2014).

The relatively low expenses for travel, visa-free entry into the Russian territory and knowledge of the Russian language are the key factors behind Russia's predominance as a receiving country. On average, migrants stay 1.8 years in Russia; however, Moldovan

labour migration is characterized by a marked seasonal nature (as illustrated by Figure 5 below), with a large number of migrants working in Russia returning to Moldova during the winter when demand for labour in the construction sector shrinks (Ibid). Thus, Russia is the primary destination country for seasonal migration. In 2012-14, up to two-thirds of Moldovan total remittances came from migrants working in Russia (Calus, 2018: 17).

The EU is also a key destination for Moldovan labour migrants, who work primarily in Italy (about 25 %), France, Portugal, the United Kingdom, Greece and Romania (around 1-3 % each of the total number of migrants). This is despite the fact that access to the EU is more difficult due to the labour visa requirements. Compared to migrants in Russia, those in the EU are older and have a higher education level; on average, they also stay longer in the EU than in Russia. Given the strong gender split in patterns of labour migration, migrants to the EU are mostly women working in services to private households, e.g. housekeeping or elderly care. 31 % of Moldovan female migrants work in Italy, where the share of women among the total Moldovan migrants is over 70 % (Calus, 2018).

Currently, at least 10 Moldovan ministries and institutions deal with various international migration issues. In addition most of the local delegations of international institutions, numerous NGOs and several foreign embassies are involved in programs which involve international migration (Ganta, 2013).

Tabel 3. Main indicators in assessment of the functioning of the visa-free regimes with the EU

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2017 per 1,000 citizens in the corresponding country
Refusals of entry to the Schengen Area (cases)					
Moldova	1,845	2,725	4,660	7,270	2 cases
Ukraine	15,585	23,795	22,495	33,105	0.7 cases
Georgia	3,185	1,330	810	2,655	0.7 cases
Illegal stay (cases)					
Moldova	2,245	4,050	7,660	8,785	2.5 cases
Ukraine	16,520	23,480	29,565	33,485	0.7 cases
Georgia	6,550	5,405	5,240	5,860	1.5 cases

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2017 per 1,000 citizens in the corresponding country
Readmitted /returned (% of cases)					
Moldova	62% of 1,700	67% of 1,810	48% of 5,035	83% of 4,600	-
Ukraine	74% of 12,220	76% of 19,200	82% of 26,865	79% of 32,135	-
Georgia	54% of 6,260	45% of 6,415	55% of 5,635	63% of 7,275	-
Asylum applications (cases)					
Moldova	475	1,850	3,675	1,610	0.4 cases
Ukraine	14,090	22,100	12,460	10,075	0.2 cases
Georgia	8,570	8,110	8,700	11,755	3.1 cases

Source: Denis Cenușă (2019)¹⁴, *Three dimensions of risk to visa liberalization in Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine*, in *3 DCFTAs Op-ed*, No 17/2019, June 2019, <https://www.expert-grup.org/en/biblioteca/item/1802-trei-dimensiuni-ale-riscului-privind-liberalizarea-vizelor-in-moldova-georgia-si-ucraina>

The impact of the implementation of the visa free regime for Moldovans

The impact of the implementation of the liberalized movement regime in the EU countries will be analyzed also from the perspective of the Moldovan citizens' representations regarding certain particularities of functioning, expectations, problems, needs and requirements towards the liberalized visa regime. That is why we will achieve our goals basing on a complex methodology that focuses on analysis of statistics on migration and demographic circuit combined with quantitative sociological research. The target group of the study is represented by citizens of the Republic of Moldova, both in the country and abroad. All data were obtained as a result of using the questionnaire survey method, with closed questions, which were then stacked and filled with information gleaned from research, reports, and reference publications on that subject. The questionnaire was

¹⁴ Data merged by author based on two monitoring reports of the EU; According to the World Bank, the population of Moldova is 3.5 million, Ukraine – 44.8 million, Georgia – 3.7 million.

attended by 273 respondents. The selection of respondents was random, using the snowball method.

Table 4. Analysis of the results of the questionnaire on the impact of the visa-free regime after 5 years of implementation (here is presented only a selected part of the study data)

Total of respondents		273						
Q1 Do you have a biometric passport?								
Answers=A	Yes	No	-					
%	85.7	14.3						
Q2 Did you make trips abroad until 2014?								
Answers	Yes	No	-					
%	71.8%	27.8						
Q3 Did you travel abroad after 2014?								
Answers	Yes	No						
%	84.6	15.4						
Q4 If you have traveled abroad after 2014, how?								
Answers	1. - with a visa;	2. - on a visa-free regime	3. - with the passport of another country					
%	14.9	62.3	22.8					
Q5 Do you think that after 2014, have your travels abroad become more frequent or staying at the same level?								
Answers	1. - I traveled more;	2. - No, the trips remained almost at the same level;	3. - Hard to say					
%	41.4	34.4	8.1					
Q6 If you have traveled abroad after 2014, in which countries? (multiple responses)								
Answers	1. - in EU countries and Schengen areas;	2. - in the CIS countries (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus);	3. - in other countries					
%	84.2	58.3	7.0					
Q7 What purpose did you go abroad after 2014? (multiple responses possible)								
1. - to work; 2. - looking for a job; 3. - for study; 4. - seek refugee status; 5. - shift of service; 6. - at the contest; 7. - for treatment; 8. - for rest, tourism; 9. - other purposes								
A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
%	32.6	8.1	10.0	5	14.5	6.8	4.5	80.1
Q8 What are, in your opinion, the advantages of a visa-free regime as compared to the visa regime? (multiple responses possible)								
1. - saving of financial resources (savings on the cost of a visa); 2. Reduce bureaucratic costs (there is no need to stay in line, present many embassy documents, etc.); 3. - the possibility of planning a service abroad in time; 4. - Increases respect for oneself, human dignity; 5. - contributes to the integration of migrants in the host country; 6. - facilitates more frequent visits of relatives living in								

<i>the Republic of Moldova, of relatives living abroad;7. - is an opportunity to look for a job, then to obtain a work visa;8. - there is an opportunity to attend short-term refresher courses during the stay;9. - reduce the flow of illegal migration;10. - facilitates participation in cultural, scientific, business, sports and other events;11. Other benefits</i>										
A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
%	63.2	53.3	17.6	30.5	15.4	57.4	41.9	26.8	32.4	38.6
Q9 What are the main channels for getting information on the visa-free regime? (multiple responses possible) <i>1. - media;2. - TV;3. - Internet;4. - relatives;5. - colleagues;6. - known;7. - others</i>										
A	1	2	3	4	5	6				
%	43.2	36.8	76.2	29.7	13.0	26.0				
Q10 Did you try to find a job or hire yourself in EU countries?.										
A	1. - yes;		2. - not;		3. - Hard to say					
%	27.8		65.6		5.8					
Q11 Have you ever violated the rules of the visa-free regime in the EU?										
A	1. - yes;		2. - not;		3. - Hard to say					
%	6.3		89.0		3.9					
Q12 What were your violations of the visa-free regime with the EU? (multiple responses possible) <i>1. - entering the EU on the basis of foreign or false documents;2. illegal work;3. - Illegal stay in the EU for more than 90 days;4. - violation of public order in the EU;</i>										
A	1	2	3	4						
%	-	65.0	35.0	-						

The introduction by the EU of the visa free regime for the Republic of Moldova has generated several positive effects. One of the major achievements of this process is the **achievement of the freedom of movement for the citizens of the Republic of Moldova in the EU countries and increases the population mobility.** Freedom of movement has become a reality accessible to the ordinary citizen, so European integration, getting closer to Europe has become simpler. Until April 2014, citizens of the Republic of Moldova could travel visa-free, especially in the CIS countries, travels in the EU area, including in the neighboring country, being rather difficult because they involved getting a visa, a difficult, bureaucratic and expensive process.

The possession of a biometric passport is a precondition for visa-free travel to the EU. Available public data confirms that the visa-free regime led to a large rise in applications for biometric passports shortly before and right after the decision. Since 2011, Moldova has only issued biometric passports. As a result, slightly

over 750,000 citizens were in possession of the document as of April 2014, when visas to the EU were lifted. Immediately after the visa liberalization move, the number of applications for biometric passports grew by 78%. Till 2017 year over an 1.8 million people have biometric passports in Moldova, accounting for 46% of the population. Moreover, 125,000 citizens living in the breakaway region of Transnistria also possess Moldovan biometric passports. In 2015, Moldova's government discontinued the practice of issuing passports free of charge to people residing in Transnistria. By that point, 80,000 had already received biometric documents. However, the decision of the authorities in Chisinau has not diminished the demand for Moldovan passports in the breakaway region, confirming at least an indirect interest in travelling to the EU (Secieru, 2017: 2).

In the five years, more than 6 million crossings of Moldovan citizens were recorded at the exit from the country through the border crossing points with Romania and Chisinau International Airport. At the same time, according to data presented by the state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, more than 2 million citizens of the Republic of Moldova benefited from the liberalized visa regime during this period. At the same time, according to the data of the European Agency for Border Police and Coast Guard about 0.3% of cases of entry refusal and 0.5% of illegal residence cases were registered. The main reason that led to the non-passage of the EU border is the lack of confirmation of the travel destination, the lack of financial means and the exceeding of the legal residence term in the Member States (Radio Sputnik, 2019).

Table 5. Dynamics of the mobility of Moldovan citizens, to the EU states based on the biometric passport during 2014-2018

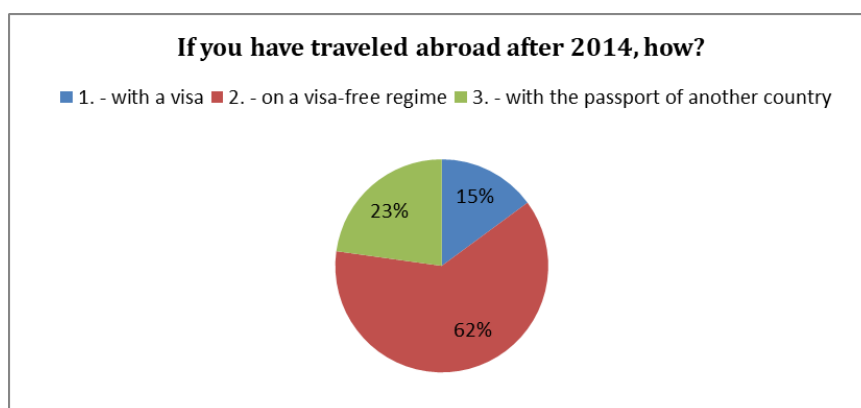
2014	2015	2016	2017	2018 (until 23th April)
303.511	811.162	1.239.284	1.535.937	449.479

Source: Moşneaga Valeriu, Moşneaga Gheorghe (2018), *Visa-free regime of the Eastern Partnership countries with the EU: effects and policies*, in *Moldoscopie*, No 2 (LXXXI), Chişinău, 2018, p.111

Analyzing the data on the number of citizens who circulated to the EU Member States on the basis of the biometric passport after 2014, we note that their numbers are constantly increasing each year.

If in 2014 this opportunity benefited about 303 511 citizens, then by 2018, the number of trips has increased fivefold. The survey data from the spring of 2019, some of the results of which are analyzed in this paper, show that 62% of respondents traveled to EU states under a visa-free regime after 2014 and 23% of them traveled on the passport of another state, the citizenship of which they hold¹⁵.

Grarf 1. Data on survey on number of people traveled abroad after visa-free regime implementation in Republic of Moldova



Of those questioned, 84.2% traveled to CIS countries after 2014, and 58.3% traveled to the CIS member states. As we observe, EU countries have become the main destination for Moldovan citizens' travel, far ahead of the CIS states, which was the main destination by 2014. As we well know the citizens of the Republic of Moldova, but also those of Ukraine and Georgia are faced with the geopolitical dilemma: West or East.

Strengthening the pro-European orientation of the population can also be achieved through real interaction with EU countries. The visa-free regime facilitates this process and strengthens the pro-European orientation of the Republic of Moldova. This is best observed in electoral campaigns by analyzing the narratives of pro-European political leaders, as well as the geopolitical dimension of vote that is expressed in the diaspora. The purpose of the trips made by

¹⁵ The survey was conducted by the research team of the *Scientific Political Sociology Laboratory, the State University of Moldova*. Extract from the survey results are presented in the Table "Analysis of the results of the questionnaire on the impact of the visa-free regime after 5 years of implementation" (see Table 4)

the respondents is mainly for tourists - 80.1% and service interest - 32.6%.

Concerning the risks that were specified in the negotiation phase on the increase in the number of working migrants following the introduction of the visa-free regime, we find that only 8.1% of the interviewees went to the EU to look for a job. Certainly, the expectations of many citizens in the process of implementing the liberalized visa regime for Moldova were also subject to the possibility of obtaining the right to work in the EU countries, but in fact many migrant workers from the Republic of Moldova have a status legalized by a permit residence, state of residence, citizenship of the state of destination, and a large part of them also possess the citizenship of Romania or Bulgaria. The National Authority for Citizenship of Romania announced that, from 2002 until March 30, 2018, a total of 521,025 citizens from the Republic of Moldova regained the citizenship of the Romanian state (Ziarul național, 2019). Besides the practical benefits, it helps creating **a sense of acceptance and inclusion**, important in order to maintain a high level of public support for the objective of EU accession.

Increasing human dignity and self-esteem for the citizens of the Eastern Partnership states is another welcome and positive effect of this process. Obtaining freedom of movement in EU countries, states with a high level of economic development, with a democratic political system, with non-discriminatory cultural values for people who were limited in this right during the Soviet period under a closed political system, as well as the younger generations who could circulate freely anyway in the same post-Soviet post-CIS station is a reason for pride. At the same time, according to the *Quality of Nationality Index*, both Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia after the introduction of the visa-free regime have seen positive dynamics in the value of national passport and citizenship. 30.5% of the survey participants said that the visa-free regime contributes to increasing respect for oneself and for human dignity. Illegal migration as a risk of visa liberalization is a minor process in the case of the Republic of Moldova. The small percentage of illegal stays by Moldovans strongly refutes gloomy predictions that a visa-free regime would serve as a conduit for massive illegal migration from EaP countries to the EU (Secrieru, 2017).

Assessment of implementation tools for liberalized visa regime

The revision of the visa-free regime for Moldova has become part of the last resolution of the European Parliament, even if visa liberalization is only tangential to the Association Agreement (Article 15, p. The agreement entered into force later than Moldovans began traveling without visas to the EU. Visa liberalization is managed in a specific and separate policy framework where Moldova is evaluated together with 5 Western Balkan countries and two other Eastern Partnership countries - Ukraine and Georgia. The European Commission still recognized in December 2017 that Moldova continues to implement the criteria for receiving the visa-free regime. However, illegal migration, anti-corruption policies and combating money laundering have been reported as problems in which Moldovan authorities have to show progress (European Commission, VFM, 2017). This raises at least two questions.

Firstly, the European Parliament includes the visa liberalization conditionality in a resolution on the implementation of the Association Agreement. This can be explained by the intention to incite public debates in Moldova by reaching a sensitive issue for citizens who still do not have Romanian passports. The topic of the visa-free regime could be specified in the European Parliament's resolution of 5 July 2018 on the political crisis in Moldova (European Parliament, 5 July 2018) triggered by the invalidation of elections in Chisinau. But this was overlooked in June-July and appeared in the resolution of 14 November (European Parliament, 14 November 2018).

Second, the question of isolated insights into the worries about the functioning of the visa-free regime is required. However, the European Commission has highlighted both the inefficiency of combating large-scale corruption and money laundering as well as the phenomenon of illegal migration. It is true that under the new visa-free regime introduced in 2018, the European Commission can come up with such a decision if the sectoral provisions of the EU visa dialogue with the EU are no longer respected. However, the possible reintroduction of visas for Moldova depends to a large extent on the situation of the technical parameters, which are in a negative trend (Cenușă, 2018).

The most recent annual report on the functioning of the liberalized visa regime released by the European Commission at the end of 2018, however, invokes several negative trends, including combating corruption, crime, money laundering and correct migration management. In the same report, the European Commission criticized the fiscal reform that Moldova adopted in 2018 with the three components, namely the capital amnesty, the fiscal one, and the decriminalization of economic crimes, a reform which, as the report says, „**Raised concerns about the political will to fight corruption**”. In another synthesis report circulated at the beginning of the year, the European Commission criticized Chisinau for introducing the Moldovan passport to aliens for investment, saying that the visa-free regime should not be used to attract individual investments, and the implementation of these programs will be taken in calculation when assessing the visa-free regime with those countries (Radio Free Europe Moldova, 2019).

The visa-free regimes offset the slow pace of reforms in the Eastern neighborhoods by intensifying links and drawing partner states closer to the EU. It also fuels competition in the transportation market, preserves the links between central government and citizens living in the breakaway regions, and improves the tourism sector; overall making citizens the big winners of this process. The decision incentivised governments in other EaP countries to push for a visa-free regime, too. Visa liberalisation also underpins the EaP in few other important ways. First, the EU delivered on promise and reinforced its credibility in a region where commitments are often overlooked for the sake of political expediency. Second, much of the anti-EU discourse (whether internally or externally driven) in the eastern neighbourhood is centred on the narrative that the Union does not really care about the region (Secieru, 2017).

Conclusions

The Republic of Moldova was the first country of the Association of States called the Eastern Partnership to which the visa liberalization regime was accepted in 2014 after fulfilling a list of conditions demanded by the EU, formulated rather in a technical manner.

The range of these conditions targeted various precautions - from fighting organized crime and corruption, promoting democratic

reforms and adopting anti-discrimination legislation. Respectively, many of the benefits of this process have been achieved through the negotiation process through the implementation of the government's roadmap. Even though the Republic of Moldova has been able to ensure a qualitative process of migration management and border security, there are many arrears or reductions from the process of democratic transformation and the fight against corruption.

At the same time, it is important to note that regardless of the processes and deficiencies of the process, the visa-free regime between the Republic of Moldova and the EU is functional. Recent reports by the Council of Europe on this topic reveal general problems related to the political process in the Republic of Moldova and some missed progress or actions of Moldovan political actors that are not supported by EU officials and less technical issues or deficiencies of the actual implementation of the visa-free regime.

Undoubtedly, obtaining the visa-free regime with the EU is one of the most important achievements, the benefits of which were visible in the short or even immediate way for the citizens of the country. However, the mistakes made by the pro-European governments have made the belief in the European ideal and the European integration to be affected by the representations of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova. It is important to further cooperate with the EU government and to achieve bilateral commitments under the bilateral and multilateral partnerships between Moldova and UE.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Cașu Kamil, DelcourLaure, GazizullinIldar et.all (2018), *Interdependencies of Eastern Partnership Countries with the EU and Russia: Three Case Studies*, in EU-STRAT Working Paper No. 10, April 2018, 'The EU and Eastern Partnership Countries – An Inside-Out Analysis and Strategic Assessment' (EU-STRAT), <http://eu-strat.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/EU-STRAT-Working-Paper-No.10.pdf>
- Cenușă Denis (2018), *Avertizarea cu suspendarea regimului fără vize pentru Moldova și sinergia criticii UE*, OP-ED, IPN, <http://www.ipn.md/ro/special/94830>

- Cenușă Denis (2019), *Three dimensions of risk to visa liberalization in Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine*, in: 3 DCFTAs Op-ed No 17/2019, June 2019, <https://www.expert-grup.org/en/biblioteca/item/1802-trei-dimensiuni-ale-riscului-privind-liberalizarea-vizelor-in-moldova-georgia-si-ucraina>
- Chirilă Victor(2012), *Dialogul privind regimul de vize dintre Moldova și UE: realizări, realități și perspective*, Asociația pentru Politică Externă, http://old.apc.md/public/publications/1116152_md_liberalizarea_.pdf
- Council of the European Union (2010), *Stockholm Programme – An open and secure Europe serving and protecting the citizens*, OJ 2010/C 115/01, Brussels
- Delegația Uniunii Europene în Republica Moldova (2017), *MEMO Raportul privind Liberalizarea Regimului de Vize: Întrebări și Răspunsuri*, Press release, https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/moldova/37788/memo-raportul-privind-liberalizarea-regimului-de-vize-%C3%AEntreb%C4%83ri-%C8%99i-r%C4%83spunsuri_ro
- Devetak Silvio, Sirbu Olesea (2012) *EU migration policy and its reflection in third countries: Belarus, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine*, Institute for Ethnic and Regional Studies, <http://www.iscomet.org/images/documents/Publikacije/EU%20MIGRATION%20POLICY%20AND%20ITS%20REFLECTION%20IN%20THIRD%20COUNTRIES%20-%20Belarus,%20Moldova,%20Russia,%20Ukraine.pdf>
- European Commission (2019), *Visa liberalization with Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia*, in Migration and Home Affairs, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/international-affairs/eastern-partnership/visa-liberalisation-moldova-ukraine-and-georgia_en
- European Commission (2017), *Joint Report to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Report on the Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy Review*. Brussels, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52017JC0018>
- European Movement International (2017), *The EU and the Eastern Partnership: a clearer citizens-perspective. Policy Position*,

- https://europeanmovement.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/EMI_16_PolicyPosition_17_East_final-1.pdf
- European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced (2013), *Regional Migration Report: Eastern Europe*, http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/28898/CARIM-East_EasternEurope.pdf?sequence=1
- European Commission (2017), *Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. First Report under the Visa Suspension Mechanism*, Brussels, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-is-new/news/20171220_first_report_under_suspension_mechanism_en.pdf
- Ganta Vladimir (2013), *Statistical Data Collection on Migration in Moldova*, in *Regional Migration Report: Eastern Europe*. European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Migration Policy Centre. European University Institute, http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/28898/CARIM-East_EasternEurope.pdf?sequence=1
- <https://sputnik.md/analytics/20181220/23722708/in-ce-conditii-Moldova-ar-putea-sa-revina-la-regimul-de-vize-cu-UE.html>
- Radio Sputnik (2018), *În ce condiții Moldova ar putea să revină la regimul de vize cu UE*,
- Radio Sputnik (2019), *Fără vize în UE: Câți moldoveni s-au bucurat de regimul liberalizat de vize*, <https://sputnik.md/reference/20190424/25646140/Fara-vize-in-UE-Cati-moldoveni-s-au-bucurat-de-regimul-liberalizat-de-vize-.html>
- Sagrera Raúl Hernández (2014), *The Impact of Visa Liberalisation in Eastern Partnership Countries, Russia and Turkey on Trans-Border Mobility*, in Centre for European Policy Studies, *CEPS Papers in Liberty and Security in Europe*, No. 63/March 2014, http://aei.pitt.edu/50257/1/No_63_EU_Visa_Liberalisation.pdf
- Radio Free Europe Moldova (2019), *Five years after visa liberalization for Moldova*, <https://moldova.europalibera.org/a/la-cinci-ani-de-la-liberalizarea-vizelor-pentru-republica-moldova/29912846.html>
- Moșneaga Valeriu, Moșneaga Gheorghe (2018), *Visa-free regime of the Eastern Partnership countries with the EU: effects and policies*, in *Moldoscopie*, No 2 (LXXXI), Chișinău, 2018, p.106-133

- Secieru Stanislav (2017), *The visa-free 3D effect: Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine*, in European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) October 2017, https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/Brief%2028%20Visa%20liberalisation%20EaP_0.pdf
- Vasiloi Rosian (2017), *The administrative frontier and how we manage it*, Chişinău, IDIS Viitorul, Policy Paper No 3, April 2017, http://www.viitorul.org/files/3.%20Frontiera%20administrativa_pentru%20tipar.pdf
- Ziarul Naţional (2019), *How many citizens who live in Moldova have the citizenship of Romania: Hundreds of thousands of people*, <https://www.ziarulnational.md/oficial-cati-cetateni-care-locuiesc-in-r-moldova-au-si-cetatenia-romaniei-sute-de-mii-de-persoane/>

THE CULTURAL VALUES OF THE ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN NORTH MACEDONIA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Emilia Nicoleta SCHIOP*

Abstract. *This article is based on studying the negotiation chapters related to social and cultural values between North Macedonia and The European Union in the process of Europeanization amid the Occidental crisis. The goal of the paper is to analyse the progress of the negotiations between these two entities. The objectives of the article are: to present the context of the negotiations, to show the institutions which are involved in the process, to present the negotiation groups, the lobby and a case from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to show the current state of these negotiations (to analyze the most relevant negotiation chapters from the European reports), to evaluate.*

This state does not meet the conditions for membership of the EU, so that all negotiation chapters to be closed. To resolve this issue, The EU works towards revealing the mandatory requirements related to the accession process, while the candidate country is striving to meet their membership conditions by creating the necessary institutions during the process. About the methodology, the paper starts with the theoretical part (from special sources). There are official documents of studying the international elements. The paper studies the official occidental perspective of documents. In this article I am analysing some of the negotiation chapters from the European Commission reports on North Macedonia from 2010 and 2018. I am transforming the content in position documents. They will have the following structure after the analysis: introduction (presentation of the issue, the circumstances); points of agreement; points of disagreement and conclusions.

Keywords: *enlargement, progress, negotiation chapters, The Western Balkans.*

One of the priorities of The European Union was the enlargement in The Western Balkans. Unfortunately, The EU has

* PhD student, Faculty of European Studies, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, e-mail: nicoleta.schiop@ubbonline.ubbcluj.ro

recently faced major crises in its structure, and enlargement in that part of Europe has been postponed. The European structure had as main points on the agenda the problem of refugees, the civil war from Syria, the negotiations on Brexit, populism, etc., all of them represented dangers of different forms for the stability of The European Union.

The Britain's desire to leave the construction, has led leaders to maintain great cohesion between member states, and eastward expansion, even if postponed, will be possible in the future. Montenegro, North Macedonia are countries that have started negotiating. Croatia is a member of The EU in June 2013. Stability in that part of the continent is essential for EU security, and this can be achieved by respecting the fundamental norms of the candidate countries.

North Macedonia has potential in this regard after Serbia, which has the majority of the chapters of the accession negotiations at an advanced stage. The general objectives of the paper are the general presentation of the context, the evolution of the 1990s and the actions, the enlargement policy and the analysis of Macedonia and the comparison with Serbia in order to observe the current level of development regarding future memberships.

The General Description of the Context, the Evolution From 1990s and the European Actions

North Macedonia is located in the southeast of the Balkan Peninsula in the Vardar River Basin and has an area of 25,713 square kilometers. The capital is Skopje. The relief is mostly mountainous. Northwest mountains are over 2,500 meters. The lowest relief is formed from the depressions of Prilep-Bitolia, Skopje, Tetovo, Prespa, etc. The corridor of Vardar and the Strumica valley. The climate is temperate-continental in the north, and in the South it also has Mediterranean influences. There are large deposits of chromium ore (almost 90% of the country's extraction) and manganese (almost 70%). The Mavrovo hydroelectric system was built in the western part of the country. Nonferrous metallurgy is in Skopje, Tetovo, Cer. The ferrous is at Stip. The food and tobacco industry is in Skopje, Bitolia, Prilep, and the textile in Skopje, Titov Veles, Tetovo, Stip. Grain, tobacco, rice, vines, cotton and other technical plants are

grown. Mountain pastures are used for raising sheep in particular, but also for raising large horns. Sericulture is also practiced.¹

In June 1993 the Copenhagen European Council endorsed the principle of enlargement to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and has formulated the criteria that these countries have to comply with in order to become members of the EU. The political criteria refers to the institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and the protection of minorities. The economic criterion refers to the market economy and competition. The Community *acquis* criterion includes the obligations of member states. The Essen European Council from December 1994 adopted the pre-accession strategy to prepare the signatory states of the association agreements. Among the important points of the strategy, the Phare program can be mentioned as a pre-accession instrument. The European Council in Cannes in June 1995 adopted the White Paper. This ensures the preparation of Central and Eastern European countries for the single market. In Madrid in December 1995 it was decided that six months after the intergovernmental conference in 1996 conditions would be created for the integration of states. In June 1996 Florence adopted a calendar for negotiations with Central and Eastern European countries. At the meeting in Dublin in December 1996 the pre-accession strategy was strengthened. The detailed analysis of the Commission's opinion was adopted in Amsterdam in June 1997. Agenda 2000 was published in December 1997 in Luxembourg. It contained the future of EU policies, the enlargement of the Union and the financial options until 2006.

At Cardiff in June 1998 initial assessment reports were made. The financial framework was implemented in Berlin in March 1999. The European Council in Helsinki acknowledged the importance of the enlargement process.² In June 2000 in Feira countries that are part of the stabilization and association process are considered potential

¹ Loring Danforth, *North Macedonia*, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/place/North-Macedonia/media/1/354223/238926>, accessed on 15.06.2019.

² The European Commission „Extinderea spre est pe agenda Consiliului European” in *Infoeuropa*, no. 10,2007, p. 1, http://ec.europa.eu/romania/documents/eu_romania/tema_10.pdf, accessed on 15.06.2019.

candidate countries for The European Union.³ In Nice in December 2000 a new negotiating strategy was established. Progress in the negotiations was highlighted in Gothenburg in June 2001. In December of the same year Laeken decided countries that would had become members since 2004, and in Seville in June 2002 the negotiations entered into the final phase. Copenhagen in December 2002 saw the accession of candidate countries: Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary on 10 May 2004. These countries signed the accession treaty in Athens in April 2003. Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey could participate as observers following the Thessaloniki meeting in June 2003.⁴ At that time, the stabilization and association process was confirmed as a policy for The Western Balkans.⁵ In Brussels in October, the new neighborhood policy was established, and in December the extension was meant to be done in a straight line. The last preparations for the 10 states that were to become members of The Union were made in March 2004. In June 2004 a new candidate country was established in Brussels: Croatia. In December the negotiations with Romania and Bulgaria were closed.⁶ The EU reopened its Serbian textile market. On December 16 the same year, the Serbian government adopted information on the conclusion of an agreement on the export of Serbian textile products to the EU market. At that session the government decided to set up a board for pension insurance reform and gave its approval to the decision on postal services prices in domestic traffic.⁷

North Macedonia has been given the opportunity to become a candidate country, in line with the conclusions of Brussels in June

³ *Idem, European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement negotiations – Serbia, 2014*, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/serbia/index_en.htm, accessed on 15.06.2019.

⁴ *Idem*, „Extinderea spre est pe agenda Consiliului European” in *Infoeuropa*, nr. 10,2007, pp. 4 - 5, http://ec.europa.eu/romania/documents/eu_romania/tema_10.pdf, accessed on 15.06.2019.

⁵ *Idem, European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement negotiations – Serbia, 2014*, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/serbia/index_en.htm, accessed on 15.06.2019.

⁶ *Idem*, „Extinderea spre est pe agenda Consiliului European” in *Infoeuropa*, nr. 10,2007, pp. 5-6, http://ec.europa.eu/romania/documents/eu_romania/tema_10.pdf, accessed on 15.06.2019.

⁷ Влада републике србије, *EU to reopen its market to Serbian textile products, 2004*, <http://www.srbija.gov.rs/vesti/vest.php?id=7457>, accessed on 18.06.2019.

2005, and at the end of that year it was declared to be a candidate status.⁸ In Belgrade on 29 June 2005 the Serbian and Montenegrin Parliament adopted a resolution on the state's accession to The EU in an emergency procedure.⁹

The visa facilitation agreements on the Serbian state from January, the adoption by the Council of the revised European partnership for Serbia in February, the signing of the stabilization and interim agreement on trade in Luxembourg in April were made in 2008.¹⁰

At the end of 2009 Macedonian citizens were granted the right to travel to the Schengen area without a visa.

In March 2012, a high-level dialogue on accession was launched between the European Commission and The Skopje Government. It provided a new opportunity to focus on EU related benefits for The European Union's social and economic development, including the rule of law, the public administration reform, the freedom of expression, the electoral reform, the improved market economy.

The Commission has recommended the opening of the accession negotiations, and the Council has confirmed that it will take this into account.

The Commission presents annually a progress report assessing the country's progress towards EU membership.¹¹

The European Enlargement Policy

The enlargement is one of the most important policies of The EU, enabling it to better meet the challenges of the world and to

⁸ The European Commission, „Extinderea spre est pe agenda Consiliului European” in *Infoeuropa*, nr. 10,2007, p. 6, http://ec.europa.eu/romania/documents/eu_romania/tema_10.pdf, accessed on 15.06.2019.

⁹ Влада републике србије, *Serbia-Montenegrin parliament adopts Resolution on EU accession*, 2005, <http://www.srbija.gov.rs/vesti/vest.php?id=13808>, accessed on 18.06.2019.

¹⁰ The European Commission, *European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement negotiations – Serbia*, 2014, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/serbia/index_en.htm, accessed on 15.06.2019.

¹¹ European External Action Service, *EU relations with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*, f.a., http://eeas.europa.eu/the_former_yugoslav_republic_of_macedonia/index_en.htm, accessed on 18.06.2019.

pursue its strategic interests. The Council of The EU decides to open accession negotiations and pursues the most important policies for each acceding country.¹²

The enlargement is part of the "mainstream policies", according to Lowi. The expanding affects the institutional structure of The EU and can trigger policy changes and policy-making. It also has redistribution policy issues, particularly in policy areas that benefit from more funding.¹³

The Union's policy of enlargement, being a structured policy has made a possibility to establish closer ties with states that are not members, but enjoying the idea of integrating into the future. With the help of diversified instruments (political, financial and technical) enlargement policy has led to the transformation of Eastern European countries, unifying the continent of Europe and expanding the single market.¹⁴ New members expand the single European market and increase the efficiency of common policies.¹⁵

The Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations was created separately by The European Commission. Initially, enlargement was one of the tasks of The Directorate-General for External Relations and Working Groups. The end of the cold war has made enlargement a constant topic in The EU agenda. Professionals and commentators considered that enlargement is the EU's most important foreign policy instrument.

Even if the accession rules identify the member states as the main actors, the Commission played a very important role. Especially in the eastern enlargement process, The European Commission has established its agenda through progressive enlargement agreements, it managed pre-accession relations with the candidate countries, it monitored their efforts and it influenced the outcome of the accession negotiations by means of compromises.

The procedures for accession were set out in the Treaty of The EU (part 17.1 - legal basis of the Treaty on EU enlargement). Article

¹² Vasile Pușcaș, *EU accession negotiations*, Viena: Hulla & Co Human Dynamics KG, 2013, p. 32.

¹³ Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollak, Alasdair R. Young, *Elaborarea politicilor în Uniunea Europeană*, București: Institutul European din România, 2011, p. 340.

¹⁴ The European Commission, *Procesul de extindere a Uniunii Europene*, 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/romania/news/articole_si_dialoguri/070411_extindere_ro.htm, accessed on 18.06.2019.

¹⁵ Wallace, Pollak, Young, *op.cit.*, p. 340.

49 of the treaty states that any State which respects the values in article 6, paragraph 1 may apply to become a member. Occidental values are based on democracy, human rights, fundamental freedoms, rule of law. These have generally remained unchanged since the 1957 (Treaty of Rome), even if the Single European Act of 1987 introduced the condition for the European Parliament to issue a favorable opinion and the Treaty of Amsterdam detailed the political conditions.

As a rule, the enlargement policy consists of two sets of conditions. The first set includes general conditions that a state must fulfill to integrate. The second: the decisions that specify the concrete ways of joining. The ways of joining are left to the accession negotiations.¹⁶

On the stabilization and association agreements, The Union focused on a similar pattern for relations with the Western Balkan countries, namely Albania and most of the successor states of Yugoslavia. The Union accepted a regional treaty with the Eastern European states in February 1996. This new approach was implemented as a result of the violent dismantling of Yugoslavia and the US-sponsored Dayton Agreement which ended the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a consequence of NATO's military intervention in Kosovo, the European Council in Cologne in June 1999 supported an initiative of the German presidency on a Stabilization Pact for Southeast Europe. The Commission has made proposals for a stabilization and association process that included the objective of supporting the economic and democratic transition, regional cooperation, and explicit preparation for eventual accession. A key element of the stabilization and association process is the stabilization and association agreements. Community assistance for reconstruction, development and stabilization is the second important element. Stabilization and association agreements have been modeled on agreements, but have added more detailed political conditions.

Association agreements with the successor European states of the Soviet Union are less preferential partnership and cooperation agreements. The Union has initiated these agreements for states that have detached from the Soviet Union, with the exception of the baltic states.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp.339 - 341.

Association agreements provided the legal framework for relations with potential members until accession, even after they were advanced to membership: candidate status and pre-accession alignment. The pre-accession policy applies in parallel with the association, not instead of it. The need for this policy as an element of enlargement policy reflects the characteristics of most of the candidate countries for accession after the end of the Cold War, namely that they are not fully prepared to apply the single European market legislation when filing the application. For enlargement to the east, the pre-accession strategy resulted from the initiative of the Commission's Directorate-General for External Relations and the cabinet of commissioner for external economic relations, Sir Leon Brittan.

The main element of the pre-accession strategy is the white paper. This includes the main elements of the internal market acquis. The technical assistance and information exchange office should provide support for normative alignment.

In the accession partnerships the candidate countries commit themselves to clear alignment programs by setting priorities both in the short and long term for the measures to be adopted. Accession partnerships and European partnerships have clear calendars. Pre-Accession Assistance refers directly to the investments needed to adopt the acquis by reforming Phare in two financial assistance instruments. The Instrument for structural policies for pre-accession is the first element. The special accession program for agriculture and rural development is the second.

With regard to accession, the Commission's opinion is a key element, although it has lost part of the distinctive feature of the main document, including the Commission's assessment and recommendation through the regular monitoring reports and subsequent to the formal opinion. The College of Commissioners adopts its opinion by majority vote. The Commission's regular reports are usually published each year in October or November and have a similar structure to opinions. The reports assess in a standard way the economic, political and legislative progress achieved in the various policy areas.

Negotiations on accession are not carried out by the same institution as in the case of external trade negotiations, but by the Council presidency representing the member states. The European

Commission has no formal role in the accession negotiations, but it helps to establish compromises and identifies solutions. Conferences related to accession through bilateral relations are being conducted. These can be done in parallel with other candidate countries. The European Commission is assessing the candidate countries' possibilities to apply the *acquis* and identifying potential bargaining difficulties. After the examination, the candidates present their negotiating positions. The next step is drafting a joint EU position requiring unanimous approval from the Council. The unanimity decision opens negotiations on the specific chapters of the *acquis*, and later those relating to policies, budget and institutions are provisionally closed.

The EU concessions have been limited in the history of the enlargement process. Once the already integrated states and the candidate state have reached an agreement and after the European Parliament issues an agreement, the accession treaty is signed by all governments and the candidate becomes an accession country. Both the acceding state and the member states must ratify the treaty.

Looking at conditionality and enlargement as an instrument of foreign policy, there are two ways. The first concerns the strengthening of fragile democracies emerging from authoritarian regimes. The second concerns the EU's strategic use of the incentive to accept as a member to modify or maintain specific policies in non-member states. The human rights and democracy conditionality has increased in the eastward enlargement process. In the relations between The EU and The Western Balkans political conditions supplemented with elements specific to ethnic conflict and violent fragmentation of Yugoslavia. Catherine Ashton tried to influence the application of conditionality for the implementation of a stabilization and association agreement with Serbia, but it was blocked due to Serbia's inadequate co-operation with the International Criminal Court.¹⁷

The Commission has chosen a more tangible benefit before completing full compliance. The reason for suspending negotiations with Serbia was the lack of cooperation of the Serbian government with the International Criminal Court for the arrest of Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić. Even if no progress has been made, The EU

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 345 - 357.

signed the agreement before the 2008 parliamentary elections to encourage The EU was tolerant in supporting pro-president Boris Tadić, but the ratification and the implementation of the interim agreement remained a condition for continued cooperation with the International Criminal Court. The strategy was successful: Boris Tadić's party won the election, and Radovan Karadžić was arrested and extradited despite the blockade of the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the Netherlands due to Ratko Mladić's closure.

The Eastern Partnership officially opened on 7 May 2009, but after enlargements in 2004 and 2007, the conditions for enlargement as an element of foreign policy have become less and less favorable. The bargaining framework contains many instruments of the community method, even if foreign ministers have a strong control. However, accession negotiations generally belong to intensive transgovernmentalism. Member states have a leading role in the accession process.¹⁸

The Lobby and a Case from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Negotiation groups are including institutions like: ministries, the European integration bureau, national legislation, etc. According to lobby, in the Western Balkans are young associations with an average age of only 11 years in Montenegro, 15 years in Macedonia and 19 years in Serbia; interest representation is an important activity of the associations. Actually, it is an activity to which they devote on average around 40% of their time; business groups are involved in lobbying on a larger scale in comparison with other types of associations. Interest groups are most active in the domains of human rights, education and research, but also in social welfare/social security, local and regional development and employment policy. Trade unions and business associations are active in a larger number of policies than other types of lobby.¹⁹

Relating to a case from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the diplomatic relations between North Macedonia and Cyprus were

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp.359 - 361.

¹⁹ Aneta Cekik, *Lobbying by interest groups in Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia: findings from a survey of associations*, 2015, <http://spos.info/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Lobbying-by-IGs-in-Macedonia-Montenegro-and-Serbia.pdf>, accessed on 18.06.2019.

established. On the sidelines of an economic conference held in Athens in 2019, Nikola Dimitrov held talks with his counterpart from Cyprus, Nikos Christodoulides where the date of establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of North Macedonia and the Republic of Cyprus was set for the end of August during this year's ministerial meeting (Gymnich) in Finland.²⁰

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration made progresses for control and expertise in terms of responsible institutions and in terms of personnel. Otherwise, the progresses with negotiation chapters would not had been at this level.

The Current State of Accession Negotiations – North Macedonia Analysis

While analysing the negotiation chapters related to education and culture, it is important to show the economic context.

According to the 2015 report, the North Macedonia reveals a good level of preparation for the development of a functioning market economy. But on the whole, no progress has been made. On the one hand, positive developments have been recorded with particularity in the business environment. The macroeconomic environment has strengthened despite key vulnerabilities. However, things have been counterbalanced by regress in public finance management. The government has continued to promote growth and employment through major public investment in infrastructure and foreign direct investment, which has helped to improve the structure of exports and job creation. However, the development of a competitive private sector has been hampered by poor contract compliance and a large-scale informal economy.

In terms of macroeconomic stability, the country's economic recovery continued, with domestic demand being the only driver of growth. Profit increased by 3.8% in 2014, investment increased significantly in 2014 due to road, rail and energy infrastructure

²⁰ Министерството за надворешни работи, *Set date of establishment of diplomatic relations between North Macedonia and Cyprus*, 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.mk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3168:dogovoren-datmot-za-voipostavuvanje-diplomatski-odnosi-pomegju-republika-severna-makedonija-i-republika-kipar&catid=52:press-releases&lang=en&Itemid=684, accessed on 18.06.2019.

project.. The demand for imports, mainly related to investment, also increased in line with the requirements.

The recovery of industrial production after 2012 continued, led by the manufacturing sector and accounting for approximately 75% of the industry, even though in the first quarter of 2015 was disappointed. Overall, the sustainable development of the economy can only be achieved if the domestic private sector is further developed and will contribute more to economic growth.

The stability of the foreign sector has increasingly been based on foreign public lending. The current account deficit has fallen since 2009, remaining at a moderate level of 1.3% of the gross domestic product in 2014. This development was driven by an improvement in the trade balance, largely due to exports made by foreign investors in the sector car parts. Current foreign transfers have diminished, but remain significant. Inflows (3.35% of the gross domestic product) remained noticeably below their 10-year average (4.3% of the gross domestic product). External debt stagnated at 70% of the gross domestic product at the end of 2014, more than 5 percentage points from 2013, mainly due to an increase in government debt and, to a lesser extent, in inflows-based corporate loans. However, changes in foreign exchange reserves were strongly supported by foreign public lending rather than private investment.

Labor market conditions have been hampered by structural impediments. The unemployment rate has fallen from 34% (2008) to 28% (2014). Significant gender gaps persist as women's economic activity rate is considerably lower than that of men (56.8%, compared with 84.5% in 2014). Job creation has returned to a moderate pace in 2014 following an increase in 2013. New jobs have been generated mainly in low-productivity sectors and in agriculture, backed by public subsidies and active labor market measures. It is estimated that the public sector is responsible for 20% of the total employment.

Prices have remained stable, monetary policy has successfully defended currency reporting. Annual average inflation has fallen since 2011, when it remained at 3.95. Since April 2015 total inflation has again seen positive gains.

Tax discipline deteriorated again in 2014 and 2015, highlighting the need to improve spending in the medium term. The government adopted in 2014 and 2015 an additional budget;

however, the budget deficit was higher (4.2% of the gross domestic product) in 2014.

The level of public debt has increased significantly since 2008, and the amendments to the public debt law raises concerns in terms of transparency. The growing financing needs of state-owned enterprises, which are responsible for major infrastructure works, contributed to a substantial increase in public debt as a whole, which remained at 46 % of the gross domestic product in 2014, compared with 38.6 % in 2013. In the summer of 2014 the government amended the public debt law to restrict the scope of loans to state-owned companies, while also encouraging unsecured loans. As a consequence, the figure for the public debt became less transparent.

The opening of a business has become easier to access, but leaving the market continues to raise problems, the progress in simplifying the procedure was limited. The links between the most technologically advanced foreign companies and the domestic economy were weak, which is worrying.

Regarding the judiciary, frequent changes in legislation, uneven implementation of the law, and difficult contract implementation have made business operations difficult. The protection and implementation of intellectual property rights remains a cause for concern. Equally, the Labor Ministry periodically updates its action plan to reduce the underground economy, but the current indicators and measures were not fully consistent and there was no outcome-based assessment of previous measures.

Government-business cooperation has fallen. Less and less draft laws were published in the electronic register, along with the adoption of many laws with very short consultation deadlines, in many cases, ex post facto consultation with stakeholders on the impact of post-implementation law enforcement.

The banking sector remained stable, despite the high level of bad loans. Macedonian economy is moderately prepared to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the European Union. Some progress has been made in addressing prevailing shortcomings in human capital and physical infrastructure. However, businesses have continued to focus on low-activity activities and an increase in added value in the productive sectors was needed. Further investment was also needed to increase productivity growth and accelerate the transformation of the economy. On the whole, the state's influence on

competitiveness has increased. In line with recommendations and to foster long-term growth, the North Macedonia must pay particular attention to:

- increasing worker engagement by better aligning education to the needs of labor demand and improving basic and cross-cutting skills of students at all levels of education;

- updating the links between foreign investors who have invested directly and saving and encouraging investment in capital goods and innovation;

- better prioritization of investment and alignment of the transport strategy to the regional agenda on connectivity;

- improving public finance management by rigorously adhering to the mid-term fiscal objectives 2015-2017, as foreseen by recommendations. A budget deficit of 2.9% of the gross domestic product in 2017;

- improving the content of spending, prioritizing investment projects in line with productive potential and greater transparency of cost-benefit analysis;

- increasing fiscal transparency;

- improving the business environment through the implementation of the competitiveness master plan and the government action plan (a more predictable and regulatory legal environment, contract enforcement, intellectual property rights reversal, labor legislation, quality and integration of inspection services, payments, speeding up efforts to fight corruption and the informal economy).²¹

In 2016, North Macedonia had massive investments in infrastructure, seven highways and 24 regional roads. In 2015 the state insisted on road and railway infrastructure projects, on the number of passengers on the two airports, on new flight routes to European capitals, according to a statement by the Macedonian Transport Minister.²²

²¹ The European Commission, *Commission staff working document – The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – Report 2015*, 2015, pp. 25 – 30, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2015/20151110_report_the_former_yugoslav_republic_of_macedonia.pdf, accessed on 19.06.2019.

²² Ionuț Socoteanu, *Investesc masiv în infrastructură. Macedonia lucrează la șapte autostrăzi și la 24 de drumuri regionale în 2016*, 2016, <http://wikiweb.ro/investesc->

In addition to the problems identified in the economic field, the situation in North Macedonia has worsened in terms of the country's democratic foundation, institutional functioning, and inter-ethnic relations. The European Commission has criticized political interference in judicial affairs, media control, irregularities in the electoral process.

In the chapter: education and culture: 2010: interaction between the ethnic communities in education is important in The European Union.

Points of agreement: the education reform process continued according to the national education strategy for 2006 – 2015. An external performance assessment of pupils was established. New subjects, such as ethics, entrepreneurship, media and the environment, were brought in schools. Implementation of the Bologna process in higher education continues and the Council for Adult Education adopted the adult education strategy in the context of lifelong learning, and efforts have been made to develop a national qualifications framework.

Points of disagreement: there has been limited progress in the field of education, training and youth and resources are inadequate to implement the education strategy. Highregional disparities in access to education remain.

Conclusions: Some progress has been made in the field of culture: the country continued to participate in the culture and in the Europe for citizens programmes.²³

2018: as agreements, the government has taken measures to increase resources and preschool places by investing in preschool infrastructure and high-quality preschool education teacher training. As disagreements, it falls far short of the EU Education and Training 2020 target of 95%, with only 30% of children attending licensed preschool institutions in the 2018/2019 school year.

masiv-infrastructura-macedonia-luceaza-la-sapte-autostrazi-si-24-de-drumuri-regionale-2016/, accessed on 19.06.2019.

²³ The European Commission, *The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2010 progress report*, 2010, p. 69, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key_documents/2010/package/mk_rapport_2010_en.pdf, accessed on 17.07.2019.

Conclusions: North Macedonia is moderately prepared in this area. Limited progress was made with the adoption of the new law on higher education. The introduction of measures from the comprehensive 2018-2025 education strategy remained limited and as none of 2018's recommendations was implemented, they remain valid. In 2019, the country should in particular: implement the new strategic framework for education, particularly the targets for pre-school education; increase support for teacher training and teacher professional development and ensure an effective assessment process; improve access to quality education for all, in particular preschool enrolment, children with disabilities and children from Roma communities.²⁴

The Current State of Accession Negotiations - Serbia Analysis

While analysing the negotiation chapters related to education and culture, it is important to show the economic context. To study Serbia's progress, I have transformed the content of certain European Commission reports on Serbia in the form of Commission position papers, like the case of North Macedonia.

The chapter on free movement of capital: cross-border cooperation has been used to promote the capacity to create dialogue between local and regional authorities in neighboring countries, namely Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Montenegro.²⁵

Points of agreement: the Foreign Exchange Act was adopted in December 2013. Long-term capital transactions have been liberalized. Serbia initialized the national risk assessment process in the fight against money laundering. The Agency for the Prevention of Money Laundering signed the Memorandum of Understanding with Argentina, Andorra, Panama, Denmark and Portugal, the total number of signatures being 42.

Points of disagreement: there were limitations on short-term transactions and residents' deposits were partially liberalized. There

²⁴ *Idem, Commission staff working document, 2019, p. 85, <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-north-macedonia-report.pdf>, accessed on 17.07.2019.*

²⁵ *Idem, Serbia 2013 Progress report, 2013, p. 5, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/package/sr_rapport_2013.pdf, accesat în 17.06.2019.*

were restrictions on agricultural capital. The payment system legislation had to be aligned with the *acquis communautaire*. The Agency for the Prevention of Money Laundering did not have the necessary prerequisites for the recruitment and training of the personnel.

Conclusions: overall, there has been limited progress. There was a need to harmonize Serbian legislation on short-term capital, agriculture and payment systems with the *acquis*. The alignment of the other subdomains was considered moderately advanced.²⁶

Chapter on business law: in examining economic developments in Serbia, the Commission's approach was guided by the conclusions of the Copenhagen European Council of June 1993. For any member of the Union, there is a need for a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union.²⁷

Points of agreement: the Business Registration Agency has published the statutes of the economic entities. The Agency submitted its Chamber of Commerce registry in January 2013. In the areas of corporate accounting and auditing, the Accounting Act was adopted in July 2013.

Disagreement points: electronic recording was not operational. The law passed in July aimed to ensure the implementation of the Fourth Directive and the Seventh Company Law Directive and the harmonization with the Commission's eighth directive in this area but the process was not completed.

Conclusions: progress has been made. Two laws have been adopted for corporate accounting and auditing, and other laws will be finalized. Alignment has been advanced.²⁸

Intellectual Property Rights Chapter: major legislative improvements have been made. However, the legislative and constitutional framework has left room for unwarranted political influence, with the need for change.²⁹

Points of agreement: a new law on the protection of topographies of semiconductor products was adopted in June 2013. The Copyright and Consequent Rights Committee was abolished and

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

its responsibilities transferred to the Intellectual Property Office. On industrial property rights, the trademark law was amended in January 2013 to better align with the *acquis communautaire*, and Serbia became a member of the International Union for the Protection of New Plant Species. There have been many events for training government deployment agencies. The Customs Administration has introduced a web application for proprietary information exchange. The Fiscal Administration has increased the number of checks by 74% in 2012, so the use of illegal software has fallen to Serbia. The Ministry of Commerce and Telecommunications seized more goods throughout the year 2012.

Points of disagreement: some amendments to the law on intellectual property rights adopted in December were not in line with the *acquis*. Harmonization with the *acquis* was needed within five years at most. The Intellectual Property Office needed additional capacity to cope with new responsibilities. Full alignment with the application directive was needed. There was no formal coordination mechanism between the institutions responsible for the protection of intellectual property rights. Implementation from the field for the 2011-2015 Strategy and Action Plan was lifted. No solutions have been found for long-term financial sustainability in the industry. Participation of economic operators and consumers against piracy has remained minor. Better implementation was needed in the judicial field related to property rights.

Conclusions: limited progress has been made. Enforcement has been improved, but the actors' coordination has not been achieved. Amendments to the law with regard to the collection of copyright levies have been a step back in alignment with the EU *acquis*. Generally, alignment has been advanced.³⁰

In the chapter: education and culture: 2010: as points of agreements, several laws in the field of education and training were adopted in 2010. In April 2010 a new law on pre-school education aimed at improving the quality and access to education was accepted. In May a law on Pupils' and Students' standards has been also accepted, based on the principle of social inclusion.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 25.

Points of disagreement: a national qualification framework remained to be adopted. Adult education was not aligned and there is a need for a reform of contents, methods and infrastructure. The process of accreditation of universities and programmes has not been finished. Adjusting the education system to the labour market needed improvement.

Conclusions: some progress has been made in the field of education: Serbia has started reforms in primary and secondary levels of education and is continuing Bologna reforms in higher education. With the help of the European Training Fund, the Serbian state was starting the process of reforming its vocational education and training system.³¹

2018: as agreed, in the area of education and training, the education strategy and its action plan is being implemented, albeit with delays. There have been few public consultations on recently adopted regulations; enrolment and attainment rates in pre-university education are consistently high.

Points of disagreement: study programmes in higher education need to better match requirements in the labour market. The unemployment rate for graduates with tertiary education (up to 24 years of age) has dropped and it must be improved (yet remains high at 35.9 % in 2017). Emigration by young, skilled people remains at a high rate.

Conclusions: Serbia is at a good level of preparation in the area of education and culture. Some progress was made in the area of the curricula and establishing the Erasmus+ national agency. In 2019 Serbia should in particular: increase participation in early childhood education, in particular by children from disadvantaged backgrounds; finalise the establishment of the national qualifications framework system.³²

Both Serbia and Macedonia faced the problem of refugees, although they did not have the resources that member states have.³³

³¹ *Idem, Serbia 2010 progress report*, 2010, pp. 38 - 39, http://europa.rs/upload/documents/key_documents/2010/Rapport%20SR%20TO%20PRESS%20CONF%2008.11.pdf, accessed on 17.07.2019.

³² *Idem, Serbia 2018 report*, 2018, p. 77, <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20180417-serbia-report.pdf>, accessed on 17.07.2019.

³³ Angela Sârbu, „Aleksandar Vucic: Serbia este gata să fie parte a unei soluții europene privind criza migrației” in *Agerpres*, 2016, <http://www.agerpres.ro/externe/2016/02/25/aleksandar-vucic-serbia-este-gata-sa-fie->

Serbia had an open approach to migrants, and Aleksandar Vucic, the Serbian premier, said at the beginning of the crisis, "Serbia is ready to be part of a European solution to the migration crisis." "That's not a big deal. It can even create a new value in the economic sphere."

Conclusions:

One of the European Union's threats is the East problems. We need to understand European states outside the EU that can be potential for insecurity (linked to non-compliance with all human rights, lack of specialized institutions, economic instability). The Western Balkans are making efforts in this direction, on the road to Europeanization.

In the context of the latest developments where enlargement is no longer a priority, the chances of The Western Balkan states to integrate have not diminished, but the integration process has been postponed. Only for Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Georgia there is no chance of belonging to the European structure.

From the paper we can see both the efforts made by Macedonia and Serbia, as well as the problems that exist either due to the lack of projects or due to the lack of finalization of the processes. Despite the current crises of Europe, there is no option for the Western Balkan area but the European Union.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Danforth, Loring *North Macedonia*, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/place/North-Macedonia/media/1/354223/238926>, accessed on 15.06.2019.
- The European Commission (2007), „Extinderea spre est pe agenda Consiliului European”, in *Infoeuropa*, no. 10, http://ec.europa.eu/romania/documents/eu_romania/tema_10.pd, accessed on 15.06.2019.
- The European Commission (2014), *European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement negotiations – Serbia*, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/serbia/index_en.htm, accessed on 15.06.2019.

parte-a-unei-solutii-europene-privind-criza-migratiei-18-27-05, accessed on 17.07.2019.

- Влада републике србије (2004), *EU to reopen its market to Serbian textile products*, <http://www.srbija.gov.rs/vesti/vest.php?id=7457>, accessed in 18.06.2019.
- Влада републике србије (2005), *Serbia-Montenegrin parliament adopts Resolution on EU accession*, <http://www.srbija.gov.rs/vesti/vest.php?id=13808>, accessed on 18.06.2019.
- European External Action Service (f.a.), *EU relations with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*, http://eeas.europa.eu/the_former_yugoslav_republic_of_macedonia/index_en.htm, accessed on 18.06.2019.
- Puşcaş, Vasile (2013), *EU accession negotiations*, Viena: Hulla & Co Human Dynamics.
- The European Commission (2011), *Procesul de extindere a Uniunii Europene*, http://ec.europa.eu/romania/news/articole_si_dialoguri/070411_extindere_ro.htm, accessed on 18.06.2019.
- Cekik, Aneta (2015), *Lobbying by interest groups in Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia: findings from a survey of associations*, <http://spos.info/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Lobbying-by-IGs-in-Macedonia-Montenegro-and-Serbia.pdf>, accessed on 18.06.2019.
- Министерството за надворешни работи (2019), *Set date of establishment of diplomatic relations between North Macedonia and Cyprus*, http://www.mfa.gov.mk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3168:dogovoren-datumot-za-voipostavuvanje-diplomatski-odnosi-pomegju-republika-severna-makedonija-i-republika-kipar&catid=52:press-releases&lang=en&Itemid=684, accessed on 18.06.2019.
- The European Commission (2015), Commission staff working document – The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – Report 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2015/20151110_report_the_former_yugoslav_republic_of_macedonia.pdf, accessed on 19.06.2019.
- Socoteanu, Ionuţ (2016), *Investesc masiv în infrastructură. Macedonia lucrează la şapte autostrăzi şi la 24 de drumuri regionale în 2016*, <http://wikiweb.ro/investesc-masiv-infrastructura-macedonia->

- lucreaza-la-sapte-autostrazi-si-24-de-drumuri-regionale-2016/, accessed on 19.06.2019.
- The European Commission (2010), *The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 2010 progress report, 2010*, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key_documents/2010/package/mk_rapport_2010_en.pdf, accessed on 17.07.2019.
- The European Commission (2019), *Commission staff working document, 2019*, <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-north-macedonia-report.pdf>, accessed on 17.07.2019.
- The European Commission (2013) , *Serbia 2013 Progress report*, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/package/sr_rapport_2013.pdf, accessed on 17.07.2019.
- The European Commission (2010), *Serbia 2010 progress report*, http://europa.rs/upload/documents/key_documents/2010/Rapport%20SR%20TO%20PRESS%20CONF%2008.11.pdf, accessed on 17.07.2019.
- The European Commission (2018), *Serbia 2018 report*, <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20180417-serbia-report.pdf>, accessed on 17.07.2019.
- Sârbu, Ana (2016) „Aleksandar Vucic: Serbia este gata să fie parte a unei soluții europene privind criza migrației” in *Agerpres*, <http://www.agerpres.ro/externe/2016/02/25/aleksandar-vucic-serbia-este-gata-sa-fie-parte-a-unei-solutii-europene-privind-criza-migratiei-18-27-05>, accessed in 17.07.2019.

LACK OF THE INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUES AS A ROOM FOR XENOPHOBIA

Irina POP*

Abstract. *The paper below is about an instrument to be applied in analyzing the xenophobia in the age of communication: the lack of the intercultural dialogues. The necessity of such tool imposed to us in an attempt to describes the paradoxical case of occurred in the Western Romania: anti-migration mood without migrants. It is largely interpreted in the region as a phenomenon caused by the intense propaganda anti-migrants and anti-Soros carried out over the borders, in Hungary, as an official policy of the Viktor Orban Executive. Our hypothesis tried to go deeper to a multifactorial explanation, reuniting three types of processes: the Hungarian' anti-migrant propaganda; its lack of counterbalance in the Western Romania (in media, university programs, or civil society units); the structural lack of the intercultural dialogues on the political issues.*

The research aims to emphasis the correlations between the lack of the public intercultural dialogues in the area of politics and the paradoxical emerging xenophobia targeting migrants, in the Western Romania. Its assumption was that the lack of the intercultural dialogues in the area of the sensitive issues nurtures new xenophobia in the mentioned area and potentiates its force to contaminate all around the atmosphere of the previously neutral or inclusive communities. The main directions intended to be scrutinized, in Western Romania during the "migration crisis", were: a) the recaptioned common media messages and together with the missed ones, (the pro-inclusive ones) in the Romanian and Hungarian media fallowed; b) the lack of the correlated universities programs devoted to educate young generations for inclusiveness and intercultural dialogues in the region; c) lack of the common researches projects on xenophobia.

The omission of communication for solidarities generate room for the fears, hate and demonize the Others: for xenophobia.

Keywords: *intercultural dialog, lack of the intercultural dialogues; xenophobia's potential of the lack of intercultural dialogues*

* PhD., Lecturer, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of History International Relations, Political Science and Communication Sciences, University of Oradea, Romania, E-mail: popirinamihaela@gmail.com

Introduction

The Western Romania 2017-2018 facing a strange phenomenon: anti-migrant attitudes without migrants. An employee of a company that offers (to different passengers from Western Romania) transfer to Budapest Airport instructed me how dangerous the migration wave is for our Christian cultural roots, for our civilization, and for our welfare system. (These are the two main themes in the contemporary xenophobic discourse in the Far-Right European parties.) When I asked:” How do you know?”, he proudly declared: „I documented myself from serious Hungarian sources.”

In late 2015, my personal friends – with University education - became suddenly aware of the migrants’ expensive telephones, suggesting that they are invaders. They were not at all interested in the difference between migrants and refugees and in our Christian duties to the people in need, neither by the obligations resulted from Geneva Conventions in Refugees.

More than this – when the case of sharing the burden of refugees among the EU states - Romania got a quota of 2475 refugees. 600 were to be accommodated, in our region (North-Western Romania). The public reactions were astonishing. Let quote an early one of 2015: Tășnad (Satu Mare - county, 30 Km from Romanian-Hungarian border).



Source: apud Homonic Brigita-Maria (2016): Lucrarea de dizertatie

Official pressures via the MPs – Romanian and Hungarians – of Satu Mare pressed the Secretary of Internal Affairs, Petre Toba, to not organize a center for migrants in their town. In a zone with a high percentage of inhabitants engaged intensively¹ in migrations, the fact is striking.

In the last stage of the process, the similar quota of 600 refugees is planned for Bihor county, a county situated at the border with Hungary too. The reaction was similar.

Those zones are particularly interesting because they are exposed to the Hungarian media, a media that assumed the Hungarian Executive positions of portraying the migrants as invaders of the Christian area, as the “diseases’ carriers” or as people who want to take advantage of the social protection system established, here. (In these early stages, except the Prime Minister, Victor Ponta, no one made publicly the difference migrant and refugee, and no one mentioned the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees). The inhabitants expressed their concerns and even opposition to the central authorities’ initiative, according to the local media² and a researcher in the zone³. The motives were – the central authorities did not ask for our acceptance and they – as feared persons – will affect the spa-tourism in the town.

How it becomes possible in a traditionally multicultural area with a tolerant culture? How voices as that of dr. Rafik Khal⁴

– a Christian Orthodox from Idleb, Syria settled in Oradea in 1992 – is not heard?

The two hypotheses arose: 1) the missed culture of political hearings when a new decision is prepared and 2) the lack of the intercultural dialogs as a ground for the pro-inclusive messages.

¹ Practically, currently, any persons in the region has a relative migrant; and high proportion of inhabitant has relatives historically engaged in migrations.

² see <https://reporterul.ro/social/centru-pentru-cazarea-refugiator-sirieni-intr-o-statiune-din-romania-la-doi-pasi-de-strandul-termal-10629>, consulted March, 2019.

³ Homonic, Brigita – Maria, (2016): *Reacția guvernului român și a guvernului maghiar în privința migrațiilor, mss. (Lucrare de dizertație în cadrul Masterului Politici Publice Europene), Oradea, 2016.*

⁴ Rafik Khal interviewed by Mircea Chirila at September, 15, 2015 for the weekly *Bihoreanul*, available at <https://www.ebihoreanul.ro/stiri/ultima-or-31-6/dr-rafik-khal-medic-endocrinolog-sirian-stabilit-in-oradea-germanii-au-dat-lovitura-au-luat-ce-e-mai-bun-din-valul-de-refugiati-122971.html>.

The first hypothesis is a common feature of the contemporary Romanian politics – and possibly not only Romanian one -, as the common experience proves; as the local authorities declared in press interviews and in public meetings, under the formula „We will do that or that ...”. Never we heard: „We will consult you whether or not it is to be done or not ...” That is why we take it as so largely known that it is no need to prove it “*en detailles*”.

The second will be illustrated with facts collected from the Reports on sociological quantitative researches, statistical data, and media reports. The lack of the intercultural dialog and pro-inclusive messages is noticeable a) in the media universe; b) in the universities areas; c) in the general public sphere.

The first stage in research focusses in clarifying the main concepts intercultural dialogues; lack of the intercultural dialogues; and xenophobia potential of the lack of intercultural dialogues.

1. Intercultural dialogues as a concept

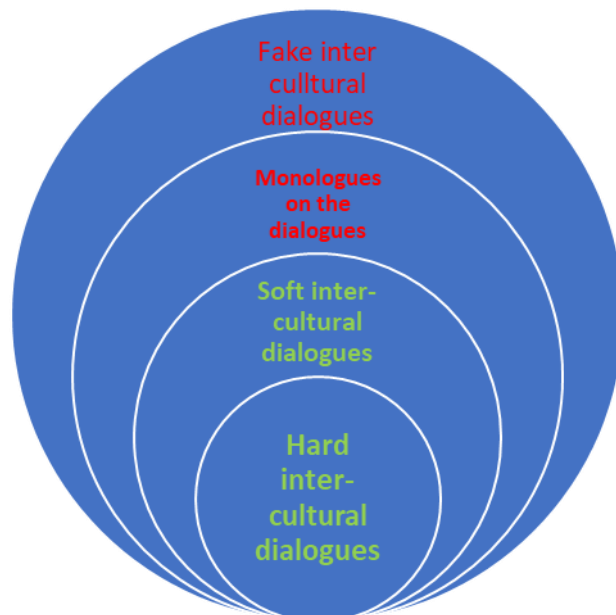
1.1. Defining the Intercultural dialogues

For operational reasons, in this context we took the following definition of the intercultural dialogue: The intercultural dialog is a symbolic field/space of positive cultural exchanges, created intentionally and rationally between two parts convinced that mutual advantages result from the mutual engagements.

The main of these advantages is the conflicts’ prevention.

The definition is oriented by the political definition assumed by the Council of Europe in the 2003 *Opatija Declaration* (Co.E. 2003: *Opatija Declaration*). “Intercultural dialogue is an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups belonging to different cultures that leads to a deeper understanding of the other’s global perceptions.” It takes literally from the *Declaration*, mainly, the methodological principle: “2.4 that invites to create a public space for dialogue and cultural citizenship in which it is possible to express disagreement, which is not only part of the democratic process but also its guarantor”.

Figure no. 1. Intercultural dialogues levels



The concept of intercultural dialogue - differently by the trans-cultural dialog - is about the bilateral exchanges of the experiences, ideas, values, and perspectives in understanding the situations or, the world in its generality. The very process of exchange function as a filter that selects only those of the experiences that are mutually acceptable. That is without any potential of conflict.

The goals and the results of the intercultural dialog are a) to prevent conflicts and b) to contribute to an inclusive society. (The trans-cultural one creates a new common culture as a common ground for new creative and renewed society.)

In this context, as content, the intercultural dialogue is seen as concentric symbolic space of sharing, which reunites: in the core hard-intercultural dialogues; in the next circle, the soft intercultural dialogues, „public diplomatic dialogue; inside the peripheral circle the „mono-cultural monologues”; around them the fakes dialogues.

1.2. Hard intercultural dialogues

Hard intercultural dialogues are the dialogues, expressed publicly and informally in specially organized and advertised meetings and around them, by significant actors of the public life: the

officials, political parties' actors, NGO's actors, cultural actors, universities' actors, religious actors and other.

In its core, the symbolic space of hard intercultural dialogue encompasses the sensitive subjects: those already disputed; and those which are traditional sources of conflicts. The most sensitive are those related to the collective identities: on authenticity („Who are the true Europeans, Roma ...?“); on land' properties (competitive claims on „Here is our fatherland“ vs their claimed fatherland; on paternity of different assets, values, creators; on the guilts for shaming facts s.o.

All these sensitive themes are „diplomatically“ avoided by non-diplomats in the presence of the Other/s. Unfortunately, they are passive sources of conflicts – all the time ready to be inflamed by extremist political forces. To it contributes the fact that such painful topics are circulated only inside of the group and they are avoided to be negotiated with the Other/s. (Traditionally such missions were reserved for the professional diplomats or other officials.) The circulation the simple expressions of ideas or values around the neutral topics – those which do not openly express different perspectives, interests or values - in different meetings or fora labeled as „intercultural“ could be considered as hard intercultural dialogues with difficulty. The fact, that the participants in such fora have different mother tongues or citizenships, or ethnic origins - does not ensure automatically to their contributions a significant potential in diminishing the possible conflicts.

The globalization of communications (and communication too), of issues, concerns, tourism, trade, plus the global migrations, brought together „face to face“ Us and the Others, not only in the diplomatic circles but in the daily life.

This trend opened a new challenge for the non-professional negotiators: to develop the intercultural dialogues as part of their common interactions, at home, in the neighborhoods, far away. More than this, hard intercultural dialogues face themselves new challenges: to open topics commonly addressed in order to dismantle the conflicts and to treat them with enough sophistication and generosity, to prevent the approaching to fuel new or old conflicts.

The hard intercultural dialogues cut the roots of the xenophobia, and prepare the inclusiveness culture and social climate.

1.3. Soft intercultural dialogues

The soft intercultural dialogues are the dialogues organized mainly by the same public actors. The mentioned actors express their positions in specially organized and well-advertised meetings. They are different by the previous level because, here, the organizers: a) opt for the general topics – those with no conflict's potential; b) do it with an educated social courtesy. It is, the soft intercultural dialogues imply a) a wise selection (by the organizers) of the topics of dialogues on the criterium mentioned above – without conflict's potential; b) a climate of dialogues – social courtesy practiced as an art: "*savoir faire*". (Firstly, this "*savoir faire*" is about to price the Other's presence and contributions. The pricing is to be presented constantly, consistently explicitly and implicitly - by a nice reception e.g. or else. Secondly, social courtesy is about expressing constantly respect for its perspectives, interests, and values. It is to be done, irrespectively whether the praises and respect are fully deserved or not.)

A wise selection of topics without conflict's potential is to go to the neutral topics or to those that rely on the common interests or values. Examples of neutral topics in the intercultural dialogues are those focused on the mathematics, physics, natural sciences, sciences of constructions, and partly the architecture, fine art or music. Examples of topics based on the common interests are those related to „economic developments”; „environment issues”; „our Christian identity”. Here, it is to be alerted on poisoning topics: those that demonize a tertium, a common enemy. (It leads to xenophobia toward the third part.)

The role of those soft dialogues is not to be neglect. They build the channels of communication, bridges or even construct a mutual trust. On brief, they contribute to reducing the chances for the enmities or curves the flux of hostile messages. They prepare hard dialogues when they continue.

They barre the way for militant xenophobia and for its consequences.

1.4. Mono-cultural monologues on intercultural dialogues (!)

In the third circle – a peripheral one - there are the mono-cultural monologues on intercultural dialogues (I) expressed in the public space in the framework of organized meetings by the same

actors. Obviously, they do not prepare or intend to exchange something. They simply focus on imposing their perspectives, interests, and values on the public sphere diversity. Their specificity comes from: a) the creators of such monologues structural-emotional incapacity to care of the Other/s; b) lack of the social and intellectual ability to share.

In its content, a mono-cultural dialogue is that which miss the comparative and critical perspectives. Its construction is based on one single culture or in an “imagined culture”. (Anderson, B. 1983.) It is not projected on the principle “we agree to disagree”; by contrary the authoritarian view of the “we know, we decide” leads their contorted position of monologuing on dialogues, and on grounding their argument in one single culture, when they try to analyses the inter-cultural phenomena.

The mono-cultural monologues are not damaging when they are of low quality or expressed in a low voice without repetitions and public catching, via the social media or other public networks. The silly or inconsistent ones come in such a category.

By contrary when they are of good technical quality and concentrated in a radical message against Others, they damage the social climate. They put obstacles to any kind of intercultural dialogue and interest for the Other. When the radical message, expressed technically in a good quality form, become popular – due to large public distributions and redistributions – they are poisoning. Such kind of monocultural monologues are all the extremist ones. They radicalize the receptors, – close the doors for rational arguments or multicultural and inclusive perspectives. They pave - the way for militant xenophobia and to the social acceptance of its consequences.

1.5.Fake dialogues

There are the fake dialogues those that substitute the intercultural dialogues – hard and soft - but are publicly reported and/or circulated as intercultural dialogues too.

The substituted dialogues are those that do not comply with the features of a dialogue – the sharing via negotiation - and with the features of the intercultural dialogues – to engage significant social actors in organized meetings or formal ways of addressing to the audience; to focus on messages related to Others’ perspectives,

interests and values – with the aim to find frameworks for the conflicts' preventing, curving, or staining.

They do not aim to result in xenophobia's combatting.

That is, the fake dialogues are those that are not:

- organized to share and mutually exchanges perspectives, interests, and values in order to prevent conflicts;
- involve significant actors for public opinion' shaping and social climate' designing;
- address social messages meant to conflicts' prevention or curb.

They are those that only pretend – successfully - to do aim such goal and organize such actions.

They are damaging because, in time, they close channels for real intercultural dialogues. They transform the educational, media and political channels in phantoms and ruin the public trust in their possible contributions.

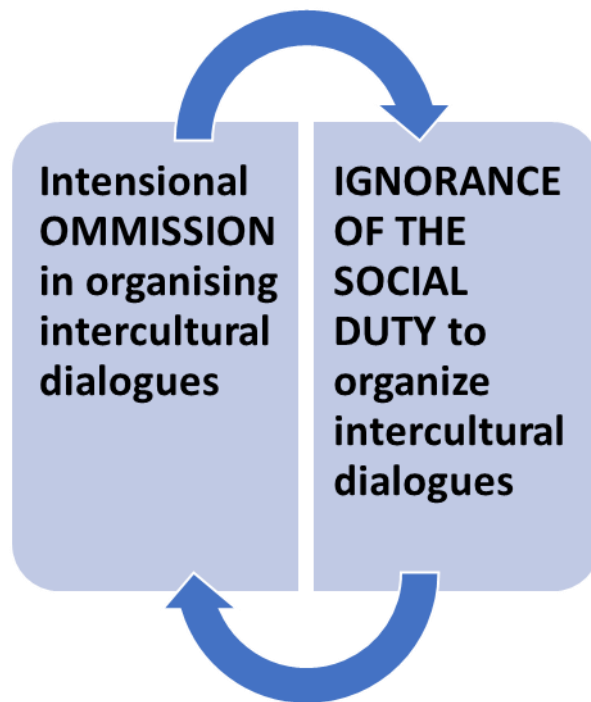
That is why they are ways for insidious xenophobia, and not – as their proponents could claim – for conflict prevention and xenophobia extinction.

2. Lack of the intercultural dialogues

2.1. An attempt to define the lack of the intercultural dialogues

The notion lack of the intercultural dialogs is trying to conceptualize a process that occurs in the reality: the omission or the ignorance of the duty to organize the hard and soft cultural dialogues, and to dismiss the monologues based monoculturally on the dialogues(!) and the fakes dialogues. The lack of intercultural dialogues is about not expressing publicly messages able to prevent intercultural conflicts. Such lacks could be intentional or simply caused by ignorant significant actors. That is why we propose the distinction among: a) an intentional omission of the intercultural dialogues and b) ignorance on the fact that such dialogues are to be organized and advertised as messages of public interest.

Figure no. 2. Lack of the intercultural dialogues: categories



The lack of the dialogs in every case in which the mutual understanding messages are needed is a risk for refuting the Other or, for reduced the Other to a simple listener, without a voice in expressing different values and interests. It is a source for xenophobia or for its increasing.

2.2. Intentional omission of the intercultural dialogues

The omission culturally motivated is rooted in the interpretation on the intercultural dialogues as attempts to the national identity; even worst, the initiators and supporters of the dialogues are targeted as national betrayers, as enemies of the people.

Instead of the intercultural dialogues, the nationalistic messages invade the public sphere; instead of mutual exchanges, the isolationism with its “citadel culture” and the cult of enemies, characterize the society. During a generation, the inter-cultural conflicts are not only prepared but cultivated and carried out. The bellicose mood and the expanding xenophobia are the visible signs of intentional omission of the intercultural dialogues.

The intentional omission of the intercultural dialogues is part of the clash of civilizations if it is not a weapon of such a disaster. It refuses the dialogues and opts for confrontations.

The intentional omission is double covered, firstly, by the investment in the fake dialogues – especially in manipulative ones; secondly, by ample efforts deployed in organizing the recitals of the mono-culture monologues.

The omission is deeply damaging. It refuses for the targeted society the preparations for the entrance in the global competition – the single that matters - for resources and opportunities and, obviously, any chance to access them. The false arguments rooted in an autarchic view – with its claims that the old citadels are self-sufficient and defended for any non-national competitor - do not work in a world of the increasing inter-dependencies and big international competitors. De facto, the omission of the intercultural dialogues is the self-cutting of the opportunities to access and enter the clubs where the know-how is exchanged constantly.

The possibly to fight back the omission is to acknowledge it largely and to set free the forces willing to intensively communicate above the citadel borders, and to favor the careful evaluations of the outcomes.

2.3. Ignorance of the social duty to organize a vivid intercultural dialogue

The lack of vision as a result of an education deprived by the intercultural dimension naturally results in ignoring this social duty and responsibility.

The ignorance comes as a “natural” phenomenon, at the institutional national, regional, and local level; and at the civil society’s level too. Additionally, the incumbents do not become accountable about their incompetence resulted from the mentioned ignorance. There are not yet systems to make accountable those who ignored such chances. The political parties promoting such trends are not electorally sanctioned, - by contrary -; the members of the Executive are not penalized because they ignored or wasted opportunities to organize profitable intercultural dialogues; the bureaucrats are not degraded because they do not initiate a repertoire of specific opportunities revealed in international dialogues organized elsewhere; the citizens are not made responsible for their

options to support forces which do not care of the dialogues. Only, the history punishes them severally when finds them in bloody conflicts from where there are no ways out. Nobody constructed them, anybody ignored such a duty.

The ignorance has not any aims; any structures or tools. That is why to fight it back is extremely difficult and takes time. The difficulties come, as in any reformative case, because the results are following the curve of j, ; because they imply the self-sacrifices in the benefices of the others; because nobody can guaranty the substantial benefices visible in the life span of the sacrificed persons. To combat ignorance takes time. It takes, at least, three generations: of those of the visionaries that are transferring their acknowledgements on damages and their pro-dialogues knowledge in the social sub-systems – of education, researches and culture, military, media, religions -; of their direct students – enthusiastic in fighting the ignorance – and ready to deploy large efforts in the dissipation of ignorance; of the effective professionals instructed to work in programs.

3. The xenophobic potential of the absence of the intercultural dialogues

3.1. Xenophobia as a concept

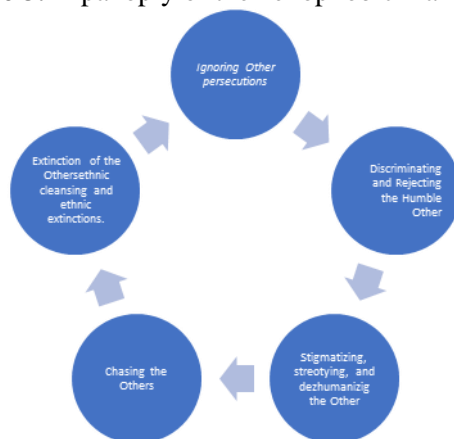
Xenophobia is taken here as rhetoric and as a set of negative actions targeting the foreigners. As rhetoric, (Yakushko, 2009, p. 50), xenophobia often portrays immigrants as criminal, lazy and uneducated (That is to be added that similar stigmas are applied to any other victims of the xenophobia. Generally, the non-white colors are stigmatized too.) As material fact (actions), xenophobia is about “ a) a broad spectrum of behaviors...; selective enforcement of by-laws by local authorities; b) assault and harassment by state agents, particularly the police and immigration officials; c) as well as public threats and violence...that often results in massive loss of lives and livelihoods” (Misago, Freemantle and Landau 2015, p. 17).

The mentioned behaviors include a) discriminatory, stereotyping and dehumanizing remarks; b) discriminatory policies and c) practices by government and private officials such as exclusion from public services to which target groups are entitled; (Misago, Freemantle and Landau 2015, p.17).

It is to add to the actions already enlisted, the ignorance of the victims when they are seen as strange, the extremist cases of xenophobia: ethnic cleansing and ethnic extinctions.

In a diagram, the panoply of the xenophobic actions could be represented as in the Figure 3.

Figure no 3. A panoply of the xenophobic manifestations



3.2. *The xenophobic potential of the absence of the intercultural dialogues*

The lack of intercultural dialogues leads to no audience for the victims in case of the crisis. Nobody will be prepared to stand for us – when we would not have the means to defend ourselves; leads to ease the duty of our enemies to mobilize neutral people against us.

The absence of the intercultural dialogues, when they are intentionally planned and carried out, is the publicly exhibited weapon of the xenophobic actions and processes. Such weapon openly calls against the intercultural dialogues; condemn them as tools of globalization, denationalizing, de-civilizing, deprivation of identity, tradition, spirituality. That is the absence of the intercultural dialogue is celebrated. The nationalistic rhetoric substitutes the intercultural dialogues and calls to mobilizations against our deadly enemies; or to many other types of actions figured in the diagram above.

- Ignoring the victims
- Stigmatizing, stereotyping, and dehumanizing the Other
- Discriminating and Rejecting the Humble Other
- Chasing the Others (as the Nurnberg laws prove; or the Jews memories and memorials testifies)

- Extinction of the Others as ethnic cleansing and ethnic extinctions.

The lack of intercultural dialogues when they result from ignorance has also xenophobic potential. We consider it, even dangerous because it is hidden and the xenophobic potential too. The chance to fight it in the early stages is diminished because it remains hard to be noticed. When it is obvious, the possibilities to block it are reduced or even nullified. That is why we advocate unveiling such a lack of intercultural dialogues in any area – with grass-root forces – being it materialized in a) no connected media with an audience in the cross-border regions; b) in universities' lack of approaching such dialogues; or c) in the lack of intercultural research on the phenomenon.

What it is to be remembered from history, it is that the xenophobia is contagious. It crosses from a nation to others, from a phenomenon to others. It nurtures the conflicts and in a vicious circle cut the intercultural dialogues as pernicious for the national identities.

In brief, the lack of intercultural dialogues is: “no friends in need”. In the case of the intentional omission of the intercultural dialogues: the xenophobia is internally proclaimed as a virtue of the nation, even when the name is not openly used. If we do not ignore the possibility to become a collective victim, it is to accept that – because we embraced the xenophobic positions or rhetoric and nobody knows and sympathize with us – we can attract against us the xenophobia and the enmities of the all. In the case of the ignored duty to organize such dialogues, their absence is the magistral to the same results: no solidarities prepared, cultivated and ensured for us.

Conclusions

We searched for the concept the lack of the intercultural dialogue (and partly applied it), in our planned research to scrutinize the media contents effects on a cross-border region: Western Romania.

In the incipient process of the media contents analyses from the perspectives of letting room for xenophobia, we found it useful. It is remarkable in revealing the full picture of the intercultural dialogues' types and of their action in the public sphere. It unveils the pernicious influences of the substitutes of the hard and soft dialogues.

As absence – lack of the intercultural dialogues – the concept decrypts the insidious ways of the xenophobic marches. We also found that only the carefully defined notions could help to identify the xenophobia in its early stage of manifestations. With these, it calls the society – both in its governmental and civil structures - to take actions against xenophobia as actions meant to ensure solidarities with us in case of crisis.

The concept seems to be promising also in designing suggestions for recommended actions in preventing xenophobia.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, Benedict (1983): *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (rev. ed. ed.). London: Verso. 1991.
- Baumgartl, B., and Favell A (eds) (1995): *New Xenophobia in Europe*, London, Kluwer Law International.
- Deardorff Miller, Sarah, (2018): *Xenophobia toward Refugees and Other Forced Migrants*, World Refugees Council, research Paper No. 5, September, 2018. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/WRC%20Research%20Paper%20no.5.pdf>
- Durban Review Conference, (2009): “*The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action.*” Geneva, Switzerland, April 20–24. www.un.org/en/durbanreview2009/ddpa.shtml.
- Council of Europe (2003): *Opatjia Declaration (on the intercultural dialogue)* www.coe.int/en/.../content/873rd-meeting-of-the-ministers-deputies.
- EU Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, adopted at December, 7, 2000, at Nice, and published in the *Official Journal of the European Communities C 364/5*, 12.18. 2000, also Available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf Retrieved on 2009-04-25
- FRA (2018): Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism - Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU <http://fra.europa.eu/en/press-release/2018/persistent-antisemitism-hangs-over-eu>.

- FRA (2016): *Incitement Media Content and Political Discourse in Member States of European Union* Available at <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/incitement-media-content-and-political-discourse-member-states-european-union>
- FRA (2016): *Fundamental Rights Report 2016* (2016), available at <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/publications>.
- FRA (2013): *Discrimination and hate crime against Jews in EU Member States: experiences and perceptions of anti-Semitism* available at <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2013>.
- FRA (2013): *Racism, discrimination, intolerance and extremism: learning from experiences in Greece and Hungary* available at <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2013>.
- FRA (2012): *Making hate crime visible in the European Union: acknowledging victims' rights* available at <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication>.
- Fromm, E. (1955): *The Sane Society* at <https://fromm-online.org/en/>) (The essay is partly translated into Romanian, into Fromm, E. (1983), *Texte Alese*. Translation Nicolae Frigiou and publisher Editura Politica, București.
- Frunză, Sandu; Gavriluță, Nicu, si Michael Jones (editors): (2005) *Challenges of Multiculturalism in Central and Eastern Europe*, Editura Provopress, Cluj-Napoca.
- Gall, Lydia, (2016): “*Hungary’s Xenophobic AntiMigrant Campaign.*” Human Rights Watch, September 13. www.hrw.org/news/2016/09/13/hungarys-xenophobic-anti-migrant-campaign.
- Gellner, E., (1983): (Romanian version), *Națiuni si naționalism. Noi perspective asupra trecutului*, Romanian version, Oradea, Editura Antet, Colectia CEU, 1997, Traducere Robert Adam.
- Goffman, E., (1963): *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963), Harmondsworth: Pelican Books.
- Homonic, Brigita – Maria, (2016): *Reacția guvernului român și a guvernului maghiar în privința migraților, (Romanian and Hungarian Government toward migrants) mss. (Lucrare de dizertatie in cadrul Masterului Politici Publice Europene), Oradea, 2016.*
- Huntington, S. P. (1997): *The Clash of Civilization: Remaking of World Order*, Romanian translation by Radu Carp, as *Ciocnirea civilizatiilor*, (1998) Bucuresti, Editura Antet.

- Huntington, S. P. (2005): (Romanian version), – *Cine suntem noi? Provocările la adresa identității americane (2005)*, București, Editura Antet, 2004.
- Kiss Tamás si Barna Gergő (2013): Maghiarii din Romania in spatiul politic maghiar si romanesc, *Raport de cercetare 2013* disponibil la: https://www.academia.edu/8215438/Maghiarii_din_Rom%C3%A2nia_%C3%AEn_spa%C8%9Biul_politic_maghiar_%C8%99i_rom%C3%A2nesc
- Kymlicka, W., (2001): (Romanian version), -*Politica în dialect: naționalism, multiculturalism, cetățenie (2005)*, Chișinău, Editura Arc, Traducere Diana Stanciu., 2005.
- Misago, Jean Pierre, Iriann Freemantle and Loren B. Landau, (2015): *Protection from Xenophobia: An Evaluation of UNHCR's Regional Office for Southern Africa's Xenophobia Related Programs.* Geneva, Switzerland: UNHCR. www.unhcr.org/55cb153f9.pdf.
- Mozes, Tereza, (1993), *Evreii din Oradea*, Bucuresti, Editura Hasefer, Translation Liviu, Borcea 1997.
- Nyiszlyi, Miklos, (1946): *Am fost medic la Auschwitz*, București, Editura pentru literatură, Ediția 1971, trad. (din Maghiară) de Lucia Nasta. It exists also translations in many languages. The English version Nyiszli, Miklós (2011). *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account.* New York: Arcade Publishing.
- Rulashe, Pumla. 2015. “UNHCR mulls solutions for refugees affected by xenophobia.” May 26. www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/latest/2015/5/55647ddc6/unhcr-mulls-solutionsrefugees-affected-xenophobia.html.
- Sartori, Giovanni, (2002): *Pluralismo, Multiculturalismo e Estranei. Saggio sulla Società Multiethnica* Milano, Libri S. p. A.
- Schütz, A., (1971): *The stranger: an essay in social psychology*, in *Collected papers*, The Hague.
- Yakushko, Oksana, (2009): “*Xenophobia: Understanding the Roots and Consequences of Negative Attitudes toward Immigrants.*” in “*Educational Psychology Papers and Publications*”, 1/2009, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/edpsychpapers/90>.

Sites

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter>

<http://fra.europa.eu. . /en/theme/hate-crime>

www.coe.int.

<http://www.unhchr.ch/html/racism>.

REFUGEE STUDENTS EDUCATION REQUIREMENTS IN EU,EXAMPLE, DETERIORATION OF EDUCATION IN SYRIA

Osman Mohamed ELMAHDI*

Abstract. *The study represents the main educational crisis in Syria. Here, in EU member countries, authorities should be prepared enough for this sudden high number of refugees, including many students who needs education, to avoid having a sudden unwanted clash between these fuds of refugees and the local population. This study is discussing the equipping immigrants with the necessary skills to achieve successful integration is a central preoccupation of policy-makers in the EU and beyond main challenges facing generally the refugees, specially the refugee students among them, focusing on the crisis in Syria, also study is discussing the correct Methodology to overcome any unwanted complications.*

Keywords: *refugee students, Arabic spring, Syria, multicultural education.*

Background:

Arab Spring was a revolutionary wave of demonstrations and protests (both non-violent and violent), disturbances, and civil wars in the Arab world that began on 18 December 2010 in Tunisia with the Tunisian Revolution, and spread throughout the countries of the Arab League member countries. Major insurgencies in Syria, Libya, and Yemen resulted along with civil uprisings in Egypt and Bahrain, large street demonstrations in Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, and Oman, and minor protests even in Saudi Arabia.

Specifically, in Syria, the demonstrations, followed by the still existing Civil War, started on the 11th. Of March 2011, Syria's national wealth, infrastructure and institutions have been "almost obliterated" by the "catastrophic impact" of more than six years of conflict, a new report has found. Fatalities caused by war, directly

* PhD. Candidate, University of Oradea, Romania. Email: dr_osmanmohamed@hotmail.com.

and indirectly, amount to 470,000, according to the Syrian Center for Policy Research (SCPR). As a conclusion, 11.5% of the country's population have been killed or injured since the crisis erupted in March 2011, the report estimates. The number of wounded is put at 1.9 million. Life expectancy has dropped from 70 in 2010 to 55.4 in 2015. Overall, economic losses are estimated at 255 billion USD.

Because in all other countries, where Arab spring flu calmed down, in many cases not to a better situation, but in Syria still the civil war is running, so in this scientific study, more details are discussed about Educational crisis in Syria.

The target of this study:

The study represents the main educational crisis in Syria, here in EU countries, we should be prepared enough for this sudden high number of refugees, including many students who needs education, not to have some sudden unwanted clashes between this fud of refugees and the local population. In this study, I am discussing the main challenges facing generally the refugees, and specially the refugee students among them, and then we will try to discuss the correct Methodology to overcome any unwanted complications.

Some statistical data of the Syrian crisis:

- Issued by the Syrian Human Rights Foundation, more than 21,000 children and minors passed away in Syria until 31st of May 2016.

- 19,773 were killed by the system, 159 of them under torture, 351 were killed by ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) terrorist foundation, and 217 are now under arrest, the (Front of Nosra) terrorist foundation has killed 49, the other armed foundations killed 279, and 84 are under arrest.

-By the Russian intervention their and bombings lasting from September 2015, 479 of children and minors were killed.

- By the (International Coalitions) armies' bombings,112 children and minors were killed.

- Many thousands of children become orphans there in Syria, 37,000 because they have lost their fathers and 6,000 because they have lost their mothers.

- Because of this bloody crisis, many parents are refugees in different refugees' camps in different countries and places, on these camps 148,000 newborn babies were born, the tragedy is: For these children were not issued birth certificate, or any documents to prove that they are newborn Syrian citizens, this will be a big ID. issue in the future.

Educational crisis in Syria:

- More than 14,080 school buildings were destroyed because of the crisis in Syria until 2014, the time of the field study evaluations, which is presented in this study work article.

- (Save the Children) International foundation belongs to the UN. Published information:

+ Educational buildings and instruments, which were destroyed in the first four years of the crisis were with values exceeding 3 billion USD.

+ Syria now is the worst country in educational facilities in the world.

+ From more than 3 million school aged Syrian children, 2.8 million don't have educational possibility, only 6% had this facility, now even less.

- Among the refugee children, only 50% or less have the educational possibility in their refugee's camps. Camps in Lebanon 78% of the refugee children are missing education. Totally only 340,000 children have education.

- As a result of these dramatic sociological conditions, widespread among the refugee children the Pedophile prostitution or the young aged marriages.

Importance of the study:

Equipping immigrants with the necessary skills to achieve successful integration is a central preoccupation of policy-makers in the EU and beyond. The integration challenges of migrant students in formal educational systems tend to be essentially related to the three main components of education – access, participation and performance. While access to education is legally guaranteed, it remains difficult. Access to quality education is even more problematic. An additional concern for migrant students is staying at school. Indeed, young people with a migrant background are

generally more at risk of dropping out without an upper secondary qualification.

Methodology of the study:

- Here, the EU refugee camps should be prepared with educational staff, places, and facilities.

- Staff should be prepared for students from other educational and communication culture, the German (Ankommen) program is the best example for that.

Ankommen is a developed app for free by German government, there are more than one million refugees there.

Ankommedónis available in five languages: English, Arabic, German, French, and Farsi. Ankommen means (to arrive) in German language, it was found to help asylum seekers learning the German language, understand German culture and customs and find job. Briefly, it helps the refugees to become part of the society and join it.

- Available situation, for long-term educational activity and social integration, which we can take under account in refugee students teaching methodology, is the availability in some European Union member countries, including Romania, multicultural schools, established, committed, and recognized by the Romania Ministry of Education for the children of emigrants from different cultures, in different cities around the country.

For example, between 10th. of April 2017, and 14th. Of April 2017, I made a field study in Bucharest, the capital of the country, Action research, and qualitative methodology method used to study many Islamic-Arabic schools are registered, five schools were visited among the twelve Islamic-Arabic schools registered in the city, and by interview methods with the directors of these 5 Islamic-Arabic multicultural schools, it can be declared that two types of schools are available, those funded by the embassies of some Arabic countries, the parents or the (mainly) fathers of the students of these schools, are those, with a good honor-ships to register their children in schools financed by the systems governing their country of origin, other schools are registered as private schools, teaching different materials considered convenient for the school's pedagogic staff, the private Islamic-Arabic multicultural schools are more popular, and several hundreds of students are going to each one of these schools for education.

Pedagogic experience of these schools, and other schools in similar situation, are very good field to evaluate the needed pedagogic concepts, which should be considered in running similar multicultural schools for refugee students. These multicultural pedagogic concepts include the following main points:

- + How to compatible the national core curriculum of the European Union member country, where the education of these refugee students are, and the local curriculum for their mother home countries.

- + what kind of concepts, functions and types of Pedagogical evaluation, should be considered in these schools.

- + Concepts of education, which should be considered, like for example, they don't know how can be education in mixed classes, where boys and girls are in one class, because in their mother homes, schools are separated to schools for boys and schools for girls. The same issue about the teacher, in their mother homes male teachers are teaching in boys' schools, and female teachers are teaching in girls' schools. Attention should be taken in dressing of the students and the teachers also...etc.

- + Strategies and methods of education, in the refugee students home, Religion education is obligatory, Islamic religion, and Christian religion for Christian minorities offspring in their mother homes, Pedagogic attention should be considered in teaching the material of religion, they should learn that the God wants us to love each other's, to respect each other's and to cooperate with each other's.

Beside the above mentioned fundamental Pedagogic concepts, which should be studied from the experience of many years of work of such Islamic-Arabic schools, basic Pedagogic concepts also, should be recognized and adapted as possible, like:

- + Designs of didactic activities,

- + Organizational modes, which should be considered in such schools,

- + Organization of the school degree work, planning and evaluation adapted concepts.

- Data collection should be considered, by direct interviews with the affected refugee students and with their families, and indirectly from some considerable data sources like

Damascus Bureau (Office of Damascus) Organization reports and Siria libera (Free Syria) Office Data in Bucharest.

- From these collected data we can study:

- a) The Sociological bases of refugees' education,
- b) In what situation are found the educational institutions in Syria now?
- c) the refugee families' social situations, atmosphere where the students live,
- d) what solutions can be offered for them, the students and their families?

Expected result of the efforts pointed in the study:

To get a short term and middle term solutions for the refugees in their sudden educational crisis, try to overcome all the obstacles and troubles experienced in other refugee camps, and to avoid them to happen again, and try to face the (missed generation) sociological tragedy experienced in Syria.

Latest development in this topic was analyzed by European University Association (eua), through organizing International Conference. The international conference "The Other 1 Percent - Refugee Students at Higher Education Institutions worldwide" took place on 18-19 June 2019 at the German Federal Foreign Office (FFO) in Berlin, Germany.

The event aims to facilitate discussion of promising practices, needs and gaps in expanding access to higher education for refugees. The conference is co-hosted by the German Foreign Office, UNHCR and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

The Global Compact on Refugees, adopted in December 2018, aims to improve international cooperation on refugee issues in order to improve their self-reliance and resilience. Higher education and access to the labor market play an important role in this. However, currently only about one percent of refugees currently have access to higher education worldwide. On the occasion of World Refugee Day 2019, this conference will shine a light on the need for expanded opportunities for refugees to access higher education and will allow for in-depth discussion of its dimensions and consequences with respect to the objectives of the Global Compact and the Sustainable Development Agenda more broadly.

Roughly 200 representatives from academia, universities, research organizations, governments, private sector and civil society, as well as refugee students and scholarship holders from around the world are invited to explore promising practices, needs and gaps in expanding access to higher education for refugees worldwide.

REFERENCES

- (Save the Children) International Human Right Organization reports, 2014.
- Damascus Bureu Organization reports, 2015.
- (Siria libera) office data.eau data base (<https://eua.eu/partners-news/325-the-other-1-percent-refugee-students-at-higher-education-institutions-worldwide,-18-19-june,-berlin.html>) 14 May 2019.
- Education in Syria deteriorating and children are the first victims, Nizar Mohammed, 2014,05,11, (<http://www.aljazeera.net/news/reportsandinterviews/2014/5/11/>) (التعليم-في-سوريا-يتدهور-والأطفال-أول-الضحايا).
- Syrian Human Rights Foundation- Press releases (<https://syrian.humanrights.foundation>).
- Education in Syria... Foucault dreams of war-ravaged, Mohamed Ezzat, 2016,04,10, (<https://www.sasapost.com/edu-syria/>).
- The Syrian crisis and its effect on education and the education process, Khadija Maala, 2015,01,15. (<http://wehda.alwehda.gov.sy/node/389008>).

TOOLS AND MODELS OF MINORITY INTEGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL SPACE

István POLGÁR*

Abstract. *The issue of national minorities and the so called „new minorities” are, in the process of European construction, one of the most important aspects that European countries have had to manage. Learning about and researching minorities, for them to transmit knowledge and experience to young people through education, have become an essential pillar of European values on the construction of an intercultural society based on direct and indiscriminate cooperation and collaboration between ethno-religious communities. It is known that European legislation and practice promote the idea of living together in the sense of social value consisting in accepting otherness, good understanding of the various ethnic groups within the same local communities and openness to communication and cooperation. Nowadays Europe is faced with the dilemma of multiculturalism versus civic integration aiming to examine which model would be the better choice in the given circumstances that European public space became a geopolitical environment that is experiencing a new institutional arrangement between nation states and a new paradigm of coexistence of the cultural differences. After a brief interpretation of the key terms, we will focus on the financial instruments, which aim is promote the integration of traditional and new minorities in the European society.*

Keywords: *identity, intercultural, minorities, integration, european funds.*

Demography issues and migration issues are two of the key elements of modern society, bringing benefits and conflicts both to the receiving places and to the place of origin and raising issues of security, social measurements and multiculturalism in our globalised world.

* Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of History International Relations, Political Science and Communication Sciences, University of Oradea, Romania, E-mail: polgaruoradea@gmail.com

One of the great challenges of contemporary Europe is related to migration and the need for European integration of minority communities, including immigrants. Evaluations conducted have shown that there is a great need for expertise and policies regarding the European integration of minorities in both their countries of origin and in the new host countries when we are dealing with migration (Polgár, 2016:9-11).

The concept of “Europe without borders” can provide the solution to the ethnic problem on the continent. Some politicians and political scientists consider that the model of the “nation state” has not been able to provide sustainable finality through the citizenship institution. Limited in its defining pattern, the classic citizenship offered only a kind of equality principle, abstract, to residents within the borders of a national state, but the same borders did split many ethno-cultural communities, dividing the population into two categories, the majority and the inhabiting minorities (Weber, 2001:53).

There is a different perception between countries with regard to the definitions of the terms: migrant, national minority and ethnic minority. In some cases, EU Member States are treating migrants and minorities like own citizens, in other cases like non-citizens - their migration or minority background is viewed as irrelevant in statistical terms (Centre for Strategy & Evaluation Services, 2011:40). There are also differences in the way these people are viewed as having an ethnic minority background irrespective of how long they have been in that country (Polgár, Popescu, 2016:189-190).

There are several legal issues and obstacles which are identified especially at the Eastern and South Eastern border of the EU. These obstacles are directly related to the status and the rights of minorities in the Member States.

Some believe that the solutions can be found if the political leadership, civil society and also employers from the labor market will focus on the role and importance to achieve broad representation of different ethnic groups. This can have important implications for the stability and quality of democracy, especially for states in transition to democracy and emerging out of long periods of authoritarian rule. Withal, the way that ethnic minorities are included in the democratic process strongly influences the inter-ethnic

relations at the state level and the creation of an inclusive society is an important task for any democratic government.

The issue of national minorities and the so called „new minorities” are, in the process of European construction, one of the most important aspects that European countries have had to manage. Learning about and researching minorities, for them to transmit knowledge and experience to young people through education, have become an essential pillar of European values on the construction of an intercultural society based on direct and indiscriminate cooperation and collaboration between ethno-religious communities. It is known that European legislation and practice promote the idea of living together in the sense of social value consisting in accepting otherness, good understanding of the various ethnic groups within the same local communities and openness to communication and cooperation (Brie, 2016:13-14).

As the economy expands to become increasingly more global, society and workplaces are more diverse than ever before. To succeed in a multi-cultural workplace, it is essential that you are able to work with and adapt to the work styles and habits of people of varying ages and cultural identities. To be a successful job candidate you must be able to demonstrate a sensitivity and awareness to other people and cultures.

A theme that appears frequently in public debate, in recent years, concerns the future and destiny of a united Europe, from the cultural approach of the European integration, the relationship between national and European level, the relationship between the national cultures in the European space and the possibility of the emergence of a European cultural identity with supranational character.

Therefore, during the article we will try to start from an assertion according to which, Europe is faced with the dilemma of multiculturalism versus civic integration aiming to examine whether the model of multiculturalism can be viable given that European public space became a geopolitical environment that is experiencing a new institutional arrangement between nation states and a new paradigm of coexistence of the cultural differences (Shohat, Stam, 2014:7-11). After a brief interpretation of the key terms, we will focus on the financial instruments, which aim is promote the integration of traditional and new minorities in the European society.

Nowadays, international labour mobility in the European Union is treated like a normal phenomenon, but it is viewed with rather negative than positive impact on the economies of Member States, because of the dilemma of implementing appropriate policies for the integration of migrants in the labour market. One of the top questions is: “how to prepare migrants to feel at home and make them and the human capital they carry from their countries of origin an integral and productive part of the host communities?”(Glystos, Bruno, 2010:3-5). It has been observed and it was generally accepted that even when employed, if economies slow down, minority unemployment rates will often increase more than average (Popescu, 2016:353).

It can be stated that both migrants and minorities make a considerable contribution to the economy and the social cohesion of the EU Member States. Normally, this should result in a reduction of poverty and unemployment and an improvement of their social inclusion. Therefore EU integration policies should contribute towards eliminating these obstacles and promoting the social inclusion of migrants and minorities.

Funding for migrants and minorities varied considerably among the EU Member States. Targeting strategies also differed with a distinction between: “specific actions in which migrants and minorities alone were targeted; an ‘explicit but not exclusive’ targeting approach in which they were the main but not the only group targeted; a mainstreaming approach and, general European Social Fund measures in which they were among a series of disadvantaged groups targeted” (Centre for Strategy & Evaluation Services, 2011:40).

Some EU countries have placed a greater focus on NGOs as delivery organisations responsible for implementing ESF interventions targeted at migrants and minorities, others have relied on public employment services and local or regional state institutions.

One of the EU’s distinctive contributions to the conceptualisation of the integration of third-country nationals during the last 25 years has been an emphasis on the need to overcome past acculturation and assimilation discourses, and policies exclusively concerned with the obligation of third country nationals to integrate

into the perceived 'host society's values, principles and way of lives (Centre for Strategy & Evaluation Services, 2011:55)..

The European cultural model has a value-based framework, based on legality, freedom, equality, fraternity, solidarity and Christian sentiment of the sacred, which adds to the historical evolutions of the three major modern political revolutions. Europe is a conglomerate of national identities, whose ethnic, linguistic, mental, religious, etc. Diversity has determined a variety of cultures (Lentin, Titley, 2011: 4).

This problematic nature of the European project is encapsulated in the motto of the European Union: "unity in diversity". The concept of European identity expresses rather the idea of unity than real identity.

Europe is going through an identity crisis, especially because of the difficulties of the process of deepening the integration and reform of the community institutions. It is the crisis of legitimacy of the Community institutions, which would have its source and a crisis of communication between the European institutions and the citizens of the Member States.

If national identity confers to the individual national legitimacy, citizenship is the condition of a decent existence within a state. Nationality defines that the individual belongs to an ethnic group and it should not be confused with the meaning of citizenship (Lentin, Titley, 2011: 6).

Citizenship refers to all members of the respective state indifferent of the ethnic origin and the state has the obligation to equally protect all and to secure their rights and the freedoms implied by this status.

Although European Union politicians and leaders have increasingly emphasized the importance of culture in strengthening European solidarity and cohesion, European integration has, surprisingly, led to a resurgence of interest in local, ethnic, national and cultural identities.

Europe is a conglomerate of national identities, whose ethnic, linguistic, mental, religious, etc. diversity. has determined a diversity of cultures. We can speak of a European culture as a sum of these cultures, but not of a self-sustaining culture, the latter presupposing a long-lasting process of merging the various individual cultures, combining different identities, and to homogenize them according to

laborious principles and which would most likely come out of any institutional control.

Identity, definitions and explanations.

There are several definitions and explanations through which we can understand identity. We can affirm that “identity” is a complicated and unclear concept that nonetheless plays a central role in ongoing debates in every field of social science. We can differentiate debates about national, ethnic, gender, and state identities). In the following we will enumerate some of the frequently used ideas to explain identity.

1. Identity is “people’s concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others” (Hogg, Abrams, 2004: 2).
2. “Identity is used in to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture” (Deng, 1995: 1).
3. Identity “refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities” (Jenkins,1996: 4).
4. “National identity describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols – have internalized the symbols of the nation ...” (Bloom,1990: 52).
5. Identities are “relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self” (Wendt, 1992:397).

As it was presented above, identity can be used to refer to either a social category, defined by membership rules and characteristic attributes or expected behaviors, or as a socially distinguishing feature that a person takes a special pride in or views as unchangeable but socially consequential (Fearon, 1999:9-15)

Based on the above definitions and explanations, a more simple answer to the question “what is identity?” would be this: “It is how one answers the question “who are you?” Or, my identity is how I define who I am.”

Multiculturalism.

The origins of multiculturalism in modern society can be tracked at the beginnings of the era of industrialization especially in the last decades of the last century. The phenomenon is created from population movements within one and the same country as well as the international transfer of labor (Cristea Dragulin, 2015:3-7).

As an ideology of diversity, multiculturalism aims to create a framework for affirmation of group identities. As Giovanni Sartori states, multiculturalism is politics ready to promote ethnic and cultural differences (Sartori, 2007:6)

Still as an ideology of diversity, multiculturalism has the intention to provide a framework for affirmation for group identities. In this way, the ideological horizon approach to cultivate diversity comes to promote plurality as a paradigm shift, of the report between minority and majority, as the imagined limit of repeated identity construction.

C. W. Watson circumscribes multiculturalism to political implications and philosophical presuppositions of the coexistence of the ways varied human situation in the world and the way in which different cultural entities struggle for recognition, both within the national state and in the global system (Frunză, 2004:1-2).

Multiculturalism seems to respond to the needs of a changing world in which the expression of various identities gets "the form of answers to the challenges brought for the national state as well as for the transnational sphere.

Thus, the process of globalization puts us in front of one continue resuming the majority/minority, in concrete cultural spaces and globally, and urges us to continuously understand, acceptance and affirmation of diversity (Frunză, 2004: 3).

One of the major criticisms to the address multiculturalism refers to the field of education. The main accusation is related to the fact that multiculturalism opts for introduction into the Western academic canon of some themes, domains and courses that are considered to be marginal and unrepresentative in terms of the canon of Western education.

Multicultural ideologies and policies vary widely, ranging from the advocacy of equal respect to the various cultures in a society, to a policy of promoting the maintenance of cultural diversity, to policies

in which people of various ethnic and religious groups are addressed by the authorities as defined by the group to which they belong.

Multiculturalism that promotes maintaining the distinctiveness of multiple cultures is often contrasted to other settlement policies such as social integration, cultural assimilation and racial segregation. Multiculturalism has been described as a "salad bowl" and "cultural mosaic".

Civic integration.

Since the late 1990s, civic integration policies for immigrants have been adopted by most Western European states. The novelty of the policy is at least twofold.

First, integration is no longer left to the free play of society's institutions, such as the labour market or education, but is attempted to be brought under conscious, concerted state control (Joppke, 2017:4). In this respect, civic integration is tantamount to the rise of state-led integration as such, replacing the previous dominance of laissez-faire, complemented by mainly local interventions. Secondly, civic integration combines measures that further the integration of immigrants with measures for their selection and control, so that integration and immigration policy are no longer separate domains.

The fusing of integration and control functions under the auspices of civic integration may well be the real European innovation in migration policy (Joppke, 2017:5).

In the past 30 years, civic integration has become the dominant approach to immigrant integration across Europe. The term itself is an approximate English translation of the Dutch noun *inburgering*, whose literal translation would be 'naturalisation', 'habituation', or 'acclimatisation'.

Joppke continues to explain that we have more and more member states which are adopting the civic integration model, as a tool for integration. Also reflects on the phenomenon of the retreating multiculturalism.

Civic integration is in most places the first coherent, national-level immigrant policy where previously there was no policy; what it 'replaces' is not an old policy but a non-policy, a *de facto* multiculturalism of non-intervention in the integration process on the part of the state.

As for conclusion we can inspire our self from Joppkes's *Civic integration in Western Europe: three debates* article in which the author considers that civic integration policies evidently are not all of one cloth. But it is misleading to see them as 'fortification' or mere prolongations of nationally distinct ways of dealing with integration and citizenship.

Something new has happened in Europe, which is the broad political elite's acceptance of a new world of recurrent immigration. This has catapulted the integration process to the forefront of the political agenda, and states converge on understanding it as binding newcomers into mainstream institutions, above all the labour market, by way of civic integration.

European Funds for migrant integration.

Across the European Union, data indicates that there are still significant, growing and multifaceted socio-economic gaps between people with a migrant background and mainstream society. At the same time, failure to realise the potential of people with a migrant background, including the most marginalised, represents a considerable waste of resources, both for the individuals concerned and more generally for the EU economy and society.

The European Commission is continuing to look at practical ways to assist Member States when it comes to further integrating people with a migrant background. In this respect, Member States have several EU funds at their disposal. These include funding instruments under shared management, including the European Structural and Investment Funds and the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, and under direct management, for example, the EU programme for Employment and Social Innovation, Rights, Equality and Citizenship programme, the Health for Growth programme¹.

To ensure a sustainable and credible policy approach to the management of migration flows, it is essential to address the problem of irregular migration. An effective return policy in conformity with the Charter of Fundamental Rights and based on the preference for voluntary return is key to this objective.

The European Union, through the public policies and financial instruments declared and sustained that the integration of people with

¹ https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/policy/themes/social-inclusion/integration-of-migrants/toolkit-integration-of-migrants.pdf, accessed in 03.07.19

a migrant background is an integral part of both European history and European future. The EU considers that people with a migrant background can offer an important contribution to the social and economic progress of Europe. Moreover, in the case of refugees there is strong moral reason and a legal obligation to offer them sanctuary and a place where they can rebuild their lives. The aim of fostering cohesive and inclusive societies regardless of ethnicity, nationality, legal status, gender, sexual orientation, religion and disability is reflected in the European Union's values and principles².

At the same time, the EU is facing demographic challenges. The share of people aged over 65 is rapidly growing. By 2050, almost a third of Europeans will be in that age group. This trend is echoed by a rapid shrinking of our active labour force; today, four working people support one pensioner. In 2060 this ratio will be two on one. Some sectors, such as information technology and social and healthcare services are already facing particular labour market shortages. Europe will need more talent from abroad, while further continuing to harness and invest in its existing work force³.

Studies indicate that immigration is associated with a positive contribution to the public finances and welfare of the host Member State whereby all high-skilled and low-skilled people in the society benefit depending on the migrant's initial level of skills and the duration of their integration in the labour market (International Monetary Fund, 2016:12). Swift and successful integration is crucial to maximise the opportunities created by migration.

At the same time, data indicates there is still a significant and growing socio-economic gap between people with a migrant background and mainstream society. Labour market participation of people with a migrant background may be hindered by several associated challenges (Battisti, Felbermayr, Peri and Poutvaara, 2014)

Therefore, European officials believe that through public policies and different financial instruments attention must be focused towards improving the access of people with a migrant background and migrants to the labour market, including by recognising and updating their skills to the demand, and provide access to housing and mainstream services.

² Ibidem

³ Ibidem

According to the data received from Eurostat, in the European Union we have 20.8 million people living in the EU third-country nationals which represents 4.1 % of the EU's entire population.

According to the same source, 35.1 million people are living in the EU who were born outside of it. This number represents 7 % the EU's entire population⁴.

European integration funds are supporting national and European initiatives that facilitate the integration of non-EU immigrants into European societies. Projects and funds are primarily targeted at newly arrived immigrants. These projects supports Member States and civil society in enhancing their capacity to develop, implement, monitor and evaluate integration strategies, policies and measures, as well as their exchanges of information and best practices and cooperation on integration issues (OECD, 2010).

The measures designed by the funding authorities, for instance in the programmes and calls for proposals, aimed at integrating people with a migrant background should take into account the following principles: non-discrimination, gender equality, individualising the response to needs, empowerment, integrated approach, long-term perspective, and contingency measures.

If the nature of EU-funding is understood it can be a valuable source for financial support and great projects can be implemented in order to support your work on migration and integration or any other field⁵.

An obstacle is represented by the existence, and the necessity of regular updating, of integration policy frameworks which varies across Member States. Differences include the guiding principles, measures, and monitoring and evaluation (Fundamental Rights Agency, 2017)

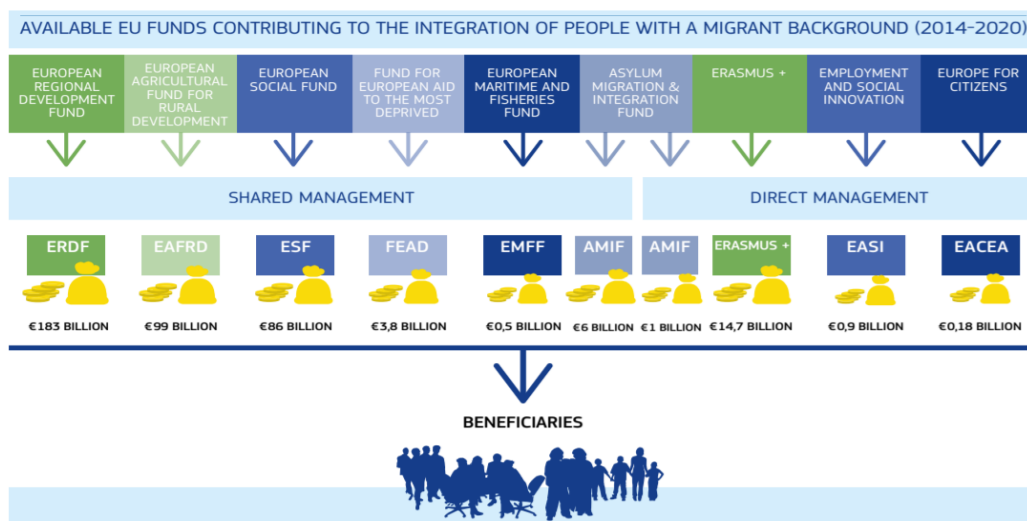
Member States have several EU Funds at their disposal to invest in the integration of people with a migrant background. These include funding instruments under shared management, including the European Structural and Investment Funds and the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, and direct management, for example the EU programme for Employment and Social Innovation, Rights,

⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/policy/themes/social-inclusion/integration-of-migrants/toolkit-integration-of-migrants.pdf accessed in 02.07.19

⁵ <https://www.eurodiaconia.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/FUND-11-17-Briefing-for-members-Migration-and-Funding-September-2017.pdf> accessed in 04.07.19

Equality and Citizenship Programme, the Health for Growth programme.

In the following we will try to present a brief summary of the EU funds which are available in the 2014-2020 development period.



Source: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/policy/themes/social-inclusion/integration-of-migrants/toolkit-integration-of-migrants.pdf

People with a migrant background may face a wide range of challenges which must be addressed simultaneously in order to achieve the best results. For the EU funds to best respond to these challenges, a number of steps should be followed. Firstly, it is essential that evidenced-based national/local strategic policy frameworks are in place. Secondly, in case Member States and/or regional authorities decide to use EU funds for people with a migrant background, the interventions should be in line with these strategic policy frameworks. Thirdly, the overlaps between the EU funding instruments call for a reinforcement of the coordination mechanisms and synergies among them. Furthermore, when devising integration policies and strategies to be supported through EU funds it is recommended to build upon research findings⁶.

⁶ https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/financing/fundings/migration-asylum-borders/return-fund_en accessed in 04.07.19

Conclusion

One of the EU's distinctive contributions to the conceptualisation of the integration of third-country nationals during the last 25 years has been an emphasis on the need to overcome past acculturation and assimilation discourses, and policies exclusively concerned with the obligation of third country nationals to integrate into the perceived 'host society's values, principles and way of lifes (Carrera, 2011:39).

The amount of EU funds allocated for people with a migrant and minority background in 2014-2020 appears likely to significantly exceed that of 2007-2013 (Popescu, 2016:353). This is perhaps not surprising given improved reporting and an evolution in the demographic situation within the EU – in particular an increase in migration from third countries.

While integration policy remains a national competence, the Member States recognise that the 'failure of an individual Member State to develop and implement a successful integration policy can have in different ways adverse implications for other Member States and the European Union' (Popescu, 2016:353).

The dispute for imposing in the European cultural context one or the other of the two theories to designate the plea for affirmation diversity does not seem like a simple argument.

The European Union wants to build a European cultural identity but wishes to do so by preserving national and regional identities in Europe. This new European identity, which needs to be built will be based on the common cultural fund of the European states, preserving the variety and the national and regional cultural diversity. European identity is nothing but a continuation of national identity, another identity level, at the level of the continent and the European Union.

It is important to not forget, that Europe is above all a community of values, and the goal of European unification is to achieve, test, develop and preserve these values. The fundamental European values are based on tolerance, humanity and brotherhood. Without a collective identity beyond the national borders and a common framework for projects in the European public space, Europeanization is not possible. In fact, citizens perceive their daily problems as being related to the national public space.

In addition, successful integration is seen as crucial for economic and social cohesion in the European Union.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- *** https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/financing/fundings/migration-asylum-borders/return-fund_en
- *** <https://www.eurodiaconia.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/FUND-11-17-Briefing-for-members-Migration-and-Funding-September-2017.pdf>
- *** https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/policy/themes/social-inclusion/integration-of-migrants/toolkit-integration-of-migrants.pdf
- Alexander Wendt, *Anarchy is what States make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics in International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1992, pp. 391-425
- Carrera S., Atger A. F., *Integration as a two-way process in the EU? Assessing the relationship between the European Integration Fund and the Common Basic Principles of integration*, 2011, Bruxelles
- Centre for Strategy & Evaluation Services, *Evaluation of ESF Support for Enhancing Access to the Labour Market and the Social Inclusion of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities*, (Belgium, 2011), 40.
- Christian Joppke, *Civic integration in Western Europe: three debates*, in *West European Politics*, 40:6, 2017
- Deng, Francis M., *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995.
- Ella Shohat, Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*, Routledge, 2014
- Felix Anghel Popescu, *European Structural Funds for Migrants and Minorities During 2000-2006 and 2007-2013* in *Migration and European Integration of Minorities*, ed. István Polgár, Ioan Horga, Mircea Brie, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2016), p. 353;
- Fundamental Rights Agency (2017) 'Together in the EU Promoting the participation of migrants and their

- descendants'<http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2017/migrant-participation>
- Giovanni Sartori, *Ce facem cu starini ? Pluralism vs. Multiculturalism*, Bucuresti, Editura Humanitas, 2007
- International Monetary Fund (2016) 'The refugee surge in Europe: Economic Challenges', Staff Discussion Notes <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/sdn/2016/sdn1602.pdf>;
- Ioana Cristea Dragulin, *Success sau esec al modelului multiculturalismului in Uniunea Europeana*, in Polis. Revista de Stiinte Politice. Nr.2(8), 2015, Iasi
- István Polgár, „Ethnic minorities and majorities in Europe. Migration and Integration” in *Ethnic Minorities and Majorities. Migration and Integration*, ed. István Polgár, Ioan Horga, Mircea Brie, (Debrecen University Press, 2016), p. 3-5
- István Polgár, *The Phenomenon of Migration and Integration of Minorities in the European Union* in *Migration and European Integration of Minorities*, ed. István Polgár, Ioan Horga, Mircea Brie, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2016), p. 9-11;
- James D. Fearon, *What is identity (as we now use the word)?*, Stanford, 1999, <https://web.stanford.edu/group/fearon-research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/What-is-Identity-as-we-now-use-the-word-.pdf>
- Lentin, Alana and Titley, Gavin, *The Crises of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age*. Zed Books Ltd, 2011
- Michael A. Hogg, Dominic Abrams, *The Social Identity Perspective: Intergroup Relations, Self-Conception, and Small Groups*, in *Sage Journals*, Volume: 35 issue: 3, 2004
- Michele Battisti, Gabriel Felbermayr, Giovanni Peri and Panu Poutvaara, *Immigration, search and redistribution: a quantitative assessment native welfare*, 2014, National Bureau of Economic Research <http://www.nber.org/papers/w20131>
- Mircea Brie, “National Minorities: Levels of Educational Analysis” in *Migration and European Integration of Minorities*, ed. István Polgár, Ioan Horga, Mircea Brie, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2016), p. 13-14;
- Nicolas Glystos and Viela, Bruno, *The European Social Fund and migrants and minorities*, 2010, Belgium

- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)
(2010) 'The fiscal impact of immigration in OECD countries',
in *International Migration Outlook 2013*, Paris.
- Renate Weber, *Un concept românesc privind viitorul Uniunii
Europene (A Romanian concept regarding the future of the
European Union)*, Iași: Editura Polirom, 2001
- Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, Psychology Press, 1996
- Sandu Frunză, *Pluralism si Multiculturalism*, in *Journal for the Study
of Religions and Ideologies*, No. 9, 2004, Cluj Napoca

**THE ROLE OF INTERCULTURAL
COMMUNICATION AND EUROPEAN
EDUCATION**

THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF ROMANIAN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Maria Cristina FLORESCU*
Sorin Ioan CUC**

Abstract. *In the present paper, we have surprised the types of technological vocation systems at European level, emphasizing the Liberal-English system, the Etatist-French system and the Dual-German system, but also a brief incursion into the formation of the Romanian education system.*

Previous works focusing on this theme reveal that three types of vocational training organization can be outlined at European level: French, English and German. Also it appears that they may represent a milestone in establishing a European vocational system, noting the need for rational adaptation to the specific national framework of each Member State. It can be noticed that in the last two decades the specialists in economics and sociology of education have addressed the problems regarding the interdependence between the training system and the economic and political systems specific to each context. Different cultural premises, norms, attitudes, organization of the general education system, the social system, the form of government, the legislation (school, work), etc. can be added to these premises. Starting from the reality of the differences, we tried to highlight, starting from the literature we consulted, the way in which the vocational training systems appeared. We also described models of vocational training of human capital recognized at European level, so that we can answer the question: Is it possible for Romania to implement one of these models? Or: Can we implement and adapt certain features that are compatible in the Romanian context?

Keywords: *vocational education, vocational instruction, liberal education, dual education, bureaucratic education.*

* Associate Professor PhD, Head of Educational Sciences Department, Faculty of Social and Humanistic Social Sciences, University of Oradea, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: mariacristinaflorescu@yahoo.com

** Lecturer PhD, Faculty of Social and Humanistic Social Sciences, University of Oradea, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: cucioansorin@yahoo.com

1.1. Context general

The socio-economic approach to education is a researched field in the second half of the 20th century, but in the Romanian space significant works in this sense have penetrated quite hard. And yet, in the 70's of the last century, research and studies have emerged on the economic and social efficiency of education under the auspices of the Institute of Educational Sciences. A work with a certain impact in the epoch was *Education and its role in socio-economic development*, published in the Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House in 1974, the author being Professor Emil Păun. Also during the same period, a series of works of foreign researchers referring to the economic aspects of education were translated into Romanian, among which: Pierre Bordieu, Jean C. Passeron, *Education and Social Reproduction*, in *Sociology of Education and Education. Anthology of Contemporary Texts Abroad*, Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977; Clifford Block, *What is Educational Technology ?*, in *Modern Pedagogical notebooks*, vol. 6, *Didactic Technology Problems*, Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977; Ivor Davies, *The Nature of Educational Technology*, in *Modern Pedagogical Notebooks*, vol. 6, *Problems of Didactic Technology*, Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977; Torsten Husen, *Social Structure, School and Skills in Sociology of Education and Education. Anthology of Contemporary Texts Abroad*, Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977. These appearances remained largely tributary to the pedagogical approach of education.

Vocational and technological education was not a topic of special interest in the specialized work, but only interested in some aspects of the history, the legislation developed during certain periods and the types of schools. The ways of dealing with the problems are historical and refer in particular to the curriculum, to its decongestion or to the ways of joining the European education. It can be noticed that in our specialized bibliography there is no work specifically addressing the formation of human capital by reference to Vocational and Technological Education, although in recent years there is an increasing debate about this issue. Radiography of the edited works highlights the fact that arts and craft schools are not carefully treated and that the role they should play in the economy of a country is not valued to its fair value. Even more, the activity of

arts and crafts schools has been suspended. There are too few papers dealing with the link between vocational training and economic development. At the same time, attempts to harmonize the vocational training system with market requirements are sporadic, and the consequence of this disinterest can be quantified at present either by the number of graduates becoming unemployed or graduates migrating abroad for work or study purposes.

Compared with Romanian space, the universal one was more concerned with professional education, both in terms of organization and specialized research. Wolf-Dietrich Greinert, Professor of Vocational Pedagogy at the University of Berlin, author of many specialized studies, has a significant contribution in the field of vocational and technological education. The teacher approaches the evolution of European vocational education, starting with medieval guilds and guilds. Wolf-Dietrich Greinert provides information on the three European vocational training models - French, English and German - so that, at the end of his presentations, he will come to describe the current forms of vocational training and possible cooperation in this area within the European Union.

It is interesting to note that, at present, there is no single European vocational education model; precisely because the constituent nations differ historically and economically (there are differences between coordinated market economies and liberal market economies, and larger differences between them and the economies of the states with totalitarian regimes). These can be added to cultural premises, norms, attitudes, the organization of the general education system, the social system, the form of government, the legislation (school, work), etc.

A more in-depth knowledge of how vocational education is organized, how it is financed, and how it works on training in the most significant European countries can outline an example and possible solutions for a better understanding of the stage achieved during the transition and the directions in which it should be oriented towards the standards and compatibility of our vocational education and training system (Ciobanu, 2018, pp.44-50).

The analysis of the literature suggests that France, Germany and England are the most representative states in the European family based on an advanced vocational education system with beneficial

implications for the economic and employment sphere. Educational - vocational models created by the three countries are in one form or another and in other European countries.

It is noteworthy that the emergence of qualification procedures is found in medieval guilds, which ensured a certain homogeneous qualification system, but "the decisive factor influencing the genesis of qualification procedures for the working masses is undoubtedly the Industrial Revolution or the general industrialization of European states. This has led to major economic and technological changes, profoundly changed the structure of society, social interaction, life styles, political systems, types of regulation" (Wolf-Dietrich, 2004: 18).

1.2. Types of education systems

Works focusing on the topic find that three types of vocational training organization - French, English and German - can be outlined at European level, and that these can be a benchmark in establishing a European vocational vocation system, noting that adaptation rational to the specificity of the national framework of each Member State.

It can also be noticed that in the last two decades the specialists in economics and sociology of education have addressed the problems of the interdependence between the training system and the economic and political systems, specific to each context.

Currently there is no single model of European vocational education; precisely because the constituent nations differ from historically and economically (there are differences between coordinated market economy and free market economy, and greater differences between them and economies of totalitarian regimes). Different cultural premises, norms, attitudes, organization of the general education system, the social system, the form of government, the legislation (school, work), etc. can be added to these premises.

Starting from these realities, to which it is to be added that the economic system and the labor legislation influenced the vocational education at European level, in the literature, three models of vocational education are identified: the "**English liberal model**", the "**bureaucratic model**" the state - in France and the "**dual model**" in Germany. Bercusson, Mückenberger, Supiot, 1998:33-34, Wolf-Dietrich, 2004: 19).

The British liberal model is based on the liberal tradition, early implemented at the level of political structures, which was also reflected in the production relationship, seen as a market process in which the participants are members of society. Let us not forget that England was the first country in which the Industrial Revolution began and peaked at the beginning of the nineteenth century, transforming it into the "Workshop of the World," and the occupational educational model based on crafts or crafts eroded (Wolf- Dietrich, 1999).

The characteristics of this model consist of: the quantitative relationship between demand and supply in the field of training is fixed by the market; the type of qualifications and qualitative aspects depend on the labor market, as well as the transferability of qualifications; Practical courses in companies are not standardized; the cost of the training is individually supported by the person requesting the training, except for courses organized by companies / firms; there is a difference between vocational education organized in state schools and vocational training that is the result of voluntary agreements between labor market participants (Wolf-Dietrich, 2004).

The state-regulated bureaucratic model in France is based on the evolution of the French society after the Great Revolution of 1789, after which the non-state corporations were abolished, and the privileges and structures of the Guild were affected (Charlot, Figeat, 1985). The emergence of "labor inspectors" meant that in France the state controlled the labor market, not the market as in England, nor the interaction between private autonomy and the legal system as in Germany. In the opinion of specialists, the French bureaucratic model uses the educational subsystem to create a strong relationship between work and capital (Wolf-Dietrich, 2004). The State is the one that engages and regulates Vocational Educational Formation, retains the fundamental attributions in defining and enforcing educational policy, national education programs, assures the recruitment, training and remuneration of those who teach, and also preserves the monopoly of school certificates. (*Politique européenne en matière d'éducation*, 2013).

The bureaucratic model is mainly found in the neo-Latin cultural area (France, Italy, Spain, etc.) having the following characteristics: educational demand and supply are regulated by state bodies; types of qualifications and quality aspect are not linked to

immediate application within companies; verbalization, abstraction and theorizing are principles of school curricula; admission is based on diplomas obtained at the end of courses from other forms of education; the award of higher professional qualifications; financing of vocational training from the state budget; Vocational education is subject to a qualification progression and new courses must be constantly attested to replace inferior qualification levels (Wolf-Dietrich, 2004).

The dual model is organized in the German-speaking cultural area (Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, etc.) and uses a means of communication between labor, capital and the state. Among the characteristics of this model, identified by Wolf-Dietrich Greiner, we mention: Vocational training is isolated from the vocational education sector, there are organizational rules of structure and training, companies are the main place of learning in this system. Young people sign a training contract with the company, as employees with the status of trainees, but also attend vocational school, so they are subject to both the company rules and the rules of the education system, employers, workers' unions and state bodies decide the profiles and the qualitative aspect, Vocational Schools are funded by the public sector, and for vocational training companies typically pay for training, dual systems are based on crafts or crafts and the three basic principles: the vocation principle, the company's own administration principle and the principle of learning during work (Wolf-Dietrich, 2004).

The vocational training models presented have also been developed on the basis of a European tradition based on tradition (vocational principle), rationalism (liberalism) and liberalism (market principle) and have established a certain pattern for some European states (Wolf-Dietrich, 2004).

The first vocational training models emerged in Europe in the nineteenth century and they were training-based production and training schools that combine education and productive gains.

For the first time, a School of Arts and Crafts was opened on 25 February 1803 at the initiative of Emperor Napoleon, where industry officers, business foremen and workshops were to be trained. This type of school was necessary because the guild - sponsor of professional training - was abolished in 1789 during the Revolution. Significantly, practical training was done in production,

in workshops (blacksmith workshops, foundry workshops, carpenter workshops, rotary and turner workshops, engraving workshops), manual techniques, and vocational technical education was done with practical training. Students worked 7 hours a day in the workshop and 5 hours and ½ in classrooms and drawing workshops. Maintenance costs were covered by the tuition fee, but also by the sale of the products made (Meysner, 1996).

It is interesting to note the existence of priorities in adopting a certain system: economic - training is regulated by market forces; policy - training is regulated by bureaucratic control; related to society - training is related to dual control - the combination of the market and bureaucracy. The three types of vocational guidance for the working masses were pillars model of instruction of vocational training in different European countries, they combining them or using them separately.

From the perspective of labor culture, in the first model, the economy of the countries that use it has priority; the qualification model is regulated by the market orientation. At the operational level, the functional needs of the company or the actual position form the first teaching principle.

From the same perspective, in the bureaucratic model, politics has priority, and user countries establish training and qualifications on a legal basis. At the operational level, in this case, the academic principle is the main didactic doctrine. The dual model is practiced by countries where society has priority. The qualification model is governed by dual control, the combination of market and bureaucracy. At the operational level, the vocational principle is the determination of didactic orientation (Wolf-Dietrich, 2004).

In the Romanian space, the modernization was realized quite late due to the monopoly exercised by the Ottoman Empire; only after the Adrianople Treaty of 1829 opens the perspective of modernizing and accessing Western culture in the Romania. During the Russian rule, in the first half of the 19th century, the Organic Regulations, acts of constitutional character, which regulated the education system, were introduced. Acts adjacent to them, the School Regulations in Wallachia and Moldova, provided for the establishment of a school network at primary, secondary, vocational and higher levels.

The ties that the Romanian provinces have maintained, with French space in particular, through the so-called generation of bonjourists, after 1829, led to the creation of the Romanian education system, having as a model the French, with strong statist traits. The French education system has been strengthened by the introduction of free and compulsory primary education, the organization of secondary education through the introduction of secondary schools, offering a more practical program than high schools oriented towards classical disciplines and able to attract many young people from lower classes.

The establishment of the modern Romanian state in 1859 led, as in France, to the consolidation of the education system. This time, education would benefit from a law - the Law of Public Instruction of November 25, 1864 - introducing the four-year public primary education, free and compulsory for children aged 7-12. Secondary education was organized in four-year gymnasiums, seven-year-old class lyceums, secondary schools for girls and theological seminars. A baccalaureate and a unitary program for all high schools were established. Educational inequalities were felt throughout the nineteenth century, affecting especially sons of peasants who did not allow long-lasting educational transitions and did not have the opportunity to attend primary education, proof being the data which indicates, in 1898, "a rate of illiteracy in Romania of 84%" (Radulescu, 2003, apud Hatos, 2006: 35).

Educational inequalities were felt throughout the nineteenth century, affecting especially sons of peasants who did not allow long-lasting educational transitions and did not have the opportunity to attend primary education, proof being the data which indicates, in 1898, "a rate of illiteracy in Romania of 84%" (Radulescu, 2003, apud Hatos, 2006: 35).

The post-war period is characterized by sociologists (Hatos, 2006; Meyer, Ramirez and Soyal, 1992) as an explosion of school demography or the world school revolution, by the magnitude of the human and material resources that education mobilizes. Between 1950 and 1970, "primary schooling rates reached almost 100%. In the secondary stage the increases were from 30% to 50% in the developed countries "(Hatos, 2006: 36). In Romania, the schooling rate before 1970 was for the primary cycle of 100%, and then dropped to 85% in 1994, to return to 100% in 1997-1998. The rate of

secondary education reached Romania in the ninth decade at values close to 100%. The switch to the 10-grade requirement led to a drop in this segment, reaching 80% in the next decade (Hatos, 2006).

Vocational education has developed along with the mass public education system. For example, in France the first normal school came into existence after 1820 for the training of qualified teachers. In this type of school came those who wanted to become teachers, regardless of social origin, and graduation gave them an important social status, at a time when access to reading-writing was possible only to a rather small group (Ibidem). And in Germany, at the beginning of the last century secondary technical schools were developed, mainly preparing industrial and commercial managers, as well as vocational training for workers.

In Romania, in the middle of the nineteenth century, following the age of the great reforms of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, agricultural schools, craft schools, commercial schools and girls' schools where teaching was the vocational education, along with theological seminars and schools normal.

Educational systems place students on different school paths, the most famous distinction being between academic career (theoretical high schools) and vocational technology (arts and crafts schools), which prepares students to enter the labor market as soon as possible (Săveanu, 2014).

The decisional competences on the education system vary from country to country; In Romania, the system being centralized, articulation with the world of work remains tributary to centralism. Low decisional autonomy, at regional and school level, generates weak articulation between school and work in centralized education systems. Training in centralized areas is weaker than in dual areas, because in this latter case, the actors involved in the link between school and the world of work are more motivated: companies are the place where young people are formed. The dual system has a better link with work, since the training of qualified second level specialists is based on a two-tier vocational education system: enterprises and vocational school (Nogai, 2001).

Considered in terms of sociological theories, this kind of educational system would correspond to the school of human capital, since the decision to attend a school is rational in terms of costs and benefits. In this respect, Becker specifies the factors that determine

the decision of an individual regarding the length and route of schooling (Becker, 1997): the lifetime of the person; the number of changes in activity; market size; risks; difficulties in the capital market.

The dual system takes all these factors into account. Parents are oriented to accept educational paths for children based on their skills. Within this system, we consider that special emphasis is placed on professional transitions, some of them acquired in the workplace. The way of forming human capital, the relationships of interdependence established between the political regime - education - the labor market, as well as the explanation of the institutional and economic differences in the different capitalist countries are the concerns of the researchers in the last decades. In this respect, research in the literature (Iversen, Stephens, 2008) distinguishes three distinct worlds of human capital formation: one characterized by redistribution, large investments in public education, and industry-specific occupational skills and occupations; one characterized by high social security and vocational training in industry-specific skills but fewer investments in public education; one characterized by large private investment in general skills, but modest investment for public education and redistribution.

The three worlds presented above point to historical differences in the organization of capitalism, which could be differentiated into several types of economies with specific characteristics.

Coordinated Market Savings (CME) meet in the following countries: Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Japan. In this type of economy, it starts from the fact that formal institutions and cooperation relations between trade unions and employers' associations regulate market and market interactions, and workers participate in business management. These types of economy are characterized by a relatively high level of job security, through important investments in vocational and social education and at the enterprise level. This type of capitalism provides strong support for investment in primary and secondary education, active labor market programs, public nurseries and high-quality pre-school education services. From an abilities perspective, the training system focuses on industry-specific skills, allowing flexibility in the labor market, intermigratory mobility and

extensive expense on recalcitrant and public employment. Expenditures on public education and a developed vocational training system have generated well-defined and quality general skills (literacy, mathematics, IT) that have given workers of this type of economy greater certainty than those in liberal market economies (LME). Excellent technical capabilities, combined with solid base education, have enabled high productivity companies to be successful in niche international markets. Reconversion of the labor force to this type of economy has been made quite easy and profitable because educational policies have deliberately targeted investment in basic education. Thus, deindustrialization in countries with a coordinated market economy, although generating problems with compressed salaries and regulating the labor market, the conversion of labor to services, communications and applications in information technology has been relatively easy in the Nordic countries (Iversen, Stepens, 2008). Labor relations in the two forms of capitalism are different and, therefore, the national system of human resources training is different.

In the case of coordinated market economies, an important aspect is the training of human resources, as the emphasis is on the formation of skills that generate a highly skilled workforce, which has autonomy in work and is encouraged to disseminate information to generate continuous improvement in production process. Another issue is the issue of coordination, providing workers with guarantees for their apprenticeship after apprenticeship. Companies that have invested in training ensure that workers trained at their own expense will not go to other companies that have not invested in training. This is done through industry associations and trade unions supervising the subsidized public training system. In this type of economy, vocational training places emphasis on apprenticeship, and firms are interested in shaping the skills of future workers.

Not the same trends are found in liberal market economies where vocational training is provided by education institutions providing general skills, and firms are not willing to spend in apprenticeship because they do not have the guarantee that employees trained by the firm will not go to another firm.

The three worlds of capital formation correspond to three capitalist worlds based on social aid:

The social-democratic regime, characterized by high levels of expenditure oriented to pre-school, school education, an active labor market program and vocational training, which provide higher qualifications and skills and specific skills, which explains the success of countries with such technology regimes information.

The Christian Democracy regime is characterized by the high level of Vocational Education and Employee Protection; the average level of expenditure for primary, secondary and tertiary education; low spending on nursery and kindergarten; an active labor market program that results in high skills, specific to each field's specialization, but general skills remain at a moderate level.

The liberal regime is characterized by the low level of public spending on pre-school education and pre-kindergarten; moderate expenditure on primary, secondary and tertiary education; an active program on the labor market and vocational education; low level of employee protection. In this type of scheme, expenditure on various forms of education is supplemented by the private sector, especially for nurseries and post-secondary education.

In the postwar period, the concept of welfare state, defined as "the process through which the state assumes its functions in ensuring collective welfare, emerged. Practically it can be said that it is about the socialization of social protection "(Zamfir, Zamfir, 1995: 49). The state of welfare is also defined by reference to the powers the state has and needs to be improved in order to change market forces: increased security in the case of unemployment, old age, sickness, guaranteed minimum income and quality services for all citizens, as well as a minimum guaranteed income (Briggs, 1961 apud Flora, Heidenheimer, 1995). Esping-Andersen (1990) defines the state of well-being in terms of its responsibilities, namely, the welfare of all its citizens, and has argued that politically and historically three main categories are distinguished: the conservative state, the liberal state and the social democratic state.

The analysis allows us to conclude (in response to the presumed question previously formulated) that European vocational education models can be considered as significant milestones in the orientation of a possible reform of the Romanian Vocational and Technological Education, provided the analysis and consideration of the elements specific to the national framework as well as the

development trends in the context of the increasing emphasis on increasing interdependencies and globalization.

Moreover, the analysis of the historical evolution of vocational education has attested the influence of political decisions on the wider European framework, in particular, and the concern for its suitability to the national specifics. If, in the interwar period, the French system of organizing vocational education was a model for the organization of Romanian education, it is likely that some features of the dual system would correspond more to our vocational education, although the Romanian economy does not possess the characteristics of the coordinated economy. The comparative analysis of the two vocational education systems promoted by Germany and France is also relevant in terms of education-oriented investment as an indicator of interest in this area of activity. It is worth noting, in this sense, that the percentages allocated in recent years are around 5-7% of GDP and even more. To this amount are added the financing from the enterprises. For example, Germany has invested 9.3% of gross domestic product in education, science and research in 2012, which is 247.4 billion Euros, while France has allocated only 6.8% of GDP in 2013, which means 144.8 billion Euros (Report on Vocational Education and Training, 2014).

The analysis of the correlation between the social economic and political development and the configuration of the Romanian vocational education managed to highlight the preoccupation for its adequacy to the imperatives of the stage of the development of the society, despite a certain inertia and the conservatism of which the vocational education, as well as the educational system as a whole. The statistical data surprised interesting trends, such as changes in the structure of the school population and subsequently in the structure of the employed population as a result of the political factor's awareness of the real situation in relation to the proposed objectives and the promotion of legislation in consensus with them. Thus, immediately after the constitution of the Romanian unitary state, the objective of diminishing illiteracy, as one of the most serious problems faced by society, generated concerns for the consolidation of pedagogical vocational education and seminary schools for the training of teachers and priests, but also through introducing new elements of organizing and managing activities. We

cannot fail to mention the new industrial fields, especially in the metallurgical and automotive industries.

The results of the changes can be identified in the structure of the school population and the employed population, in the peak year of the 1939 period, which shows a very low share of students in the total school population. This reflects the low concern of decision-makers for higher education, as the low proportion of preschoolers reflects the poor attention paid to early schooling. Another trend concerns the extremely low participation of rural children in practical secondary schools. This is mainly due to the fact that the secondary school was located only in the city, which created material difficulties for the rural families to support the children in these types of schools. In the Romanian interwar school, theoretical schools were considered to be general high schools, normal schools, theological seminars, military high schools, and practical or technical ones were vocational schools, commercial schools, craft schools or agricultural schools. Social factors have influenced the content and structure of education, in the sense of modeling the type of citizen demanded by society, a citizen with a general culture, in which the realistic and humanistic disciplines are intertwined.

The integration of the Romanian state in 1918 favored the culture between the two world wars. This has manifested itself both in plenary and in value. The origins of pre-war culture have in fact constituted a cultural phenomenon of maximum creation in many fields.

In this context, the preoccupation of interwar governments was directed towards the adoption of new laws, especially for compulsory education, as well as for vocational education. Thus, in 1924, the Law on Primary Education of the State and Normal Primary Education was adopted; Law of Industrial and Professional Education in 1936; The Law of Agricultural Education in 1929; The Law of Commercial Education for Boys and Girls in 1936, etc. The Communist period claimed, as predictable, the development of technical vocational education. This was characterized by the large number of specific places and specializations allocated to this education, as well as the high share of students towards them and the access to higher forms of study for these specializations, consisting of vocational schools, industrial high schools, post-secondary technical schools, higher polytechnic education. Even the high school

and college theoretical education was adjusted in the sense of "integration with production" by introducing compulsory technical-practical disciplines. Another trend refers to the massive increase of the school population in the total population, phenomenon due to the education policy of the educational system, to which mention must be made and the demographic increase that characterized the first period of communism (until the 70s). Since the 1980s, the onset of the decline of the communist period has also been observed, as well as the decrease in the share of the school population in the total population. The effect of modeling the education system on the structure of the employed population is to be taken into account, meaning that in 1990 the occupied population in industry represented the first place (38.10%) compared to 1950, when it represented only 12.00%, an increase mainly due to the decrease of the population employed in agriculture, from 74.10% in 1950 to 27.50% in 1990. The post-communist period has led to changes in vocational education through the restructuring of the economy, the development of its private system, the decline of the industry's share in GDP production, the growth of the tertiary sector, but also the influence of other demographic and social factors. Among the factors that can be mentioned is the decrease of the population, including the occupied population, the phenomenon of international labor migration, etc. Among the most significant changes can be noted: increasing the number of graduates of theoretical and general secondary schools at the expense of vocational schools and high schools; dismantling of health schools and training of specialists in post-secondary schools; Vocational technical-industrial education has diminished its importance; the emergence of the particular alternative in education; there is a diminution in the importance of the apprentices and foremen schools; increases school drop-out, including the number of illiterates; increasing the share of the commercial profile in the structure of vocational education, in line with the expansion of the tertiary sector in the economy; active measures are being taken to reconcile the vocational education structure with the labor market, which in turn is in a continuous transformation (Peter, Banciu, Florescu, 2015, pp. 2811-2816).

Certain starting points and solutions from existing models can be offered in the event of a substantial reform of our vocational education, but we believe that a reform approach is needed in the

elements specific to the national and European frameworks. If, in the interwar period, the French system was a model for us in terms of education, today we consider that some aspects of the dual system would better correspond to our vocational education, although we do not have a coordinated economy. In other respects, the dual system is found in most coordinated market economies with relatively high labor security, high investment in social and enterprise education and training.

1.3. Conclusions and recommendations

Without claiming that we have exhausted all aspects of the tradition and evolution of European vocational education, because they are complex, according to the structure of the companies that generated them, we consider that some characteristics and tendencies can be distinguished:

- At European level, three vocational training models that emerged as responses from nations to industrial revolutions "launched by the Industrial Revolution" in the main industrial continent countries can be identified;

- Highlighting an obvious interaction between three ideological trends, namely:

- traditionalism. Tradition legitimizes vocational guidance from medieval practices guilds, guilds, and corporations - to current professions that are considered to be specific combinations of work, skills and gains (Wolf-Dietrich, 2002).
- liberalism. Liberalism gives the possibility of choosing the profession according to the individual's skills, so that the free expression of individuals' interactions results in efficiency in their professional life. The state creates only the general framework, without obliging young people to acquire any special qualification after graduating from compulsory education. They opt for a certain profession only after entering production. Thus they acquire practical knowledge and skills about the profession in question and only then, if they want and if they can, opt for that qualification. Specific to this trend is also the fact that integration into the social work system is dependent in particular on market pressures (Wolf-Dietrich, 2002).

- rationalism. Rationalism legitimizes academic orientation in the sense that this field of vocational training is under the sign of scientific discovery. Specialized academic training becomes the standardized principle in all levels of vocational qualification (Wolf-Dietrich, 2002).

Traditionalism, liberalism and rationalism form the ideological support of the three vocational training models;

- The existence of priorities in adopting a particular system, namely:

- Economical - training is regulated by market forces,
- Political - training is regulated by bureaucratic control,
- Linked to society - training is related to dual control - the combination of market and bureaucracy.

The three types of Vocational Orientation for Workers were the pillars of vocational training models in different European countries, combining them or using them distinctly.

From the perspective of labor culture, in the first model, the economy of the countries that use it has priority; the qualification model is regulated by the market orientation. At the operational level, the functional needs of the company or the actual position form the first teaching principle.

From the same perspective, in the bureaucratic model, politics has priority, and user countries establish training and qualifications on a legal basis. At the operational level, in this case, the academic principle is the main didactic doctrine.

The dual model is practiced by countries where society has priority. The qualification model is governed by dual control, the combination of market and bureaucracy. At the operational level the vocational principle is the determination of the didactic orientation (Wolf-Dietrich, 2004).

We believe that the types of organization of the European vocational training mentioned above can be a starting point in the reform of the Romanian vocational system, provided that some elements of the national framework are kept, but also taking into account the evolution of the mobility on the European labor market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Becker, G. (1997). *Capitalul uman. O analiză teoretică și empirică cu referire specială la educație*. București: Editura All
- Bercusson, B., Mückenberger, U., Supiot, A. (1998). *Application du droit du travail et diversité culturelle en Europe*. Nantes, U. Mückenberger, Paris: Ministère du travail, SES, (1998), *Nationale Arbeitsrechte und soziales Europa*. in Modell Deutschland, Modell Europa, Opladen, Editors Bruno Cattero
- Block, C. (1977). *Ce este tehnologia educațională?*. în Caiete de pedagogie modernă, vol. 6 - Probleme de tehnologie didactică, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică
- Bourdieu, P., Passeron, J.C. (1977). *Învățământ și reproducție socială*. în Sociologia educației și învățământul. Anthologie de texte contemporane de peste hotare, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică
- Briggs, A. (1961). *The Welfare State in Historical Perspective*. European Journal of Sociology, 2, pp. 221-258, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003975600000412>, accesat în data de 21.05.2019
- Charlot, B., Figeat, M. (1985). *Histoire de la formation des ouvriers 1789-1984*. Paris: Editeur Minerve
- Ciobanu, N.R. (2018), *Factorii succesului școlar*, volumul Conferinței „Tradiție și perspective în didactica modernă”, vol. II, Editori: Herman, R., Spînu, S., Tăușan, L., București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, pp. 44-50
- Davies, I. (1977). *Natura tehnologiei educațional*. în Caiete de pedagogie modernă, vol. 6 - Probleme de tehnologie didactică, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Flora, P., Heidenheimer, A. (1995). *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*. Transactions Publishers
- Florescu, M.C., (2016), *Evoluția învățământului vocațional românesc și implicarea sa asupra pieței forței de muncă*. București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică
- Hatos, A. (2006). *Sociologia educației*. Ed. a II – a, Iași: Editura Polirom

- Husen, T. (1977). *Structura socială. școala și aptitudinile*. în Sociologia educației și învățământul. Antologie de texte contemporane de peste hotare, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică
- Iversen, T., Stephens, J.D. (2008). *Partisan Politics, the Welfare State, and Three Worlds of Human Capital Formation*. Comparative Political Studies, Volume XX Number X, Sage Publications
- Meyer, J., Ramirez, F., Soysal, Y. (1992). *World Expansion of Mass Education, 1870-1980*. Sociology of Education, vol. 65(2), pp. 128-149
- Meyser, J. (1996). *Die berufspädagogische Genese des Produktionsschulprinzips. Von den Ursprüngen im 18. Jahrhundert zur aktuellen Situation*. Frankfurt: Publisher Peter Lang International Academic Publishers
- Nogai, V. (2001). *Reformarea învățământului secundar profesional din Republica Moldova*. Studiu elaborat în cadrul proiectului „politici educaționale”, Chișinău
- Păun, E. (1974). *Educația și rolul ei în dezvoltarea social-economică*. București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică
- Peter, K., Banciu, V., Florescu, M.C., (2015), *The perception of Romanian students on theoretical high school education* in Proceedings of INTED2015 Conference, Madrid: Publisher IATED Academy, pp. 2811-2816
- Rădulescu, D.C. (2003). *Învățământul public din România în secolul al XIX lea*. în Calitatea vieții - Revista de politici sociale, XIV, nr. 2, București: Editura Academiei Române
- Săveanu, S. (2014). *Destinul școlar și social al elevilor din Oradea. Sursele succesului școlar*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană
- Wolf-Dietrich, G. (1999). *Berufsqualifizierung und dritte Industrielle Revolution*. Baden-Baden: Editor Nomos
- Wolf-Dietrich, G. (2002). *European vocational training system: the theoretical context of historical development, in Towards a history of vocational education and training (VET) in Europe in a comparative perspective*. vol. I., Florence: Editor Office for Official Publications of the European Communities
- Wolf-Dietrich, G. (2004). *European vocational training „systems”- some thoughts on the theoretical context of their historical*

- development.* in European Journal of Vocational Training, NO 32, CEDEFOP European Journal
- Wolf-Dietrich, G. (2005). *Mass vocational education and training in Europe. Classical models of the 19th century and training in England, France and Germany during the first half of the 20th.* Luxembourg: Editor Office for Official Publications of the European Communities
- Zamfir, E., Zamfir, C. (1995). *Politici sociale: România în context European.* București: Editura Alternative
- *** (2013). *Politique européenne en matière d'éducation.* 2013, <http://eduscol.education.fr/cid47513/politique-europeenne-en-matiere-d-education.html>, site accesat în data de 27.05.2019
- *** (2014). *Report on Vocational Education and Training.* 2014, http://www.bmbf.de/pub/Report_on_Vocational_Education_and_Training_2014_bf.pdf, site accesat în data de 09.05.2019

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION THROUGH ART

Loredana MUNTEAN*

Adina VESA**

Abstract. *The paper aims to synthesize ideas about the significance of intercultural education as well as to present art as an attractive way to achieve the objectives of intercultural education. The first part presents the key concepts of intercultural education, intercultural communication, multiculturalism. The second part shows art as a form of communication for intercultural education. In the third part we present an example of good practice for the realization of intercultural education through art. The paper ends with conclusions.*

Keywords: *intercultural education, intercultural communication, multiculturalism, art.*

1. Intercultural education and communication - meanings

Nowadays, the interest in deep understanding of the phenomenon of interculturality is increasingly visible. This is due to the humanity's need to properly manage new relationships, outlined in the context of globalization.

1.1. Conceptual delimitations

Interculturality is described as “a dynamic concept that refers to evolving relations between cultural groups ... Interculturality presupposes multiculturalism and results from ‘intercultural’ exchange and dialogue on the local, regional, national or international level” (UNESCO, 2006: 17).

* Assistant Professor, PhD at University of Oradea, Faculty of Social and Humanistic Sciences, Department of Sciences of Education, Oradea, Romania, lmuntean@uoradea.ro

** Assistant Professor, PhD at University of Oradea, Faculty of Social and Humanistic Sciences, Department of Sciences of Education, Oradea, Romania, vesa.adina@yahoo.com

Intercultural education refers to a complex psycho-pedagogical approach that has as a main objective the training and the development of the individual in order to harmonize non-discriminatory cohabitation with individuals from different cultures. In its definition, Cucoş (2001: 3) states that "in a synthetic way, intercultural education aims at a pedagogical approach to cultural differences, a strategy that takes into account spiritual or other specifics (gender difference, social difference or economic, etc.), avoiding, as far as possible, the risks arising from unequal exchanges between cultures or, even more seriously, the atomization patterns of crops. "

Intercultural knowledge requires a gradually built interaction, starting with the familiarization with the external elements of the cultures (language, clothing, art, customs, etc.) and continuing with the understanding of aspects of mentality, conceptions, ideals. Building on complex communication, the process of education and intercultural knowledge is a long, slow and relatively difficult to control. Communication itself includes two components in apparent contradiction: the stability and change needed to preserve its own cultural identity and to transfer the elements needed to understand the other culture.

As defined by Cucoş (2001: 7), (approx. quote) "intercultural communication is that exchange or value transaction, accompanied by the understanding of adjacent meanings, between individuals or groups that are part of essentially different cultures.

The exchanges can be done ideally, verbally, non-verbally, behaviorally, physically, objectively, and organizationally. They may be implicit or explicit, unconscious or deliberate. "

From another perspective, „intercultural communication is a symbolic, interpretive, transactional, contextual process, in which people from different cultures create shared meanings. (Lustig & Koester, 2007: 46)

Arasaratnam (2013: 48) points out that „Intercultural communication refers to the effects on communication behavior, when different cultures interact together. Hence, one way of viewing intercultural communication is as communication that unfolds in symbolic intercultural spaces.”

Synthesizing, we can say that, through its intercultural and dynamic character, communication is an essential factor in achieving intercultural education.

1.2. Multiculturalism

From the multitude of more or less synthetic and complete statements about the meaning of the term multiculturalism, we present two dictionary definitions that emphasize the idea of coexistence of diversity and the context of its manifestation.

Thus, according to IFLA (2016), „multiculturalism is the co-existence of diverse cultures, where culture includes racial, religious, or cultural groups and is manifested in customary behaviours, cultural assumptions and values, patterns of thinking, and communicative styles.”

The definition offered by Collins Dictionary presents multiculturalism as „situation in which all the different cultural or racial groups in a society have equal rights and opportunities, and none is ignored or regarded as unimportant.”

Both perspectives illustrate the main characteristics of the communities in which people from different cultures live. In the context of this paper, we will mainly refer to ethnic differences that imply a particular form of education as a prerequisite for a harmonious cohabitation.

According to Cukoş (2001: 6), (approx. quote) "a rule of first importance for effective intercultural communication is first and foremost to know the conventions of one's own culture." We continue and develop the idea by saying that the values of one's own culture need not only to be known but also to be preserved and promoted in a manner that is not detrimental to others through a diversity-based education. Since, as history shows, this principle has not been an intrinsic value of humanity over time, it requires comprehension and application in didactic practice from the stage of initial training of the contemporary teacher.

1.3. Initial teacher training in the context of multiculturalism

In order to be able to analyze the specifics of intercultural communication in the context of initial teacher training, we bring to attention the model of cultural heritage proposed by Berry and his collaborators (1992: 18):

- "A. Vertical heritage (from direct antecedents)
 - 1. general enculturation
 - 2. socialization by parents
- B. Oblique heritage (from other adults)
 - a) from their own group
 - 1. general enculturation
 - 2. specific socialization
 - b) from other groups
 - 1. general acculturation
 - 2. specific resocialization
- C. Horizontal heritage (from congeners, people of the same age)
 - 1. general education
 - 2. specific socialization from those of the same age. "

We therefore understand that the more diverse and complex the interactions between future teachers and other social groups, the more thorough and comprehensive their initial training is. From the point of view of their intercultural education, we consider important the direct contact of students with other cultures. In this respect, Erasmus-Plus exchanges are an opportunity to support the introduction of the program, which emphasizes that „Youth exchanges allow groups of young people from different countries to meet, live together and work on shared projects for short periods. Youth exchanges take place outside the school environment. On a youth exchange, you can expect to participate in activities such as workshops, exercises, debates, role-plays, outdoor activities and more.” (The British Council and Ecorys UK, Department for Education, 2019)

We know that, beyond cohabitation and effective study in the university environment, cultural-artistic and sporting activities are particularly encouraged. Since in these activities special communication codes are created, they are often the most appropriate context for significant cultural exchanges.

2. Art - a form of communication for intercultural education

As Babias & Hentsch (2008, p. 11) presents in introducing an agenda book by the Hart Group, "The definition of art has widened considerably in the last century. If traditional aesthetics could define art by referring to the environment in which it was created (painting, sculpture, drawing, etc.), its activities (imitate, describe, etc.) and its purpose (to create values aesthetics such as, for example, beautiful or sublime) in the last century, all these rules can no longer be used to define what art is. Artworks can no longer be embedded in a particular technique, in a number of specific activities, and can no longer be recognized as an art for their purely aesthetic purpose. Many times, gestures or objects that are artworks can be found in everyday life ..., only that the intention of the artist (what he wants to convey) and the context in which the object or gesture is put can turn into art." (approx. quote)

Art illustrates the values specific to any culture. As stated by Rusu (2014, p. 2-3), "art is one of the dimensions that defines the human, along with emotion, cognition and will. Art reflects, at the level of metaphor and transcendence, all stages of anthropological evolution, moments of turning history and new societal patterns. ... The creative relationship with human fundamental archetypes can be communicated through art, thus being projected into the space of our perception." (approx. quote)

The practice and / or study of the arts opens new horizons by the fact that:

- causes us to communicate without prejudices;
- facilitates the acceptance and understanding of others, of diversity;
- changes the perception on the world;
- generates an appropriate context for expressing cultural identity, etc.

The artistic activities carried out in formal and non-formal education represent a form of assimilation and perpetuation of cultural essentials. In the case of initial teacher training for primary and preschool, these are all the more important as it is a good model for working with children. Through art practiced with others, regardless of ethnicity, race, religion, preschool and primary school

children can easily assimilate values and behaviors specific to people living in multicultural communities.

3. (Charity) Concerts - educational practices for intercultural communication through art.

In this article we aim to bring to attention one of the artistic activities with a deep intercultural character, carried out with pleasure and involvement by the students - the charity concert of Christmas. We mention that Romanian, Hungarian, Roma and Erasmus students (Polish, Spanish, Turkish) study at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Oradea.

Every year, students have shown their desire to organize and run a charity Christmas concert. They have sought to serve a cause that encourages a change in attitudes towards certain disadvantaged or marginalized groups such as young people with autism, Down syndrome, foster care children, children suffering from incurable diseases, etc. The organizational approach, which involves the preparation of the necessary documents (collaboration protocols, different requests), finding sponsors, booking and preparing the concert hall, ensuring the sounding, the relationship with the media, making and distributing the invitations is done in small, heterogeneous groups from an ethnic point of view. The advantage of these groups is that in a city with a bilingual population like Oradea, when some of the students approach their fellow students in their mother tongue, their colleagues can see and know some of their specific qualities.

From an artistic point of view, charitable student concerts are eminently multicultural. Each group of students contributes to the scenario, choosing the repertoire of Christmas carols and songs, making decors and costumes, proposing artistic elements loaded with specific meanings of the culture from which they come from.

As in concert, under the umbrella of the general concept, artistic elements specific to different cultures meet, naturally students from different cultures are involved in the building of intercultural relationships. For example, the repertoire in Hungarian (or another language) is interpreted by the entire choir, whether or not its members are foreign language speakers. The graphic symbols specific to the different cultures are creatively combined in decoration.

In our opinion, it is natural for an artistic event to be carried out in such a way as to capitalize on what is specific to each culture from which students come from. Without claiming to present an unusual situation, we only want to describe a state of affairs that underlines the idea that art, as a form of communication, can become a means of achieving intercultural education.

Conclusions

As Babias & Hentsch asserts (2008: 17), "Multiculturalism concludes that since there are multiple descriptions of reality, no one's point of view can be true in absolute terms. Since truth is a function of language, and every language is created by men, then all truths are created by men. No one can say that truth transcends cultures. " (approx. quote)

In any case, cohabitation in a multicultural environment is a desideratum and, at the same time, a challenge to contemporary education. Unanimously accepted recipes guaranteeing the attainment of the objectives of intercultural education in any context and under any circumstances are not known.

However, art is a form of effective, attractive, interesting communication through which intercultural education can be successfully achieved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arasaratnam, L. A. (2013), Intercultural communication competence. In A.Kurylo, *Intercultural communication: Representation and construction of culture* (pp. 47-68). Los Angeles: CA: SAGE Publications.
- Babias, M., & Hentsch, S. (2008), *H.arta, Agendă*. Cluj-Napoca: IDEA Design & Print Editură.
- Berry, J., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M., & Dasen, P. (1992), *Cross-Cultural Psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Collins Dictionary, (2019), *About Us: Collins Dictionary*. Retrieved from Collins Dictionary Web site: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com>
- coord. Rusu, M. (2014), *Artă și conștiință - dimensiuni filosofice și psihologice ale creației artistice*. Iași: Editura Ars Longa.

- Cucoș, Constantin, (2001), *Educație interculturală, Suport de curs*. Iași.
- IFLA. (2019, May 10). *About Us: IFLA*. Retrieved from IFLA Web site: <https://www.ifla.org>
- Lustig, M. W., & Koester, J. (2007), *Intercultural competence: interpersonal communication across cultures (5th ed.)*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.
- The British Council and Ecorys UK, Department for Education. (2019), *EC Europa Programmes Erasmus-Plus*. Retrieved from Erasmus Plus Web site: <https://ec.europa.eu>
- UNESCO. (2006), *UNESCO Guidelines on Intercultural Education*. Retrieved from UNESDOC Digital Library Web site: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org>

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN ROMANIA VARIOUS ACTIVITIES BASED ON INTERCULTURAL PROJECTS IN THE KINDERGARTEN

Georgeta BARA*
Marioara ROȘAN**

Abstract. *The article analyzes the achievement of intercultural education in Romanian educational institutions, ways of promoting the concept of "learning to live together" among children / young people, the role of the educational institution in achieving intercultural education, learning of cultural pluralism and appreciation of diversity. Novelty consists of correlating the concept of "learning to live together" with the development of intercultural communication skills, which presupposes their learning from the early years of schooling both in the organized (formal education) and in and through non-formal education activities informal. Finally, we will present some ways of achieving the intercultural goal in the kindergarten: common activities carried out within a wide range of intercultural projects that offered the opportunity to know the traditions and customs of Romanians, Hungarians, Slovaks, activities that proved to have a positive impact on preschool children irrespective of the ethnic minority to which they belong. The educational institution is the main space for the learning of cultural pluralism through the valorization of diversity, a distinct note brought by the culture of each participant actor. Its role is a form of learning the values of pluricultural values; there are no higher and lower values, but there are specific values to be judged; it is necessary to "model" the ethnic eagerness of the majority and to strengthen the self-confidence of the minority.*

Keywords: *interculturality, learning to live together "ethnic minorities, and intercultural activities.*

* Ph.D. University of Oradea, Romania. E-mail: georgeta_bara@yahoo.com;

** Ph.D. University of Oradea, Romania. E-mail: marioararosan@yahoo.com

1. Intercultural education in educational institutions in Romania

1.1. Introduction

Interculturality involves taking into account the cultural dimension of social relations and leading to a balance between promoting specific cultural identities and respect for cultural diversity, with an emphasis on intercultural communication. To achieve these goals, it must overcome stereotypes and prejudices and combat discrimination, marginalization, and isolation. To do intercultural education involves preparing young people to live in a multicultural society, with a growing dynamism from year to year. Intercultural education can be included in the concept of "learning to live together" promoted by UNESCO. "Learn to Live Together" is an intercultural program for ethical education that contributes to the cultivation of ethical values in children and youth. "Learning to Live Together, it is a material that can be adapted and used with children from different cultural, religious and social backgrounds to enjoy common values and mutual respect for different backgrounds and traditions. The material offers the opportunity to increase children's innate potential for spirituality and hope for a better world, as well as contributing to changing the situation of children everywhere in the world." (UNESCO, 2008: 14)

This type of education implies:

- acquiring knowledge about culture in general and its impact on individual and group behaviors in terms of their own culture and other cultures;
- developing life skills in a multicultural / intercultural society, such as awareness of their own cultural determinations, stereotypes, prejudices, their identification to others, communicative and relational skills;
- Formation of attitudes such as respect for cultural diversity, own cultural identity, and others, refusal to discriminate and intolerance;
- To increase participation and action to promote the principles of an intercultural society and to combat discrimination and intolerance.

Intercultural education proposes a pedagogical approach to cultural differences through a strategy that addresses cultural differences or gender differences, social or economic differences,

avoiding as far as possible the risks arising from the inequality of exchanges between cultures or the tendencies of atomization of cultures. "The intercultural approach is not new science or a new discipline, but a new methodology that attempts to integrate the data of psychology, anthropology, social sciences, politics, culture, and history in the interrogation on the educational space" (Cucos, 2000: 25). Intercultural education involves debating topics such as acceptance and participation, learning to coexist with others, avoiding stereotypes and prejudices; it also focuses on finding solutions to promote the values of democracy and interculturality / multiculturalism. The development of intercultural communication skills presupposes their learning from the early years of schooling, both within the organization (formal education) and in non-formal and informal education.

2 The educational institution is the main space for the learning of cultural plurality

The educational institution is the main space for the learning of cultural pluralism through the valorization of diversity, a distinct note brought by the culture of each participant actor. Its role is a form of learning the values of pluricultural values; there are no higher and lower values, but there are specific values to be judged; it is necessary to "model" the ethnic eagerness of the majority and to strengthen the self-confidence of the minority. Preschools are the lightest "processing" materials if the educator has no prejudices if there a passion, persuasion, love, and a permanent concern to value what an ethnic group is more valuable. "Dating, customs, and traditions have their role, verified throughout history, the cultural continuity of a nation." (Pașca, Foriș, Farcău, 2006: 100).

That is why we have been looking for the kindergarten from the kindergarten, to cultivate the copies of the consciousness of belonging to the national culture, to the folkloric area in which we live. "It is natural that in an area with such a multicultural character as the Bihor area, the formation and education of children should not be allowed to run on its own, but it should be a great preoccupation of the teachers for the preservation and transmission of traditions and customs The feeling of belonging to a multicultural community is formed from the early years of life, in other words, in the "seven years of home", which of course includes the years spent in the

kindergarten. pre-school education as a whole, the mission to develop in forms and content multicultural education and training activities for children. "(Dan, Luchici, Mițu, 2005: 91).

Starting with pre-school age, the premises of a moral, spiritual and spiritual quality are formed. The role of the educator in forming personality, first of all, the character of future citizens is important. It can open or, on the contrary, close the path of progress of both individuals and the nation itself. Here are the foundations of the future of the people, peoples, and generations to come. Kindness, understanding, respect, and love for people, tolerance and spiritual cohesion within the nation and peoples do not come from themselves; they require a deep and continuous work of education.

Children need to be familiar with folklore and traditions in order to perceive them and live them in all aspects, with joy and pleasure. This is possible not only in the rural environment where traditions are still alive and are respected in certain events, caring in them, as well as in cities, if emphasis is placed on their knowledge and valorization in the family environment and kindergarten, promoting religious education intercultural dialogue and the marking of such events, familiarizing children with the national language, culture, and traditions, as well as those of the minorities. In general, interference between minorities is multiple and is due to the collaboration of different linguistic communities in the fields of culture, scientific and technical knowledge. Respecting the religious traditions of the other was and has remained a constant feature in the life of each community.

"The fact that we live, grow and play together enables us to get to know each other and to get used to each other, to get the best of each, to learn to appreciate each other as real citizens of Europe and of the world" (Dan, Luchić, Mitu, 2005: 94). Because in the kindergarten, it works alongside the teaching groups in Romanian and Hungarian teaching groups, and the yard is the playground of all children, no matter what language they speak, "the goal of interculturalization was and is easy to accomplish" (Pașca, Foris, Farcău, 2006: 99).

2.1. Strategies promoted at the level of education

With regard to the intercultural curriculum taught in schools, it is stressed that the purpose of intercultural education is not to teach content about other cultures but rather aims at forming positive and

active attitudes towards other cultures, seen as a source of enrichment of a new experience.

Lucian Ciolan, states that intercultural education "is an approach to the teaching-learning process based on democratic values and beliefs that seeks to promote cultural pluralism in the context of diverse societies of an independent world." In the intercultural approach of the curriculum, it asserts that it requires knowledge and understanding of cultural differences as well as the history and contribution of different sociocultural groups in the formation of wider society. (Ciolan, 2000: 21)

In any curricular area, and more precisely in any discipline, correlations, references, more or less explicit guidelines can be made so as to contribute to the formation and development of intercultural competence of students;

For the creation of a multicultural environment in school, it starts from several premises:

- Cultivating democratic ideals;
- Incorporate into the curriculum the values, beliefs, and traditions of many cultures;
- Removing ethnic and cultural stereotypes;
- Promoting social interaction among pupils belonging to different groupsethnic;

In essence, among educated (preschool, student, student, student, teacher), intercultural education aims at increasing the degree of openness, acceptance of the other who is different. Differences in relation to the other include multiple registers: language, religion, social communication practices, clothing, nutrition, norms, traditions, etc.

The school level, an effective strategy implies the setting of objectives to promote interculturality such as:

- Intercultural education and training of children;
- Preparing children for personal development and community inclusion;
- Need to know the cultural values of different ethnicities;
- Meeting community-specific education needs;
- Combating any kind of discrimination at the school level;
- Improving relations between students of different ethnic backgrounds;
- Enriching the general culture of children / students;

- Facilitating the integration of children in different cultures;
- Enhance communication between parents of children from different ethnic backgrounds;
- Active family involvement in school activities;

An effective strategy aims, besides objectives and setting up awareness and intervention actions, for each target group (children / pupils, teachers, parents, leadership, school community representatives), establishing evaluation indicators and dissemination. The novelty of our strategy lies in linking the concept of "learning to live together" with the development of intercultural communication skills, which presupposes their learning from the early years of schooling, both in the organized framework (formal education) and in and through non-formal and informal.

2.2. Activities carried out on the basis of intercultural projects in the kindergarten.

In order to get to know the traditions and to get acquainted with the children belonging to the various minorities, we organized various activities in common, and we started ample intercultural projects that offered the opportunity to know the traditions and customs of Romanians, Hungarians, Slovaks. These projects aimed at the following objectives:

- Making valuable exchanges of experience regarding ways of knowing cultural values specific to minority communities and other cultures;
- Finding effective solutions to the specific problems raised by the collaboration between pre-school children belonging to different minorities through the exchange of experience of educators participating in educational projects;
 - Promoting interculturality by using active-participatory methods in groups and micro groups of children;
 - Adopt a multicultural creative curriculum in the kindergartens involved in the projects;
 - Collaboration with other public and educational institutions, cultural and economic institutions willing to involve and support the activities of preserving and publicizing the cultural values of these minorities (customs and traditions specific to them);

- Awareness of the fact that the educational partnership is a priority of the strategies oriented towards the Romanian educational system through alternative forms of education;
- Cooperation between educational partners: educators, parents, children, other institutions and people;
- Obtaining the desired end: forming and developing feelings of mutual respect, tolerance, and acceptance of different cultures existing simultaneously in a given geographic space;

I integrated into the activities carried out customs and traditions specific to each ethnicity, perpetuated from generation to generation:

- Presentation and description of the folk costumes specific to Romanians living in Bihor, Hungarians and Slovaks, folk dances and handicrafts.

- We organized activities around Christmas to learn carols, dances, and songs with ears heard from elders who bring joy to the game; these common meetings have given children the opportunity to feel closer to each other, to respect their part, customs and traditions no matter what language they speak.

- Another successful action was the organization of a meeting titled "Traditions and Easter Traditions in Romanians and Hungarians"; in the great week of Easter, Romanian and Hungarian children have jointly developed egg-making techniques, applying national specific models. On this occasion, Hungarian customs related to the wetting of the girls with perfume, accompanied by Hungarian folklore verses and the collision of eggs from the Romanian customs, were presented, and finally, an exhibition of children's works on religious themes.

- In the last week of February, both in the kindergarten and in the other partner units in the project, we conducted "Farsangul"; for this activity the children dressed, presented their costumes, sang, recited, danced and played fun games; Finally, all participants have served donuts as tradition provides for such a habit.

- Another Hungarian habit that is celebrated each year in the kindergarten in May is "Mother's Day", an occasion for pre-school children to make gifts and greetings, to make a short artistic program, to play some fun games with the parents present, invited to this action. Thus, in order to share this specific Hungarian custom, the children from the Romanian section were also invited to participate.

3 Conclusions

The experience acquired by children during these joint activities has given them the opportunity to experience intense feelings of respect, friendship, and tolerance to each other.

"We are convinced that by teaching our children the verses of the old songs, the steps of our ancestors' dance, we understand that the present is valuable only with the past, because the merger is a guarantee for the future; it means that I have planted in my souls one of the most desirable feelings. " (Pașca, Foris, Farcău, 2006: 100).

Through their activities, children have understood that regardless of the color of the skin, gender, religion, language we speak, we all can understand, respect and live together, taking the best, more valuable from each of us learning to appreciate each other, to capitalize on their cultural treasure and thus to become more open to communication with ourselves and with our fellow men as true Romanian citizens of Europe and of the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ciolan, L. (2000) *Pași către școala interculturală – Ghid de educație interculturală pentru cadre didactice*, Editura Corint, București, 2000, p. 21
- Cozma T., coord., (2001), *O nouă provocare pentru educație: interculturalitatea*, Editura Polirom Iași, 2001, p 31.;
- Cucoș. C. (2000), *Educația. Dimensiuni culturale și interculturale*, editura Polirom Iași, 2000, p. 25;
- Dan S., Luchici R., Mîțu C., (2005), „*Preșcolarii și interculturalitatea*”, Revista învățământ ul preșcolar nr. 3-4, 2005, p.91-94
- Pașca A., Foris M., Farcău A., (2006), „*Folclorul local-mijloc pentru educarea interculturală a copiilor preșcolari*”, Revista învățământ ul preșcolar nr. 3-4, 2006, p.99-100
- UNESCO and UNICEF, (2008) *Learning to Live Together An Intercultural and Interfaith Programme for Ethics Education*, Arigatou Foundation 2008, ISBN: 978-92-806-4288-9, p.14

EDUCATIONAL CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Claudiu Gabriel BONACIU*

Abstract. *According to the policies of the European Union, the rural environment must be further developed and, according to contemporary authors, "rural space needs to be redefined". In addition to the agricultural component developed and financed by the Common Agricultural Policy and the existing rural development instruments and mechanisms, education and culture are parts of the Romanian and European rural space. The social transformations in the Romanian rural area show demographic decreases felt in education as well as on cultural and educational spaces. Funding with European funds on cultural projects can contribute to the cultural and educational development of the rural population, provided that these projects directly involve the members of rural communities. The purpose of this study is to understand the role that education and culture have on rural space and how it can be developed through the policies of the European Union.*

Keywords: *rural space, instruments, culture, educational development, policies.*

1. Definition and characterization of rural area

Rural space is an extremely complex concept which has generated different views on its definition, its scope and its components.

The rural area is defined as opposed to urban space, being designated by this concept areas characterized by a population of relatively low density and preponderance of agricultural activities. Rural space, contrary to urban space, does not involve strong concentrations of people. Agglomerations are limited to the size of

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of European Studies, Institute of Doctoral Studies.
Adress: 1 Emmanuel de Martonne st., Cluj-Napoca, RO- 400090. E-mail
gabi_bonaciu@yahoo.com

the village or burg. It is represented by a habitat dispersed in the form of hamlets or farms disseminated in nature. Rural areas are suitable for agricultural activities. On the other hand, if rural space privileges the land as a production factor, it is not confused with the existence of a soil capable of supporting the crops and feeding the animals. Rural space is both a stretch and an environment [Robert Badouin - "Rural Economy", Librairie Armand Colin, 1971, p.271).

Typically, the term "rural" is characterized by an assembly different from the urban one at the same time, conventionally delimited by the statistical and administrative units. For example, in the US, the rural and rural non-agricultural farming categories could be distinguished, depending on the percentage of the agricultural population, while in France the strict delimitation of industrial and urban development areas allowed rural areas to be modeled as a territory in which agricultural production is dominant and the elements of nature are in a state closer to the original one. [Vincze Maria (2000) - Regional and Rural Development - Ideas and Practices, Cluj University Press].

In Belgium, rural space is considered to define a certain type of landscape, landschaft, which is a territory cultivated by humans [Bold, I., & Buciuman, E., & Drăghici, M. 2003 - Agricultural Exploitation: Defining, development, Timișoara: Mirton].

In Russia, rural areas are considered to be those where the main functions of agriculture, forestry, fishing and industrial activities are represented for the primary processing of these branches.

The rural concept can be defined in different ways. There is no generalized definition of this concept. Rural can be defined in demographic, socio-economic, ecological, and cultural terms.

In other countries (UK, USA, Brazil), the definition is given by a predominant occupation of the majority of the active population (Bold, I., & Buciuman, E., & Drăghici, M. 2003 - Agricultural Exploitation: , development, Timișoara: Mirton].

From the work "AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT - REALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES FOR ROMANIA" it was stated that "the analysis of rural development dynamics is not at all simple. Rural references, conceptions, scientific theories can all be influenced by the political

and ideological context that treats interpreting the relationship between town and village.

In 1955 Maurice Halbwachs defines the antagonism according to which "there are rich villages and poor villages, there are class differences." The concern to maintain their level, and even to climb the social scale, explains their condition. have the feeling of being peasants in front of the city's inhabitants. [Ursu, Ana, Agrarian Economy and Rural Development - Realities and Perspectives for Romania (November 20, 2014).) Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2561264> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2561264,pag.9>]

Labrousse's historiographer sees in city superiority the contact of civilization, speed, power, opposed to the "temperament" of the countryside. Nature discrepancies show us the inelasticity of rural civilization and the elasticity of urban civilization, stability, relationship, fixed nature, prudence in the case of rural movement and the elites, only a risk in the urban sphere.

Different authors were influenced by the dichotomic evolution of rural space. In a 1963 publication, F. Tönnies writes about community and fellow citizens characterized by lack of knowledge, psychic and social immobility, cultural homogeneity.

The students of Pierre George: R. Dugrand, M. Rochefort, Y. Babonau, B. Kayser, present in their thesis, as a certainty, the classification of urban as a "form of exploitation of villages." The big European cities, seen as a whole have the power of a real ruler, but that does not compel us to take into account the relationship with the secondary centers, where the rural means are the image of an inevitable radical opposition [Ursu, Ana, Agrarian Economy and Rural Development - Realities and Perspectives for Romania (November 20, 2014) Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2561264> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2561264,pag.9>].

In predominantly agricultural holdings, the highest share of activities in rural areas is held by agrarian activities. Over time, rural space has diversified both structurally and functionally, in the sense that more structures and non-aggressive activities have emerged. Nowadays, it is increasingly spoken of neoralism and space and neoral activity.

In order to understand the complexity of this concept, it is necessary to define, even briefly, the main specific notions and its components, such as: - The rural area comprises all the activities that take place outside urban areas and comprises three essential components: administrative communities made up of relatively small members and which have mutual relations; the prominent dispensation of population and collective services; the special economic role of agriculture and forestry. Although from an economic point of view, agriculture and forestry have an important place, the meaning of "rural" is broader than agriculture or forestry, including other activities such as: rural-specific industry; handicraft, productive services on agricultural and non-productive production of the rural population. Rural space is a notion that, through its complexity, has generated many opinions, which differ from one author to another, but in essence almost the same conclusions are reached.

According to some opinions, it is considered that "rural space" can be defined according to the notions that characterize it, including everything that is not urban. This general definition often creates confusions between the notion of rural and the notion of agriculture, which does not correspond to reality.

Rural space is not a concrete and heterogeneous space. The heterogeneity can be seen in two aspects: the first refers to land - topography, basement, soil and microclimate; the second aspect concerns demography - density, polarization from small settlements to large urban agglomerations.

Views on the concept of rural space vary from one author to another and from one country to another, depending on the specific circumstances of each country.

According to OECD practice, about 10% of the EU population lives and works in predominantly rural areas, which are often remote rural areas, covering 47% of the area. In contrast, 60% of the population is concentrated in urban areas representing less than 16% of the Union's territory.

In Sweden, Finland and Denmark, the percentage of those living in predominantly urban areas is the smallest, but increases in intermediate and predominantly rural categories of the region. In the most urbanized countries, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, Germany and Italy, the phenomenon is in the opposite direction.

Ireland, Austria, Greece and Portugal are characterized by a dual structure with an increased percentage of the population in the two extremes: predominantly rural and predominantly urban. In France and Spain, most people live in the intermediate category, in significantly rural areas.

EU experts have given the rural concept a wider sense: "notions of space or the world of the world involve more than just a geographical delimitation; they refer to a whole economic and social fabric, which comprises a set of activities of the most diverse "[EEC: L'avenir du monde rural", Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Conseil. Bulletin des Communautés européennes, Supplement 4/88. p.8]

Besides its function as a framework for life and economic activity, based on the opinions of the European Union specialists, it can be considered that the rural space presents vital functions for the entire society. As a buffer zone and regeneration space, rural space is indispensable to the ecological balance and it will have to become more and more a place of relaxation and recreation.

From the European Union's point of view, which is based on a generally accepted concept in Western European countries, rural areas would cover regions and areas with diverse activities and would include, in these regions, natural and cultivated areas, villages, burgs, small towns and regional centers as well as industrialized rural areas. This means that in the European Union, 50% of the population of the component countries lives in the rural area and occupies 80% of its territory. [NUTS - Nomenclature of Territorial Statistical Units]

The European Commission sees rural areas as a spatial phenomenon that extends to regions, landscapes, natural and agricultural areas, villages and regional centers. [European Commission - Star work document - state of application of Regulation No.2078 / 92. evaluation of agri-environment programs ". Directorate General for Agricultural Policy, European Commission, 1998.]. This definition illustrates how all these elements co-exist but is not analytically elucidated.

In a synthesis definition of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, rural space is considered as part of the natural territory located outside cities and used mainly for agriculture or the forest economy, with largely dependent people on agricultural production and serving the growth and exploitation of forests. The characteristics

of rural areas can be expressed in different forms, depending on population density and characteristics, geographic factors, industrial development [O.N.U.- C.E.E.- Amenagements et developpement des agglomerations rurales, May 24, 1972].

And within the Council of Europe, the definition of rural space has passed through several variants before it reaches the final form adopted by Recommendation no. 1296/1996 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on the "European Charter of Rural Areas", which states that the expression "rural area comprises an inner or coastal zone containing the villages and small towns where the majority part of the land is used for:

- a. agriculture, forestry, aquaculture and fisheries;
- b. the economic and cultural activities of the inhabitants of these areas (crafts, industry, services, etc.);
- c. the provision of non-urban areas for leisure and recreation (or nature reserves);
- d. other uses (except residential).

Starting from the previous definitions we identify different approaches of the rural area according to zones, respectively countries. In France, the rural area is considered to be the low-density territory of the population, with small and medium-sized settlements, where agricultural production is predominant, and the elements of the space are in a pure state. In Belgium, rural space is the national territory minus what is urbanized, that is, what constitutes the localities and industrial activities, and in Germany it is represented by those territories that are outside the high density areas. In Russia, rural areas are considered to be those where the main functions are agriculture, forestry, fishing and industrial activities of primary processing of these branches. And in the United States, there is talk of a "farm-farm" (rural) and a "non-farm rural" (non-agricultural rural).

Rural can be defined as a combination of physical spaces of variable extension, population and specific forms of habitation, in different stages of evolution, whose primary functions of economic essence are the primary ones.

Structural changes brought about by industrialization, growth of cities and industrial centers, technical progress, make it necessary

for many countries, in the light of their historical, economic, national and other peculiarities, to revise their views on the rural environment.

2. Functions of rural area

2.1 Economic function

Economic function is considered the basic function of rural space, having the main pillar agriculture. According to Article 4 of the European Charter for Rural Areas, "Each of the Parties will ensure that rural areas can fulfill their economic function, in particular by guaranteeing an agrarian production system that allows the following to cover food needs for the entire population

This function is also intended to conserve the natural resources of life: soil, water, air, through sustainable use; the protection of biotypes and green areas, with an essential role in the quality of the environment; conservation and protection of biodiversity of species and natural landscapes; protection of wild animals under appropriate ecological conditions.

The largest share in rural areas is held by agricultural activities. But it does not exclude the existence of other activities such as forestry and forestry in mountain and hill areas, to which we add tourism with its components: agrotourism, leisure ecotourism, and other services for the population (RECOMMENDATION 1296 (1996)) European Charter for Rural Areas, https://acor.ro/files/acor/rel_internat/CPLRE/carta_europeana_zonele_rurale.pdf).

However, the rural economy is predominantly agricultural. The higher share of agriculture in the rural economy is becoming more and more questionable because the tendency to "implement" in the rural area specific elements of the urban (the agricultural products processing industry, the development of the infrastructure, the expansion of the cultural activities, etc.) determines the decrease the weight of agriculture in terms of its place in the total occupied population, gross product and value added, etc. Trends in decreasing the share of agricultural activities in the rural economy are accentuated by the reduction of arable land in favor of other land categories: such as for forest plantations, roads, roads, other buildings for recreational and leisure purposes.

From an occupational perspective, rural space is mostly a production area where primary activities hold a high share in its economy. Together with agriculture, animal products processing, forestry and forest exploitation, wood industry, domestic industry, handicraft production complement the economy of rural space. As far as the professions in rural areas are concerned, they are manual, some requiring qualification and even professional profiling.

The population employed in non - productive services, social - cultural activities has a reduced share in the number of inhabitants of rural communities. Also, over a year, a large part of the population working in non-agricultural activities with unlimited employment contracts carries out agricultural activities by helping their family members or by completing their incomes with those from agricultural labor provided to third parties. It can be said that it is a feature of rural work as a person to provide non-agricultural and agricultural labor. This pluriactivity has multiple consequences on the rural world's mood in terms of food self-consumption.

In the rural area the predominant property is the private one. In rural areas, the public and private property of the state is much smaller, consisting of pastures, springs, parks and land with special destinations (reservations, national parks, etc.).

An important feature of rural space is the low density of population and the size of well-ventilated and human settlements. Human communities in rural areas have some specific characteristics, namely, human relationships are better and help is more frequent. The inhabitants know each other in all respects and their ranking is done taking into account the behavior in the family and society.

From a landscape point of view, rural space, through its natural structure, its flora and fauna, is incomparably more beautiful and appreciated by more people. Cleaner air, quietness, etc., governs most of the rural settlements.

Life in rural space, more than in any other social environment, is based on a series of norms emanating from the experience of life, traditions, customs and local culture. The social and cultural life, the characteristics of the countryside, represent an unparalleled heritage of humanity, an element which together with economics and ecology gives the true dimension of rural space. (RECOMNADAREA 1296 (1996)[1] cu privire la Carta Europeană pentru Zonele Rurale.

https://acor.ro/files/acor/rel_internat/CPLRE/carta_europeana_zonele_rurale.pdf)

Non-agricultural activities, especially industrial and service activities, are based on complementarity with agriculture, but this does not exclude the possibility of setting up small and medium-sized enterprises in other areas. And in this case, the fact that it provides the available labor comes in complementing the rural economy. It is appreciated that there can be no sign of equality between rural and rustic, because also in the rural area the laws of progress that impose an evolution in the life of the people in the rural area act. It is hard to say that involutions may, in certain periods, have such serious effects as to rusticate rural space.

2.2. Ecological function

Major environmental concerns such as climate change and large-scale biodiversity loss pose challenges for reconciling the liberal traditions of private property with public interests in the use of environmental goods, services and resources. Excessive general industrialization in some rural areas, the aggressive exploitation of mining lands, the intensification and industrialization of animal husbandry have led to the emergence of a phenomenon of "pollution of the countryside" (soil, air, water), deterioration of the agricultural and forest landscapes, and fauna and producing an ecological imbalance in many ecosystems of rural space.

The first steps towards shaping an environmental policy for the Community area were made in 1972 following the United Nations Environment Conference. This was the starting point for environmental policy for the current European Union, since the Commission had taken the first steps since 1973 to launch a coherent environmental policy for the European Communities.

The aggressive, harmful impact on the natural environment required the adoption of measures aimed at limiting and eliminating the negative effects of the pollutants on the environment, implicitly the rural area. Starting from José Manuel Barroso's statements, we can say that the EU Member States are pursuing smart, green and inclusive growth, focusing on sustainable growth based on environmental protection, protecting biodiversity and green technologies: "For 2020, the Commission proposes to the European Union five measurable objectives that will guide this process and will

be translated into national objectives: employment, research and innovation, climate change and energy, education and the fight against poverty. They will set out the direction we should turn to and will be the means to measure our success. "(José Manuel BARROSO in the Communication Preface of the Commission, EUROPA 2020. A European Strategy for Smart, Green and Inclusive Growth, Brussels , 3.3.2010 COM (2010) 2020 final).

Against this backdrop, the European Environmental Charter is also supported by legislation tailored to the country's concrete conditions to protect the natural environment.

There is also no interest in the policy measures on the delimitation of areas where construction, equipment, circulation or other activities that are harmful to the environment are limited to what is strictly necessary and those with a strong aggression on the environment are forbidden. The global approach to this problem involves the establishment of international scientific, technical and political cooperation to ensure the management of the continental rural environment.

2.3. Social-cultural function

The social character of the rural area is characterized by the nature of human activities, relations within communities and intercommunitarians. Rural relations, relatively small dimensions of localities, specific relations between community members, mutual knowledge and social hierarchy define rural space. Unlike large urban agglomerations, where human anonymity is specific, in rural areas all people know each other from almost every point of view. In this social context, human behavior - the identity of rural activity, is totally different from human behavior - anonymous in urban collectivities.

The social life of localities is intimately linked to spiritual, cultural life. Traditional culture, customs are an unmistakable heritage for every locality, area or rural area. It has been found that if some traditions have disappeared as a result of the "modernization of large production", still there are still the ethnography and folklore treasures in the countryside, crafts that are a great wealth. Great efforts are being made in many ways to revive traditional concerns in the food, handicraft, and so on. In Part II, article 5 of the European Charter for Rural Areas, the role of each country in terms of the

importance of socio-cultural foundation in rural areas is enhanced. According to the Charter, "Each of the Parties shall ensure that rural areas can fulfill their ecological function, in particular: a. Protecting the natural sources of life - the earth, the water and the air - by rational and lasting use; b. protecting existing and functional biotopes and "green spaces"; c. maintaining and preserving landscapes; d. maintaining and protecting biodiversity, in particular genetic diversity, species diversity and landscape diversity; e. protecting wild animals through the necessary legal instruments and under appropriate environmental conditions' (RECOMMENDATION 1296 (1996) on the European Charter for Rural Areas, https://acor.ro/files/acor/rel_internat/CPLRE/carta_europeana_zonele_rurale.pdf).

The socio-cultural function assures and broadens the socio-cultural role, in particular through the local associative life. And by using modern information technologies and in rural areas, the relations between the urban and the rural population are strengthened and developed. In order to increase the human capital needed for rural development, educational programs are created so that they can respond to future demands.

3. Definition of culture and education concepts

3.1. Culture

The current term of culture is inherited from expressions in Latin literature; Cicero established an equivalence between the expressions ANIMAL CULTURE and AGRORUM CULTURE (human culture and earth culture); this equivalence is a transposition of the classical Greek conception of education, conception dominated by NEMESIS, ARETE and EURITMIA (the limit, the ensemble of noble virtues of the soul and the superior harmony of the human personality). The word CULTURE is present in a German dictionary from 1793.

In the eighteenth century, the meaning of the term culture as the education of the spirit is fixed; at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the term cultural is being used as a sociocultural phenomenon in the German social sciences (Kroeber, Klukhohn); and in the nineteenth century, with the

great anthropology schools, the term culture is subjected to standardization operations.

In american, the term culture is more related to material and technical development, techniques of transmission of social inheritance;

Ethnological schools regard culture as the lifestyles of a relatively stable people, acquired and transmitted from one generation to the next, a process of transmission in which culture is subject to constant change;

Modern schools are centered on communication, on the "disciplinary communities" of the specialized "producers" of culture (state people, artists, literati, etc.) on a classification of shared values, "vehicles" and "shared objects" of society. At the same time, sociologists define another term "semicultura" starting from C. Rădulescu-Motru's statement (1868-1957) as "the lack of harmony between the soul elements of a people, the presence of" oscillations and clashes ", the absence of a spiritual unity , but which does not leave the impression of a "badly prepared", but "something inexhaustible". In their view, "semi-colonies provide a healthy environment for individuals and allow the emergence of" extraordinary individuals "from whose efforts culture has emerged. (Cătălin Zamfir, Lazăr Vlăsceanu, (1993) Sociology Dictionary, Babel, Bucharest, 1993, pp. 530-531)

Lévi-Strauss points out that "the notion of culture is of English origin because Taylor defined it for the first time as the whole complex that includes human habits as a member of society." "It therefore refers to the characteristic differences between man and animal, giving rise to an opposition, which has remained classical since then, between nature and culture."

Continuing on the line of identifying some definitions of culture, several other examples may be retained. J. DUMAZEDIER defines culture as "a set of notions, attitudes, values related to the life of society and the life of the individual; culture, work, family obligations, spiritual obligations, free time, in one word - the whole of everyday life. " For E. MORIN, a culture is "a complex body of rules, symbols, myths and images that penetrate the individual's intimacy, structure their instincts, direct their emotions." R. BOUDON, in the same direction, states: "Culture can be defined as a set of social representations and practices in what they have as

nonfunctional." Culture is today a register around which a set of values, expectations and attitudes are ordered.

3.2 Education

A set of methods and measures applied systematically (and in an organized framework) for the purpose of forming and developing intellectual, moral, physical attributes, etc. children, young people or people or human collectives.

Process of systematic (and organized) influence on the formation and development of intellectual, moral, physical attributes, etc. of children, of youth or of people or of human collectives through education

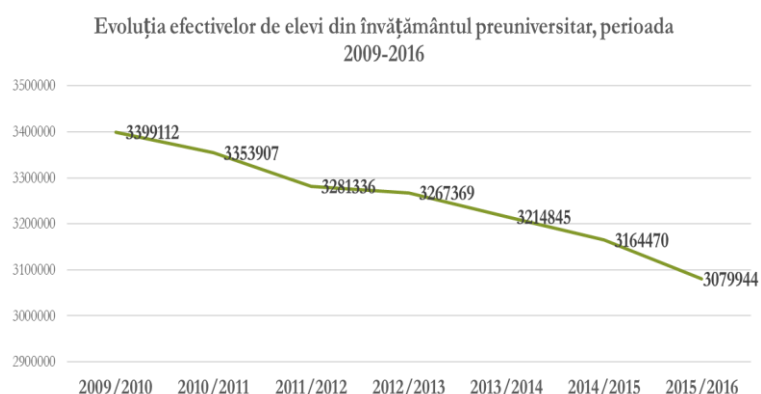
Fundamental social phenomenon to transmit the life experience of adult generations and culture to generations of children and young people, empowering them to integrate into society. (Ursula Schiopu, (1997), Dictionary of Psychology, Babel, Bucharest, 1997, p 253-254)

4. Social transformation and rural educational cultural space

4.1. Education level of the Romanian population in 2016

The distribution of the population aged 15 and over by level of education reveals that just over half (51.6%) had an average level of education. People with low education represented 35.1% of the total population aged 15 and over, and those with higher education accounted for 13.3%. The majority of higher education graduates resided in urban areas (86.4%) and were women (52.6%). Medium-school graduates were also mostly resident in the urban area (60.0%), but the share of males (52.7%) was the main share of gender distribution. (INS Report, 2010-2016).

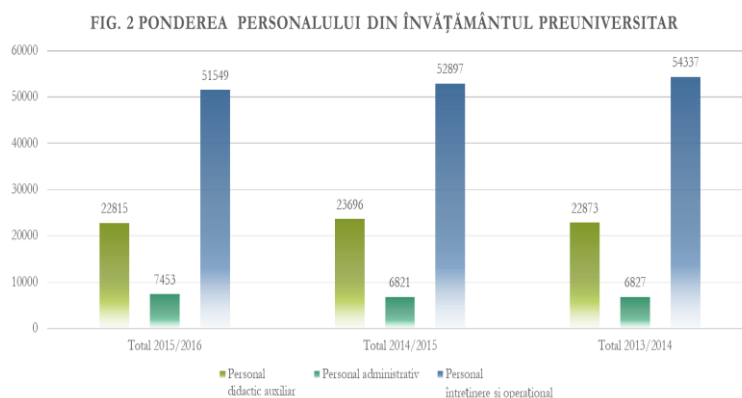
Fig. 1. Evolution of the number of pupils in pre-university education, 2009-2016



Source. County School Inspectorate Bihor

On the basis of the calculated information we can see that descending evolution was registered at all levels of education, except for vocational education - but in different weights and forms per residence area (Fig.1.Data calculated based on NIS information, 2010-2016.)

Fig. 2. Share of staff in pre-university education.

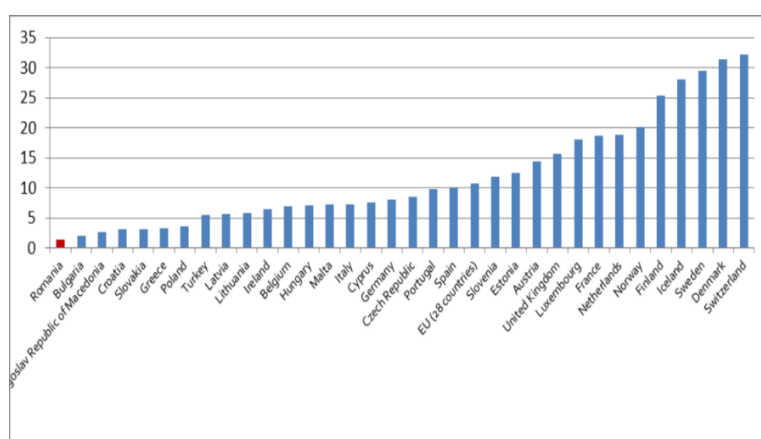


Source. County School Inspectorate Bihor

By category of personnel, according to Fig. 2, positive evolution was recorded by the administrative staff, at all levels of education. In the case of teaching staff, auxiliary teaching staff and maintenance and operational staff, total staff decreases were recorded, with decreases and insignificant increases at different educational levels.

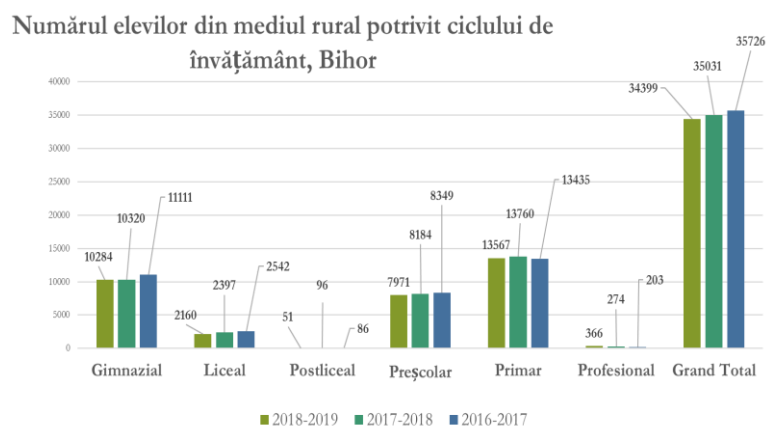
At the level of 2015, Romania ranks last among the countries of the European Union (Romania - 1.3%, compared to the EU27 average of 10.7%) regarding the participation of adults aged 25-64 years in lifelong learning (Figure 3). Under these conditions, Romania is still far from the European target for 2020 projected at a 15% share. (Source: EUROSTAT, 2016)

Fig.3. EU.The participation of adults aged 25-64 years in lifelong learning



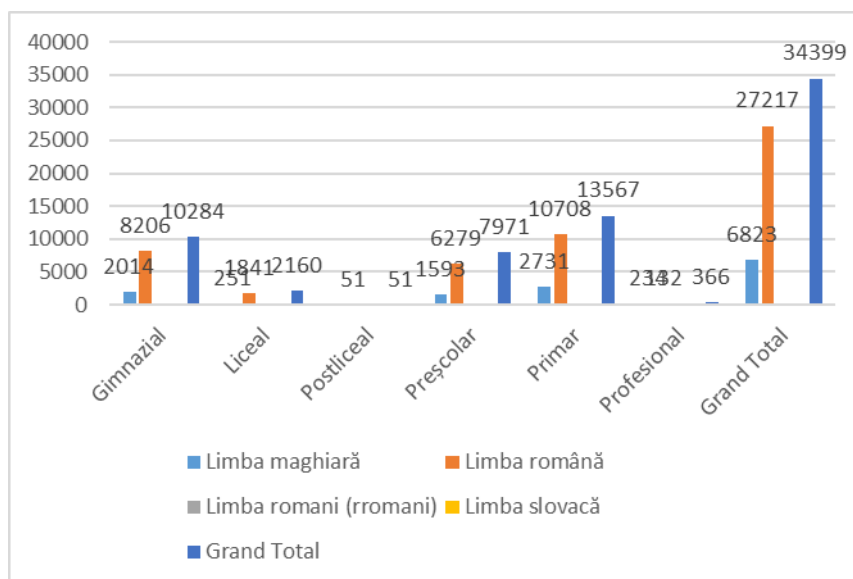
Source: EUROSTAT, 2016

Fig. 4. Number of rural students according to the education cycle, Bihor



Source. County School Inspectorate Bihor

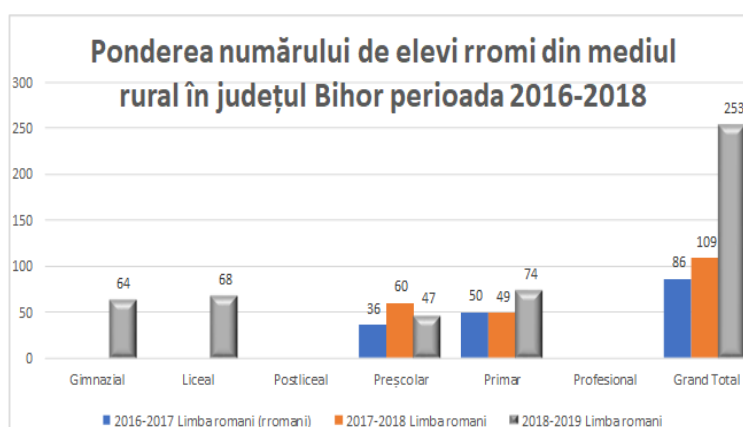
Fig. 5. The share of the number of rural students in Bihor county 2018-2019



Source. County School Inspectorate Bihor

The numerical evolution of Roma children on education cycles is decreasing. From the ISJ Bihor statistics we observe continuity in the pre-school and primary cycle for the period 2017-2019. No pupils were registered in the post-secondary education between the analyzed periods.

Fig. 6. The share of Roma pupils in the Bihor County in the period 2016-2018



Source: County School Inspectorate Bihor

4.2 Cultural areas in rural environment

At Bihor County, out of a total of 781 educational units, there are 600 pre-university education units registered in the database of the Bihor County School Inspectorate in 2019. (Bihor County School Inspectorate).

According to the official data published on the National Library of Romania's website, out of a total of 97 libraries in Bihor County, 50 libraries are registered at the level of the 100 administrative units. (<http://www.bibnat.ro/biblioteci.php?judet=Bihor> National Library of Romania).

At Bihor County, a total of 26 museums, 15 are in the countryside. They are divided into memorial houses, collections, ethnographic, natural sciences and religious art (<http://ghidulmuzeelor.cimec.ro/seljud.asp?judet=Bihor> National Heritage Institute).

In the rural area of Bihor County there are no other cultural spaces such as cinemas, bookstores for theater or concerts, arts / music schools, or art galleries. There are in turn a number of 3 multifunctional cultural centers.

5. Policies and programs on educational and cultural development

5.1 Vocational education and training policies

In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, education and training policies as such are set by each Member State of the European Union (EU). As a consequence, the EU has a supportive role. However, there are a number of challenges common to all Member States - such as aging societies, skills shortages, global competition and pre-school education - so common responses are needed and countries work together and learn from each other. (<Http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/ro/sheet/139/educatie-si-formare-profesionala>)

5.2 Higher education policies

Under the subsidiarity principle, higher education policies are decided at the level of each Member State. As a consequence, the EU has mainly a supporting and coordinating role. The main objectives

of the Union's action in the field of higher education include encouraging student and staff mobility, supporting the mutual recognition of diplomas and periods of study, promoting cooperation between higher education institutions and the development of distance learning (<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/140/-higher-education>)

5.3. European Programs on Educational and Cultural Development

Programming period 2014-2020

In the 2014-2020 programming period, which is still focused on enhancing competitiveness and growth and jobs, national and regional authorities are urged: to direct ERDF assistance to support new cultural sectors closely linked to innovation and creativity, orientate the return on investment in cultural heritage to the development and support of clusters in the creative industry, increase synergies with other funds, such as the Creative Europe Framework Program, the COSME, Orizont Program for the Competitiveness of Enterprises and Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises 2020, the Framework Program for Research and Innovation, the European Creative Industries Alliance, national and / or regional programs for cultural and creative industries and other possible sources of funding (https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/ro)

The Interreg V-Romania-Hungary 2014-2020 Program

It supports the implementation of integrated interventions with a strong cross-border and strategic focus, in order to exploit common potential and address common challenges.

Bihor County will have at least two cross-border projects involving pre-university and university education, NGOs and public institutions that will bring education, culture and tourism to the fore.

Interreg Europe 2014-2020 Program

Priority Axis 1: Research, Technological Development and Innovation,

The Joint Operational Program Romania - Republic of Moldova 2014-2020 contributes to the achievement of the objectives of the European Neighborhood Instrument (ENI) by promoting local culture and cultural heritage preservation, by developing the health

system at the level of the area concerned, infrastructure and last but not least the development of education and preventing and combating security and safety issues (Source <http://www.cultura.ro/programs-europene>).

Multiannual Financial Framework 2021-2027

The Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) is the long-term EU budget. It sets the limits of EU spending - as a whole, but also for different areas of activity - for a period of at least five years. Recent MFFs usually covered a seven-year period.

From the study entitled "Financial Framework After 2020: Risks and Opportunities for Romania", conducted by a team of analysts from the European Institute of Romania, it appears that the EU's total budget planned on commitments for the period 2021 - 2027 marks a stagnation in real terms though with a slight increase in terms nominal; in absolute figures, we are talking about 1,134.58 billion euros (constant prices 2018) or EUR 1,279.40 billion (prices current) compared to the level current 1.087 billion euros (at prices 2018) - details in the fig.7.

Fig.7. The new multiannual financial framework.



Source: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/future-europe/eu-budget-future_en

Whatever the figures, Figure 7 shows that the EU's future budget on long term is more about internal changes, structure, redistribution of resources than major changes.

PERIOD 2021-2027

ERASMUS program

On May 30, 2019, the European Commission adopted the proposal for the next Erasmus program, doubling the budget to 30 billion euros for the period 2021-2027.

The next program will provide learning and mobility opportunities for 12 million people, compared to 4 million people in the current program.

the Erasmus program will continue to cover schools, education and training, higher education and adult learning - youth and sport, but in a more streamlined way (ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/)

RO-CULTURE program

General Objective Strengthening Economic and Social Development through Cultural Cooperation, Cultural Entrepreneurship and Cultural Heritage Management. The budget of the Program is 29,015,294 euros, out of which: 24,663,000 euros - representing the non-reimbursable external financing; EUR 4 352 294 - representing national co-financing.

At least 10% of the eligible costs of the Program are intended to improve the situation of the Roma population (<https://www.ro-cultura.ro/>).

Conclusions

From the reports, documents and financing programs analyzed, and on the basis of the folded statistical data, some conjectures, both negative and positive, as well as proposals, can be issued.

1. There is cultural heritage and educational infrastructure, the human resource is identified, but interactive educational programs with long-term effect are lacking, as well as qualified staff. To make full use of this potential, it is necessary to improve the curriculum for pupils, young people and adults. Starting from the 2014 definition of UNESCO in terms of sustainable development, namely: "meeting the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs," I propose sustainable education programs as well as cultural education programs and rural education.

2. In order to have an effective intercultural dialogue, to increase the educational and cultural level and to know the active, action-oriented dimension, by applying sociological research on the ground, the Gütish interdisciplinary monographs started by the sociological school in Bucharest, could analyze, radiograph the real situation of the Romanian countryside.

3. Funding programs with European funds, especially those implemented in rural areas, should use human resources in local communities to become creative, entrepreneurs, local developers and not to be forced to leave rural areas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Robert Badouin (1971), *Economie Rurale*, Librairie Armand Colin, 1971, p.271
- Vincze Maria (2000) – *Regional and rural development – ideas and practices*, Presa Universitară Clujeană
- Bold, I.; Buciuman, E.; Drăghici, M. 2003 - *Exploatarea agricolă: definirea, organizarea, dezvoltare*, Timișoara: 2003 Mirton
- Ursu, Ana, (2014) *Agrarian Economy and Rural Development - Realities and Perspectives for Romania* (November 20, 2014). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2561264> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2561264>, pag.9
- CEE: „L’avenir du monde rural”, *Communication de la Commission au Parlement Européen et au Conseil. Bulletin des Communautés européennes*, Supplement 4/88. p.8
- O.N.U.- C.E.E.- *Amenagements et developpement des agglomerations rurales*, 24 mai, 1972
- RECOMNADAREA 1296 (1996), cu privire la *Carta Europeană pentru Zonele Rurale*, https://acor.ro/files/acor/rel_internat/CPLRE/carta_europeana_zonele_rurale.pdf
- José Manuel BARROSO în Prefața la Comunicare a Comisiei. EUROPA 2020. *O strategie europeană pentru o creștere inteligentă, ecologică și favorabilă incluziunii*, Bruxelles, 3.3.2010 COM(2010) 2020 final
- Cătălin Zamfir; Lazăr Vlăsceanu , (1993) *Dicționar de sociologie*, Babel, București 1993, p, 530-531

Ursula Schiopolu, (1997), *Dictionar de Psihologie*, Babel, București, 1997, p 253-254.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/ro/sheet/139/educatie-si-formare-profesionala>

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/ro/sheet/140/invatamantul-superior>

https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/ro

<http://www.cultura.ro/programe-europene>

ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/

http://ier.gov.ro/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Final_Studiul-1_SPOS-2018_CFM-3.pdf

https://ec.europa.eu/commission/future-europe/eu-budget-future_en

Daniel Dăianu; Amalia Fugaru; Gabriela Mihailovici;Clara-Alexandra Volintiru, 2018, *Cadrul multiannual financiar post 2020: riscuri și oportunități pentru România*,2018,București, IER, p.30

TEACHING AND LEARNING IN SPECIAL EDUCATION WITH INFORMATION COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES PROJECT – A WAY OF INTERCULTURAL RESEARCH

Adela BRADEA*
Valentin Cosmin BLÂNDUL**

Abstract. *The role of ICT in the educational system of today is well known. When these need to be adjusted to people with special educational needs, teachers no longer feel so well-prepared to use them in classroom work. Initial training of future teachers to teach students with special educational needs in mainstream education using the most recent ICT facilities has been a common goal of several European universities, being materialized in an Erasmus project named Teaching and Learning in Special Education project with Information Communication Technologies- (TELESEICT). This article aims to present some aspects related to the issue of the education of students with disabilities in Europe, as well as some examples of good practices, results of the project, in which the University of Oradea is a partner. Our three-year research has proved that there is, on the hand, a need in Romania for sustained efforts by decision-makers to equip schools with the necessary resources to integrate and educate students with special educational needs and, on the other hand, to train teachers to use them.*

Keywords: *students with special educational needs, ICT, teaching.*

1. Introduction

ICT is the name for a set of tools and technology resources used to communicate and create, disseminate, store and manage information for the educational process. The possibilities of

* University of Oradea, The Teacher Training Department, E-mail: adelabradea@yahoo.com

** University of Oradea, The Teacher Training Department, E-mail: bvali73@yahoo.com

information, processing and storage offered by the computer provide opportunities for improvement of the didactic act. On one hand, the computer encourages the permanent reconfiguration of the image we have about the areas of knowledge - accessing various sources of information gives us not only an extra of knowledge in quantitative terms (we learn more about a particular subject), but also in qualitative terms (we look at the topic from several perspectives). On the other hand, exposure to this information leads to new ideas for didactic practice. In order to do this, the teacher has to be well trained both in the special education and in the field of ICT (Bradea, Blândul, 2017: 104).

A non-discriminatory educational environment must take into account the particularities of each student. In other words, this environment must be adapted to the needs and possibilities of a deficient student, even if it belongs to an inclusive or specific environment to its needs. In this case, we are talking about the access technologies that are generic of all hardware and software solutions that allow users with sensory and / or mobility deficiencies to use ICT and the computer with everything related to it, and communication services associated to it, to compensate the limits imposed by disability and to strengthen and accentuate learning, communication, independence, mobility, and greater environmental control. There are hardware and software products that allow people with disabilities to access, interact, and use the computer at home, at work and at school (Blândul, Bradea, 2016: 7). The features of these technologies are the following: facilitates the access to information to a person with a deficiency that he / she did not previously has access to; allows the formation of new skills to facilitate social and professional integration; allow tasks to be carried out relatively independently and at a similar rhythm to a person without disabilities; provides support in educational activities and social interactions.

2. Teleseict - A Successful European Project in the Field of Inclusive Education

In order to overcome the problems related to insufficient IT training of teachers who teach pupils with disabilities, the Polytechnic Institute of Guarda, Portugal, in partnership with 11 universities from 10 European countries, implements between 2016 -

2019 the Teaching and Learning in Special Project TELESEICT (www.teleseict.eu - co-funded by the European Union through the Erasmus + KA2 Program). Partners: Albanian Institute for Public Affair (Albania), Szegedi Tudományegyetem (Hungary), Univerzita Palackeho V Olomouci (Czech Republic), Högskolan Kristianstad (Sweden), Sakarya Üniversitesi (Turkey), Universidad de Sevilla, Universidad de Granada (Spain), University of Patras (Greece), Universitatea din Oradea (Romania), UC Limburg (Belgium).

The main purpose of TELESEICT, having the clear notion of the state of the art in Europe, it's to raise the awareness in teacher training of the use of ICT – digital competences, when creating good learning environments for pupils in need of special support. Therefore, the project highlights the use of ICT with people with different disabilities in educational contexts and in the special educational framework, thus allowing access to ICT for almost everyone involved in the process. We wanted to highlight the importance of instructing future teachers across Europe to use ICT as a pedagogical tool and how technology influences the learning process, therefore our project aimed at collecting new tools and strategies for use in the teaching process and learning, either inside or outside the classroom. The combination of knowledge from the 11 partners give the necessary European dimension to the project because everyone help with their experience in one specific area: Intellectual disability, Physical disability, hearing loss and deafness, vision loss and blindness, accessibility. The training of future teachers, the actual teachers in schools, the parents at their homes, the responsible people in associations or other stakeholders like city-halls, need to know and acquire the most relevant ICT necessary since the society in which we live thus requires us to do it.

Nowadays there is no doubt that technologies of information and communication and their use gains special relevance in the field of education. The system of education (students, teachers, parents, schools) and the society in general (associations, institutions that work with students with Special Education Needs – SEN, other relevant stakeholders), advocates total inclusion to students with SEN, except in exceptional situations. Therefore, all education professionals (students future teachers, teachers, parents) must acquire the basic theoretical knowledge and psychological principles in the field of teaching and learning difficulties. More than this, special education is

not conceived as a specific action, only referred to certain students of different educational stages, previously classified or tagged with, but as attention generalized to all them, although with different degree of intensity or with different strategies, depending on the specific needs. Moreover, reference are not the students "with disabilities" but their needs, related to the optimal development of their abilities (cognitive, emotional or social).

The project will contribute to the development of internationalization at the different HEI. Specifically, the following objectives are guidelines for the project in a short term:

1. to strengthen contacts between the involved partners by developing a joint massive online open course (MOOC) to be offered by using distance education;
2. to understand ways of education in different cultures regarding SEN;
3. to use the partnership to give students and staff possibilities of studying courses as part of their pedagogical education;
4. to develop the existing programs in SEN;

At long – term planning, the increasing of knowledge in SEN, includes:

1. development of several joint master degree (JMD);
2. development of internet based courses shared between the partners;
3. sharing the investigation across international congress;
4. publication of articles and books;
5. development of education curriculum in basic education courses meeting the needs state with TELESEICT;
6. changing the policies regarding the SEN and ICT inside each country's ministry of Education belonging to the consortium;
7. opening to the entire Europe, with the goal of join the network of South America institutions;

According to what was state previously, plus the experience, the know how, the number of institutions across Europe, the silent partners connected and working in the project, the impact in participating students (directly), the university teachers and colleagues (indirectly), the parents, the general public, means a rich

diversity that will provide great outputs for the future, making the project a sustainable tool for everyone.

The main activities of the project can be grouped into two main categories: On one hand, those activities involve the participation of all partners: general projection meetings , the organization of special training courses in special psychopedagogy addressed to the students from the mentioned 11 universities that opted for the didactic career, the building of an on-line platform containing educational materials for pupils with disabilities, the organization of international scientific conferences and others. On the other hand, there are mentioned those activities that involve the conclusion of local partnerships between universities grouped by geographical regions, whereby a series of support materials will be designed and elaborated and subsequently delivered to students, uploaded on-line or published in the Scientific conferences. The outputs created from this project, completely open access, will allow the share off all content to a vast audience, so the information that come out from TELESEICT will grant information to future (youth workers – students) and present (teachers in schools, people in other institutions and stakeholders that work with SEN) allowing a total immersion on digital era in this 21 milenium.

2.1. A Way of Intercultural Research

This project consisted primarily of a common research path, run over three years. If at first we were a multicultural group, soon we became an intercultural one, interacting with each other at both professional and personal level. Differences in inclusive education in each country, but especially differences in the use of ICT in the education of children with SEN, have become the necessary sources of knowledge enrichment, skills training, but above all awareness of the efforts need to be made by each country to improve the lives of people with disabilities. The collaboration within the project was not limited to the teachers involved but to the participating students.

They have benefited from 2 IP (Intensive Programs), each of them for 10 days, in which they learned theoretical aspects related to inclusive education, but mostly they were familiar with all access technologies needed for people with disabilities. As is common in each Erasmus project, students have worked in multicultural groups, being in the position of exchanging information, but especially learning from each other.

Discussions and conclusions

In order to be able to access learning, must be taken into consideration the tools used in the educational act, but especially the way they are used. If the mode of use is not appropriate, then a tool that can be beneficial in training can turn into an object that makes the educational act difficult. Therefore, it is necessary to train teachers to be flexible, stress-resistant and to use modern teaching-learning-evaluation methods. Thus, one of the most important subjects that must be a priority for Romanian universities is the need for initial and continuous training through ICT for the teaching staff teaching in special education / special integrated education (Blândul, Bradea, 2017: 342).

Teachers who teach in special education / special integrated education should necessarily have studies in the field or, at the very least, undergo a number of training courses in special psycho-pedagogical school.

The curriculum of such a program is at the attitude of the education provider and may include psycho-pedagogical elements of people with different types of deficiencies, the teaching methodology for these pupils, elements regarding the protection of the child in difficulty, basic concepts of school / social inclusion of disabled people, etc. (Peter, 2010: 177). It is also important that information on special education through new technologies be found in this curriculum, either as distinct study subjects or as modules included in the content of other school subjects. It can be appreciated that like this will increase the level of training of specialists involved in special education and, consequently, the quality of life of people with disabilities, the real beneficiaries of these training programs.

It can be said that, through its purpose and objectives, TELESEICT was a project that aimed to bring together specialists from different fields, but with the basic action supporting people in difficulty, namely persons with various disabilities, along with people with a normal development, in an attempt to create a true community based on the motto "unity in diversity".

Thus, several institutions and organizations from the community have been attracted to this project, with an impressive number of people involved. In Romania, besides the University of Oradea, joined the School for Inclusive Education School no. 1 Oradea, "TopFormalis" Education and Training Association from

Oradea, Oradea City Hall, "Cristal" Oradea Sensor Inclusive Education Center Oradea, as well as numerous other structures that through their efforts contributed to build a relevant overall image of people with disabilities and their chances for real inclusion in the community.

The winners of this project were, on the one hand, the students (future teachers) who benefited from initial training in the teaching field with a major focus on special psycho-pedagogy, and on the other hand, the teachers in activity who benefited from continuing training and professional development opportunities in the field of special education, as well as exchanges of experience with colleagues from abroad at a National Symposium held in Szeged (Hungary) in February 2019. It can therefore be appreciated that a well-trained and open teaching staff regarding the students with Special Educational Requirements can be an important point of support in the implementation of integrated education and, generally speaking, in the inclusion of this disadvantaged class of school population.

In conclusion, we note that integrated / inclusive education is an extremely complex process due to the large number of people / institutions involved and the fact that this process takes place over a very long time. Family, school, church, local government, non-governmental organizations, ordinary people are just a few of the agents that can facilitate or, on the contrary, make it more difficult to carry out this process. On the other hand, inclusion of people in need is a timeless process that does not take into account the calendar moments and cannot be said that it will ever be over.

But perhaps the most important agent of inclusion is the person with disabilities who, through a pro-active attitude, must be consciously and responsibly involved in promoting their own cause. In this context of cultural diversity of opinions and mentality, the TELESEICT European Project has been a supportive and valuable reference point for the representatives of the 10 Partner Countries to know, understand and cooperate at a higher level in order to identify and diminish differences between people.

The new technology of information was the common language agreed by all members of the project (team or partners) that united them and facilitated a more effective meta-communication than any other instrument. This is why it can be appreciated that intercultural openness and communication between seemingly different

individuals may be the most effective link in building a community in which each individual feels properly valued, regardless of the problems they face.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bradea, A. & Blandul, V.C. (2017). *New modalities to increase the accessibility of students with visually impaired to education using ICT. New Trends and Issues Proceedings on Humanities and Social Sciences.*, Issue 3, pp. 103-110
<http://sproc.org/ojs/index.php/pntsbs/authorDashboard/submission/2635>
- Blândul, V. & Bradea, A. (2017). *Developing Psychopedagogical and Methodical Competences in Special / Inclusive Education Teachers. Problems of Education in the 21st Century*, 75: 335–344.
- Blândul, V. & Bradea, A. (2016). *The status and role of ICT in the education of students with special educational needs: a research from Bihor County, Romania. Problems of Education in the 21st Century*, 71: 6 – 15.
- Peter, K. (2010). *Intercultural Implications in School Mass Integration of Children with Disabilities*. In Marcu, V. & Bradea, A. (Eds.), *The Approach of interculturality in multiethnic education*, pp. 173-181. Oradea: University Press.

INTERCULTURALITY - A NEW GENERAL COMPETENCE IN THE STUDY OF ROMANIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AT THE SECONDARY EDUCATION

Adela BRADEA*

Abstract. *The new curriculum of Romanian language and literature of secondary education are structured on five general competencies, based on the key competencies established at the European Council. The fifth added competence is targeting intercultural education. The goal pursued by the program is the formation of an individual able to use the Romanian language for learning purposes, both during schooling and throughout their life; an individual able to use the Romanian language for the purposes of social insertion; an individual who assumes his own linguistic and cultural identity, while being sensitive to intercultural and multicultural values. This article proposes a qualitative analysis of the Romanian language and literature curricula and textbooks secondary education, to highlight the strengths, but also the limits of the new approach to this discipline. Research has shown that although Romanian language and literature offers contexts, on certain subjects, to capitalize on and promote intercultural education, it is important for the teacher to be able, available and prepared to do so. It must be convinced that it is a requirement of our society's education to develop pupils' interest in intercultural issues, to develop an attitude of cultural and intercultural empathy, thus leading to the understanding of alterity and the refusal to discriminate.*

Keywords: *Intercultural competence, teaching, textbook*

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of cultural, social, demographic diversity is a constant of the world today. It is no longer possible to discuss a world of homogeneity, of pure and closed cultural areas. Cultural

* University of Oradea, The Teacher Training Department. E-mail: adelabrada@yahoo.com

diversity, whatever its ethnic, racial or religious nature represents for any society a spiritual benefit when the optimal ways of expressing value through mutuality are discovered and put into practice as a manifestation of the universality of this axiological plurality.

Whether so far, the problem of multiculturalism, has been seen and approached through diachronic plan, as a regulating lever or catalyst of the encounters of cultures that belong certain different periods time, today is necessary to see everything in a synchronic plan “for a proper understanding of the individuals who belong to certain different cultures and who live in the same historical present” (Cucoş, 2000).

Unlike multiculturalism and multicultural education, the intercultural orientation and implicitly intercultural education offers its own perspective regarding the relations among different cultures, a perspective mainly aimed at promoting the values and the specific nature of any ethnic, racial or religious group in the wider context of universal values and at laying down concrete possibilities for crossing the borders that define the specific nature of different cultural areas.

The appearance of intercultural education is the expression of the fact that the contemporary society is more and more aware of its multicultural dimension, and the results of this process soon appear in different planes of socio-human existence (Mândrea, 2010: 182). Thus, intercultural education is not the product of theoretical speculations, but a natural consequence of the manifestation of contemporary cultural diversity.

Through intercultural education it becomes possible to conceive and understand one’s own cultural identity as being complementary and not opposed to that promoted by the other, and that the values one assumes and promoted correspond to similar axiological elements in the framework of certain cultures, although sometimes under different forms. The premises for relating a correct and objective perception of one’s own cultural identity to the cultural identity of the other imply the acceptance of the possibility of establishing functional communicative relations between different cultures. Thus, contrary to the thesis proposed by Spengler, who gave credibility to the idea of the monadic character of cultures and of conceiving these as entities perfectly closed off and isolated from the communicative point of view in relation to one another, intercultural

education is founded particularly on the premises of cultural permeability and of the creative potential of interactions between different cultures.

For these desiderates of intercultural education to be attained we have to take into consideration the achievement of certain objectives at three different levels, but existing in a permanent and compulsory interrelation:

- gaining knowledge of culture in general and its impact on individual and group behaviors, of their own culture's knowledge of other cultures;
- the development of skills connected to life in a multicultural/ intercultural society (the awareness of their own cultural determinations, stereotypes and prejudices, identifying these to others, the capacity to correlate different the points of view, the ability to form communicative relations);
- forming attitudes such as respect for cultural diversity, for one's own and others' cultural identity, the rejection of discrimination and intolerance;

Knowledge acquisition related to our own cultures and to cultures of other communities - at first the cultures of those local communities whose representatives, the students have frequent contacts with, but later others as well, from other geographical areas, - represents an important dimension of intercultural education (Bradea, 2015: 146). It is therefore normal to have numerous activities that focus on this dimension.

Intercultural education implies, due to its nature, certain cognitive and moral valences. The cognitive function promoted by intercultural education materializes mainly at the level of encouraging the students' skills in analyzing objectively different actions or events, of performing strategies to know and understand history and culture based on information and data, strategies lying beyond the stereotypes of action or thinking. The moral function of intercultural education derives from valuing the ethical potential of the content of different cultures which allows us to offer certain desirable models of behavior and stimulate students' capacity for moral values.

To synthesize, we may say that intercultural education proposes, as fundamental priorities, the shaping of human personality

towards an understanding, acceptance and personal valorizing of cultural, ethnic, religious or racial differences and in the meantime, the formation and development of social intercultural competence, perceived as a capacity for properly interacting with the people belonging to other cultures, religious, ethnic or racial groups.

2. Analysis of the Romanian Language and Literature Curriculum from the Perspective of Intercultural Competence

In consensus with the European policies in the field of education, taking into account the key competences map to be legislated by the European Parliament's Recommendation, new school curricula have been developed in Romania, which have been available since the school year 2018/2019.

It is well known that, as a subject of study, Romanian language and literature is at the heart of each student's identity construction by calling on national cultural values and by studying them to the Romanian model of being, but correlated with European values, intercultural and multicultural.

The goal pursued by the curriculum is the formation of an individual to be able to use the Romanian language for learning purposes, both during schooling and throughout their life; an individual able to use the Romanian language for social insertion, as a language of trade, social, etc. ; an individual who assumes their own linguistic and cultural identity, being at the same time sensitive to intercultural and multicultural values in the context of (self)discovery and (self)building.

In this regard, unlike the previous curriculum, a competency for intercultural education has been added as a goal: the manifestation of a cultural and intercultural empathic behavior. In order to develop this competence, in the topics proposed for discussion with middle school students, teaching-learning-evaluation aims at an integrated approach, from literary content to language use, to complement specific identifying values. Thus, the competence will pursue the discovery of one's own identity, the expression of one's own emotions and experiences of national and universal values, etc. in some subjects during the four years of gymnasium: *Mother tongue - an essential source for personal development and enrichment of cultural luggage; Personal identity - national identity - cultural and linguistic diversity; Cultural interference (cultures of*

minorities in the Romanian space); Romanian language and culture in Europe; the linguistic community of Romanian speakers everywhere; Values of the popular culture in the Romanian space; Romanian and Roman languages; European linguistic and cultural contacts; language and culture elements of the countries near the border of Romania; Behavioral patterns in the texts of universal literature; Empathy and opening. We and the others; Romanian cultural values in European / world context.

It is proposed to valorify at least one text with an identity content, belonging to a canonical author, to each class. The ideational offer of the texts will concern both the identity complex (identity and tolerance, identity values), the cultivation of the sense of belonging to the Romanian culture and values, as well as the development of aesthetic taste by reading works whose value is recognized by the literary exegesis. But, it specifies the curriculum, the formation / development of this competence should aim at both the cultivation of the identity dimension and the formation of mediation and intercultural understanding skills.

The role of the literature in a young man's life is indisputable, regardless of the political, social or educational context. Besides its contribution to the development and nuance of the vocabulary, literary texts urge knowledge (yours, of others), the development of creativity, the cultivation of emotions, of a positive, reflexive attitude towards receptivity to new experiences, the practice of free expression of impressions, of feelings, the power of reasoning your own ideas, understanding the plurality of meanings, etc. In other words, beyond cultural enrichment, literature favors the formation of each student's personality. The aims of studying Romanian language and literature cannot be achieved without taking into account the axiological dimension of pupils' personality.

By receiving the message of a literary text, the student has access to existential models / antimodels, which ensures the learning activity regulator role in the individual-society relationship. Literature opens the perspective of fictional alternatives to the social model, being, for the pupil, a space of role play that can facilitate social insertion in adult life. The study of literature also aims at modeling the cultural universe, respecting the particularities of each student, precisely through the possibility that he has to select, by reading, the models that match his personality and temperamental

structure. Thus, the study of the literary phenomenon develops and stimulates creativity, contributing substantially to the definition of individuality as an expression of freedom of reception, and to its connection to the social model in which the pupil lives.

For the Romanian educational system, this approach is a step forward. But, unfortunately, there is still a need for major changes, both in the curriculum and especially as regards the mentality of each person. Intercultural education must become a constant of the society in which we live, materialized not only at the theoretical level, but also in everyday life.

The option for intercultural literature is not the only alternative; the multitude of strategies this kind of education can offer is much larger.

Extracurricular activities represent, as well, extremely important opportunities for intercultural education. They may take the form of specific actions (e.g. a trip), at times repeated (e.g. Christmas show) or structured over a longer period of time, or perhaps staggered throughout the entire school year (e.g. an intercultural club, school partnerships with classes or schools with students belonging to another cultural area). It is important, in our opinion, to ensure coherence with the school's educational message and to maximize the impact of the activities. Thus, extracurricular activities are more efficient if they are prepared through specific learning activities in the classroom, while the activities in the classroom have everything to gain from valorising the experience offered by extracurricular activities (Blândul, 2015: 29). In all these types of activities the opening towards the community is fundamental, valorising its resources, not only the material ones, but especially those related to knowledge, experiences and opinions. The teachers will thus have to plan teaching activities and take into consideration the possibilities of cooperation offered by the community, by involving parents or important members of the community, etc.

The similarities and differences among different cultures will be presented to the students in a manner leading to the possibility of authentic intercultural dialogue. The simple acknowledge of the principles of interculturalism and of laws in force, although important, is not enough to ensure the manifestation of certain correct relations in multi-ethnic communities. Due to this fact, intercultural

education needs to ensure the systematic and progressive involvement of the students in concrete practical activities of proper valorising of the cultural differences that exist in that society (Bradea, 2010: 125).

But to achieve these goals, teachers need to demonstrate their own awareness and self-management of interculturality. We believe that an important aspect in achieving intercultural education is the proper initial training of future teachers.

We refer in this context to the need to develop in future teachers the firm belief in justice and a lack of fear of any cultural, racial, ethnic or religious prejudices, thus ensuring the preconditions for a correct relationship between these teachers and the different ethnic communities (Peter, 2010: 178). Just as important is equipping teachers with enough information to allow them to logically and credibly argue that understanding the boundaries of another cultural horizon represents for the student one of the main ways of taking advantage of another axiological system of reference, of an availability regarding the correct reference of the student to the values that circumscribe and define cultural alterity. Through its purposes and significations, this type of formation is not specific only to certain categories of teachers from certain schools, but it is a transversal component for forming all professionals in the socio-educational field (Báez, 2019: 36). Thus, new demands are added to the classical profile of competence of the teacher, asked to manage the classroom space, but also having the skill of taking into consideration everything that develops outside the school and directly or indirectly influences education.

Therefore, for the teacher who promotes an intercultural education is not only important what he/she teaches and how efficiently, but also the way students see themselves, see the other colleagues and the other around them, the way experiences and their specific influences and filtrates learning. It is important that teachers understand more about the way cultural messages, including his own teaching process, affect the development of students belonging to different environments. In fact the teachers who develop an intercultural education are not some “special products” of a parallel system with the one of the mass school system, especially invented to solve the problems of the students that are different, but they are simply good teachers.

Conclusions:

No matter how much we want, the school cannot compensate for everything. Nowadays, everything that is related to education is left "on the shoulders" of the school. Just like with the moral education, in the case of intercultural education we are talking about forming a consciousness that is only justified in the presence of intercultural ethics. You cannot limit education without discrimination to a purely theoretical level. The school provides daily contexts where this type of education needs to be exploited: from curriculum subjects to different disciplines and to concrete situations involving students outside of lessons.

And we think that those with the most powerful formative effect are the activities where the students are actually participating in, demonstrating their own self-management of an educated young man in an intercultural manner. But to do this, we must have trained teachers as true trainers in this respect that promote social values and behaviors such as acceptance, tolerance, communication and positive integration, and avoid negative labeling attitudes, stereotypes, discriminatory prejudices and behaviors, intolerance, xenophobia, racism, etc. It is, we think, the first concern that we must keep in mind: the initial training of teachers. Intercultural education is only an optional discipline in the curriculum at the university level for those who follow the psycho-pedagogical training program. But you do not become a trainer by going through a discipline and passing an exam. It is just one of the components that make up the teaching style, along with personal beliefs and personal experiences. Therefore, we believe that in addition to master a theoretical baggage, students should be involved in activities other than didactic: national and international projects, participation in community activities, involvement in volunteering, etc. Thus, they will become teachers who will also involve the students of the schools in which they teach (Pop, 2016: 310).

Even though the curriculum in some disciplines (humanists) has specified in the transmission of values and attitudes the manifestation of the interest for intercultural communication, the interaction between the national cultural identity and the European one, it provides contexts (on certain subjects) to valorificate and promote it, it is important that the teacher should be able, available and prepared for that. He must be convinced that it is a requirement

of our society's education to develop students' interest regarding intercultural issues, to develop an attitude of cultural and intercultural empathy, thus leading to an understanding of alterity and a refusal to discriminate. On the other hand, the teacher must be a true cultural mediator, who knows his students, who valorises strategies of knowledge and inter-knowledge within the group, who communicate assertively and is able to positively resolve any conflict that promotes cultural identity, etc.

Recommendations:

A first recommendation would be related to the need to pay more attention to the initial training of future teachers, who from this point of view, of an intercultural trainer in Romania, is still deficient.

It is, in fact, about the formation for diversity. This kind of training, either at the level of initial studies or later throughout the didactic career, aims explicitly, through his specific resources, the development of a reflexive practitioner, intercultural sensitive, capable to develop educational behaviors and practices with maximum opening towards diversity, beneficial to all students. Having such a formative mission it is obvious that training for diversity cannot be but complex, multiform and multi-faceted, multidisciplinary, simultaneously theoretical, applicative and experiential, desirable of developing on long term and in correlation with other educational and social fields. In other words, intercultural training needs to be wide, from perspective of the targeted objectives of restructuring, of the thematic, of the structure and of the actors involved. This training must actively include those formed to start from valuing their different cultural background; simultaneously, it is desirable that this training determines a reconsidering of the relations between teachers, parents and other members of the community, not to exclude the socio-political context in which the future teachers will perform, to be correlated with curricular transformations developed in general educational courses (Nieto, 1992). On the other side, intercultural training demands general restructuring, both at the level of beliefs, as well as methodology and relationships. It is more than a passing training stage, it demands institutional participation an major restructuring. If it targeted only a few teachers, without any concern or favorable institutional reorganization of an integrated approach developed

within the forming institutions, then the entire demarche would be definitely marginalized and inefficient.

Placed at international, regional or communitarian level, the training of teachers for interculturality represents, beyond thematic or methodological particular accents, a universal necessity of the school's world. Thus argued, this training is not only a simple desire to keep up with the modern trends of forming teachers. As well, it is not only a new "political correct" theme, which overloads even more the already full curricula. This training is not a luxury or gratuitousness as some teachers used to traditional training programs, centered on classical and rarely creative themes, used to the limitation of any innovations by the lack of financial resources, would be tempted to believe. This type of training is more than that. It is a social responsibility. Diversity exists whatever our will, while the denial or ignoring the answering reactions do not represent a solution. Whatever the name it bears, no matter if it accepts or not terms as *intercultural*, *multicultural education* or other names, the teachers' training must assist them in their formative steps that will certainly take place in plural contexts. Teaching the teachers high academic specialties and ignoring the reality of the classes and of the schools with their so different students, letting them alone to organize their own attitudes and reference systems neither does nor represent a responsible solution. Through the supposed complexity and implications, the training of teachers in the spirit of interculturalism cannot be left at the latitude of every individual, as good intentions, although necessary, are not sufficient. The systems must take responsibility of such concerns and track their implementation parallel with the stimulation of every teacher to self-analysis, self-restructuring of their own ideational and attitudinal bases in the relation with alterity.

Another recommendation concerns the need to develop projects and partnerships with other social factors involved in youth education. What we want to highlight is that non-discrimination education must be a common effort: of the school, family, local community. There are families who do not know or cannot accept that they have a homosexual child, families who cannot accept that the neighbor is of another religion and judges him or that he is of another ethnicity and condemns him. This kind of education starts early in the family and lasts for the whole of life. It is a common

effort to form a healthy value system in which respect for and promotion of human rights becomes an internal resort. It requires constant knowledge, self-knowledge, intercultural understanding to achieve an open attitude towards diversity. School, through its contents and activities, cannot be enough. The effort to achieve an intercultural education is therefore not limiting either to the physical limits of the school as an institution or to the classical schooling period. It is now established that intercultural education is becoming more and more the object of permanent education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Báez, D. (2019). *El deber ser de las instituciones de educación media y superior sobreesresponsabilidad en la formación integral del ser humano* [The duty of the institutions of secondary and higher education on their responsibility in the integral formation of the human being]. In El Homrani, M., Arias Romero, S.M., Avaloz Ruiz, I. (Eds.) *La inclusión: una apuesta educativa y social* [Inclusion: an educational and social commitment], pp.27-39. Madrid: Wolters Kluwer.
- Blândul, V. (2015). *Bazele educației non-formale* [The basics of non-formal education]. Cluj-Napoca: Mega Press.
- Bradea, A. (2015). *Aspects of intercultural education in schools border. Case Study. Indian Journal of Applied Research*, V (12): 145-147. doi:10.15373/2249555X.
http://www.worldwidejournals.com/ijar/file.php?val=December_2015_1448964495__52.pdf
- Bradea, A. (2010). *The approach of multiculturalism and interculturalism in ethnic border education*. In Bálint, P. (Ed.) *On the Borderline*, pp. 123-135. Debrecen: Nyomdaimunkák Center-Print Kft
- Cucos, C., (2000), *Educația – dimensiuni culturale și interculturale* [Education - cultural and intercultural dimensions]. Iași: Polirom Publishing House.
- Mândrea, L. (2010). *The role of intercultural education in preventing, softening or solving education*. In Marcu, V. & Bradea, A. (Eds.), *The Approach of interculturality in multiethnic education*, pp.182-189. Oradea: University Press.

- Nieto S., (1992), *Affirming Diversity*, Longman, New York.
- Peter, K. (2010). *Intercultural Implications in School Mass Integration of Children with Disabilities*. In Marcu, V. & Bradea, A. (Eds.), *The Approach of interculturality in multiethnic education*, pp. 173-181. Oradea: University Press.
- Pop, C. (2016). *Educational communication and its role in the teaching process*. In: Boldea, I. (Ed.). *Globalization and National Identity. Studies on the Strategies of Intercultural Dialogue*, pp.304-312, Tg Mures: Arhipelag XXI Press.
- ****School curriculum of Romanian language and literature, grades V-VIII, MEN, Annex 2 to the order of the Minister of National Education nr.3393 / 28.02.2017*

THE MULTICULTURAL DIMENSION OF STORYTELLING IN THE TEACHING AND LEARNING PROCESS

Nicoleta Ramona CIOBANU*

Abstract. *The development of intercultural consciousness in school spaces requires a sustained work of recognition and a historical assessment of one's own life based on the understanding of the peculiarities of other peoples. In this sense, when we try to bring our students closer to the different ethnic and cultural realities, literature can mean a way to foster their understanding. We can say that literature is a way of connecting with others; it is actually the pillar of intercultural dialogue, as well as the instrument by means of which we form values such as tolerance and respect for diversity. This can be the bridge between the roots and the multilinearity of origins for each person and the society we live in. The purpose of this article is to show concrete ways of learning and understanding of the surrounding reality using the story as the main source in the educational process, because children's imagination is the most powerful learning tool that we, adults, use to a lesser extent. The act of reading means an interaction between the cognitive level (What will we learn new?) and the affective - evaluative level (What emotions, states arouses the literary work?), but also a complementary relationship between explanation, comprehension and interpretation. We already know that stories have forms that reflect a fundamental structure of the human mind, that a well-told story can be a well-learned life lesson, but also the fact that stories have infinite significance that can help us explain to children everything in a way more captivating and easier to understand. So we can say that stories are actually a passport to all corners of the world, past, present and future.*

Keywords: *primary education, learning process, didactics methods, comprehension, imagination*

* Lecturer, Faculty of Humanistic and Social Sciences, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: nicoletaramona.ciobanu@yahoo.com

1. Importance of stories and fairytales

In today's society, defined by an explosion of media culture, reading is no longer among students' preoccupations and preferences, thus losing more and more ground in favor of technology. Multi-, pluri- and interculturality refer to cultural diversity; however, they point to different ways of conceptualizing that diversity and developing practices related to diversity in society and its social institutions, including education. In this effort the library, side by side with the school and society as a whole, has a relevant role to play.

Reading is, in a few cases, among those activities that have as their starting point an individual choice, which starts from personal pleasure, in the desire to get in touch with the book, in order to acquire the words of wisdom. In recent years, there has been a decline in interest in reading. Thus, reading, as a didactic discourse, requires not only the teacher's knowledge of the three levels - explanatory, comprehensive, interpretative reading, but also of the processes, their characteristics, the types of tasks that can be according to the students' stage or other.

The child is more and more concerned with technology, computer games and tablets, and adults do not have enough time to read a book and direct them to love reading for a lifetime. Therefore, we need to make reading not only an obligation for the school study but also a passion.

It is necessary to note that the school has a decisive role in the development and formation of the self, in the choice of the profession to be followed, and in the knowledge bag the student takes with him further. Thus, teachers' responsibility is to sow the passion for reading into the heart of small potential readers who grow up on school benches. Educated in education are family, educators, teachers as well as psychologists. Thus, children's literature is one of the most valuable auxiliaries of the teaching staff, which helps to educate the positive moral traits, as well as to the affective and empathic development of the young school children. Through its thematic variety, the student puts the student in contact with social relations, Romanian customs, social environments, thus contributing to the multilateral development of the child's personality. At the same time, it is also of particular importance to extend the knowledge horizon of children, to enrich a rich and colorful vocabulary in beautiful expressions and words, and to a correct and literary expression.

"Looking at the dynamics of contemporary culture and the requirements of lifelong learning, the book continues to embody the idea of preserving and transmitting human spirituality, the treasure of the cultural values of humanity; it remains a symbol of the living memory of mankind, recording and preserving facts and ideas, feelings and attitudes, expressions of the intelligence and sensitivity of human genius. There is no field of knowledge and human action that does not materialize in the golden letter of the book. Centuries of collective or individual endeavors, of the history of science, of civilization, are condensed into the few pages of the book. In the quality of one of the most effective ways of access to the values of spiritual culture, the book's reading still retains an exceptional importance in the life of modern man, giving it, throughout its existence, an essential method of continuous cultivation professional development, self-fulfillment of their own cultural and specialty formation" (Cerghit, 2006: 174-175).

What can be more enjoyable for a child and a teacher - parent or teacher - than finding the meaning of stories together - storytelling, cell stories, immortal stories, oriental stories, therapeutic stories or ad-hoc stories?

The role of stories is one that can be measured and explained in a few words - it helps communication, helps child-adult relationship, supports emotional expression, offers possible solutions to problems, provides information, presents patterns of behavior, and many other benefits. It's not easy to create a story, but it's a gift to convey to the child his riches.

Dottrens (1970: 103) asserts that "reading determines decisive progress in the structure of child's thinking. When he reads a phrase, he has signs in front of his eyes without any concrete support: reading compels to represent, to create - through thinking and imagination - the real situation that the phrase renders through the symbols of the printed text. To learn reading means to become master of your mental dowry."

"Reading helps to learn the language (vocabulary, sentence construction, sounds and rhythm of speech), to know the surrounding world and to learn some human values, deduced from the positive experiences presented in books" (Grosu, 2015: 137).

"Parents are also key actors in the child's education process, but also in the familiarity with the book and the secrets of reading.

Teachers and parents have great responsibilities in relation to the formation and education of children; therefore, in order to achieve results, they have to work together perfectly, because any effort that is in the interest of the child is not neglected" (Molan, 2017: 28).

School collaboration with the family "is an important condition of uniting efforts in educating children. This collaboration must be a fine and supple action and education for educators-parents. Among the pedagogical actions of the school among the parents can be mentioned: parents' consultations, individual discussions with parents, meetings with parents accompanied by exposures and discussions etc" (Bontaş, 1995: 269).

2. Therapeutic and educational stories

We are talking more and more about educational stories and therapeutic stories lately. It is wonderful that pedagogues and psychologists who are at the service of child's education and "mental recovery" are increasingly turning to the miracle in the story. The child, through the story, opens more easily, communicates what feels better, recognizes in the characters of the stories their own traits and difficulties, their own problems. Mastery creator of the story is capturing specific child's age on which the story, introducing finesse the problem, creating subtle similarities between children and fairy, offering alternative solutions to overcome difficulties and problems joy.

Bibliotherapy is a therapeutic technique that aims creative in dealing with the child, adolescent or adult encounter in a certain stage of their existence. The reasons for using libraries to solve problems are: helps to develop self-image, helps children to evaluate themselves positively and correctly, fosters understanding of one's own and others' behavior, develops empathy, facilitates more solutions to a problem, poses a positive, fun problem-solving problem and testifies to the child that there are other people who have problems similar to his (Stamps, 2003:26).

Through the therapeutic story, emotions, feelings, thoughts that may remain hidden in the unconscious can be brought to light: thoughts, embarrassment, desires, fears, questions, envy, accusations, and unanswered questions.

The emotional language of the child is quite poor for a long time; it is difficult for him to express himself, to confess his feelings

or thoughts. This is often expressed through behavior, mimics, gestures, voice tones, but also through reactions such as hugs, heavy crying, cries, or even hitting a person or throwing objects. Through the story, the child identifies with the characters and makes it easier to express their feelings. Not every story is therapeutic. In order to fulfill this condition, the story must first of all help, change for the better, and create links between the information that has been obtained in order to find the most appropriate solution. A therapeutic story is the one that fits "like a glove" on the listener's problem; is a story in which he lived intensely to the point where the "key" was discovered in solving the problem. It is a therapeutic story that shows us that we are not the only ones who have daily difficulties, fears, anxieties, questions or dissatisfaction.

The child must always be guided to reading. "Whoever was once enchanted by this magic will always be keen on her delights and will seek to renew them. And then they will always read. That's the taste of reading." (Pandellare, 1973: 130).

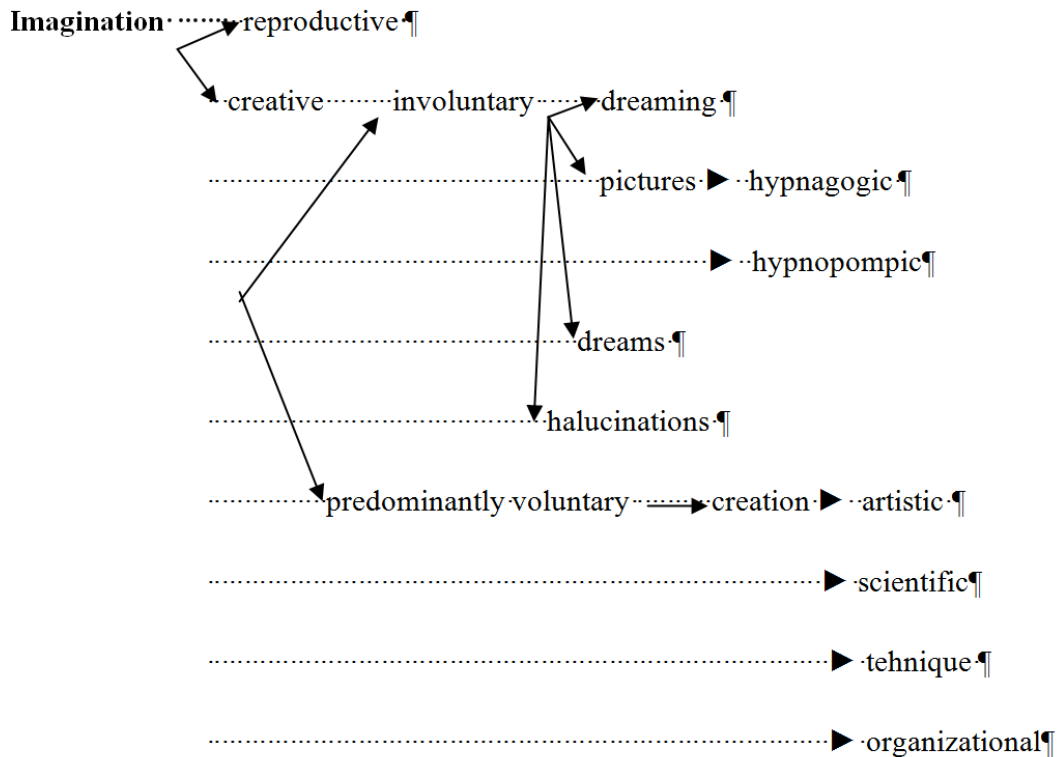
3. Perception, memory and imagination for storytelling

Most often, imagination has been reduced to perception and memory or even identified with them. Wundt shows in his 1980s treaty that imagination is "the ability to reproduce representations in a modified order." Or, in imagination, the representation of representations is essential, not the order of their reproduction. Even though he specifies that in memories representations are associative, and in imagination after a certain plan, though, appreciatively, the confusion between imagination and memory is preserved, because in this latter order the reproduction of representations is often changed.

Bachelard draws a neat demarcation line between perception and imagination. "By imagination we abandon the ordinary course of things," he wrote. To perceive and imagine are as anti-tactical as presence or absence. Imagining is to launch you into a new life "(Bachelard, 1987, p. 10).

A systematization and magisterial description of types of imagination can be found in Osborn *L'imagination constructive* (1965: 98). The originality of imaginative combinatories is explained by both the freedom to organize the processes and the emotional-motivational sources of imagination.

Fig. 1. The scheme of the forms of imagination:



Creative imagination is the most important form of imagination. As can be seen from the scheme of forms of imagination, it is manifested both involuntarily and voluntarily. Psychology textbooks often talk about voluntary imagination. There is talk of voluntary imagination in the sense that the person consciously proposes to solve a particular difficult problem or to create an artistic work, involving also a lasting effort. The creative work of voluntary magnanimity goes through several stages:

- Preparation time: a hypothesis is drawn, information is collected, observations are made, and scopes are delineated.
- The incubation period: it may take a long time, even years, being the time when no solutions are found, and the materialization being unsatisfactory.
- Lighting period: happy moment, when the solution appears.
- Verification period: to assess possible loopholes to make retouching, it is necessary after the initial conception.

So, we cannot talk about imagination and its cultivation in schoolchildren, without referring to the richest source of inspiration, namely the written or invented stories with which children have to contact at an early age to plant the seed of imagination that later to "exploit" them in order to obtain creative and valuable products. Children have to imagine places, events, facts that have happened or can happen in the future, as in the real world, as in cartoons or in dreams. The child is independent in expression, manifests his initiative, spontaneity and inexhaustible fantasy. His creative attitude towards language depends on the nature of the message he transmits and his intellectual, linguistic, affective possibilities. The stories are short, without divagates, without extensive explanations, somewhat incorrect, but sometimes they can have a special flavor. There are situations in which, through the stories created, they project on the characters, their own desires, preferences, problems.

4. The storytelling as a teaching method

The narrative activity has informative and formative valences. Children assimilate information, but at the same time stories, stories and fairy tales meet the need for knowledge and affection, stimulate imagination and provide the optimal framework for practicing communication. Thus, the story develops the following processes:

- language - as a fundamental means of reception and communication;
- logical thinking - due to the succession of events in the story;
- voluntary memory - by holding down events and exposing them based on specific methods and means.
- the attention - by memorizing the characters' names, elements that appear in the stories of the succession of events, of some representative expressions or lyrics.
- imagination - by creating new images based on imaging and cognitive experience processing;

The storytelling as an educational method can be used with great success in preschool education or primary education and consists of oral, vivid, plastic presentation in the form of a narrative or description through which facts, events, distant events occur in space and time, nature phenomena, etc. which children cannot know

otherwise. The purpose of using this method is to provide a luggage of intuitive images, representations that can help in generalizations. The facts, the chosen events in this regard must be edifying, with profound meanings, and the expressive language should contribute to the awakening of emotions, feelings, to develop their imagination, creativity.

5. Conclusions

The child is never too small or too big for stories. Tales, talk about fairy tale characters and storytelling songs help children get familiar with the sounds, words, vocabulary, and the atmosphere of the books. All of this develops early literacy skills, helping him to read later in life. The complete education of today would not be possible without textbooks. Reading is good and totally important for people and society. It provides us with everything necessary to be able to improve, grow, and in many cases, find us. In some way or another, reading also gives us tools that we can use later in the real world. Reading is one of the most important and useful activities that the human being performs throughout his life. In the first place, reading, in the same way as all other intellectual activities, is an exclusive activity of human beings, the only living beings that have been able to develop an advanced intellectual and rational system. This means that reading is one of those activities that defines us for what we are compared to the rest of living beings. Reading is an activity that usually begins to be acquired very slowly from an early age and remains for life, that is, it does not get lost over time.

Although oral narratives brought to the written word undergo a significant transformation, remember that in oral cultures the speech presents specific marks linked to a context and that the spoken word has an important body load unlike the written word, which “exists within a simply verbal context.

On the other hand, the importance of reading also lies in the fact that it is through him that the human being can begin to receive knowledge in a formal way and thus insert himself into the complex but useful process known as education. Reading always involves attention, concentration, commitment, reflection, all elements that make a better performance and better results.

If multiculturalism is a shred of evidence in virtually all current societies, interculturality is a consequence, also evident, of

coexistence, but we cannot speak of society since each cultural group is an independent society. By this, I mean that society, multiculturalism, and interculturality from a transitory relationship of a trinomatic nature. Today where there is a society there is multiculturalism, and where there is the latter there is interculturality, which implies the existence of the former. There is no society that is not multicultural, something else is political or another homogeneity. On the other hand, the era in which we are immersed in information and communication cannot have multiculturalism without interaction.

Obviously, reading can be done in many ways and with many objectives. Thus, reading for pleasure is not the same as reading that is done by obligation to meet a specific educational or work objective. Anyway, always reading will act as a phenomenon that allows us to encourage our imagination, create new worlds in our minds, reflect on ideas or abstract concepts, get in touch with our language or with others, improve our spelling, learn more about other realities, etc. It is always relevant for the reading to yield its best results if it is carried out in relaxed and calm environments, which invite concentration.

Let's give ourselves stories to children and bring them to "Once upon a time ..." because the role of this is to make the world more beautiful childhood happier and to build a more optimistic future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bontaș, I. (1995) *Pedagogie*. Editura All: București
- Bachelard, G., & Gaudin, C. (1987). *On poetic imagination and reverie: selections from Gaston Bachelard*. Spring Pubns.
- Cerghit, I. (2006). *Metode de învățământ ediția a IV-a revizuită*. București: Editura Polirom
- Dottrens, R. Traducător: Manolache, A. A. (1970). *A educa și a instrui*. București: Editura Didactică și pedagogică;
- Grosu, A. (2015), *Educă-mă cu viziune*". Editura Smart Publishing
- Molan, V. (2017), *Didactica domeniului „Limbă și comunicare” din învățământul preșcolar*. Editura Miniped: București
- Osborn, A. F. (1988). *Créativité: l'imagination constructive*. Bo-Pré: Dunod.

- Pandellare, N. (1973) *Școala medie și problemele ei didactice*. Editura Didactică și Pedagogică: București
- Stamps, L.S.. (2003). *Bibliotherapy: How books can help students cope with concerns and conflicts*. Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin. 70. 25-29.

THE MOVIE-TEACHING MATERIAL. THE IMPACT OF VIDEO TEACHING METHODS ON STUDENTS

Constantin Cătălin PASCARIU*

Abstract. *We all look at movies or video clips, but we do it for recreational purposes without paying attention to this aspect. Many times we become sensitive to certain subjects, precisely because of watching a movie. It is important to add that some films on certain themes are based on a book, a novel; other films are built on a historical foundation of a people, events, etc. With movie imagery, we can find information about some of the events that happened in the past, we can discover new information about something unknown before, and why not, we can really discover ourselves. The use of films or videos as a teaching material is an educational method, not very new in Romanian education but effective and important in integrating Romanian education into the European context. Students and pupils have different ways to learn and understand some of the information they receive at the course hours. Through this article we want to highlight the efficiency of video materials in the teaching and learning process of students and pupils.*

Keywords: *interactive teaching, movies, education, learning process*

Image and television

The vision, one of the 5 vital senses, is one that allows the most information to be transmitted to the brain in the shortest possible time. What we "naturally" see is called "image", that is, sensory reflection in the environment's consciousness. The first forms of "reproduction" of images for the purpose of "preservation" were the drawings, respectively the painted paintings. With the evolution of technology, photography and cinematography appeared. In the last decades, thanks to the spectacular development of storage and transmission systems, the image has become the most effective means of communication both in space and time. Ciobanu (2018)

* Assistant Lecturer PhD Candidate, Faculty of Humanistic and Social Sciences, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: costi_pascariu@yahoo.com

states that "the idea of recreating the illusion of movement through a series of drawings is older than the birth of cinema." French scientists Marc and Florent in a study published in 2012 concluded that representations of several-legged animals, heads and tails, discovered in several caves in France, can be considered as the early precursors of cinema (Azema&Rivière, 2012:317). Prehistory artists used a number of skillful techniques to create the impression that drawings come to life with the help of flame-changing light. Other later discoveries in Egypt and Greece confirm this tendency to represent different phases of motion in their art."

Writing, which has stood for centuries at the heart of the development of the human species, has become ineffective in the context of the constant accumulation of new information. With the crossing of ethnic boundaries, the need for a "universal" language also emerged. The "image" fulfilled this requirement. Ciobanu (2018) affirms that "although there were several inventions based on the principle of persistence of images on the retina, it was only in 1831 that Plateau Antoine Joseph invented the *phenakistoscope*, being a device that generates moving images and is based on the principle of retinal retention, which is the basis of the cinematographic technique of today. All this information comes to support the development of the cinema industry from the earliest times to the present. What seems natural to us today has been through much work from those before us. We cannot say that what they have created is of no use to us today. That is why I thought to remember these fantastic achievements before coming into the subject of this work. "But the avalanche of information has continued to grow, precisely because of the fluidization of transmission channels and access to sources. Thus, the "image" has already become too "loaded". As a result, there has been a need for both a selection of images according to purpose and a selection of the content of an image according to importance. Selection implies "education" in this respect, as well as its interpretation.

The film appeared as art, the seventh art, only when technology allowed it. That's why they cannot be practically split. Thus, the Cinematographic Industry has developed. If photography means "write with light," cinema means "write with moving images."

Movies as an education tool

Film, as a whole, cinema as a means of communication, implies a code, such as the alphabet in writing, for encrypting and decrypting messages. Encryption aims to compress the information in order to "transmit" to the "receiver". The "handset" must use the same decryption code so that the message is correctly deciphered. This ability to decrypt is achieved through education, "cinema education".

On the other hand, cinematographic film, of all its genres, can be used for general education, i.e. preparation for life. This "training" must be permanent, because human society is evolving, but the emphasis is on the education of the young generation, a category that also enters the students. This is how the issue of cinema education and film education in schools has become more and more insistent. Film as a motivation tool is a didactic tool that can be used to develop students' critical and prospective thinking. Critical and prospective thinking will develop, in particular, through forward-looking questions addressed to pupils while watching the film. Students will be stimulated to develop an imaginary dialogue with the director of the film. Movies have been found to motivate students to learn. If the theme of the movie is of interest to the pupil, the learning yield is higher. Movies are an educational means that mobilizes students to anticipate, dialogue. The importance of the media, as a factor contributing to the education of both young people and adults, is unanimously recognized. The media forms the fourth constant living environment of the child, along with the family, the school, and the usual relationship enthusiast. Media does not replace the school, and its influence is complex, representing a fundamental element in the relationship between man and the environment.

Barth and Ciobanu (2017:23) states that mass media is a factor of education that leaves deep traces in the memory of the individual. It can increase or diminish a person's experiences. In a computerized society, education must not be lagging behind. The media is present in the society through newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and internet. Even if the information comes through these channels, it needs to be filtered because it is not always true. The proper attention helps us to delimit the good of evil, the original of the non-original.

The cinema is a means of communication and therefore it is necessary to interpret its results to discover what it is that wants to communicate to us. A film is made up of millions of different

elements that together form a narrative with the possibility of multiple and varied comments and reflections. Like any story, a film uses techniques that must be known, discovered and interpreted so that the messages reach us in the most similar way to how those who have made the film pretend. A movie is not enough to see it. It is necessary to analyze it with a critical eye in order to make the most of it, to understand it better and to value the cinema as a storyteller, as a transmitter of values and as a carrier of art and knowledge. In the cinema, in addition, many and very characteristic ways of telling the stories are given. Most of them have to do with both the argument and how to position the planes, move the camera and use the sound. When you see a movie with elements of judgment you will find more sense.

There is no doubt that a multitude of activities can be performed with a movie in the classroom. The film can be used as a means of initiation into the language in general and the cinematographic language in particular. If the students are already familiar with it, what can be done is to read study and interpret the film and, if possible, investigate about its environment, its main characteristics and take the film to didactic situations related to other knowledge?

The motivation towards cinema is generated mainly by watching movies. Some purists, I've known them, try to get children and teenagers in for what they call "good movies." If we apply to the learning of cinema the fundamental principles of didactics, we should bear in mind that everything is learned from the beginning. Since the child is born, already in the family, it is convenient to be near the cinema, either on TV or going to movie theatres with their parents.

Learning process and movies technology

Hodge & Tripp (1986: 32) says that as in any learning process, knowledge is better accessed by going from the known to the unknown. Adventures and fantasy are closer to the child.

Like all learning, cinema requires experiences, affections, motivations, a reiteration of facts, people who spread enthusiasm and quality products, entertaining and playful. We introduce ourselves in the cinema, as in everything that is cultural in a fundamentally unconscious way, because like any learning process, it needs behavioral schemes in which the meaning, the fun, the didactic, the slow and serene introduction, the repetition of behaviors and satisfaction for the achievements made.

Cuc (2018:52) states as follows: "the source of a teacher's competence derives from his vocation, but also from his specialty training and the passion for the discipline he teaches. Those features that a teacher has to have can be added to others, and contemporary society highly computerized and assaulted by new technologies brings new challenges for the teacher." So, in the didactic of transversality, any means of communication, and cinema, in particular, becomes necessary, bringing together elements of difficult cohesion in other situations and circumstances.

In the latter sense, the teacher should take into account the diversification of didactic means and include in the teaching-learning-evaluation activities the new technologies in order to facilitate the training of skills, the attitudes, and the development of the students' critical and prospective thinking. "From the point of view of the subjects of education, it is often difficult for them to descend into the epoch, to understand with the minds of the contemporary man the facts or phenomena that have occurred in the past in historical periods in which the mentality was different from the present. There are certain situations in which students try to find answers to some questions using realities of our time." (Cuc, 2018:52)

The cinema has a history intimately linked to the last century. It is art and technique, language and image, document and fun, fantasy and reality. The cinema is also an inexhaustible quarry of stories and themes, creativity and cultural aesthetics. The cinema is a rich source of information and culture, which allows us to really enter into the study of our society and that of other cultural realities near or far. When the cinema began, the first spectators had the possibility of seeing Paris, Rome or Tokyo without moving from an armchair.

Today, our children and adolescents, and ourselves, full of images, sated with information, we do not need so much. For this same reason, it is increasingly important to make new readings of the image, to give new values and interpretations and to face them with a critical eye. Every day more efforts are made to present to the viewer images, ideas, feelings, and opinions that cause an impact on the culture of the end of this century. The technology of the image makes it possible today to recreate situations and stories unthinkable a few years ago. We are used to watching television, and some horrific catastrophes live. That is why we are asking the cinema for evermore immediacy. When refers to the utility in the classroom, Albulescu

states that the use of audio-visual media, and, more recently, computer networks, have undeniable advantages in school. Television films (documentaries, reportages, interviews, debates, dramatizations, etc.) often prove to be useful as a complementary, supplementary and supplementary or illustrating content of teaching. (Albulescu, 2003: 56).

Jacques Delors asserts: "With the help of television, when this is possible, the school should contribute to stimulating student receptivity to museums, theaters, libraries, cinematography and, in general, to the cultural life of a country, so that the adult public future has the experience of aesthetic feelings and the desire to keep up with the developments in culture "(Delors, 2000:88).

The values of movies involving the curriculum

The cinema has made inroads in all subjects and sciences and has also used all of them to survive and create. For this reason, it is relatively easy to use it as an element to search for human problems and to analyze the fictitious or real behavior of other people, in order to generalize an analysis of their own. The film is proving to be particularly useful and easy to integrate into the different stages of the lesson's performance, to inform, illustrate, demonstrate, sensitize and train students in the activity. Images of reality can be presented with images (properties of objects, processes, phenomena, events, relationships between natural or social processes, etc.) inaccessible or difficult to reach direct, direct perception (Cerghit, 1970:26). The quantity, variety and quality of the cinematographic images, the abundance of contents and themes, the great variation in the stimuli, provoke unbeatable occasions to increase the creativity causing the association of ideas almost immediate, the reflections, the memory and the memorization of data , propitious to increase the cognitive baggage and therefore to relate and create new ways of thinking.

The creative value

The human being needs for his subsistence the creative capacity. The imagination and art are necessary to make possible the integration of thought, not only in the so-called artistic activities or knowledge but also in the experimental sciences, in the heuristic procedures and in all the methods and techniques necessary for an effective and updated didactics. It is about rediscovering the truth so that the student repeats the creative processes. We invent every day

because to invent is to discover the hidden, even if it was already invented by others many years ago. The process of discovering something new is for the student an indispensable learning condition to achieve their research capabilities.

The cognitive value

For years we have criticized the excessive accumulation of data that we forced to accumulate our students and, in many cases with good intentions, we have gone to the other extreme, to not give a single piece of information or provide only cognitive learning. The problem is in the procedure used to promote learning and not in the same content, in most cases. Art, and the development of the artistic dimension, also need a multitude of knowledge, whether historical, linguistic or technical, to be able to express themselves. The educational system must propose to the students said elements. The cinema presents themes, names, situations, arguments, dramas, content, fun, philosophies, and trends, ideas, historical data, costumes, locations, and landscapes, which increase cognitive abilities. The student will learn to a greater extent poetic, pictorial, dramatic or musical techniques the more he practices them. The mission of teaching is to teach, that is, to propose varied alternatives. The student must experiment, try, participate and their knowledge will increase making possible greater globalization of knowledge and therefore a growth of their creative synthesis. The most important objectives of the education of the aesthetic and artistic will be fulfilled, by means of the confection of works of art, and the recreational contemplation of the same and of other realized by diverse artists.

The expressive value

The human species must learn to externalize their feelings and emotions, through various manifestations that make up art. The feeling is materialized through painting, body expression and dramatization, poetry, literary expression, or music and all its range of possibilities. In the improvement of the expression, in the proposal of new alternatives, in the promotion of expressive techniques and in the support of interpersonal communication, the entire educational system must intervene.

Conclusions

The cinema expresses itself in a different way to poetry or theater, to painting and literature, to photography and music, being nevertheless the set of all of them and many more arts and disciplines. There are many excellent reasons to use movies in teaching. The most elementary is that theatrical films or educational videos can complement the text, lectures, and discussions. One of the basic rules of communication is redundancy, which is, communicating the same point in different ways. However, we must remember that movies do not provide an easy way to teach a class nor are they a vacation day. The successful use of a film includes as much or more preparation than a traditional lecture type.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albulescu, I. (2003), *Educația și mass media*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca.
- Azéma, M., & Rivère, F. (2012). *Animation in Palaeolithic art: a pre-echo of cinema*. *Antiquity*, 86(332), 316-324.
- Barth, K., Ciobanu, N.R., (2017) *Mass media influence upon personality development of children*, in *Education and Applied Didactics*, Volume I, Issue 1, 2017, Publishing House of University of Oradea, ISSN 2559-4877, pp. 7-25.
- Cerghit, I, (1970), *Filmul în procesul de învățământ*, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, București.
- Ciobanu, N.R.(2018), *The impact of cartoons and animated movies on children's language learning abilities, social, moral and emotional intelligence development*. în 8th EduWorld 2018 Book of abstract „Education facing contemporary world issues”, University of Pitesti Publishing House, ISSN 18446272.
- Cuc, I.S.(2018), *The Role of the movie and image in teaching the historical concepts in education*, *Education and Applied Didactics*, Vol. 2, Issue 2, Publishing House of University of Oradea, ISSN 2559-4877, pp. 46-53.
- Delos, J. (coord) (2000). *Comoara lăuntrică. Raportul către UNESCO al Comisiei Internaționale pentru Educație pentru secolul XXI*. Editura Polirom, Iași.
- Hodge, R., & Tripp, D. (1986). *Children and television: A semiotic approach*. Stanford University Press.

THE IMPACT OF ACTIVE – PARTICIPATORY METHODS IN THE TEACHING LEARNING PROCESS

Anamaria Cristina SABĂU*

Abstract. *In modern school, the basic dimension according to which the methods of education are valued is their active character, i.e. the extent to which they are able to stimulate the interest of the students in the activity. From this perspective, specialized papers abound in the classifications of these methods, which are called active or participative, interactive, or modern. The phrase "active-participatory methods" is present in the works of distinguished teachers and tends to impose in Romanian pedagogy instead of the expression "activating methods". Taking into account the aspect of student activation in the teaching-learning process, the present study refers to both active and interactive methods. Modern pedagogy places great emphasis on experiential learning. The student is involved in stimulating activities to valorise and develop potential, but with respect to both rhythm and learning style. What was traditional and what became modern? We will answer this question in this article. One of the great challenges of contemporary society on a pedagogical basis is student-centred learning by stimulating creative, volitional, attitudinal and critical and action capacities. If in classical pedagogy the pupil appears more as a spectator in the didactic act, in the current orientation, he becomes co-participant and even the main actor of his own training. Modern pedagogy has shown that learning is deeper and more effective as the student is active, effectively participating in the didactic act and not just observing, listening, watching.*

Keywords: *active participatory methods, process, teaching, learning, student, pedagogy, student- centred learning.*

The teaching-learning methods have evolved, today being preferred mostly interactive, participatory and collaborative, and

* student, Faculty Humanistic and Social Sciences, University of Oradea, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: cristinasabau21@yahoo.com

therefore pupil-centered, at the expense of those centered on the teacher. Student focusing is to use the student's experience as an individual and to create the conditions for sharing this knowledge with the other individuals who are trained and educated and according to a mixed, individual and collective experience, thus increasing the level of collective experience in all group members (Paul&Nagy, 2012: 88).

Palmade (1975: 32) says that the new methods are trying to favor adaptation to the social environment using the child's tendencies and the activity inherent to his mental development, starting from the idea that in this way society will be advantaged.

Modern pedagogy condemns education through effort, replacing it with education of the effort, training for volunteering. It harmonizes the effort that the student asks for with his possibilities and facilitates him to present school work as a response to the interests of the child. Its objective is to make the student as successful as possible; given that success strengthens his desire does everything well, while failure can lead to discouragement.

We call optimistic these methods which - by giving total trust to the nature of the child and letting it develop in an almost absolute freedom - pretend that it will become by itself if no adult influence stops, to a full flowering in all fields (Palmade, 1975: 67).

Contrary to traditional practices threatened by over-individualization of education or in an exaggerated socialization of learning, modern education seeks to achieve a harmonious improvement of these two aspects; to maintain a balance between individual work and group work, to achieve a reasonable balance between the experiences gained individually and those gained in the group; combine individual and independent learning with interdependent learning, through cooperation or collaboration; to associate the individual exercise with the exercise of interaction with others.

While individualized methods would better put the pupil's personality in the light and exploit individual potentials, group and democratic methods would contribute to enhancing the interrelations created around learning in the classroom, creating a social environment conducive to process and operation awareness mentality that the individual relies on in the act of learning (Cerghit, 2006: 66).

The purpose of the new methods - Piaget shows - is to create conditions that favor the development and involvement of these capacities, processes and operations. When learning situations are well organized, children engage in different capacities and have the chance to develop different capacities

In modern didactics, "the teaching method is understood as a certain way of doing, which tends to place the student in a learning situation, more or less directed, approaching to identification with a scientific research, tracking and the discovery of the truth and its connection to the practical aspects of life "(Ionescu & Chiş, 2001: 126).

Constantin Cuceş (1988: 143) defines the teaching method as a way or a path to be followed in the common work of educators and educators for the fulfillment of the purposes of education, which is to educate and educate the educators.

The method is in fact a certain way of doing, which tends to place the student in a more or less directed learning situation, going to a similar one to the one of scientific research, tracking and discovery of the truth, and his reporting to the practical aspects of life (Cerghit, 2006: 10).

The method can also be seen as a "way of action," an instrument by which students, under the guidance of their teacher independently, acquire and deepen their knowledge, inform and develop intellectual and practical skills, skills, attitudes "(Bocoş, 2002: 122).

Ioan Cerghit (2006: 12) describes the term "method" in a broad sense and narrow sense, as follows:

In the broad sense of the word methods of teaching, methods of educating pedagogical methods are often understood as a general way of conceiving and realizing the overall organization of instruction and education in school.

In a narrow sense, the method is a technique that teachers and students serve during their teaching and learning activities, and ensures that a mentally designed action is actually transposed, according to a didactic strategy.

Interactive methods provide you with pedagogical experiences and satisfactions, those scientific competencies that support the entire practical activity leading to the achievement of didactic performance, but to achieve this we must know the objectives of the interactive methods "(Beben S., 2002: 28

The value and importance of the method are issues that lie not only in the functions it assumes, but also in the effects it produces.

Being directly involved in the act of training, through its active intervention, the method can modify the course of teaching and learning processes; she can print a course or another course. And, by doing so, the method becomes a variable that potentially influences the effects of learning, becoming a causal variable, largely responsible for the results obtained, their level and the efficiency of education. Not only are the immediate and direct results influenced by the method, but also the remote ones.

For the teacher, the method thus represents a way of organizing and managing the learner's learning activity; a pathway leading to the construction of its individual knowledge; a teaching tool that helps students in the school's school to actively assimilate new knowledge and behavioral forms while stimulating the development of their cognitive and intellectual forces.

For a student who is in a situation somewhat similar to the man in charge of scientific research, the method means the way he goes from ignorance to knowing; the path that leads him from a deeper knowledge to a deeper one "(Cerghit, 2006:18).

Draguleț M. (1974: 54), which characterizes didactic methods is their predominantly instructive role and function, while the methodical modalities of activation of pupils are defined by the fact that they emphasize the formative character of the educational process with the help of already acquired knowledge. (...) The specific, which differentiates the teaching methods from the modes of activation, is not of a nature but of degree; it is the functional emphasis and the pedagogical endpoint that characterizes the two working tools in education."

Breben S. (2002: 26-27) presents the following objectives of modern methods:

- Formation / promotion of European qualities based on democratic attitudes and behaviors, establishing intercultural relations based on communication;
- Acquiring knowledge, skills, basic behavior in effective learning of practical skills under cooperative conditions;
- Promoting a modern teaching activity centered on interdisciplinary and affective-emotional intellectual approaches;

- Acquiring the first elements of intellectual work in order to know the reality and future activity of school learning;
- Active and creative involvement of children to stimulate productive thinking, divergent and later thinking, freedom of expression of knowledge, thoughts, facts;
- Developing children's skills to find information, teamwork, apply the knowledge in different life situations, to become aware of the learning styles they prefer;
- Achieving interdisciplinary goals; know how to collect information about a given theme; know how to identify difficult issues; to know how to make connections;
- Encourage child autonomy and promote education through co-operation;
 - Focusing strategies on promoting diversity of ideas;
 - Building a capacity system;
 - Developing the ability to think critically;
 - Communication based on a modern, interactive information technology.

Cerghit I. (2006: 15-17) states that: the method has a polyfunctional character; it can participate simultaneously or successively in achieving several educational-educational objectives. Thus it inventories the following functions of the methods:

- ✓ cognitive - is a way for the pupil to access the truths and procedures of action, to acquire science and technology, culture, human behaviors;
- ✓ formative-educational - methods applied in teaching-learning involve students in actions through which they develop mental and physical processes, intellectual skills and cognitive structures, attitudes, feelings, abilities, behaviors;
- ✓ Motivational - making learning more attractive, raising epistemic curiosity, enhancing learning satisfaction, the method becomes the motivational factor of learning;
- ✓ Instrumental - by reference to the educational process, the method fulfills for both teachers and pupils an instrumental, operational function in that it mediates the achievement of the objectives;

- ✓ Normative, action optimization - the method shows how to proceed, how to teach and how to learn so as to obtain the best results;

Breben S. (2002:15) considered that "the use of interactive group methods is an important way in the educational act, because after each applied method, it is possible to achieve performances that children perceive and make them responsible in solving work tasks the future, implying a lot of tact on the part of the teachers as well, because they have to adapt their teaching style according to the type of child shy, pessimistic, aggressive, grasping, impatient for each one, finding the gesture, mimics, questioning, counseling, appreciation, enthusiasm in accordance with the situation and everything will be like the book. "

Active-participatory methods provide teamwork skills to students and facilitate cooperative learning, and the teacher has an important role in active learning through co-operation, stimulating and guiding the interpersonal relationships in the school group he leads, which implies that learning together, through classroom cooperation, is increasingly being promoted and applied as an alternative strategy, for its activating, motivating motivations to achieve school performance, but also for the interactivity it provides, the creation of a friendly and trustworthy environment, encouraging students with skills both highly developed and those in difficulty "(Diaconu, 2013: 70).

According to Diaconu I (2013: 119), active-participatory methods do not focus on knowledge products, and in order to involve the learner, emphasis is placed on knowledge processes, being considered "methods that help the learner seek, search for themselves, learn for themselves the knowledge they are about to learn, find solutions to problems on their own, process knowledge, rebuild and re-motivate knowledge, they are therefore methods that teach the student to learn independently ".

Early children's representations play an important role in formulating but especially in solving the task, so we should invent these representations to rely on them when introducing a theme, a new method, as they often help children overcome the obstacles that blocks learning and combines the connections between the different representations of the children in the group and their discoveries through direct contact with the environment they are exploring, because the methods have a wonderful power if we master and love them, we

apply them systematically, so the children are helped to assimilate a concept, a learning principle or a democratic principle, and especially a certain algorithm. Group learning exercises decision-making and initiative, gives a more personal touch to work, but also a greater complementarity to skills and talents, which ensures more active, more active participation, supported by several emulation elements, mutual stimulation, of fruitful cooperation (Cerghit I., 2006: 54).

The dilemmas of modernization and improvement of the didactic strategies are in the direction of increasing the active character of learning methods and techniques, applying methods with a pronounced formative character, capitalizing on the new instructive technologies, contamination and overlapping of the problem on each method and techniques learning, thus making a significant contribution to the development of the pupil's entire potential (Diaconu I, 2013: 55).

The pedagogical quality of the didactic method involves its transformation from a way of knowledge proposed by the teacher into a learning pathway actually realized by preschool, student, in formal and non-formal education, with openness to permanent education (Cristea S., 1998: 303).

In conclusion, it is stated that the learning tasks are formulated in function and in accordance with the objective of the method and the activity that hosts the new strategy.

The learning path the child is traversed is determined by the method used. This path becomes the most spectacular exercise of interaction between the minds of children that we enjoy when we see progress from one period to another. The world we live in is changing and education is changing with it. The information sources for adults and children multiply that for those attracted by new, spectacular one seems more attractive than another (Breben S., 2002: 13).

Speaking about the necessity of innovation in the field of didactic methodology and the search for new variants to increase the efficiency of instructional-educational activity in school, through the direct involvement of the student and the monitoring of his cognitive effort, Professor Ioan Cerghit states:

”Modern pedagogy does not seek to impose any rigid recipe; on the contrary, it believes that the rigidity of methods, the conservatism of educators, excessive routine, indifference bring great harm to the current effort of lifting the education on new stages,

it does not oppose in any way the initiative the individual or collective originality of rethinking and reconsidering in the creative spirit any aspects concerning the improvement and modernization of the teaching methodology in all grades” (Cerghit I., 2006: 64).

Learning situations solved by group interactive methods develop children's thinking because they understand that when they analyze a character, they criticize their behavior, they do not criticize the character in the story. These situations teach the children that behavior encountered in everyday life is criticized to learn how to avoid it (Breben S., 2002: 15).

In modern school, the basic dimension according to which the educational methods are considered is their active character, ie the extent to which they are able to trigger the pupils' engagement in concrete or mental activity, to stimulate their motivation, cognitive and creative abilities, because a the criterion for assessing the effectiveness of the methods is their formative valences, their impact on pupils' personality development (Diaconu I, 2013: 47).

Breben S. (2002: 11) considered that "the needs and demands of children play a pedagogical scene requiring teachers to change radically their way of approaching didactic activities, because the reform of the education system also aims at changing the mentality and training of teachers reflexive to the computer in didactic, optional and other non-formal activities ".

Modern education foresees an action-oriented, operative methodology, thus promoting interactive methods that call for mechanisms of thought, intelligence, imagination, and heredity (Diaconu I 2013: 17).

According to Cerghit I (2006: 64), the student is actively engaged in a personal, inner and abstract reflection effort that interferes with a mental search, research and rediscovery of the truth, and the elaboration of new knowledge. External activism comes to serve as a material support for inner, mental, mental activism to become a bearer of it.

The effort of children must be an intellectual one, to practice psychic and knowledge processes, to approach other interdisciplinary intellectual approaches than to classical ones through the study of concrete environment and through interactive interactions in which children assume responsibilities, formulate and verify solutions, elaborate syntheses in group activities, individually, in pairs. Ideas,

group solutions have emotional load and originality when respecting the principle of flexibility (Breben S., 2002: 13).

The implementation of these modern teaching tools implies a combination of qualities and availability from the teacher: receptivity to the new, adaptation of the didactic style, mobilization, self-refinement, reflexive and modern thinking, creativity, intelligence to accept the new and great flexibility in concepts Diaconu I, 2013: 48).

Breben S. (2002: 14) considered that "everything intertwined for the modernization of the work with children needs to be thoroughly analyzed so that in the end the didactic approaches are in accordance with the age specifics and the cognitive and practical possibilities of the children."

In conclusion, Bratu V. (2009: 64) states that "the needs of the modern society, as well as the requirements of the children on the educational stage, require teachers to change radically the way of approaching didactic activities, that is why teachers learn the theories of learning, not only to understand how learning takes place, but to find out how to better organize contextually, instructively so as to make it easier for children to get the results they are looking for. "

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bocoș, M. (2002). *Instruire interactive. Repere pentru reflectivă și acțiune*. Cluj- Napoca:Editura Presa Universitară Clujană;
- Bratu, V. (2009). *Învățământ românesc între tradiție și modernism*. Deva: Editura Casei Corpului didactic Deva;
- Breben, S. (2002). *Metode interactive de grup-ghid metodic*. Craiova:Editura Arves;
- Cerghit, I. (2006). *Metode de învățământ*. Iași: Editura Polirom;
- Cristea, S. (1998). *Dicționar de termeni pedagogici*. București:Editura Didactică și Pedagogică
- Cucoș, C. (1998). *Psihopedagogie pentru examenele de definitivare și grade didactice*, București: Editura Polirom;
- Diaconu, I. (2013). *Metode și mijloace modern utilizate de învățători în procesul de predare-învățare-evaluare*. Bacău: Editura Casei Corpului Didactic Bacău;
- Dottrens, R. Traducător: Manolache, A. A. (1970). *A educa și a instrui*. București: Editura Didactică și pedagogică;

- Drăguleț, M. (1974). *Procedee de activizare a elevilor*. București: Editura Didactică și pedagogică;
- Ionescu, M. & Chiș V. (2001). *Didactica modernă*, ediția a II-a revizuită, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia;
- Palmade, G. (1975). *Metodele pedagogice*. București: Editura Didactică și pedagogică;
- Paul, A., Nagy, Z. (2012). *Managementul ariei curriculare limbă și comunicare*. Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea.

THE ROLE OF MULTICULTURAL PROJECTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERSONALITY OF CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

Karla Melinda BARTH*

Abstract. *The society we live in is constantly changing, and from this point of view the school must be in line with these changes, offer opportunities for the student and involve him in cultural diversity activities. These activities will help the pupil to develop in a harmonious way, to be a man open to intercultural attitudes, and not least to implement moral values such as democracy, tolerance, equality between people, respect, and all these means will lead to the development and formation of the individual as a person. This paper aims to highlight the role of multicultural projects in the development of the personality of children with SEN. For this purpose, a questionnaire was applied to 30 teachers in primary education, a questionnaire which confirmed the hypothesis that if teachers are involved in multicultural projects and involves students with SEN, it will also result in the development their personality.*

Keywords: *multicultural projects, special educational needs*

Multicultural projects are components of the Lifelong Learning Program. These are addressed to pre-university and state institutions as well as private institutions from kindergartens to post-secondary schools. At the same time, these projects are also addressed to all members of the educational community working in this sector, such as pupils and all types of teaching staff. These projects aim to support students to acquire the skills and abilities necessary for personal development.

The notion of multicultural education means the totality of educational programs that meet the needs of coexistence in a multiethnic environment. The goal of multicultural education is to

*Associate Professor, University of Oradea, Romania, karla_barth@yahoo.com.

facilitate the accommodation of minority ethnocultural groups and, to the same extent, to accommodate and open the majority society to the cultural models specific to minority groups. (Bradea, A., 2012).

Multicultural educational programs are based on the principle of cultural diversity and the opening of contemporary society; intercultural education and teaching are meant to focus students' attention on their own identity and on universal human values, equality of educational opportunities for all groups within society. Educational values usually structure themselves by the social values, by truth and justice, well defined by the educational evaluation. The teacher training process has, at its foundation, of course, a well-crystallized set of moral values (Pascariu, C.C., 20180). Multicultural education is considered to be, through anti-racial, anti-xenophobic, anti-discrimination and relativism towards existing cultures, the guarantor of a viable multicultural society, a factor of democratic stability and diminishing of conflict.

The development of personality as well as culture must be done earlier. So, through its branches, the educational system has to promote values such as democracy, human rights protection, social justice, tolerance, equality between people, cultural traditions, and so on (Blândul, V.C., 2008, pp. 142-143).

We can define multicultural projects as a form of education for all. A cultured person will accept diversity as it is and understands that people can (as it should be) be different. So we can talk about tolerance that allows the individual to look at the question of diversity with detachment, considering that each culture can have its place. Among the many roles that school has, one of them is to make students a European consciousness. From the early years of school, the student learns about respect and solidarity with other peoples. Thus, students must first know the values of their own culture very well, so that they can then access, receive, understand, information about another culture. We can conclude, so the school must be first of all cultural and then intercultural. It must go to intercultural through cultural.

Multicultural education can be accomplished through various activities, being a strategy to promote the student's development as well as the knowledge of one's own identity and the identity of others (Florescu, M.C., 2015). Multicultural projects greatly help teachers to develop this aspect of the students. Involving pupils in such projects

will ultimately lead to results that will generate an amalgam of compelling feelings such as joy, love, admiration for the history of their own culture and the history of other cultures (Ciobanu, N.R., 2018).

Research methodology:

The purpose of the research

The purpose of the research was to demonstrate that multicultural projects contribute to the development of the personality of pupils with SEN.

Research objectives:

- to identify the types of projects involving teachers;
- to identify ways in which project activities contribute to the development of pupils with SEN.
- to identify ways in which project activities contribute to developing the skills, temperament, character of the SEN pupils.

The research hypothesis

If teachers are involved in multicultural projects and involve students with SEN, they will also be able to develop their personality;

Participants

The questionnaire was applied to a number of 30 subjects, these being teachers, namely teachers from primary classes in Oradea and Bihor County.

Instruments

The main research tool I have chosen is the questionnaire, which is a basic tool used in data collection, which we applied to a total of 30 participants. The questionnaire contains 15 free and closed questions. I chose open questions to stimulate interest in the topic of the study. The questionnaire we have applied aims to collect the data necessary to achieve the objectives of this research. The questionnaire does not imply correct, wrong, good or bad answers, which is auspicious because in this way the subject can respond honestly. Teachers completed the questionnaires on several different days for a period of two weeks.

Procedure

One of the primary tasks of this research is to find out whether multicultural projects play a role in developing pupils' personality with SEN, as well as in developing their skills, character and temperament. The research procedure will be by applying a questionnaire to a number of 30 participants (teachers) from the primary classes. Therefore, after applying the questionnaire, we will conclude if multicultural projects play a role in developing the pupil's personality with SEN.

Research results

The analysis and interpretation of the results was done after the application of the questionnaire.

One of the questions we wanted to find out is the multicultural projects known to the teachers. Most of the responses belonged to the project "Habits and Multicultural Traditions". Thus, out of a total of 30 subjects, 10 responded to "Habits and Multicultural Traditions". Thus, 43.33% gave the project "Habits and Multicultural Traditions" as an example to this question. This project aimed at determining a better understanding of cultural diversity through the participation of the community made up of several ethnic groups in the organization of cultural events, the active involvement of young people and the promotion of specific beauties representative of representative cultures.

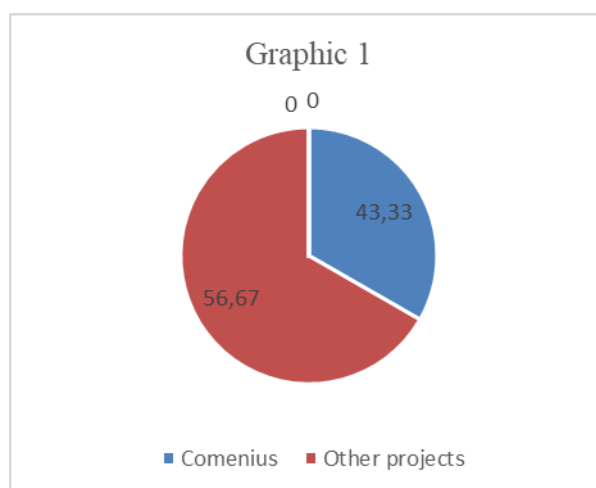
Among the examples given by the teachers were 43.33% also the projects "Unity in diversity", "Multiculturalism and intercultural communication", "Multicultural diversity", etc.

The development of the pupils' personality with SEN has to be achieved in the early years. The educational system must implement values such as democracy, cultural traditions, and so on.

The ways in which these values can be implemented in institutions are varied, ranging from school policy, to the use of different teaching strategies used in the classroom. The school has a wide range of values, with a plethora of roles on the development of a child with SEN, which is why the school has to educate students and a European consciousness, as evidenced by the results interpreted in the above graph. By interpreting the results we found that the evaluated subjects were involved in projects that promote

multiculturalism, which is also very useful in developing pupils with SEN.

Graphic 1. multicultural projects



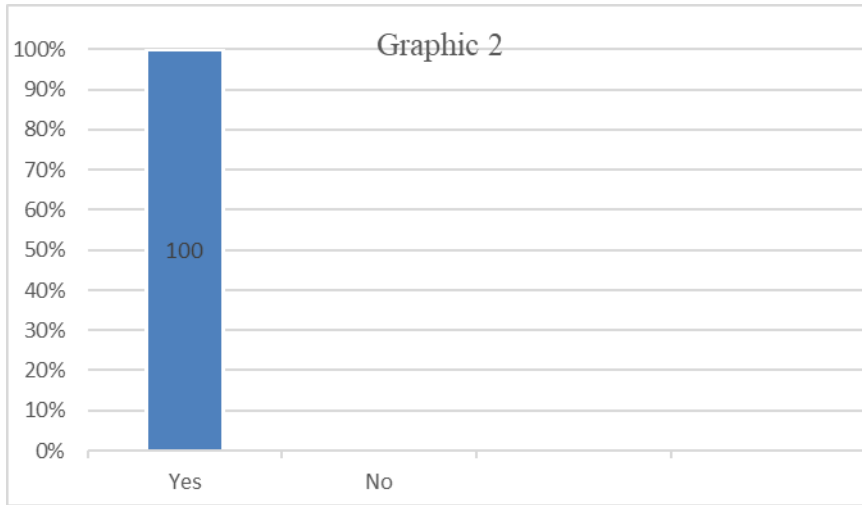
At the same time, multicultural education is also a strategy for developing the personality of pupils with special educational needs.

Another thing that I have been doing in the research was to find out if multicultural projects have made improvements in the development of the pupil's personality. Out of a total of 30 subjects, 30 responded yes. It is thus clear that multicultural projects aim to help students acquire the skills and skills needed to develop the personality of the student. Personality is formed as a consequence of the social, cultural and educational actions that follow the individual. Therefore, any activity, action, with the pupils, will contribute to the development of their personality. Students should be guided in such a way that they can acquire, independent thinking, be open to new ideas, acquire the ability to understand problems and find new solutions.

So if these projects are organized in a pleasant way, they will stimulate the student's spirit of initiative, while giving them the opportunity to easily integrate into groups, expanding their horizons and helping them to assimilate knowledge easily.

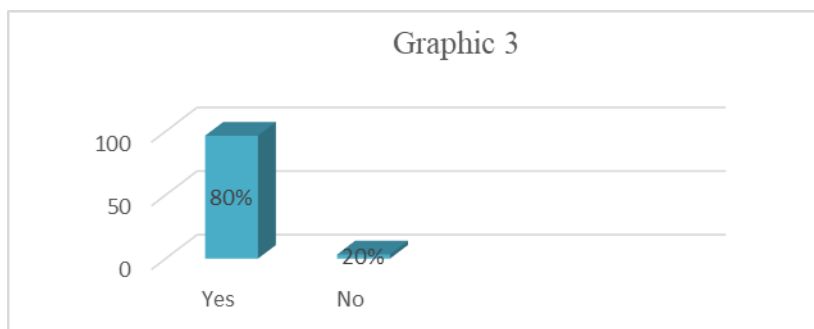
These activities directly involve the child, being attractive, giving interest and joy.

Graphic 2. The role of multicultural projects in the development of pupils with SEN.



The questionnaire also found the question of whether multicultural projects had a beneficial role in developing the student's aptitudes. Out of 30 participants 20% responded "no" and the other 80% responded "yes". Skills are considered as components of the personality, and as other branches of personality contribute to the development of the personality of the student. Most subjects said that these projects had a beneficial role in the development of skills, which is a natural thing because the student's involvement in such an activity will lead to his formation as a personality, as a social being. He will easily integrate into various activities and will always be encouraged to participate in activities that will help him in his formation.

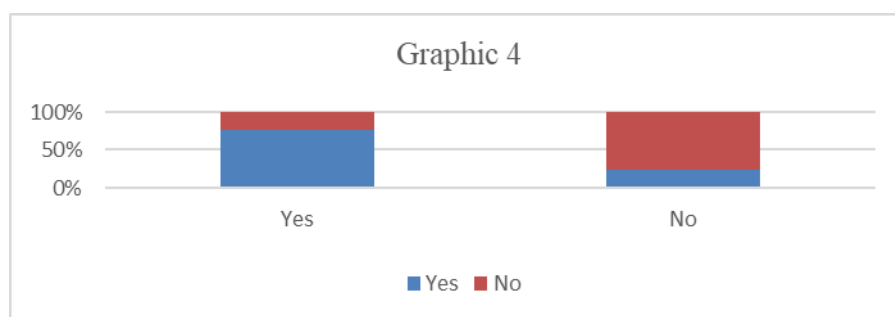
Gratic 3. The role of multicultural projects in the development of aptitudes of SEN's pupils.



Another goal I pursued in my research was to find out whether multicultural projects also played a role in developing pupils with SEN. For this question from a total of 30 subjects, 76.66% believed that these projects contribute to the development of pupils with SEN and 23.34% felt that multicultural projects do not contribute to the development of the character of these pupils.

We can define the character as a way of being a chain of psycho individual peculiarities that crystallize as a feature of a global physic portrait, including attributes and peculiarities in relation to the world. So, in order to develop this aspect of the pupils' personality with SEN, multicultural projects can be a very important factor that will contribute in one way or another by involving teachers and pupils and developing the character of these pupils.

Graphic 4. The role of multicultural projects in character development of SEN's pupils



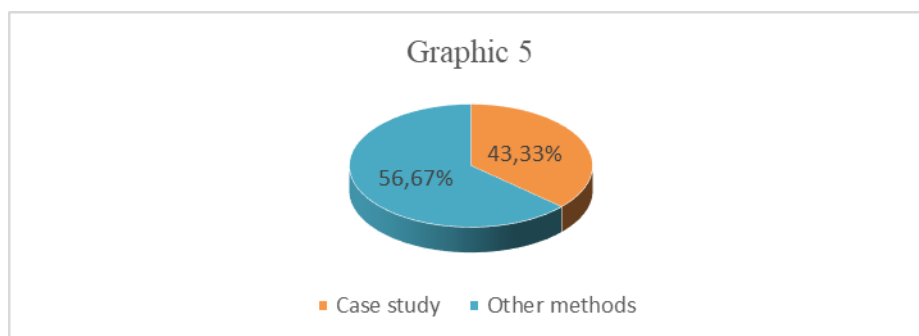
At the same time, I wanted to find out the methods that teachers use in multicultural projects. Out of a total of 30 subjects, 13 gave as example the "Case Study" method. Thus, 43.33% of teachers used this method in conducting activities in multicultural projects. The remainder of the evaluated subjects, in 56.67%, gave examples of other methods, including the Comparative method, the Story by Action method, the Delphi method, the Conversation, the Exposure, etc.

Interactive methods stimulate the formative-educational aspect of personality development by giving the pupil the opportunity to apply his theoretical knowledge.

At the same time, they lead to a more active, dynamic learning, training and forming the student's personality and beyond. They also offer opportunities to develop features of character, aptitude, will, motivation, and so on.

It is noteworthy that a wide range of methods can be used, including mosaic, cluster method, galley tour, Delphi method, debate, conversation, exposure, and so on.

Graphic 5. Methods used by teachers in multicultural projects



So the data we have obtained confirms the hypothesis from which we started, and which assumes that if the teachers are involved in such projects and involve the pupils, it will eventually be the development of their personality. We can see a significant difference regarding the answers to this question.

Conclusions:

We have found, through the results, that the subjects we evaluated, namely primary school teachers, have been involved in multicultural projects. This suggests that if teachers engage in such projects and involve pupils, it will be the development of their personality. Therefore, by involving students in these projects, they will be guided to such activities. This will help them acquire independent thinking, know the values of the society in which they live, be open to new ideas. They will also be able to understand problems and find new solutions, training them and developing their personality. Multicultural projects have had a beneficial role in the development of pupils' personality with SEN, which was demonstrated by the fact that the students were interested in these projects. Hence, they will contribute to a great extent to the development of their personality as well as to their formation as individuals.

These projects involve the pupil directly and form an amalgam of skills. That is why it is important to note that the more the pupil

will be exposed to such activities, the more interest and curiosity will be stimulated.

Therefore, we conclude that multicultural projects contribute to the development of the personality of pupils with special educational needs, and thus the research results confirm the hypotheses from which we started.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Blândul, V. (2008). *Non-formal Education – From Theory to Practice*. Oradea: Oradea University Press.
- Bradea, A., et al. (2012). *Non-formal Education. Models of Good Practice*. Oradea: Oradea University Press;
- Ciobanu, Nicoleta Ramona. *Active and Participatory Teaching Methods*. European Journal of Education, [S.l.], v. 1, n. 2, p. 69-72, july 2018. ISSN 2601-8624. Available at: <<http://journals.euser.org/index.php/ejed/article/view/3592>>. Date accessed: 23 july 2019. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.26417/ejed.v1i2.p69-72>.
- Florescu, M.C., (2015), Portrait of teacher actions from the perspective of school managers, The 6th International Conference Edu World 2014 “Education Facing Contemporary World Issues”, 7th - 9th November 2014, * Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences 180 (2015) 162 – 169.
- Pascariu, C.C. (2018), The conversion of general human values into competencies as a premise for teacher education., EAD Journal, Vol II, ISSUE 1, p. 59-68.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES ON THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL-FAMILY-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP IN THE EDUCATION OF DISABLED CHILDREN

Daniela-Crina LEZEU*

Abstract. *Disabled children often have to surpass barriers encountered during their integration and participation to community life (school life and other services provided by the local community). School attendance is essential for children with disabilities as far as the acquisition of academic skills, of the adaptive behaviour, as well as the enactment of their social and practical skills that are so much needed for a sheer participation to community life are concerned. To this end, disabled children need education – more than the other children – so as to maximize their development and increase their chances to succeed as adults.*

Children with disabilities require both active intervention and specialized services for their education in schools. Still, the fact that most disabled children from developing countries neither benefit from specialized services nor from compulsory education is concerning.

Keywords: *children with disabilities, public school, partnership, education*

Childhood studies provide a valuable insight in understanding social life, considering that humans pass the longest path to adulthood from all mammals. The length of this transition is influenced by their living environment with its complexity and their rich hereditary endowment, which is insufficiently prepared for a fast adaptation to the environment (Bonchiş, 2006). The child is “seen as the smaller and weaker version of an adult, more dependent, having less knowledge, being less skilled, less adapted to the environment and less capable of emotional control” (Shaffer, 2005, p. 20). Thus,

* PhD student, University of Oradea, cabaucrina@yahoo.com

the main role of adult mentoring for children throughout their development into a fully grown human being can go without saying.

The *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* that our country ratified through Law no. 18/1990 states that “a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier” (The Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, art. 1).

There have always been disabled persons in society, which has challenged its other members to accept diversity (Chelemen, 2010). The term disability entered the legal and administrative language only in the late 1950s, as up to that time the widely used term to speak about a deficient person was of “handicapped”, and their state was referred to as „infirmity” (Salloum, 2011). Disability is defined as a partial incapacity based on which a certain complex function that is specifically human cannot be carried out as a result of a deficiency, and the handicap is the social consequence of deficiencies or disabilities (Tiberiu, 2004).

Over the last two decades there have been many generalisations as well as various myths on disabled persons encountered in specialized literature and in other sources as well. The perpetrated ideas pertain to disabled persons being killed, hidden or neglected and that, like people living in poverty, they have to surpass different social barriers which sometimes hinder their access to fundamental human needs (food, health, education, social services, inadequate infrastructure, distance, etc) (Grech, 2009).

Starting with Antiquity, the assistance of the disabled persons was carried out through charity, as it was considered that those people were in that situation independently of their will and therefore deserved to be helped by the others (Preda, 2009). Nowadays, disabled persons (both adults and children) are considered to be one of the social categories with high risk of multiple social exclusion, as the consequences of disability are reflected in many aspects of life: individual, family, communitarian and social (*idem*).

Full participation in all important fields of society (the family, the social groups and the community) is deemed to be the most significant human experience. The right to equal chances for such participation is established within The Universal Declaration of

Human Rights¹, which applies to all human beings, the disabled ones included (Zlătescu, Neagoe, & Mocanu, 2014). Disabled persons and implicitly disabled children have the right to a normal life, to dignity and non-discrimination, therefore the members of the community, as well as the state itself, have the responsibility to help these persons integrate into the community (Bonea, 2011).

In developing countries the disabled children aged between 6 and 17 are facing different obstacles so as to their school registration and participation as compared to children with no disabilities. In these countries, the schooling difference between children with and without disabilities starts as early as the first grade at elementary school and a lot of effort needs to be done in order to stimulate the registration of disabled children from the beginning of their instruction in school in order to increase the educational accomplishments of these children (Filmer, 2008). They require active intervention and specialised services as well for their education in schools. Still, the fact that most of the disabled children from developing countries benefit neither from specialised services nor from compulsory education is worrying (Zlătescu et al., 2014).

Since they are social systems themselves, families have to deal with many challenges on a daily basis. Among the important factors which affect the normal functioning of a family we can mention disease and the lack of ability or the disability of a person. Disease and impairment are common experiences for families who look after disabled persons and the psychological and social issues triggered by disability impact the whole family system (Rodríguez-Sánchez et al., 2011). The presence of a disabled child in a family can lead to an increase of the physical strain for the caretaker of the child, an increase of depression and anxiety, thus causing a general feeling of social exclusion, through the feelings of rejection and marginalisation from the others and also influence the perception of one's individual wellbeing (Di Giulio, Philipov, & Jaschinski, 2014).

Although the social and individual representations of disability have evolved over the last 20 years, we are still facing some maladaptive concepts and attitudes which are trying to empower and hold accountable both the parents and the extended family when it comes to the presence of a disabled child. In most cases, the

¹ Romania signed the Declaration on December 14, 1955 within the General assembly of the UN, when it became a member of the organisation.

existence of a certain problem with the child (irrespective of its nature) represents a big challenge for the family, its impact being reflected upon it on several levels: emotional, financial, social, etc. (Sas, 2011).

Through the functions of education, training and security of its members, the family represents the social space where children acquire a system of values and beliefs, their conception on world and life, develop creativity and lay the bases of their personality (Drugaş, 2007). A child's disability reflects on all the persons around him or her, "this being a triadic experience which impacts the child who experiences the dysfunction, the family which is also affected by the disability as well as the environment where the disability manifests itself" (Falik, 1995, p. 336). The brothers and sisters of disabled children play an important part in their families, as they can be acutely experience their siblings' problems and even develop a secondary form of impairment as a result of the emotional stress experienced through their parents' demands. „The disability greatly impacts the family, as it supposes a readjustment and a redistribution of the family roles" (Manea, 2006: 48).

The way in which each family deals with the stress following the diagnosis of the child depends on a range of factors: the existing resources in the family or in the extended family, the information the parents have on that particular disability and the therapeutic choices at hand, the system of beliefs from the family regarding the birth of a disabled child, the community where the family lives. In other words, when facing the confirmation of a disability, the family can either adaptively mobilise to cope with the diagnosis, thus proving their ability of flexible adaptation, or react in a maladaptive manner, thus causing inefficient reactions (Falik, 1995).

The parents provide to the child "a model of emotional behaviour through the way in which they relate as domestic partners, and these emotional relations are perceived by the child as an obvious manifestation of family unity and provides them with a feeling of safety" (Drugaş, 2007: 45). Play is one of the very beneficial activities both for the child development in general and for the strengthening of the relationship between parents and children. The ludic activity never vanishes from the normal life of an adult. The ways of playful expression evolve or turn into other types of manifestations, which are still connected to the primordial

playfulness. Nevertheless, adults can easily find resources – originating in their own early learning – to go back to their “child mind” and share a time dedicated to play with their children. The child needs the parent to go every now and then into the world of their childish games, because a “low involvement of the parent in the ludic activity of the child results in a low level of interaction between parent and child. „Play helps the child to interact with their environment” (Runcan, Constantineanu, Ielics, & Popa, 2012: 798).

Based on the research carried out in the USA schools as well as in some European countries, it resulted that when schools, families and communities cooperate as partners, the students widely benefit from this cooperation (Robu, 2008). All these factors create a system which acts for the benefit of children’s education. When it comes to disabled students, we see that they need even more support, control, guidance and assistance. The society we live in adds a social diagnosis to the medical diagnosis of these disabled children, through the stereotypes and the bias which are present in every community. Teachers need to perpetually look for new efficient ways to facilitate the involvement of the parents, the communication and volunteering, the participation to making decisions and the cooperation with the local community (Muscott & Szczesiul, 2008).

The theoretical knowledge and the information provided for educators working in special education so as to the cognitive and behavioural characteristics of the persons with intellectual disabilities, as well as the existence of correct evaluations may have a critical influence over the development of their teaching policies, according to the potential of intellectually disabled students (Stavroussi, Papalexopoulos, & Vavougiou, 2010). The schools involved in the real inclusion of the families admit that the parents and the other family members of these children are involved in the educational experience when they cater for their basic physical and psychological needs, also promote learning at home, volunteer at school, support children’s rights in the relationship with teachers and principals, take part in the decision-making committees, become active in the community organisations who promote the empowerment of the schools and the children’s wellbeing (Muscott & Szczesiul, 2008).

Until the beginning of the 2000s, most of the intellectually disabled children were raised in foster homes and an increasing number of children were schooled in mass education classes, with the hope that they become adults who can live independently or at least in a partly independent manner, work and be paid for their effort and be active citizens in their communities (Gilmore, Campbell, & Cuskelly, 2003).

At the end of the 18th century, during the French and American Revolutions, the respect and the rights of the disabled persons started being more and more recognised. Beginning with France (1801-1806), with the methods of Jean Marc Gaspard Itard², the effort to educate the intellectually disabled persons consequently spread to Switzerland and later to other parts of Europe and USA (Harris & Greenspan, 2016). The interest for the education of intellectually disabled persons flourished after the contribution of J.J. Rousseau, Pestalozzi and E. Seguin, the latter developing treatment programmes for intellectually disabled persons, based on the previous success of Itard's approach (*idem*).

The development of special education flourished starting with the last decade of the 20th century, continuing to this century as a response to the needs of disabled persons (Safford, 2004). The right to education "is considered to be a central pillar of economic, social and cultural rights consecrated through international laws, still, the equal access to education and the opportunity of lifelong learning for disabled persons is a fundamental human right which is consistently denied" (Manea, 2016: 19).

In all countries the necessity to integrate children with disabilities in the public system of mass education is stated and the slow pace of the progress is explained by architectural, financial, technical psychological and social barriers (Manea, 2006). For instance, in Sweden the establishment of the integrated educational system started in the 1950s, while in the USA it only started in the 1970s (Popovici, 2004). Although the inclusion policies were put into practice starting with the 1970s, it is still unclear which are the most

² Jean Marc Gaspard Itard, ignoring the opinion of his time's experts, invested 5 years (1801-1806) in finding methods to teach and habilitate Victor, the savage boy from Aveyron (Lane, 1976). In spite of the fact that Victor made a limited progress, the methods established by Itard were recognised as extremely praiseworthy by the French Academy of Sciences

efficient teaching methods that promote positive attitudes from children without disabilities and facilitate the social integration of intellectually disabled children (Rillotta & Nettelbeck, 2007).

In high-income countries (such as the USA), each intellectually disabled child has access to free of charge public education through an individualised educational programme starting with the age of 3 until the age of 21. On the contrary, in the developing countries (India) although there was a significant progress in the field there is still a long way to go as to the development of efficient and accessible systems of education for intellectually disabled young persons (Ke, Liu, & Rey, 2012).

Although during the last decades, the Declaration of Salamanca and the Guidelines for Special Education (1994)³, as well as the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006)⁴, bring forward the idea that each disabled child is equal to all the other children (UNESCO, 1994). Nevertheless, the inclusion process plays an important part and it is mentioned that “The distribution of children in special schools – or special classes or sections from a school for an unlimited period – has to be an exception, this solution being recommended only in those rare cases when it was clearly demonstrated that the education in mass classes cannot meet the educational or social needs of the child or when it is necessary for the good of that particular child or of the others around him or her” (UNESCO, 1994, Chapter I, part.8).

The Romanian State is trying to provide education for the disabled children, through the legislation in force, whether we consider the inclusive education within mass education alongside the facility of having a support teacher who assists these children at school or the special education system, where the disabled students undergo the education process in a segregated form of education, in accordance with their individual particularities (The Law of National Education No.1/2011).

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Disabled Persons, which was ratified through Law no. 221/2010, paragraphs 1-3 stipulates the following rights for the disabled children, as follows:

³ The World Conference on Special Education: Access and Quality, Salamanca-Spain, June 7-10, 1994;

⁴ Romania signed the Convention on September 26, 2007 and ratified it through Law no. 221/2010, published in the Official Journal no. 792 of November 26, 2010;

1. States Parties shall take all necessary measures to ensure the full enjoyment by children with disabilities of all human rights and fundamental freedoms on an equal basis with other children.

2. In all actions concerning children with disabilities, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.

3. States Parties shall ensure that children with disabilities have the right to express their views freely on all matters affecting them, their views being given due weight in accordance with their age and maturity, on an equal basis with other children, and to be provided with disability and age-appropriate assistance to realize that right. (The UN Convention on the Rights of the Disabled Persons, art.7, paragraphs 1-3).

Under this light, in all the developed countries of the world (such as the European Union and the USA) there are special education institutions apart from inclusive schools, where the educational process for disabled children take place.

On many occasions the society the child lives in labels them instead of creating that propitious environment which favours their capacity and abilities thus allowing them to have an independent life. "A more sustained involvement of the communities in the screening of disabilities as well as in the rehabilitation process is necessary, in order to put into practice complex, coherent measures, including educational measures as well." (Manea, 2006, p. 50). Moreover, the child's personality can and most of the times is overshadowed by these labels which exist because they are not accepted by those around them. Even if in certain cases the disabled children are not aware of what is going on around them, they still have to be treated as human beings and not as abnormal people (Bonea, 2011). The intellectual disability itself is an "anomaly" which has hugely significant social effects and it does not affect the people suffering from it, but also their family and the society as a group. This is why it is important that the children with intellectual disabilities be treated kindly and equitably, because the quality of life, with all its fields: health, education, entertainment and later work are part of their fundamental rights (Shree & Shukla, 2016).

Until the 1980s the institutionalisation policy for disabled persons was considered to be normal, therefore these people lived in small, cramped spaces meeting only their basic physical needs, without any accent laid on their involvement and participation to

social life (IDRS, 2009). Still, over the last century, the life of the intellectually disabled persons underwent a positive radical change in all the fields of life. As a result, children with intellectual disabilities can often take part in various activities that involve their psychic processes such as: play, modeling, group dances, creative arts which involve other persons and develop under the guidance of professionals from the field (Shree & Shukla, 2016).

In an attempt to help integrate these persons in society and render their lives easier, Knan (1985), brought forward the notion of “paternalistic control”. This syntagm refers to an exaggerated benevolence, which is usually exerted by the siblings, parents or other people who look after persons with intellectual disabilities and is considered to be one of the most harmful responses, based on diminished expectations so as to their personal choices and the management of their own lives (Ditchman et al., 2013).

Another major challenge is represented by the development of the means of education for the teachers as well as for the local communities, so that they develop a better vision on the various types of disabilities that later on lead to the improvement of their acceptance and the support offered to them within schools and the local community (Gilmore et al., 2003).

In spite of the remarkable progress in the promotion of inclusive practices in the communities, intellectually disabled persons, as well as those with mental diseases are still socially excluded and have to face stigmatisation, discrimination as well as other major barriers preventing their access to the community they are a part of (Ditchman et al., 2013). Thus, disability appears to be a human rights issue, always triggering a struggle for choice, social justice and full participation to community life (Manea, 2006).

To sum up, participation in school is essential for disabled children, allowing them not only to acquire academic abilities, but also learn self-discipline, social and practical abilities for the full participation to community life. Whatever the approach (inclusive education, opportunity classes or segregated/special education), intellectually disabled children need education—even more than other children—in order to maximize their development and enhance their chances of success in life (Ke et al., 2012). Therefore, disabled children have fewer chances to start school than the children with no disability and also have a lower rate of persistence in the education

system until graduation. They should have equal access to quality education, which is essential for the creation of the human capital with a view to their participation to social and economic life (WHO & TheWorldBank, 2012).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bonchiș, E. (2006). Copilul și copilăria. Scurt istoric. *În Teorii ale dezvoltării copilului* (pp. 13-23). Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia.
- Bonea, G.-V. (2011). Aspecte practice privind sistemul public de protecție a copiilor cu dizabilități. *Calitatea vieții*, 22(1), 83-102.
- Chelemen, c. I. (2010). *Elemente de psihopedagogie specială*. Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea.
- Di Giulio, P., Philipov, D., & Jaschinski, I. (2014). Families with disabled children in different European countries. *Retrieved from*.
- Ditchman, N., Werner, S., Kosyluk, K., Jones, N., Elg, B., & Corrigan, P. W. (2013). Stigma and intellectual disability: Potential application of mental illness research. *Rehabilitation Psychology*, 58(2), 206-216.
- Drugaș, I. (2007). *De la noi pentru voi: ghid pentru părinții și profesorii implicați în educarea copiilor cu dizabilitate de auz*. Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea.
- Falik, L. H. (1995). Family patterns of reaction to a child with a learning disability: A mediational perspective. *Journal of learning disabilities*, 28(6), 335-341.
- Filmer, D. (2008). Disability, poverty, and schooling in developing countries: results from 14 household surveys. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 22(1), 141-163.
- Gilmore, L., Campbell, J., & Cuskelly, M. (2003). Developmental expectations, personality stereotypes, and attitudes towards inclusive education: Community and teacher views of Down syndrome. *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education*, 50(1), 65-76.
- Grech, S. (2009). Disability, poverty and development: Critical reflections on the majority world debate. *Disability & Society*, 24(6), 771-784.
- Harris, J. C., & Greenspan, S. (2016). Definition and Nature of Intellectual Disability. In N. N. Singh (Ed.), *Handbook of*

- Evidence- Based Practices in Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities* (pp. 11-40). Switzerland: Springer International Publishing
- IDRS. (2009). Introduction to Intellectual Disability. Australia.
- Ke, X., Liu, J., & Rey, J. (2012). Intellectual disability. In R. JM (Ed.), *IACAPAP e-Textbook of Child and Adolescent Mental Health*. (pp. 1-25). Geneva: International Association for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Allied Professions.
- Manea, L. (2006). Dizabilitatea ca factor de risc privind accesul la serviciile de educație. *Calitatea vieții, XVII*(Nr. 1–2), 41-50.
- Manea, L. (2016). Accesul la educație a tinerilor cu dizabilități în România, cu focalizare pe învățământul secundar superior, vocațional și universitar. In A. R. România (Ed.), (pp. 1-206). Simeria: Organizația Națională a Persoanelor cu Dizabilități din România, Asociația Hans Spalinger, Serviciul Public de Asistență Socială Simeria – jud. Hunedoara, Fundația Light into Europe și Autoritatea Națională pentru Persoanele cu Dizabilități din subordinea Ministerului Muncii, Familiei, Protecției Sociale și Persoanelor Vârstnice.
- Muscott, H. S., & Szczesiul, S. (2008). Crearea parteneriatului familie-școală-prin implicarea familiilor în sistemul școlar de sprijin pozitiv al comportamentului. Timișoara: Fundația de Abilitare „Speranța”.
- Popovici, D. V. (2004). Considerations of the current role of Romanian special education institutions. *Early Child Development and Care, 174*(2), 163-168.
- Preda, M. (2009). *Riscuri și inechități sociale în Romania*. Iași: Politom.
- Rillotta, F., & Nettelbeck, T. (2007). Effects of an awareness program on attitudes of students without an intellectual disability towards persons with an intellectual disability. *Journal of intellectual and developmental disability, 32*(1), 19-27.
- Robu, M. (2008). *Empatia în educație-necesități pedagogice moderne*. București: Editura Colecția New School.
- Rodríguez-Sánchez, E., Pérez-Peñaranda, A., Losada-Baltar, A., Pérez-Arechaederra, D., Gómez-Marcos, M. Á., Patino-Alonso, M. C., & García-Ortiz, L. (2011). Relationships between quality of life and family function in caregiver. *BMC family practice, 12*(1), 19.

- Runcan, P. L., Constantineanu, C., Ielics, B., & Popa, D. (2012). The Role of Communication in the Parent-Child Interaction. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 46, 904-908. doi: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.05.221
- Salloum, M. (2011). *Starea de bine la persoanele cu dizabilități*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Napoca Star.
- Sas, C. (2011). Familia și copilul cu cerințe educative speciale. In E. Bonchiș (Ed.), *Familia și rolul ei în educarea copilului* (pp. 173-187). Iași: Polirom.
- Shaffer, R. (2005). Natura copilăriei. În *Introducere în psihologia copilului* (pp. 19-36). Cluj-Napoca: Editura ASCR (Asociația de Științe Cognitive din România).
- Shree, A., & Shukla, P. (2016). Intellectual disability: Definition, classification, causes and characteristics. *Learning Community: An International Journal of Educational and Social Development*, 7(1), 9.
- Stavroussi, P., Papalexopoulos, P. F., & Vavougiou, D. (2010). Science education and students with intellectual disability: Teaching approaches and implications. *Problems of Education in the 21st Century*, 19, 103-112.
- UNESCO. (1994). *The Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education*. Paper presented at the World Conference on Special Needs Education: Access and Quality, Salamanca, Spain, 7-10 June 1994. http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/SALAMA_E.PDF
- WHO, & TheWorldBank. (2012). Raport Mondial Privind Dizabilitatea. București.
- Zlătescu, I. M., Neagoe, A., & Mocanu, M. (2014). *Drepturi egale și mediu accesibil*. București: Institutul Român pentru Drepturile Omului.
- ***Convenția cuprivire la Drepturile Copilului, ratificată prin legea 18/1990, disponibilă la <http://legislatie.resurse-pentru-democratie.org/legea/conventia-cu-privire-la-drepturile-copilului-1989.php>
- ***Convenția privind Drepturile Persoanelor cu Dizabilități, ratificată prin Legea nr. 221/2010, disponibilă la <http://anpd.gov.ro/web/conventia/>;
- ***Legea Educației Naționale nr. 1/2011

EUROPEAN VALUES AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE IN ROMANIAN SCHOOLS

Alina PĂDUREAN*

Florin VASILONI**

Abstract. *European values and intercultural aspects are a very topical issue nowadays, especially this year due to the Romanian Presidency of the Council of the European Union. For this reason, teachers have to answer certain student questions regarding EU aspects, implications of such a position and provide details on European institutions and EU membership. Mostly history teachers are involved in such a Q/A exchange but from our knowledge also foreign language teachers and therefore we wanted to see whether students learn aspects involving the EU in schools. Our study refers briefly to theoretical aspects regarding intercultural communication, development of intercultural skills and preservation of national identities in a multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural Europe. We also conducted a research among teachers and students in 4 high schools in Arad with the purpose of finding out whether EU related aspects are sufficiently covered by textbooks and to identify ways of integrating such knowledge in the Romanian curriculum for civic education, history or foreign languages.*

Keywords: *European Union competence, EU citizenship, skills, CLIL methodology, questionnaire.*

1. Theoretical Background

Intercultural aspects have become a very topical issue in the past few years. The policy promoted by the European Union along with funds allocated for student and teaching staff mobilities have opened new perspectives for scholars and educators in the area of intercultural and cultural studies. Schools try to develop the students`

* Associate Professor, Aurel Vlaicu University of Arad, Romania, alinapadurean@yahoo.de

** PhD Candidate, Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj Napoca, Romania, florinvasiloni@yahoo.com

intercultural skills as much as possible and to the extent to which the curricula allows it. Unfortunately, the Romanian curricula is very strict and limited to the development of certain competences, not leaving enough space for teachers to develop other skills that they consider beneficial to their students. Therefore, the development of intercultural skills, the acquisition of European values and knowledge related to the European Union can be achieved during the civic education classes or if teachers use the school-based curriculum for such activities.

Our findings have revealed that aspects related to EU institutions, legislation and policies are discussed in the history textbooks for the 11th grade and also issues pertaining to intercultural education. The civic textbooks however, are really outdated and do not approach such issues. They mostly cover aspects related to national legislation, national institutions and national policies.

There have been certain projects financed by the European Union whose aim was to promote EU values among teenagers, to enhance them with EU related knowledge and skills but they were mostly extracurricular activities and not part of the national curriculum.

We have also researched into other national policies related to EU education and have noticed that studies reflect a diversity in the curricular approaches to civic education, revealing different priorities within educational systems (Schulz et al., 2016). Thus, even though the importance of civic competences is unanimously acknowledged, it can be taught as distinctive subject matter (optional or compulsory), can be integrated into the teaching of other subject matters like social sciences, history or foreign languages or can be implemented as cross-curricular subject through the so-called school-based curriculum (Schulz et al., 2016, p. 43). These three approaches can go hand in hand to achieve what scholars call „European literacy” (Georgi, 2008; Du Bois-Reymond, 2002), that is the acquisition of knowledge and the development of understanding abilities, of critical thinking skills and independent reasoning that “allow the individual to understand what is going on in the public life at a local, national, European and global level” (Georgi, 2008, p. 108). Teenagers have to know the impact and the consequences of European integration. In the Romanian educational system, civic education has been included in the curricular area “Man and society”

and has been studied as compulsory subject matter for four years with one class a week. In primary education, in the 3rd and 4th grade it has been taught under the name “civic education” while in secondary school in the 7th and 8th grade under the name “civic culture”. (Ministry of National Education, 2009; 2014). Civic education in primary school is not a common practice at European level where it is studied mostly during secondary education years or in high school (Eurydice, 2012). In Romania, civic education in high schools is integrated into other subject matters (Eurydice, 2012) such as social sciences, history and foreign languages. Moreover, the cross-curricular approach, which involves all teachers in the development of civic competences, is regarded only as a general objective of the educational system, despite the fact that most European countries stress out the importance of civic education through cross-curricular aspects, key competences and curricular areas” (Eurydice, 2012, p.21). The new educational framework for secondary education, applicable since 2016-2017 contains major changes in terms of social education. The subject matter shall be taught throughout the secondary education, i.e. during all four years of secondary schooling with one class per week (Ministry of National Education, 2016).

When dealing with concepts such as lifelong learning and key competences, we should briefly refer to EU policies in this area.

The familiar concept of „*Unity in diversity*”, which involves democracy, pluralism, interculturality covers the following aspects:

a) Common goal:

– to build a Europe that respects the identity of each nation, its language, culture, beliefs and traditions.

b) Promotes stability, prosperity, cultural and religious tolerance beyond its frontiers.

The key competences have been set in 2006 and updated in 2018. We shall present the 2006 and 2018 competences in mirror¹ and discuss the one that refers to the enhancement of European values.

1. *Communication in the mother tongue versus Literacy competence*

2. *Communication in foreign languages versus multilingual competence*

¹ <https://kivinen.wordpress.com/2018/09/15/a-short-introduction-to-the-new-key-competences-for-lifelong-learning/> (accessed 12.07.2019)

3. *Mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology versus Mathematical competence and competence in science, technology, and engineering*

4. *Digital competence versus Digital competence*

5. *Learning to learn versus Personal, social and learning to learn competence*

6. *Social and civic competences versus Citizenship competence*

7. *Sense of initiative and entrepreneurship versus Entrepreneurship competence*

8. *Cultural awareness and expression versus Cultural awareness and expression competence*

We shall not refer to all key competences as they are not the subject of our study, but we would like to have an overview of second, sixth and eighth key competence as we have based our study on the development of these key competences.

The multilingual competence defines the ability to use different languages appropriately and effectively for communication. To a certain extent it can be associated to the first key competence, namely literacy as it is based on the ability to understand, express and interpret concepts, thoughts, feelings, facts and opinions in both oral and written form (covering the four CEFRL skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing) in an appropriate range of societal and cultural contexts. Language competence integrates a historical dimension and intercultural competences. It relies on the ability to mediate between different languages, as described in the Common European Framework of Reference.

This competence requires knowledge of vocabulary and functional grammar of various languages and an awareness of the main types of verbal interaction and registers of languages. Knowledge of societal conventions, and the cultural aspect and variability of languages is also important. Essential skills for this competence consist of the ability to understand spoken messages, to initiate, sustain and conclude conversations and to read, understand and draft texts, with different levels of proficiency in different languages, according to the individual's needs. A positive attitude involves the appreciation of cultural diversity, an interest and curiosity about different languages and intercultural communication. This competence also covers respect for each person's individual linguistic profile, respect for the people's mother tongue, respect for

minorities and for migrants as well as appreciation for a country's official language. This competence can be developed through foreign language classes in Romania. In most Romanian schools English is the first foreign language that pupils/students learn, followed by German or French. Italian and Spanish classes are also available for students, although the educational offer for these two languages is rather limited due to the relatively restricted number of teachers. Among the most common minority languages taught in Romania we mention Hungarian, German, Slovak, Ukrainian, Romani.

The next key competence that we focused on is the citizenship competence. Citizenship competence is the ability to act as responsible citizens and to fully participate in civic and social life, based on understanding of social, economic, legal and political concepts and structures, as well as global developments and sustainability. In Romania, such competence can be developed during civic education, social sciences, history and economy classes.

Citizenship competence is based on knowledge of basic concepts related to individuals, groups, work organisations, society, economy and culture. This involves an understanding of the European common values. It also includes knowledge of contemporary events, as well as a critical understanding of the main developments in national, European and world history. Knowledge of European integration as well as an awareness of diversity and cultural identities in Europe and the world is essential. As the subject of our research is the development of European values in Romanian schools, we have to mention here that the development of this key competence plays an essential role in the achievement of such goals. History and civic education classes can contribute to the achievement and the development of citizenship competence.

Citizenship competence also includes support for social and cultural diversity, gender equality and social cohesion, sustainable lifestyles, promotion of culture of peace and nonviolence, a readiness to respect the privacy of others, and to take responsibility for the environment. Interest in political and socio-economic developments, humanities and intercultural communication is needed to be prepared both to overcome prejudices and to compromise where necessary and to ensure social justice and fairness. As seen, European values and intercultural communication go hand in hand in the development of citizenship competence. If teachers want to prepare students for a

European citizenship, they should focus on the development of this competence through lessons that cover Europe related aspects, intercultural aspects and support EU values.

The last key competence that we focused on during our research is the 8th key competence, namely Cultural awareness and expression competence.

Competence in cultural awareness and expression involves having an understanding of and respect for how ideas and meaning are creatively expressed and communicated in different cultures.

This competence requires knowledge of local, national, European and global cultures and expressions, including their languages, heritage and traditions, and cultural products, and an understanding of how these expressions can influence each other as well as the ideas of the individual. It involves understanding other cultures and their ways of expressing their identities through written, printed and digital texts, theatre, film, dance, games, art and design, music, rituals, and architecture.

Individuals should have an open attitude towards diversity of cultural expression and such goals can be achieved only through the development of cultural and intercultural competence.

Before presenting an innovative teaching method that would favour the development of intercultural skills and the enhancement of European values in Romanian schools, let us have a brief look on Deardorff's definition of intercultural competence. The literature in this area is exhaustive but we believe that Deardorff's explanations cover all aspects that we are interested in. Deardorff (2006: 241-266) defines intercultural competence as the ability to develop targeted knowledge, skills and attitudes that lead to visible behaviour and communication that are both effective and appropriate in intercultural interactions. In his opinion the constituent elements of intercultural competence are knowledge, skills and attitudes.

Under knowledge, he understands cultural self-awareness, culture specific knowledge, socio-linguistic awareness, grasp of global issues and trends. Skills cover listening, observing, evaluating using patience and perseverance, viewing the world from others' perspectives. In terms of attitudes, we have to refer to values such as respect (valuing other cultures); openness (withholding judgement); curiosity (viewing difference as a learning opportunity); discovery (tolerance for ambiguity).

The development of intercultural competence is compulsory in nowadays society. Teachers have to be aware of this aspect and irrespective of the subject matter they teach, they should approach intercultural aspects and issues. The internationalization of higher education institutions calls for intercultural competence. Students should possess such competence, if they want to turn into competent graduates, capable of functioning in a global and interconnected world.

2. Clil. a possible solution for the developemnt of intercultural competence and the enhancement of european values?

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is a modern teaching approach to teaching and learning in which school subjects are taught and studied in a second, third or even fourth language. Unfortunately, it is not very commonly used, although the benefits are quite important. In Romania, teaching through CLIL is not used in mass education, only as part of European projects or in private language schools. Some teachers, however, decide to use CLIL in certain teaching modules.

According to Marsh (2002), in CLIL "a foreign language is used as a tool in the learning of a non-language subject in which both language and the subject have a joint role".

The aim of CLIL is to use the language as medium for the transfer of subject content. Coyle (2007), refers to the aims of CLIL in terms of the 4 Cs:

- Communication: improving target language competence
- Content: learning the knowledge and skills of the subject
- Culture: building intercultural knowledge and understanding
- Cognition: developing thinking skills

Thus, the overall aim of CLIL methodology is to enable students to use structures, vocabulary and skills needed for a particular purpose.

The syllabus used with CLIL covers mostly subjects such as Geography, History, Math, Science, Art, Sport. Therefore, the syllabus will be centred on the 4 Cs with particular focus on the cognitive and language skills related to the subject.

Of particular interest is the language used and taught during a CLIL lesson or module. Teachers will deliver the vocabulary derived

from the content subjects and not the language used in daily life situations as in the case of EFL classes.

The characteristics of CLIL language are:

- Preference for subject related vocabulary
- Language for employing cognitive skills in the area
- Language for carrying out learning skills

The toughest issue regarding the use of CLIL is the human resource involved in teaching, i.e. the teaching staff. There are three options but we cannot state which one is the most efficient. CLIL can be taught by either a subject teacher who is proficient in the foreign language, by a language teacher with cognitive skills in the subject content or by the subject teacher and the language teacher working together. The last solution is very improbable in our country due to financial constraints. No school or authority will approve the payment of two teachers in the same classroom at the same time. Maybe only through European Union financed projects.

However, Keith Kelly (www. <https://www.factworld.info/> accessed July 26th, 2019) sketched the profile of an ideal teacher that would teach CLIL:

- Has subject specialism
- Is proficient in the foreign language
- Uses CLIL methodology
- Uses language-appropriate materials
- Integrates content and language learning during lesson
- Has the skills needed to plan CLIL lessons
- Is able to identify the language demands of subject materials
- Is familiar with aspects of CLIL task design
- Participates in professional development

CLIL methodology brings about certain changes to the teaching of language and content. Researchers have pointed out the benefits and positive aspects of using CLIL. Here are some of them:

- Does not negatively affect learning of a content subject; it rather enhances it (Zarobe, 2007)
- Can enhance language proficiency (Ackerl, 2007)
- Can enhance students` motivation, language retention, involvement and risk taking (Coyle, 2007)

In theory, the use of CLIL brings about benefits for learners as well as for teachers. The lessons are more challenging and interactive

and not at least, they prepare students/learners for real life. The issues that teachers face in our country are related, in our opinion to three major aspects:

- Curriculum constraints
- Teaching staff
- Teaching materials

The curriculum constraints are an issue that most European countries face. In Romania, the problem with the curriculum is that it is very crowded, the syllabus covers too many aspects and teachers do not have time to approach the subject under new and innovative aspects. Possible solutions identified by us would be the use of Saptamana altfel activities to approach the content under this perspective, to apply for EU financed projects and include CLIL teaching modules among the project activities. An optional subject on intercultural education and EU values could be also mentioned among the possible solutions.

In terms of teaching staff, the problems are manifold. First of all, not all content teachers are proficient in English. They need at least level B2 according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. A solution would be the attendance of language courses and the acquisition of appropriate language skills. The problem with language teachers is that they may not have sufficient content knowledge to teach the content appropriately, to give proper explanations and find solutions for the learners` problems. Sometimes, they would have to learn along with the students certain aspects related to the content, even though they are good at English. The solution of two teachers working together at the same time is the most appropriate but unfortunately schools and the Ministry cannot cover the expenses of such a solution.

The third aspect identified by us is related to the teaching materials. There are few teaching materials for European institutions and intercultural aspects in English. There are no textbooks and therefore the teachers have to prepare their own worksheets and teaching materials. The internet provides enough materials in English, the only problem is that they should be adapted to the students` level and needs.

3. Research Methodology

We conducted a quantitative research based on a questionnaire applied to students enrolled in four high schools of Arad and a questionnaire applied to History and English teachers.

The purpose of our research was to identify aspects related to teaching European values in Romanian schools, to analyse the sources the teenagers find information from as well as their knowledge in terms of EU values, intercultural aspects and CLIL methodology.

The questionnaire was applied on a sample of 150 students and it consisted of dual choice and multiple-choice questions. The main goal was to determine their level of knowledge in terms of EU as well as to find out whether teachers use CLIL activities with them and their opinion about the usefulness of this teaching and learning method.

The research sample involved both girls and boys, all with ages between 16-18 years.

The second questionnaire was applied on a sample of 40 teachers from Arad. 20 were History teachers and 20 English teachers. The aim of the questionnaire was to determine whether teachers are willing to use the CLIL method in teaching EU related aspects, to determine whether they accepted another teacher in the classroom, their willingness to use English as the language of instruction as well as to identify ways of delivering EU related competences to their students.

We have decided to apply the questionnaire anonymously as we believe the responses are more reliable when the respondents do not feel threatened by being judged.

We have divided the students' questionnaire into three parts each with more questions. The first part approaches EU issues, the second intercultural aspects and the last one CLIL methodology.

The teacher questionnaire approaches issues related to curriculum, EU and intercultural aspects and ways of integrating them into the curriculum and CLIL methodology issues.

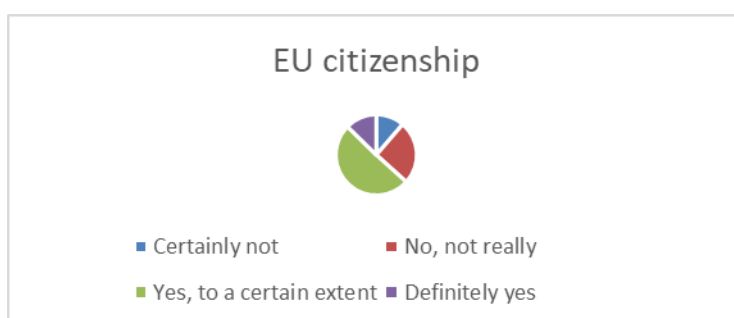
The data were collected and interpreted. The findings are presented in the section below but we decided to refer to the most relevant aspects omitting those that are statistically insignificant or do not bring significant information to our study.

We shall present the results under the form of diagrams selecting the most relevant aspects covered by the students` and teachers` answers and the number of answers given to the question or item.

4. Findings

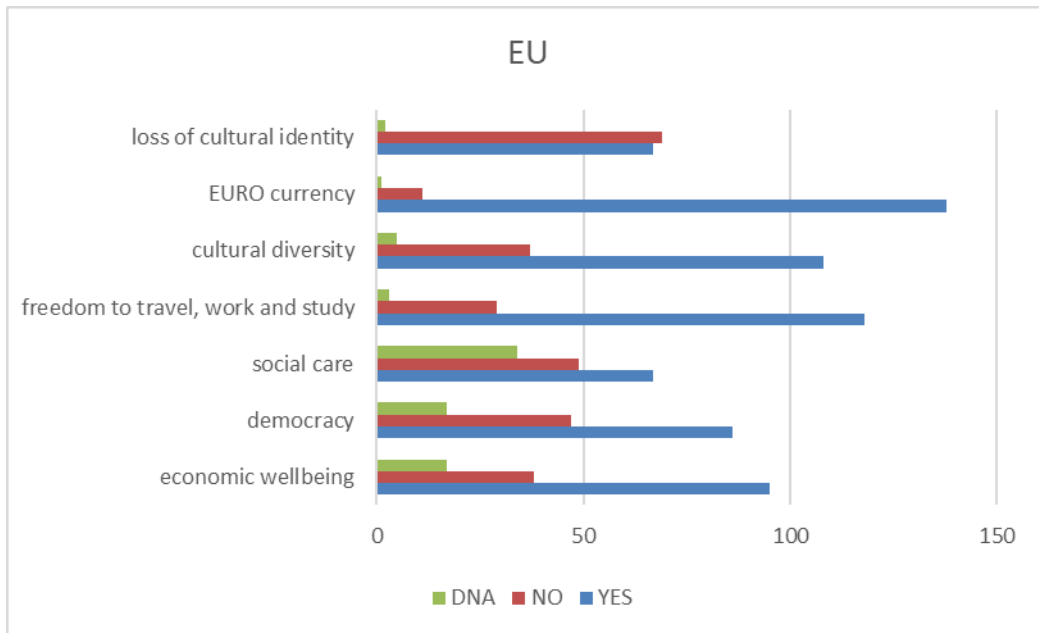
First, we shall refer to students` answers. As previously mentioned, we will only refer to those parts of the questionnaire that have provided statistically significant data and information.

Chart no 1 provides relevant information about the tennagers`s opinion regarding their European citizenship. As can be seen, most students answered that they feel European to a certain extent. Second in rank is the answer *not really*. Few students feel that they are European citizens. We believe that the answers are influenced by insufficient information and knowledge about what EU citizenship really means, the advantages and the shortcomings it brings about and probably by the fact that do not know exactly what means to be EU citizen.



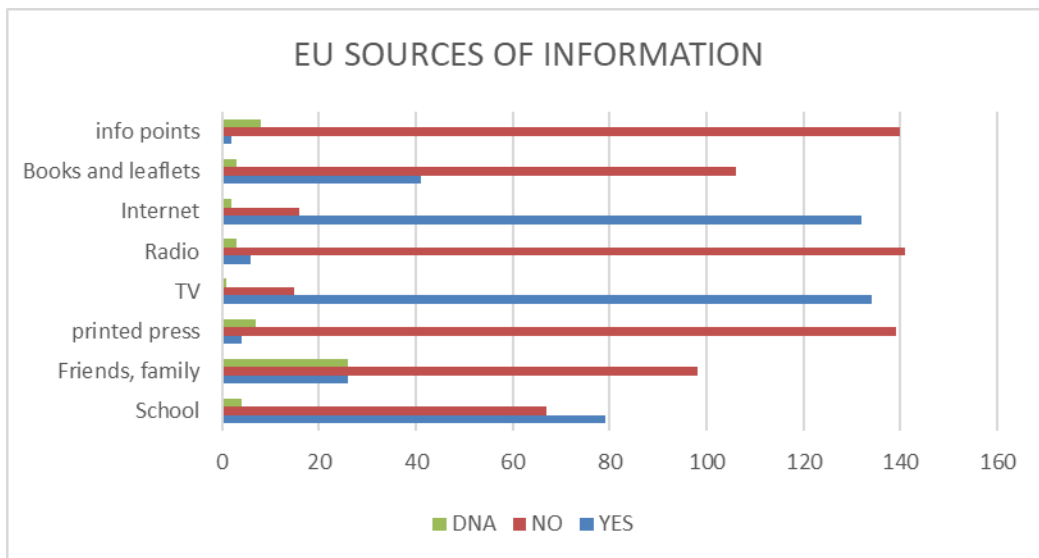
In terms of what EU means to teenagers, we have selected certain aspects and asked teenagers to rank them according to their beliefs: economic wellbeing, democracy, social care, freedom to travel, study and work abroad, cultural diversity, Euro currency, loss of cultural identity.

Chart no 2 provides us with an overview of what EU means to teenagers, of what European values stand for in their opinion.



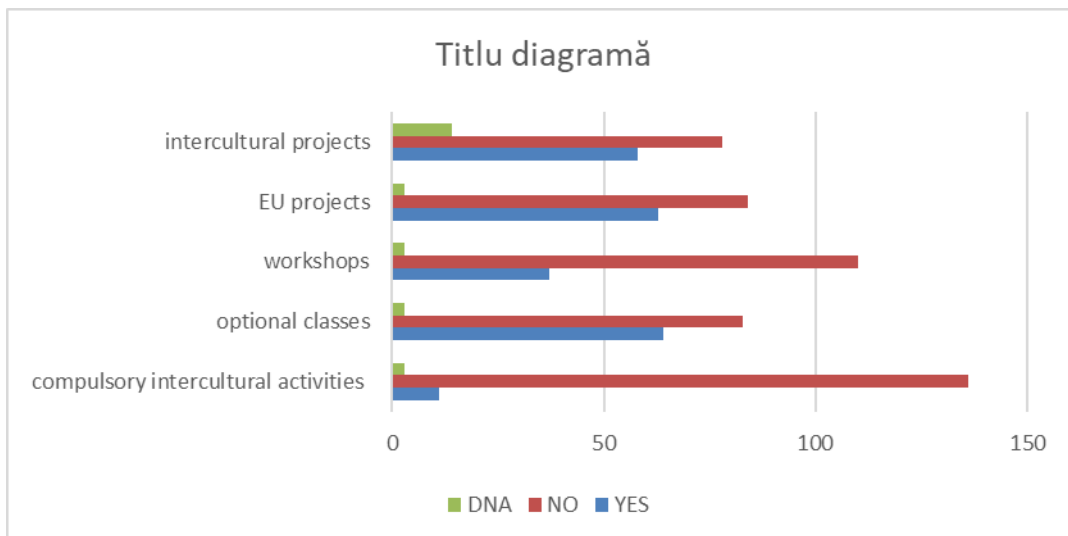
As we can see from the research sample's answers, European Unions mostly means EURO currency, freedom to travel, work and study as well as economic wellbeing. The choice can be explained in terms of students' access to information and everyday situations they face. Most probably, they benefit from open borders when traveling for leisure, their parents or relatives work abroad due to open labour market and all of them use the Euro currency when traveling outside the country's borders. In terms of cultural diversity, social care, loss of cultural identity, they do not have sufficient information about what they really stand for.

The next aspect under our attention refers to the students' source of information about European Union related aspects. Again, we provided a list of what we considered relevant and the respondents had to rank them according to their opinion. First, we shall present the students' answers (Chart no 3) and then a classification of the three most widely spread sources of information.



From the answers provided by the students, we can notice that the internet, the television and schools are the main information providers in terms of EU knowledge. Students check the internet when they need to find out something related to EU policy, institutions, legislation, etc or watch TV/the news. School is also among the sources mentioned by the students, although, like mentioned before, the number of classes allotted to this area is still limited. The info points, the printed press and the radio are ranked on the bottom positions, but the fact that the printed press has lost field in favour of the online one is already common knowledge. The authorities should, however, advertise the info points more, as they could turn into a reliable and useful source of information, if presented properly.

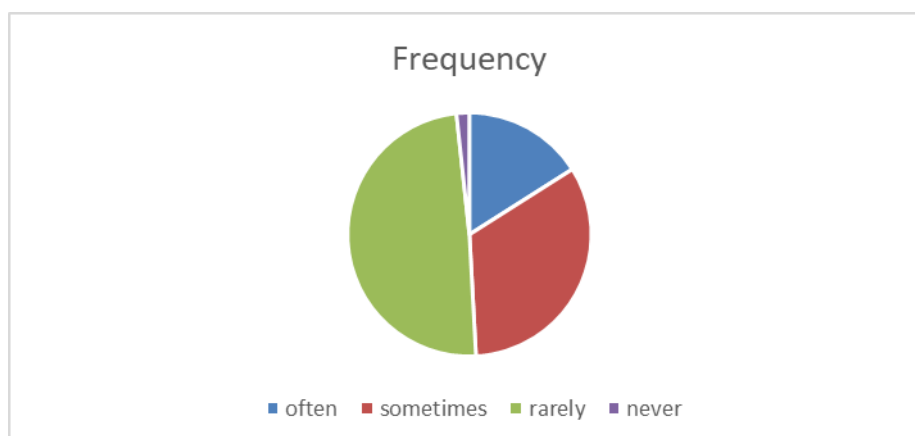
The next aspect that we focused on during our research was the extent to which schools approach EU and intercultural aspects. For this reason, students answered some questions (Chart no 4) and also provided answers related to the frequency EU aspects are discussed during classes (Chart no 5).



Most students who answered that they attended workshops and activities/projects related to EU and intercultural aspects had been involved in extracurricular activities such as EU financed projects. During these projects, they acquired information related to aspects concerning our research.

Chart no 5 refers to the frequency teachers of other subject matters discuss EU aspect with their students during classes. This is somehow a link to the last aspect dealt with, namely the use of CLIL approach during classes to enhance students with EU skills and competences.

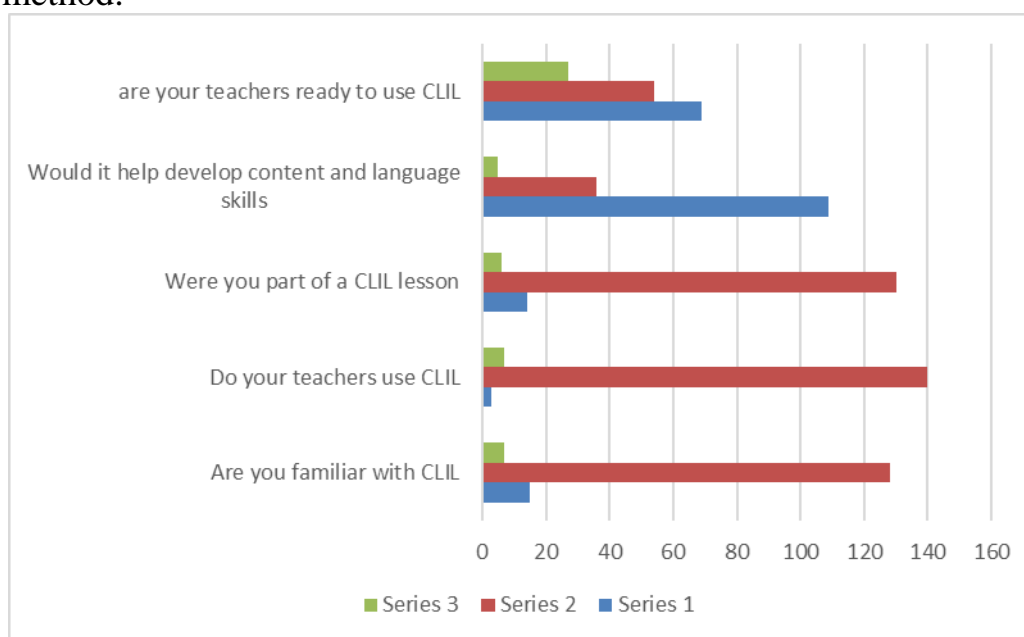
Let us have a look on the students` answers.



We can see that teachers of other subjects, rarely approach issues related to the topic under discussion. Therefore, we believe

that the use of CLIL method would be beneficial both for teachers and for students. It will develop their subject content skills, their language skills and create a warmer, friendlier atmosphere in the classroom.

Chart no 6 presents the students` opinions related to CLIL method.



From the students` answers we can draw the following conclusion: their teachers hardly use CLIL in teaching; the only situations when students faced such a content approach was through projects. Consequently, only students involved in such projects are familiar with the method. However, one positive aspect is their willingness to try something new. They`d rather approach new ways of learning than the traditional ones. Thus, they believe that the integration of CLIL into mass education would be an asset in acquiring content and language related skills.

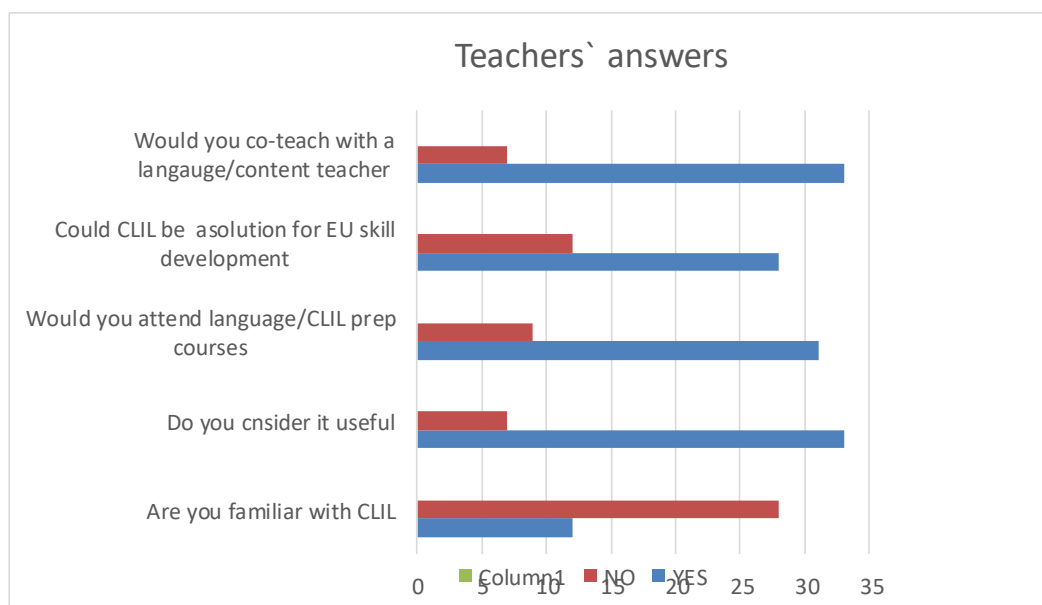
The last aspect approached by our research is the teachers` opinion about EU values and the way they are taught in our schools.

The research sample complained that the curriculum is too crowded to permit discussing other aspects than the ones covered by the textbook. However, they consider necessary enhancing their students with EU and interculturality related skills as they are part of the society and the world they live in. Most teachers believe that without a curriculum reformation such things will be possible only

through extracurricular activities, through EU projects focused on the development of such skills and maybe through a reconsideration of the Saptamana altfel. Most of them stated that they`d rather stay in school and work with their students differently than during regular classes, for example approach aspects that they do not have time to discuss, use interactive methods more often and teach them issues that remain uncovered due to time limitations. In what CLIL is concerned, some teachers were unfamiliar with the method and consequently did not use it. They, however, believe is an interesting way of developing various competences with their students. Both History and English teachers complained that they would not have time to work in this way and that only modular CLIL could be a solution. History teachers mentioned poor language skills, while English teachers stated that they would probably lack the content skills necessary to deliver accurate information to their students. They agreed upon the co-teaching of certain modules but obviously referred to financial constraints. History teachers stated that they were willing to attend language courses to be able to teach in English.

All stated that they would attend CLIL preparation courses and that they`d include modular teaching among their activities mostly with aspect covering EU and intercultural aspects.

Chart no 7 presents the teachers` answers.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ackerl, C. (2007), *Lexico-grammar in the essays of CLIL and non-CLIL students: error analysis of written production*, VIEWZ, Vienna Working English Papers, 16(3), p.7
www.univie.ac.at/anglistik/ang_new/online_papers/views.html
- Baetens Beardmore, H. (2009), *Education through a second language: conditions for success*, CLIL Conference Proceedings, Norwich Institute for Language Education.
- Coyle, D.A. (2007), *A vision for CLIL: past, present and future action*, Handout from CLIL conference, March 2nd, Anglo-European School, Bishop`s Stortford, UK.
- Deardorff, D. K. (2006), *The Identification and Assessment of Intercultural Competence as a Student Outcome of Internationalization at Institutions of Higher Education in the United States*, Journal of Studies in International Education, 10:241-266
- Eurydice/EACEA and Eurostat (2012), *Key Data on Education in Europe 2012*. Brussels: Eurydice.
- Georgi, V.B (2008), *Citizens in the Making: Youth and Citizenship Education in Europe*, Journal Compilation, Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. 2, no. 2, p. 107-113.
- Marsh, D. (2002), *CLIL/EMILE – The European Dimension: Actions, Trends, and Foresight Potential* Public Services Contract DG EAC: European Commission
- Ministerul Educației, Cercetării și Inovării (2009), *Programe școlare. Cultură civică. Clasele a VII-a –a VIII-a*. Anexa nr.3 la ordinul ministrului educației, cercetării și inovării nr. 5097/09.09.2009.
http://programe.ise.ro/Portals/1/Curriculum/progr_gim/OS/Cultura%20civica_clasele%20a%20VII-a-%20-%20a%20VIII-a.pdf.
- Ministerul Educației Naționale (2014). *Programa școlară pentru disciplina „Educație civică”, clasele a III-a –a IV-a*. Anexa nr. 2 la ordinul ministrului educației naționale nr. 5003 / 02.12.2014.
<http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=20307>.
- Ministerul Educației și Cercetării și Cercetării Științifice (2016). *Planul-cadru pentru gimnaziu*. Disponibil la <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/pressrel/24187>.

- Schulz, W., Ainley, J., Fraillon, J., Losito B. & Agrusti, G. (2016), *IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 Assessment Framework*, Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).
- Zarobe, Y. (2007), *CLIL in a Bilingual Community: Similarities and Differences with the Learning of English as a Foreign Language* in VIEWZ, Vienna Working English Papers, volume 16, no.3 Special Issue, December 2007, www.univie.ac.at/anglistik/ang_new/online_papers/views.html
<https://kivinen.wordpress.com/2018/09/15/a-short-introduction-to-the-new-key-competences-for-lifelong-learning/>

EUROPEAN UNION IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Corneliu PĂDUREAN*

Abstract. *12 years after Romania's adherence to the European Union, we would like to analyse how the students in pre-university education acquire knowledge about the beginnings of the European Union as well as its future evolution. We consider that such an analysis is important because at the moment the largest emigration in a time of peace is registered in Romania. It is a phenomenon that the authorities cannot stop, they may eventually slow it down. That is why it is important to find out, to what extent the young generation of Romania has the necessary tools through which to accumulate the necessary knowledge to become conscious citizens of the European Union.*

To do this, we carried out an analysis of history curricula and textbooks from the same discipline from pre-university education in Romania.

Keywords: *school curriculum, textbooks, history, European Union, Romania*

The present material is intended as an incursion into the history curricula and history textbooks to determine the extent to which aspects related to the European Union and its history are reflected in the school curricula in Romania. Our analysis considers both the middle school and high school cycle.

In the case of textbooks, we will not analyse all the alternative history textbooks existing on the Romanian textbook market. We will illustrate each grade with a textbook, or in some cases with different editions of the same textbook.

I. School curricula

In the school history curriculum approved by the order of the Minister of National Education and Scientific Research no. 3393, from 28.02.2017, for the 5th grade, there is no indication that refers to

* Aurel Vlaicu University of Arad, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of modern languages and social sciences, corpad@gmail.com

the European Union explicitly (Annex no. 2, 2017). In the fundamental documents of the establishment of the European Union, one speaks of the traditions of the Christian civilization, whose foundation has been laid in Antiquity. In the 5th grade, students study the ancient era. However, no allusion to this fact is made in the curriculum.

The situation is similar to the case of the 6th grade, in which various aspects related to the Middle Ages are studied (Annex no. 2, 2017: 11). The contents of the curriculum take into account in particular the important moments in the history of Europe. However, no reference is made to the idea of European unity during this period, although historiography has taken some initiatives in this regard.

In the curriculum of the 7th grade, which by its contents covers the 19th-20th centuries, on the last topic, entitled *The World at the beginning of the third millennium*, there are lessons that are related to the EU. An issue that must be addressed by the teachers who teach history, it must address a number of concepts that relate to the European Union. Students are also put in the situation of undertaking themselves a number of EU values: civil society, civic movement, rule of law, or universal values, such as human rights, but also the knowledge of some European institutions (Annex no. 2, 2017: 14 -15). On this same occasion, the problem of European and Atlantic integration is being studied. For this, the curriculum proposed a case study.

The curriculum for the 8th grade is dedicated to some topics from the history of Romania, from prehistory to the events of December 1989. As a result, the students at the end of the secondary school cycle do not get to study aspects related to issues regarding the relations between Romania and the European Union after 1989.

The curriculum for the high school, for all four years of study, is centred around issues relevant to the evolution of society. These refer to *Historical nations and spaces; The people, the society and the world of ideas; The state and politics; Religion and religious life; International relations*. It dates from 2004, so before 2007, when Romania's adherence to the European Union took place.

For the 9th grade, the curriculum was approved by the order of the Minister of Education, Research and Youth no. 3458/09.03.2004. Chronologically, it goes inside the five themes of interest, until the middle of the 17th century, to the 30 years war. For this class, there is no subject related to the European Union.

The curriculum of the 10th grade, has become functional since 2004, by the order of the Minister of Education and Research no. 4598 from 31.08.2004. The study covers the period of time contained from the middle of the 17th century to the interwar period. Within the theme of international relations, students are re-taking the problem of Euro-Atlantic integration at a higher level, with a focus on European partnership and integration.

In 2009, the curriculum for the 11th and 12th grade was published, without an order from the Minister for the enactment into law of the respective documents.

In the 11th grade, on the topic of *Europe and the world in the 20th century*, a topic was included regarding Grigore Gafencu and the European unity.

The curriculum of the 12th grade takes into account, as with that of the 8th grade, through the perspective of the five themes, the problem of the history of Romania. On the topic of *The state and politics*, the curriculum provides the approach of the problem of redefining the role of the state after the first world conflagration. In this context, Robert Schumann's plan on the role of the state is also presented.

Analysing the topics included in the two curricula in the upper cycle of high school, although they were published two years after Romania became a member of the European Union, there is no topic that refers to this important moment in Romania's recent history.

II. Textbooks

7th Grade

Florin Constantiniu, Norocica-Maria Cojescu, Alexandru Mamina, *History. Textbook for the 7th grade*, Bucharest, Corint Publishing House, 2008.

Let us further identify the topics in which we find references to the European Union.

1. On the topic of *The post-war world and its problems*, the lesson of *The economic and political situation of the "Free world"*, it is mentioned the establishment of the Common Market IN 1957 in the six known states, as well as the subsequent adherence of Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland, Greece, Spain and Portugal. In this same context references are made regarding the Franco-German

reconciliation, illustrated with a photograph of General Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer (Constantiniu, 2008: 98).

2. The topic of *The World at the threshold of the third millennium*, the lesson of *European and Atlantic Integration*, recalls the economic advance that Western Europe experienced during the Cold War and the steps taken in the integration process: “The Single Act”, signed in 1986, the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, by which the European Union was created, the enlargement of the EU since 1994, by the accession of Austria, Finland, Sweden and the transition to the single currency since the 1st of January 1999. Norway also refers to the accession of 1994, given that this country is not a member of the EU (Constantiniu, 2008: 112).

The textbook also includes a definition of the European Union, which “is a **legal/juridical community** (underlining of the authors), whose main objectives are the single market and economic integration, European citizenship for the residents of the Member States and the elaboration of a common foreign policy” (Constantiniu, 2008: 112).

Students also become aware of the four freedoms: free movement of goods, capital, services and people. Also mentioned are the three pillars (the “resistance structure” as they are called in the textbook), the common economic policy (the European Communities), The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and The Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PJCC).

The authors recall the importance of the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe, an event that paved the way for the reunification of Europe, by continuing the EU enlargement process.

Although the textbook was published in 2008, the authors do not mention the 2004 enlargement, when Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Estonia, Slovakia, Latvia and Lithuania, Malta and Cyprus joined. In the textbook, however, it is stated that “Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia and Estonia are to hold adherence negotiations with the European Union,” and “Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Latvia and Lithuania will engage in pre-adherence talks” (Constantiniu, 2008: 112). So the students who are in the 2018/2019

school year in the 7th grade, have no chance to find out from the textbook, whether Romania is or not, a member of the EU.

The page for European and Atlantic integration is complemented by a photograph of Jean Monnet, “the father of united Europe.” The text that accompanies the photograph is a brief biography for him, context in which is also mentioned the Coal and Steel Community, created in 1950, as well as Robert Schuman, him too “the father of Europe.”

In addition, two cartridges with a text from Larousse were included, *L’Histoire du Monde*, vol. 3 (the authors do not specify the year of appearance) and Pascal Fontaine (Fontaine, 1998), which contains a commentary regarding the Single Act and the Maastricht Treaty, as well as the three pillars established by the Maastricht Act.

The lesson is completed with graphical representations, two of which illustrate the idea of European integration, and the third one, for the understanding of the students, represents the relations between the institutions of the European Union. Above all this iconography thrones suggestively, the image of Helmut Kohl the Chancellor of Germany between October 1982 and October 1998, who promoted the idea of European unity.

10th Grade

Valentin Băluțoiu, *History: textbook for the 10th grade*, School of Arts and Crafts, Bucharest, Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, R.A, 2004.

In the chapter on *International Relations*, the author of the textbook included the topic *Romania and EU integration*. The topics that are included refer to the formation of the first economic communities and the political integration (Băluțoiu, 2004: 103):

- the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community;
- The Treaty of Rome and the European Economic Community;
- The European Atomic Energy Community;
- The extensions of 1973, 1981, 1986;
- Maastricht Treaty and political integration;
- The Treaty of Amsterdam;
- EU enlargement of 1995 and 2004;
- Romania’s efforts to accede to the European Union - the steps taken by our country until the moment of publication of the textbook: The Cooperation and Trade Agreement of 1991,

obtaining the status of associated member to the European Union starting with the year 1993, the starting of the adherence negotiations in the year 1999, the decision of full adherence to the European Union, starting with the 1st of January, 2007 (Bălițoiu, 2004: 104), the adoption and the implementation of the European legislation (Bălițoiu, 2004: 105);

In this lesson, a point entitled *What a future citizen of Europe needs to know* was also introduced in which the European institutions are presented in their essence (Bălițoiu, 2004: 108):

- The European Council;
- The European Commission;
- The Council of Ministers;
- The European Parliament;
- The Court of Auditors;
- The Court of Justice;
- The Economic and Social Committee.

The excerpts from the documents sitting at the basis of the constitution of the European Union were also properly chosen (Bălițoiu, 2004: 106). The texts chosen are from the speech delivered on the 9th of May, 1950, by Robert Schuman of the Treaty of Rome of March 25th, 1957 and the Treaty of Maastricht of February the 7th, 1992.

The topic's iconography is provided by a map with the Member States and with the candidate states (Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey). To this there are added photo reproductions from the signing of the treaties in Rome, from the Maastricht, with the headquarters of the Parliament in Strasbourg, with the Elf oil platform from the North Sea. A poster in favour of the European Defence Community, a caricature of the future citizen of the EU, as well as a blank map to strengthen students' competences, complete the illustration part of the lesson.

10th Grade

Valentin Băluțoiu, *History. Textbook for the 10th grade*, Bucharest, Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, R.A, 2006.

On the topic of *Romania and Euro-Atlantic integration*, the lesson of *The European Union-partnership and integration* (Băluțoiu, 2006: 146-150), refers to the issues we are pursuing in this analysis. Following the content of the respective lesson, we find that

it is almost identical to the lesson *Romania and EU integration*, published by the same author in the 2004 textbook. For this reason, we will stop in this case, only at those elements that have been added or have been excluded in the textbook version published in 2006.

The presentation of the waves of enlargement of the European Union is much more concrete, with the countries that joined in 1973, 1981, 1986, 1995 being mentioned. For the year 2004, it is mentioned that a number of ten states adhered, without their names being mentioned.

When mentioning the founding documents (p. 146), in the case of the Maastricht Treaty, the three pillars on which the European Union is based on are listed. Among the founding documents, this time around it is mentioned the adoption of the European Constitution, which was not enforced at the time of publication of this study.

In the case of the steps taken by Romania towards the adherence to the European Union, the revision of the constitution in 2003 is also added.

In the 2006 version, the subchapter *What a future citizen of Europe needs to know*, received the title of *The European Institutions*, being included as an adjacent material to the lesson, in order to supplement the students' knowledge.

The iconographic material accompanying the lesson has also undergone some changes. The photocopies with the North Sea Elf oil platform, with headquarters in Strasbourg, as well as the poster in favour of the European Defence Community were removed. The map with the Member States of the European Union has been updated, including the candidate countries for adherence and Croatia. From the blank map for the consolidation of the students' knowledge (Băluțoiu, 2006: 150), Malta and Cyprus are missing, on the other hand, the states that joined in 2004 were indicated in a different colour.

Instead of the deleted photo reproductions, others were included, with the Brussels European Council from December 17th, 2004, which marked the end of the negotiations for Romania and Bulgaria's adherence to the EU, a photo with Jean Monnet accompanied by a brief biography, as well as a representation of to the euro coin held by a little girl, which wants to suggest the future, meaning the renouncement of the national currency.

Excerpts from documents related to EU achievement are the same as in the 2004 textbook.

11th Grade

History, Textbook for 11th grade, Alexandru Barnea (coordinator), Vasile Manea, Eugen Palade, Florin Petrescu, Bogdan Teodorescu, Corint Educational Publishing House, Bucharest, 2014.

Module I

Within the first topic, entitled *Europe – space of diversity*, we find references to the European Union.

The text elaborated by the authors, tries to present the situation of Europe until after the Second World War. Based on the statement of the historian Hagen Shulze (Shulze, 2003, according to who “Europe has never allied itself with something, but only against something”, the authors bring into the discussion two dangers for which Europe has united: *globalization and ... Europe itself* (Shulze, 2003: 4). Both causes are explained by the facts and events that occurred during the 20th century: the emergence of new economic and political powers in the American and Asian continent, and the conflicts that took place in Europe. The First and Second World Wars, the Cold War and NATO intervention in Yugoslavia.

The authors of the textbook insist more on the elements that divided Europe and not on those that are the basis for European unity: Christianity, common culture, the relative unity of European civilization. If the text used from the writings of the historian mentioned would have continued as in the original text with the phrase “The unity of Europe is felt especially in common defence against a common danger, imaginary or real, and if the danger disappears, the unity disappears” (Barnea and coolab., 2014: 4), maybe the students would understand that the achievement of the European Union was possible in the first place because of the elements of unity that have been established throughout European history and not because “Europe had become a danger to itself” (Barnea and coolab., 2014: 4). In our opinion, such an assertion is more difficult to understand by a 11th grade student of a middle level.

For a better understanding of their presentation, the authors publish short passages from Hagen Shulze as mentioned above, Winston Churchill (Churchill, 1946) and Michael Albert (Albert,

2000). The text is accompanied by three illustrations. An illustration is a poster of the movie *Bicycle Thieves*, made in 1948 by the Italian filmmaker Vittorio de Sica, whose action takes place after the Second World War. The other two represent an image from the July 1944 Bretton Woods Conference and a 1950 propaganda poster for the Marshall Plan.

In the next lesson, entitled *Premises of integration. First steps* (Barnea et coolab., 2014: 6-7), the authors make a very brief overview of some attempts “to put the European world under the sign of common values and common leadership.” In this sense, we are reminded of the unity that the Greco-Roman civilization offered Europe, the struggle of Europe against the “unbelievers”, without said “unbelievers” being named. Thus, the students do not find out who were the “unbelievers” who united the Christian Europeans in the fight against them. We are also reminded of the attempts to impose France’s hegemony on Europe, during the time of Louis XVI and Napoleon Bonaparte, but also the ideas of humanism, rationalism, freedom and democracy, which have given spiritual unity to Europe.

From 19th century Europe, a leap is made until the end of World War II, which also meant the division of Europe as a result of the installation of the Cold War. The ideas regarding the unity of Western Europe, promoted by Jean Monet, Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer, Paul Henri Spaak, Alcide de Gasperi, are discussed, to substantiate the reasons why the Council of Europe was founded on the 5th of May 1949 in Strasbourg.

After these theoretical aspects, students get in touch with the first concrete steps to put into practice the ideas of the founders of the European Union: the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (1951), the Treaty of Rome. Also mentioned are the joint institutions set up: The Council of Ministers, the European Parliament, the Court of Justice.

The information contained in the text was supplemented with excerpts from period documents in which the opinions of visionary personalities regarding the division of Europe were expressed.

The famous speech given by Winston Churchill in Zürich in 1946 is mentioned by the authors of the textbook. They exemplified the need to achieve the unity of Europe through an excerpt, in which the famous English politician speaks of the need to create a European

family, “a kind of United States of Europe” that would allow them to “live in peace, security and freedom.”

In a letter addressed by Ernest Renan¹ to a friend after the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine by the German Empire, he condemns the policy of conquering and dividing Europe on ethnic grounds.

From the selection of illustrative texts, one could not miss the ideas expressed by one of the founders of the European unit. Robert Schuman’s ideas regarding the need to build on the foundation created by the national states, of a new construction, of a “super state,” as he calls it, are illustrated by an excerpt from Hagen Schulze’s book.

The selection of illustrative texts ends with the opinions expressed by Michael Ehrke (Ehrke, 2005), regarding the concerns caused by the enlargement of the European Union. “On May 1, 2004, behind the facade created by the short, enthusiastic atmosphere, both sides were hiding, especially worries.”

The texts were chosen to underline, from the perspective of the time in which they were written, the idea of creating a united Europe, instead of a Europe of clashes between ethnicities and nations. The idea of a permanent consolidation of this unit, for the benefit of all EU member citizens, is also present.

In order to consolidate the knowledge and to develop the capacity to argue the idea of the necessity of European unity, the authors of the textbook suggest to the teachers who propose the history discipline, to organize with the students a series of debates. One suggestion concerns a discussion around the relationship between community institutions and national governments. The other debate concerns the future evolution of the national states, under the conditions of European integration.

The iconography that accompanies this lesson consists of two posters and two photographs. One of the posters, printed in 1947, wanted to suggest the idea of European unity, through the collage of the national flags of some western and northern European states. The other poster, illustrates the European Coal and Steel Community, by placing the flags of the six founding states on the map of Western Europe. The two photographs, one with the portrait of Robert

¹ Ernest Renan (1823 – 1892), philosopher, writer and French expert in Middle Eastern civilizations

Schuman and the other with the first community coal train that crossed the border between France and Luxembourg on February 10, 1953, suggest the beginnings of the economic union.

The content of this topic is, to a large extent, the resumption of the lesson entitled “The beginnings of European Unity - the Schuman Plan”, published in the 12th grade textbook, by the same authors, published in 2007.

The next topic, the third, in the order of the textbook, refers to *European Integration* (Barnea and coolab., 2014: 8-9). The process of enlarging the Common Market is presented to the students with the addition to said market of Great Britain, Ireland and Denmark in 1972, continuing with Romania and Bulgaria, about which is said that “they are to join the 25” (Barnea and coolab., 2014: 8). This, given that we are talking about a textbook published in 2014, seven years after the moment of accession to the EU of the two states. The textbook is also used in the 2018/2019 school year.

There are also mentioned two fundamental documents in the process of achieving the EU. It is the Single European Act and the Treaty of Maastricht, which recorded the addition to the European Economic Community and the political component, thus achieving the European Union. Also mentioned are some of the initiatives adopted, such as the Schengen agreement of 1985 (the year 1995 is mentioned in the textbook, without showing whether it is the date of conclusion of the agreement or the date of its entry into force) (p.8), the introduction of the currency unique Europeans instead of national currencies in 2002, as well as the so-called “Lisbon Process” also from 2002.

In order to have a more complete picture of what the EU enlargement meant, there are also some disputes that accompanied this process, such as the representation of the new Member States in the European political institutions, the production quotas in different sectors of production, the fear of the population from more developed countries of the exodus that was to come from the new Member States, which endangers the jobs of the citizens of the respective countries.

The text of the lesson is supplemented by an information booklet on the chronology of integration, an excerpt from the Maastricht Treaty on Union objectives. It is presented, through a text reproduced by Jean-Jacques Rosa (Rosa, 1998), which expressed doubts about the efficiency of a single European currency.

A map of Europe, which contains the up-to-date process of

enlargement of the European Union, completes the information on this topic.

Given the content included by the authors, perhaps the title of the topic should not have been that of *European Integration*, but of *The Enlargement of the European Union*. It is, in fact, two different stages of the same historical process.

References to the EU were also identified on other topics: Globalization (Barnea and coolab., 2014: 14-15); *Grigore Gafencu and the European unit* (two lessons), (Barnea and coolab., 2014: 24-27); *Developments in the image of Romania* (there are elements about Romania's accession to the EU) (Barnea and coolab., 2014: 30-31); *Contemporary human migration* (Barnea and coolab., 2014: 48-49); *Cooperation and conflict in the second half of the 20th century* (mentioned EEC and the European Atomic Community, the Merger Treaty, the European Commission and the European Council) (Barnea and coolab., 2014: 104-105); *Cooperation and conflict in the contemporary world* (in the "Chronology" cartridge, the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty, the adoption of the Agenda 2000 - for a stronger and wider Europe, the launch of the single European currency, the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam, The Treaty of Nice) (Barnea and coolab., 2014: p. 107).

At the end of the textbook, the authors proposed at the final recap / evaluation lesson, the topic *On the road to European integration* (p. 126-127). A number of six excerpts were included from the writings of Nicolae Iorga (Iorga, 1932), V. Nemoianu (Nemoianu, 2000), N. Dărămuș (Dărămuș, 2006), from the statements of Olli Rehn², J. Scheele³ and a material from "Dilema Veche", published in issue 53 of January 27, 2005. Iconography of the theme is composed of the portrait of Nicolae Iorga and Ioan Gavrilă Ogoranu⁴.

² Olli Rehn, European Commissioner for Enlargement

³ J. Scheele, head of the European Commission Delegation Bucharest

⁴ Ioan Gavrilă Ogoranu, anti-communist fighter in the mountains. He is the one that N. Dărămuș refers to in his article.

12th Grade

History. Textbook for the 12th grade, Alexandru Barnea (coordinator), Vasile Andrei Manea, Eugen Palade, Bogdan Teodorescu, Corint Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007.

In Module III, in the topic of *The redefinition of the state's roles after the First World War and up to the Schuman Plan*, a point was added regarding the “*Beginnings of European Unity - the Schuman Plan*” (Barnea, coordin., 2007: 74-75). The evolution of the state after the First World War and the economic situation at the end of the second world conflagration, put into question a new approach to the role of the state. Alongside Robert Schuman, there are other politicians who have expressed their opinions: Jean Monnet, Konrad Adenauer Paul-Henri Spaak Alcide de Gasperi. They are all considered the “parents of Europe.” The first steps in the construction of Europe are evoked: The Council of Europe, the European Coal and Steel Community, the Treaty of Rome, following which the European Economic Community was formed. It is explained to the students the novelty brought by the established institutions, the fact that Europe's economic problems, as well as human rights, have been taken into account by supranational authorities.

The information contained in the text was supplemented with excerpts from period documents in which the opinions of visionary personalities, regarding the division of Europe, were expressed.

As in the 11th grade textbook, Ernest Renan's letter and two excerpts from Winston Churchill's speech to Zürich in 1946 are reproduced. One of them I mentioned in the analysis of the 11th grade textbook. The other excerpt illustrates his views on nationalist disputes, on the wars that divided Europe.

“If Europe had been united in sharing its common heritage, its happiness, prosperity and glory would have been limitless (...),” he said.

At the International Peace Congress on August 21, 1849 in Paris, in the inaugural address, Victor Hugo spoke about the day when the European states in conflict will “found the European fraternity.” Excerpts from this speech can be read by students when learning about the beginnings of European unity.

From the selection of illustrative texts, one could not miss the ideas expressed by one of the founders of the European unit. Robert Schuman's ideas are presented in two excerpts. First, it affirms the need to raise the foundation created by the national states, a new

construction, a “super state.” From the second document, students can understand the purpose of sharing resources, which can be “a guarantee of prosperity, power and peace.” Robert Schuman also enjoys a brief biographical note in the lesson, accompanied by a portrait of him.

The graphics part of the topic. It is provided by a photograph of the meeting room of the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

In order to consolidate the knowledge and develop the capacity to argue the idea of the necessity of European unity, the authors of the textbook suggest to the teachers who propose the discipline history, to organize with the students a series of debates. One suggestion concerns a discussion around the relationship between community institutions and national governments. The other debate concerns the future evolution of the national states, under the conditions of European integration.

On the topic of *Construction of post-December democracy*, the authors mention Romania’s accession to NATO and the European Union. Since the textbook was published in 2007, it is natural that other aspects of the post-accession period will not be mentioned.

Some conclusions and suggestions

From the analysis of the content of the school curriculum and some of the history textbooks in force, we can draw some conclusions and make some suggestions:

- The curriculum and school textbooks in Romania, provide and contain topics on some aspects of the history of the European Union;
- For the secondary school cycle, in the 7th grade there is a topic related to the EU;
- In the lower secondary school, students in the 10th grade are in a position to study problems that are related to the history of the EU and some of its institutions;
- In the 11th and 12th grades of the upper high school, students take up topics related to EU history, but also others from the same subject area;
- These topics mainly refer to the beginnings of European construction;
- From the analysis of the textbooks that came to our attention, we found that most information about the

European Union is contained in the 7th and 10th grade textbooks;

- In the 11th grade textbook, the first topic refers to contemporary Europe, with three lessons. After the three lessons have been completed, the students become aware of the colonization process, which is related to Europe, but chronologically it took place long before the European Union was achieved. Placing the lessons at the beginning of the textbook gives the impression that the European Union is not the result of historical developments;
- The ideal content of the lessons is supplemented by excerpts from the works of historians, politicians and culture, who talk about the necessity and the advantages of achieving the unity of Europe;
- The lessons are accompanied by a suggestive iconography and proposals by the independent and group activity of the students, in order to consolidate their knowledge.

Some suggestions

- The updating of the contents of the textbooks, the last one being printed, according to the CIP Description of the National Library of Romania, in 2014;
- More attention should be paid to initiatives to achieve the unity of Europe, which have taken place over time;
- Lessons should also focus on the rights and freedoms of EU citizens;
- To pay more attention to the functioning mechanism of the European institutions;
- Identification of elements of European unity and of other topics for other historical eras.

At the end of these lines, we can say that issues related to history of the European Union, are present in the curriculum of pre-university education in Romania. As the process of integration into European structures is longer, it is necessary for the young generation to be better and more informed about the past, the present but also the perspectives offered to its citizens, the European Union.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albert Michael (2000), *Capitalism contra capitalism*, București
- Anexa nr. 2 (2017) la ordinul ministrului educației naționale și cercetării științifice nr. 3393/28.02.2017, Ministerul Educației Naționale și Cercetării Științifice, *Programa școlară pentru disciplina istorie clasele a V-a – VIII-a*, București
- Barnea Alexandru (coordonator), Manea Vasile Andrei, Palade Eugen,
- Teodorescu Bogdan (2007), *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, Editura Corint, București
- Barnea Alexandru (coordonator), Manea Vasile Andrei, Palade Eugen, Teodorescu Bogdan (2014), *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, Editura Corint, București
- Băluțoiu Valentin, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*, București, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, R.A, 2004
- Băluțoiu Valentin, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*, București, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, R.A, 2006.
- Churchil Winston (1946), *Discurs rostit la Universitatea din Zürich*, în 19 Septembrie
- Constantiniu Florin, Cojescu Norocica-Maria, Mamina Alexandru, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a VII-a*, București, Editura Corint, 2008
- Dărămuș N. (2006), „Crucea și glonțul”, în *Cotidianul*, din 7 mai.
- Dilema Veche* (2005), nr. 53 din 27 ianuarie
- Ehrke Michael (2005), *Noua Europă: economia, politica și societatea în capitalismul postcomunist*, Editura Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
- Fontaine Pascal (1998), *Construcția Europeană de la 1945 până în zilele noastre*, Editura Institutul European, Iași
- Iorga Nicolae (1932), *Ce înseamnă Europa*, conferință ținută la Roma în noiembrie
- Nemoianu V. (2000), „Europa, ieri, azi, mâine” în *Secolul XX*, nr. 1-2-3
- Rosa Jean-Jacques (1998), *L'erreur européenne*, Grasset
- Shulze Hagen (2003), *Stat și națiune în istoria Europeană*, Editura Polirom, Iași

PARENTAL OPTIONS CONCERNING THE LANGUAGE OF PRESCHOOL EDUCATION IN BIHOR COUNTY

Réka NAGY*

Abstract. *The aim of research is to examine the options and attitudes of Hungarian parents in Bihor County concerning the language of pre-school education of their children and the role of factors influencing the choice of educational institutions in the mother tongue. In order to explore the main drivers and social motivation factors of preschool linguistic educational options, I conducted structured interviews with parents of children in Hungarian and Romanian language kindergarten groups as well as semi-structured interviews with pre-school educators, concerning their views connected to essential aspects of parental educational options. The research results revealed that parental options are influenced by a multiplicity of factors, related to identity and its changes, the presence or absence of community support, everyday experiences, micro-regional location, demographics and personal influence. To clarify the specific influence of all these factors will require, however, further analysis.*

Keywords: *language of pre-school education, parental linguistic educational options, parent motivations, Hungarian minority, Bihor County.*

1. The Social and Scientific Background of the Research

The option of the language of instruction can be considered as falling within the scope of parental rights, as is the right of a parent to bring up and reproduce family life. (Keller, 2007) An important precondition for this is that the parent can assert his or her own values, educational principles, and cultural model transfer practices in a secondary socialization environment.

This can be achieved when the parent choose a school for their children based on their own culture, identity and values. Native

* Doctoral School of Sociology, University of Oradea, Romania , 820924pr@gmail.com

language education is the most important means of preserving national identity. That is why, in addition to their symbolic functions of marking the belonging to a nation and the viability of the national community, educational institutions in the native language of minority communities also fulfill important instrumental functions (Szilágyi et al. 2003).

In the Bihor County of Romania, besides the factors arising from national and religious affiliation, the population attitudes related to the geographical location of the region, along with the opportunities and options related to it, form a special set of criteria. Demographically, the ethnic distribution of the region also provides important clues for the analyst. According to the 2011 census, slightly less than a quarter (24.02%) of the population of Bihor County declare themselves to be of Hungarian nationality. This proportion is numerically significant, but at the same time it indicates a clear minority situation, especially in the micro-regions and settlements with sporadic Hungarian population. It is also in this context that we need to interpret the mindset of Hungarian parents who believe that "it is more reasonable to go to a Romanian school because it is easier to do so."

We must not forget, however, that the Hungarian community has a considerable number of members and strong cultural and historical roots in their native places in order to maintain educational institutions in their mother tongue. On the other hand, Hungarian language learning in the unifying Europe, including in the Hungarian-Romanian border region, is becoming an advantage in terms of later employment and life opportunities.

The choice of language for kindergarten education has specific characteristics in ethnically mixed families. According to research conducted in Transylvania and Partium, the inheriting to children of Hungarian identity in mixed marriages can be significantly influenced by whether the parents live in homogeneous Hungarian or mixed marriages. Most research on Romanian-Hungarian mixed marriages in Romania concludes that in married couples, both parties bring a different world, with different traditions and customs identity.

At the same time, it is noteworthy that in a significant proportion of the ethnic families where one language is dominant, children learn more and occasionally use the other language. Under these circumstances, a multicultural environment can also produce

effects that parents and children can benefit from. These include the ability to learn the mother tongue of both spouses in the family, the possibility of direct family contact with the two ethnic-linguistic communities, and the resulting greater flexibility, tolerance and adaptability (Flora and Szilágyi 2008: 146). The question is, however, what kind of kindergarten options and social factors influence this equilibrium situation.

2. Research methodology

The main objective of my research is to examine the options and attitudes of Hungarian parents in Bihor County concerning the language of pre-school education of their children and the role of factors influencing the choice of educational institutions in the mother tongue. In order to do that I studied the choice of language of instruction in the context of parents' motivations (Papp Z.A. 2013, Bodó 2013, Márton 2013, Magyarai 2013), using the following methods and techniques:

a.) *Structured interviews with parents* of children in Hungarian and Romanian language kindergarten groups, in order to explore the main drivers, social motivation factors of preschool linguistic educational options, as well as parents' views and ideas about the present and future of mother tongue education. The topics covered by the interview questions are concerning the following issues: 1. the importance that the parent attaches to the kindergarten education and the age at which it is considered appropriate 2. expectations of parents towards kindergarten education. 3. motivations in choosing the kindergarten and the language of instruction 4. relationship with the educators and management of the school 5. parental plans concerning the child's further education.

b.) *Semi-structured interviews with pre-school educators*, concerning their views connected to essential aspects of parental educational options and the relationship between parents and educators.

3. The Importance of Kindergarten Education in the Eyes of Parents

All parents surveyed attach great importance to the education of their child from the age of 3-4. Their expectations for kindergarten education are already expressed differently by category. Parents

living in the majority Hungarian environment give priority to socialization, integration into the community and the possibility to learn community behavior. The Hungarian parents expect the kindergarten to establish Hungarian culture and to teach Hungarian poems, tales and songs. Parents living in mixed marriages simply expect their mother-tongue kindergarten education to allow the child to learn to speak Hungarian correctly, as communication at home is mostly in Romanian.

4. Motivation to Choose Kindergarten and Language of Instruction

The answers to the central question of the interview is varying by category. For a Hungarian parent living in a predominantly Hungarian environment, it seems natural for their child to begin their education in their mother tongue first: "We enrolled our children in a Hungarian group because we are Hungarians and we will remain." This recurring argument reveals a strong sense of Hungarian identity. Here the parent does not want to imagine any other alternative. These families live in a strong Hungarian community and feel the community's support for security.

Hungarian parents living scattered in a predominantly Romanian community have similar statements, with the seemingly insignificant addition that "... as long as possible" or "as long as possible." These families no longer have community support. "I think it is important for the child to hear the tales, the poems in Hungarian ... and if there is a Hungarian institution, it should not be missed" (C.I. 39-year-old mother - Beius). In these settlements the Hungarian population shows a rapidly decreasing tendency, and it is hardly possible to start and operate a Hungarian group. Continuation of school is already in doubt, or it is only in elementary classes that it operates in a simultaneous form.

The majority of parents living in mixed marriages prefer Romanian-language education. The reasoning clearly shows that it is not bilingualism in the family, but the identity of the stronger party that determines the child's future: "The reason I enrolled my child in a Romanian group was because my husband is Romanian and also because I studied in Romanian. (ME 37-year-old mother - Oradea).

In the same category, we find another approach: "Learn both languages at a very early age, because you only knew Romanian

before enrolling in kindergarten. She is doing very well. ”(Cz.D 33 year old mother - Oradea)

A Hungarian-speaking parent living in a traditional Gypsy environment says: “I assigned my daughter to a Hungarian group because we are Roma, but we only speak Hungarian. Older members of the family can still speak Roma language, but we have not taught the language to the children. Nothing would be good for them anymore. They will learn Romanian at school ”(R.A. 28-year-old mother - Selind). The majority Hungarian population of the settlement is dominant in this case. Families adhering to Roma traditions and cultures tend to integrate, seeking to catch up with the majority population in more and more areas of life, not least in the education of their children.

5. Where to go to School after Kindergarten?

The answers to this question have resulted in surprising turns. Some Hungarian families with a strong community background gave the expected answer to this question: their child will continue to study in a Hungarian-language classroom. However, some parents said they would assign their child to a Romanian school because they themselves graduated from Romanian schools and therefore would be able to help their children more.

There are parents who were forced to make such a decision. In Beius, the Hungarian section no longer functions after the completion of elementary classes. In grade 5, the child will be forced to continue his / her studies in Romanian. At this point, all the parent's efforts are stalled. There is no place for your child to be enrolled in a Hungarian school, only in the remote county center, Oradea. Commuting is insurmountable, and parents are not committed to residential care at this age.

Each of the mixed marriage partners declared that the child would continue his school education in Romanian. This decision is expected to make the child more prosperous in everyday life. With perfect Romanian skills, you will find it easier to get a job.

The children of Hungarian-speaking Roma families living in Érmellék, continue their studies in Hungarian schools. In their case, however, there is a high dropout rate after completing elementary classes. The reasons for this were recently investigated by Rita Pásztor in her sociological study. (Pásztor R. p.70) According to

current practice, those who started their studies in a Hungarian kindergarten will continue in Hungarian until their graduation or interruption.

6. Native Language Kindergarten Education Through the Eyes of Kindergarten Teachers

The interviews with kindergarten educators highlighted the following topics: 1. What, according to the educator, motivates the parent in choosing the language of instruction? 2. How is the needs assessment and the preparation of the school plan conducted at the educational institution level? 3. What kind of assistance is provided by the management of the institution or other local institutions (municipalities, churches, family doctors, local NGOs)? 4. Educators approach to the relationship between kindergarten and families 5. Educators's views concerning parental expectations towards kindergarten.

The first research topic concerned the way the teacher is viewing the motivation behind the parent's decision. Educators say that beyond the importance attached to Hungarian identity, the parental options are to a great extent influenced by the parents' opinions about the kindergarten and the teaching staff. So no doubt, personal confidence also plays a role in the decision.

Educator interviews also helped me to form an image of how needs are assessed at institutional level and how the school plan is drawn up. At the city level, it would be difficult to gauge needs without the involvement of the media and the press, so they organize contact openings and institutional visits with parents who wish to enroll their children and prepare their school plans for the following school year based on their experiences and applications.

Church-run institutions can count on the help of pastors and the mother church in this. In a rural setting, the pastor and GP needs to be able to effectively help educators contact the families of preschoolers. Their records are guiding, accurate, on the basis of which the teacher visits the stakeholder, assesses the needs and invites the prospective parents to visit them. This is how the schooling plan for rural areas is prepared.

All educators responded positively on whether they could count on management support. It has been unanimously reported that

they will receive all help from the leadership of the school to assess the needs and prepare the school plan with accurate data.

Conclusions

The research revealed that the factors that influence parents' decision making are primarily related to a) identity and its changes b. community support or lack thereof c. a vision based on everyday experiences d. micro-regional location e. demographics e. personal influence. In many cases the background to the decisions is openness, in other cases a strong sense of identity, a drive for assimilation or the intention to integrate. These social phenomena and processes have a strong influence on the family's future vision and the decision making of the future.

As it turned out, the relationship between the kindergarten and the family is shaped in a great extent by the teacher. If you invest time and organization in nurturing your relationship, you can count on your parents as a partner. Countless forms of activity were listed during the interviews, all of which build and strengthen this relationship. Educators' statements revealed that work done with honesty, inclusive and accepting attitude and love can win the trust of parents and children. And efficient work will bear fruit: the next generation of kindergarteners.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Keller Magdolna (2007), *Otthon és itthon. Határon túli magyar hallgatók egy határmenti régióban*. PhD értekezés. Neveléstudományi Doktori Program, Debreceni Egyetem p. 23
- Szilágyi Györgyi; Flóra Gábor; Csúry István (2003), *Külkapcsolatok a Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerületben* Partiumi Egyetemi Szemle 1/2003, p.43-61
- Pásztor Rita (2017), *Kisebbségi és kettős létben élő fiatalok továbbtanulási aspirációi egy hátrányos helyzetű térségben*, PhD értekezés. Debreceni Egyetem Humán Tudományok Doktori Program p.70
- Flóra Gábor, Szilágyi Györgyi (2008), *Identitás és jövőkép*, Státus Kiadó, Csikszereda, p.217

- Papp Zoltán Attila (2013), *Többségi nyelvű iskolaválasztás kisebbségben, avagy a PISA adatoktól a Kárpát-medencei diskurzusokig*. Kisebbségkutatás 4/2013, p.7-17.
- Bodó Barna (2013), *Magyar fiatalok többségi iskolaválasztása Aradon*. Kisebbségkutatás 4, p.31-48
- Márton János (2013), *Többségi nyelvű iskolaválasztás székelyföldi magyar diákok körében* Kisebbségkutatás 4/2013, p.18-30
- Magyari Tivadar (2013), *A román tanítási nyelv választásának motivációi erdélyi magyar családokban*. Erdélyi Társadalom2013, 1.sz. p. 21-60.

NATIONAL MINORITIES: LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ANALYSIS¹

Mircea BRIE*

Abstract. *The issue of national minorities is, in the process of European construction, one of the most important aspects that European countries have had to manage. The European legislation and practice promote the idea of living together in the sense of social value consisting in accepting otherness, good understanding of the various ethnic groups within the same local communities and openness to communication and cooperation. The European education should not be directed exclusively to knowing the minority communities, but also to understanding the mechanisms of management and development of partnership relations between the minority and the majority. The complexity of education concerning national minorities is given by the need for multiple approaches on different levels and with various depths of analysis that require interdisciplinary conceptual and methodological references. Thus the diachronic analysis of demographic realities is combined with the analysis regarding legislative, administrative-political, cultural-educational, social-economic, linguistic issues, all filtered by European values, framework and national or European framework. In terms of education for and about minorities there is a need to develop a legal and institutional framework to enable and to promote an intercultural education system. National minorities should not only be able to express themselves freely and without any restrictions from the majority by adequate education, but their specific characteristics and particularities should be included in school curricula of the majority.*

Keywords: *national minority, education, interculturality, Romania, Europe.*

¹ This study is a revised and enlarged analysis of a study published in Romanian, Vasile Cucerescu, Enrique Banus, Iordan Gheorghe Barbulescu, Ioan Horga (coord.), *Ghidul Uniunii Europene în școală între educația formală și neformală*, Chișinău, 2014, p. 52-71 and in English, Istvan Polgar Ioan Horga and Mircea Brie, *Migration and European Integration of Minorities*, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2017, p. 17-35.

* Professor, PhD, Department of International Relations and European Studies, University of Oradea, Romania. E-mail: briedri@hotmail.com.

The issue of national minorities is, in the process of European construction, one of the most important aspects that European countries have had to manage. Learning about and researching minorities, for then to transmit knowledge and experience to young people through education, have become an essential pillar of European values on the construction of an intercultural society based on direct and indiscriminate cooperation and collaboration between ethno-religious communities. It is known that European legislation and practice promote the idea of living together in the sense of social value consisting in accepting otherness, good understanding of the various ethnic groups within the same local communities and openness to communication and cooperation.

The European education should not be directed exclusively to knowing the minority communities, but also to understanding the mechanisms of management and development of partnership relations between the minority and the majority.

1. Perspectives of educational analysis

The complexity of education concerning national minorities is given by the need for multiple approaches on different levels and with various depths of analysis that require interdisciplinary conceptual and methodological references. Thus the diachronic analysis of demographic realities is combined with the analysis regarding legislative, administrative-political, cultural-educational, social-economic, linguistic issues, all filtered by European values, framework and national or European framework.

1.1. The conceptual-methodological perspective

Methodologically, to describe the epistemological between majority and minority, it is necessary to distinguish between the demographic and the sociological dimensions of the sense in which these concepts are analyzed. *Demographically*, the majority - minority relationship describes a situation of difference in volume between two ethnically differentiated segments, which co-exist in a territorial administrative framework, usually within a State. In *sociological* sense, minority - majority rapports describe a situation of asymmetry between groups in terms of power or authority, essentially a subordination report of the community (communities)

by a majority dominant minority (Rotariu and Iluț:1996). The distinction between the two perspectives - demographic and sociological - is required from a very simple reason: institutional arrangements for the management of relations of power and authority do not necessarily overlap with demographic reports. Or, in a simpler way: the power do not always belong to the many, but to the groups which control the resources of power and authority in a society that can be minority in the demographic sense (Rotariu and Iluț:1996).

Another important issue is the establishment of national and ethnic identity of a person or community. On the one hand, the discussion encompasses objective and subjective elements of identification and on the other hand, the analysis involves a reference to the identification of two perspectives: self-identification and hetero-identification.

Ethnicity and religious confession are concepts around which discussions and controversy arise, generating emotions and feelings of extreme intensity. Each of us belongs to such communities. By default, there is a strong pressure on us to be subjective. Intercultural dialogue can be successfully provided where a community that is aware of the others comes to communicate, to cooperate, and to build the structure of a multicultural society. Studies have shown that ethnic and religious diversity is poor when missing openness to other communities. On the other hand, this diversity, as is the case throughout Central and South-Eastern Europe, reveals the less desirable realities. Today we are talking both about discrimination, marginalization, low-status minorities, peripheral societies, inequitable distribution of resources; therefore, we can conclude that the majority-minority relations management highlights the demographic aspect (quantitative) and on the sociological aspect, i.e. distribution of authority and power (Brie, 2011: 11).

The current context of crisis, which is not only financial and economic, but also political, social, mental and even ideological, shows on the one hand the need to strengthen dialogue, and on the other the trends of returning to certain forms of nationalism and cultural cleavage. Without advocating for one or the other of these trends, we can see that Europe is at a crossroads. The old forms of social-political and economic life are being redefined, and relations between people and communities are resettling on new organization and relational forms. Conversely, in a Europe without borders, more

and more types of borders appear. Previously, we have called them “*symbolic and ideological frontiers*” (Brie, 2010: 79-92; Brie and Horga, 2009:15-31; Horga and Brie, 2010: 155-169). This is because they are, most often, not tangible. From Europeanism to nationalism, from ethno-religious identity to cultural identity, and to social cleavages, the wide range of approaches of these borders could continue in the context of implementation of an effective European Neighbourhood Policy. The physical border of the European Union's external limit can “open” in time, but new types of frontiers can occur between people and communities. Immigrants, for instance, live in the European Union and maintain their own identity, thus creating a world that “refuses integration” by the specificity that it develops. We are therefore able to identify a cleavage between this kind of community and the majority, a cleavage that can take the form of symbolic cultural borders that sometimes turn into an “external” border.

In the current context, many European societies develop a strong sense of “self-protection,” which takes not only an economic form, but also one of preservation of their identity and culture. Moments of crisis or excitement can easily lead to the emergence of nationalist sentiments that dilute the “Europeanist” perception of the border. Such a dilution occurs in parallel with the strengthening of identity-community cohesion, in the spirit of ethno-cultural belonging to a nation. It is a time when many European nations have reaffirmed that they “regain identity” by returning to the national, despite the “unity” and solidarity affirmed at the level of European institutions through officials of Member States. National borders, created in different periods and historical and political contexts, have contributed to national economic integration and the cultural periphery. In the current context, with the EU accession of the Central and Eastern Europe states, there has been a reverse phenomenon - the disintegration of the national market and administrative decentralization have led to the integration of peripheries in the national systems, including the cultural. Powerful currents are currently channelled in the direction of cross-border cooperation, eroding the idea of the compact and relatively isolated national bloc (Muller and Schultz, 2002: 205). In terms of cultural relations, it is obvious that we are now dealing with a streamlining of trades without being able to talk about a loss of national, regional or

local specificity. Cultural specificity brings into question the cultural border, separating different areas of identity and building what we call the European cultural space of cultures.

Cultural diversity records the plurality of ideas, images, values and expressions. All this is possible through a great variety of expression and through the presence of a large number of parallel national, ethnic, regional and local cultures. Moreover, in this context some authors talk about the “revenge identity” and the “feeling of a return to historical, national and cultural identity,” especially in an area such as Central and Eastern Europe, and a historical time in which the specificity and national identity are bound to redefine themselves through opening new geo-political, historical and cultural configurations (David and Florea, 2007: 645-646).

In the approach, an important element of reference is the sub- or multi-national, local or diaspora, not least in the European and international context (Bennett, 2001: 29-32). Beyond any approach, the image of European culture has been given by associating concepts of people-culture-history and territory that give a certain local specificity. Through this report, we identify, beyond a European culture, a cultural space with national, regional and local specificities. Therefore, we identify at least two European cultural identity constructions—a culture of cultures, namely a cultural space with a strong identity at individual, local, regional, and national levels, or a cultural archipelago, namely a common cultural space interrupted by discontinuities. Whatever the perspective, the existence of a European cultural area is not denied, even if it is either diversity or “continuity interrupted” (Horga and Brie, 157).

However, we increasingly find that Europe is at a turning point, in terms of more than ideology. The association of state-nation-territory-border involves some nuances. In the current geopolitical context, we could say that the era of nation states, as we know them, is being redefined and reshaped in a different sense. “Borders” between communities have been increasingly occurring within states. Non-integrated immigrants (unwanted by the majority!) are increasingly numerous. Discrimination and marginalization are forcing them to isolate and to respond as parallel “existential forms” to the state in which they live.

Our approach could be too simplistic if we only debate the ideas of classic immigrants or national minorities. Introducing the

concept of *extraterritoriality* in the approach to ethnicity and intercultural dialogue seems mandatory for a proper understanding of European realities in this field. A subject that has been intensively debated at European level is the Roma, or Gypsies. Comments relating to the expulsion of the Roma from France and their forced repatriation to Romania and Bulgaria have filled the pages of European newspapers. Events in mid-September 2011 in Bulgaria relating to the “revolt” against the Roma in many cities of the country south of the Danube have exposed a cruel reality that needs to be on the agenda of all institutions of Europe. Extremist groups in Bulgaria gathered masses of people who chanted racist slogans as well as becoming violent and destroying Roma properties. Following such shocking events came the calling for the removal of the Roma from Bulgaria by extremists. So, while France repatriates them to Bulgaria, the Bulgarians banish them— but to where? The Roma are members of a great people living in many European countries, but a people without its own a territory and without its own state. Tackling the Roma in Europe is therefore a problem for Europe as a whole and not a certain state, and not of South Central-Eastern Europe as a region only, as is the very wrong impression of the West. Extraterritoriality, both as a concept and a starting point in managing the problems of an ethnic minority (but not national!) becomes, therefore, a reality that invokes new clarifications and the rethinking of European policies.

Another example, which falls somewhat into the same category of discussions on “non-traditional minority,” is in Central and Eastern Europe where there are issues related to granting dual citizenship to members of ethnic groups. The most persistent in the mass media are the granting of dual citizenship to Romanian ethnics in Moldova and to the Hungarian ethnics from countries around Hungary (during public debates, a strong emphasis has been put on the pros and cons of the disputes from Slovakia and Romania, where Hungarian communities are more numerous). The topic has gained special importance through the fact that this dual citizenship, even if individually granted, peaked so high that it sent the message that dual citizenship was granted in mass to groups and communities, hence the hope (or fear) of the possible creation of “Little Hungaries” in southern Slovakia and central Romania.

1.2. The demographic perspective

It enables the analysis and visualization of the quantitative and structure dimensions of the population on national-ethnic or religious groups. The perspective is useful and necessary in education because it offers the possibility of viewing the various techniques and procedures of the big picture on ethno-religious structure. The instrumentation used can also be very diverse, ranging from maps to various graphics and schematic presentations so that the assimilation of information could be as rapid and substantiated by spatial and temporal connections as possible.

The ethnic group share may be related to the social, economic or political status that it has. Reference is made then to the role of socio-economic or political factors. Finally, majority-minority relations management are managed through a proper demographic analysis that includes a mandatory approach of the diachronic dimension.

Natural, territorial, social mobility of the minorities is also important in the equation for education analysis. Demographic information can provide in this case data for analysis that lead to complex comparative approach in relation to the majority.

Family, marital status and family "values" are all put in a wider context of a cultural nature, to be able to complete the demographic picture and ethnic sociological landscape of a politico-geographical space.

1.3. The administrative-political perspective

Particular attention should be paid to the presence of minorities in public, especially in the political and administrative sphere. Education concerning national minorities allows the analysis on the degree of their political and administrative involvement. The presence of minorities must be analyzed by reference to the legislative framework and, then, to the real possibilities of their minority representation.

Regarding the political and the sociological research we should reserve a special place to the analysis of minorities political leaders' discourses present in local or national public space. The degree of involvement, the political and administrative claims, public discourse violence are important indicators that can elucidate, at least in part, the relationship between majority and minority.

Nationalism, fundamentalism and extremism in public are concepts strictly related to this relationship. Educators and trainers play a fundamental role in shaping and building an intercultural society based on communication and cooperation.

Another level of educational analysis has as a central topic the degree of activism and political passivity of national minorities in a country.

Territorial autonomy based on ethnic criteria, sensitive in most European countries, is necessary to be introduced in educational curricula in order to build a complete conceptual analysis.

1.4. Legal perspective

The analysis of the legal framework and the legislation on national minorities is particularly important in view of ensuring a healthy and fair education. In the European countries the law guarantees equal protection for all citizens and punishes discrimination, ensures full and effective equality before the law for all citizens and includes provisions to combat discrimination and xenophobia.

The analysis of the legal framework that refers to minorities must be made through a clear presentation of minority rights in public, of the status of minorities from the legal standpoint, with collective rights and freedoms, but also through the presentation of negative or positive discrimination at legislative and institutional levels.

Not least, important are the legislative references concerning the possibility of conservation and preservation of the identity of minorities and promoting the principles of equality and non-discrimination in relation to the majority.

The legal, regulatory framework must always be presented through a comparative analysis, by analogy with the realities of the everyday life through a qualitative perspective that highlights the extent to which fundamental differences arise in relation to the “ideal” legislative framework.

1.5. Cultural-educational perspective

Education in mother tongue plays a decisive role in the promotion and preservation of ethnic minorities. The educational process regarding national minorities should give a special place to the

analysis of access to specific education of young members of all ethnic groups. The cultural specificity of minorities in education and the promotion and preservation of cultural identity could be extended to mainstream education, even in the case of the majority. Such an approach would lead to a deeper understanding of the specificity of these national communities. Not least, a special attention must be paid, through education, to the cultural analysis regarding minorities in public. The presence of these minority cultures in public education, in the public sphere in general, contribute to an intercultural society and intercultural dialogue favored by cultural mixture and the formation of contact culture. Intercultural education can contribute to society so that it would not remain at the stage of multiculturalism, but would develop into a intercultural one. The analysis can be developed in this equation by a study of cultural otherness, an approach that can be placed in contrast with ethnocentrism (Dasen; Perregaux and Rey, 1999:112-119). Elements of cultural specificity, plurality and cultural rhetoric or mental inheritance may be associated in an interdisciplinary complex construction, which includes elements of history, anthropology, literature and social psychology (Abdallah-Preteille and Porcher, 1996).

1.6. National vs. European debate perspective

The education concerning national minorities becomes even more complex when the issue occurs in the process of European construction. If in discussions on national education in the past, the focus was on national interest now it extends to a wide sphere of higher interest, i.e. Europe. The two approaches may overlap or, under different approaches can compete. The intensity of the feeling of belonging to national values, and respectively European, plays a key role in shaping educational policies centered on their national group or on a broader range of Europeanist manner. Our debate can be thus conducted towards the equation of a complex analysis concerning the national interest, and respectively, in the European interest. European cultural diversity can have contrasts; it can enter into a competition with the interest of promoting national unity. Patriotism, as a concept and educational current becomes one that deserves the benefit of a clear and careful approach in the context of European integration.

This analysis can also be extended towards the prospect of education which includes a debate about European values that are needed to be promoted and integrated into the education of European states. Respect for human dignity, respect and promotion of freedom, democracy, equality, human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to national minorities appear to be fundamental and defining constructions on which an education system can be built for and about national minorities in Europe.

1.7. Other analytic perspectives

Knowledge-centered education of minorities, the understanding of ethnic relations management requires a level of education centered on a *linguistic perspective*. Promotion and preservation of the mother tongue, communication in the mother tongue in public or promoting multilingualism can be defining elements in such educational system. The discussion supposes two aspects: on the one hand, European education should enable national minorities to have education in their mother tongue, on the other hand, the introduction in the school curriculum and the development of topics related to the sphere of knowing and promotion of minority languages, to the necessity of developing multilingual societies. Formalizing minority languages, because of the topic sensitivity, is suitable for discussion and analysis within the educational system.

Perspective of ethnicity - religion association: is likely to lead to a clearer understanding of the specific ethnic groups. It is both possible and necessary to make the ethno-religious identity association, and also relationship of these communities with the majority. Elements of analysis of the violence seen in inter-religious conflict versus contemporary ecumenism fall in the same vein of knowledge and understanding of minorities.

In the same direction, i.e. promotion and understanding specific minority communities, can be included the *socio-economic perspective* (it may address topics such as socio-economic status of minorities or socio-economic integration of minorities, including immigrants) or *perspective of everyday life* (habitat and everyday forms of expression of minorities, or customs, traditions and specificities of minorities are some of the specific issues that need further research).

2. Considerations on the Romanian model of interethnic relations management

It is known that European legislation and practice promote the idea of living together, in the sense of social value consisting of acceptance of otherness, good understanding of the various ethnic groups within the same local communities and openness to communication and cooperation. There is a standpoint recognized both by most political and civic leaders, and by the specialized literature at home and abroad, according to which there is now talk of national existence of the “Romanian model of interethnic relations”, an intercultural model based the values of comity and cooperation. The Romanian model of interethnic coexistence components stem from a rich historical experience and from the ability to adapt the concept to the demands of the modern exigencies (Furo, 2000: 221). Although all ethnic minorities are represented in Parliament, there are still many ethnic and religious controversies related to the language of instruction in schools, street names, role and function of ethnic universities, restitution of church property and of other property taken by force by the former communists in the past etc. But the people stand up to these dilemmas, ethnic Romanians and Hungarians equally agreed to resolve disagreements in a manner which is tolerant, respectful and democratic (Rosapepe, 2000: 21).

Ethnic and religious structure of the population in Romania (2011)

Ethnic structure		Religious structure	
ROMÂNIA	20121641	ROMÂNIA	20121641
Romanian	16792868	Orthodox	16307004
Hungarian	1227623	Romano-catholic	870774
Roma	621573	Reformed	600932
Ukrainian	50920	Pentecostal	362314
German	36042	Greek-catholic	150593
Turk	27698	Baptist	112850
Russian-Lipova	23487	Seventh-day Adventist	80944
Tatars	20282	Muslim	64337
Serbian	18076	Unitarian	57686
Slovaks	13654	Jehovah witnesses	49820
Bulgarian	7336	Evangelicals	42495
Croatian	5408	Old Rite Christian	32558
Greek	3668	Evangelical Lutheran	20168
Italian	3203	Serbian Orthodox	14385
Jews	3271	Evangelical	15514

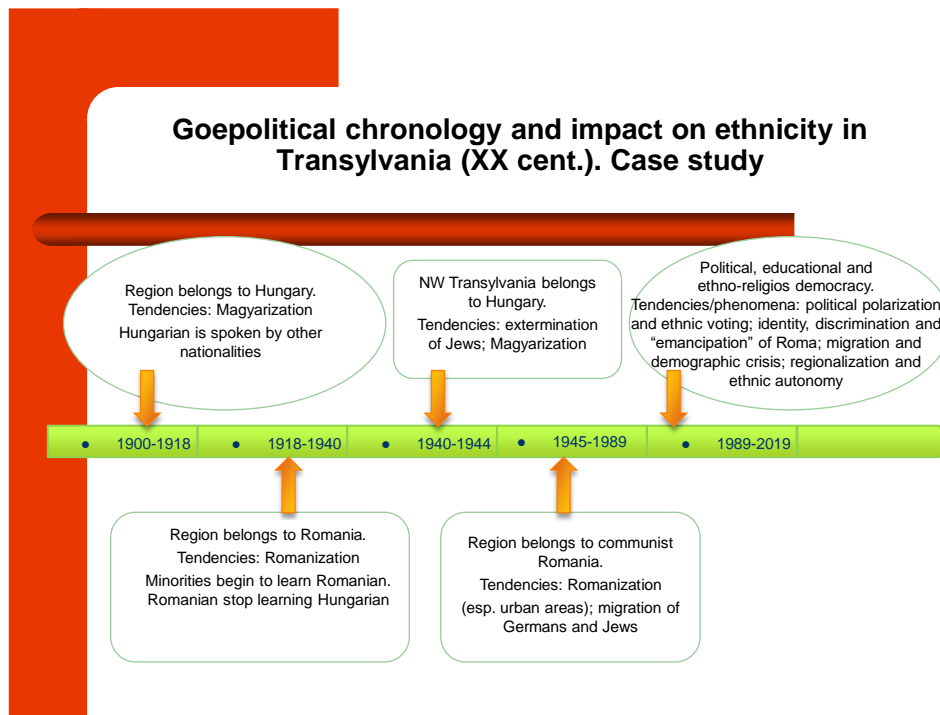
Ethnic structure		Religious structure	
Check	2477	Evangelical Augustan	5399
Polish	2543	Mosaic	3519
Chinese	2017	Armenian	393
Armenian	1361	Other religion	30557
Csángós	1536	No religion	18917
Macedonian	1264	Atheist	20743
Other ethnicity	18524		

Source: INS. Recensământul populației și locuințelor.
<http://www.recensamantromania.ro/>

The key element in the experience of addressing diversity in Romania is the process of moving the emphasis from ethnic identity to civic identity. Might it not be the universal recipe or the best remedy for each state in addressing ethnic diversity, but it certainly is a basic ingredient. Civic identity encourages individuals to assume not only equal rights but also equal responsibilities (Roman, 2000: 180).

This ethnic and confessional structure of the Romanian population is not only the natural result of development unaltered by brutal political interventions.

Political decisions, especially those taken during the dictatorial political and extremist regimes during the twentieth century were able to seriously affect ethno-religious realities of the Romanian space, especially in Transylvania. Be it the Hungarian or Romanian authorities during the two world wars or the communist dictatorship, decisions were taken that changed the ethnic map of the Romanian space (Brie; Horga and Șipoș, 2011). Suffice it to recall the drama of the Jewish community of the Second World War or the „sale” of the Germans and the Jews by the Communists in the postwar period.



Termination of political pluralism along with the establishment of the communist regime brought significant disturbances in the ethnic and confessional structures. The communist state tried to replicate the same system in these structures, too. The state tried to homogenize the population. Decisions were taken to ban churches such as the Greek Catholic, Pentecostal, Baptist, Adventist, etc., much of this population returning to the Orthodox Church. At the same time, with approval from the state, a large part of the Hebrew, German and Hungarian ethnics emigrated, thus significantly reducing their number in the region.

Amid dismantling the communist regime, domestically and in the context of excesses of nationalism recorded in the ex-Soviet space, Romania will introduce a series of instruments to make the programme for inclusion of ethnic minorities operational; these instruments are capable in theory to meet all the needs and demands of the minority communities. Under international pressure particularly exercised by the US and the EU, interested in maintaining stability in this part of Europe (see the riots in Targu Mures in March 1990), Romania will effectively adopt an electoral law (92/1990) whose provisions will promote measures of positive discrimination with reference to ethnic minorities (Chiriac, 2005: 101). With a very important activity for both the Hungarian

community, and for other ethnic communities, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR), founded in 1989, will unquestionably contribute to the change the status of minorities in Romania, especially after 1996 (the year when UDMR joined in governing).

Tendencies and major changes: 100 years after the outbreak of World War I

On the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I, on ethno-linguistic composition of the population in this region we recorded the following:

- The disappearance of almost absolute majority of Jews and Germans

- The Romanization, especially of the urban settlements (the phenomenon began in the interwar period with the establishment of the Romanian government in cities that needed a true and Romanian-speaking elite)

- Continuous magyarization of Swabians, Slovaks and Roma (the phenomenon is favored by religious affinities, and language - mostly these communities were Magyarized before 1918)

- From a linguistic point of view, after nearly a century, the major change is given by the following fact: in 1918 Hungarian was known by most Romanians, a small share of Hungarians knowing Romanian; in 2014 Romanian is known by most Hungarians and only a small proportion of Romanians speak Hungarian.

- Education and religion appear to be exponents of Hungarian ethnic identity. This process is achieved through the traditional Calvinist Protestant Church (Reformed) and recently more and more by the Roman Catholic Church (the latter in the area of Oradea was seen by Protestant Hungarian nobility in the eighteenth century as an Habsburg imperialist tool, later, however, in order to attract the Hungarian community, it entered into competition with the Hungarian Protestant churches taking the Hungarian ethno-cultural message and identity).

- Discrimination and stigmatization of the Roma. These took effect as 'reducing' the community in official documents due to self-identification with other ethnic groups. The effect of this phenomenon is not just recording a smaller number of Roma in official documents, but also artificially raising the numbers of

Hungarians in documents (in the area of Bihor - Satu Mare Roma identify themselves with other ethnic groups and choose to first declare their ethnicity as being Hungarian). This was at a larger scale during the communist period but it began to decrease during the last two decades.

- Increasing the Roma community both in number and as a percentage of the population. Underlying this trend: high birth rates among this community (however, the phenomenon is associated with other demographic realities: high mortality and low life expectancy in the community) and a higher percentage of those who identify themselves with their ethnic group. This latter aspect is related to strengthening communities, their identity consciousness, the formation of an own elite more present in public sphere, and not least reducing discrimination and stigma effects which are still present.

Legislative and institutional framework for protection of national and confessional minorities

The Romanian legal framework guarantees equal protection for all citizens and punishes discrimination, ensures full and effective equality before the law for all citizens of Romania, includes provisions to combat discrimination and xenophobia, guarantees linguistic rights, education in the mother tongue, but also *limited officialdom* - in the administrative units where the percentage of the linguistic minority equals or exceeds 20%. Representation of minorities in Parliament is provided for in the Constitution.

In the context of the issuance of more than 200 laws regulating “in various fields, the rights of national minorities and the framework for ensuring and preservation of linguistic and cultural identity of their members,”² one can identify a real concern of the Romanian authorities for improving the situation of minorities, whether ethnic or confessional³; the problematic aspect of these measures is, on the

² In accordance with the information provided by the programme CRDE *Baze de date – Acte normative privind drepturile și protecția minorităților naționale în România*, coordinated by Gabor Adam, http://www.edrc.ro/projects.jsp?project_id=53 (last accessed on 16.01.2012)

³ The Constitution of Romania, art. 29 (3): All religions shall be free and organized in accordance with their own statutes, under the terms laid down by law; and (5): Religious cults shall be autonomous from the State and shall enjoy support from it, including the facilitation of religious assistance in the army, in hospitals, prisons, homes and orphanages.

one hand, the manner of implementation (in particular the inefficiency of existing legal instruments and, simultaneously, their insufficient number) and, on the other hand, the need to review the contents of some of these acts in consequence of elusion, at the level of the recipient, other than the Hungarian and Roma minorities.

We will proceed to list the main rights that the members of national minorities particularly have (Chiriță and Săndescu, 2008: 119), rights that come to add the rights guaranteed by the Romanian Constitution and the Framework Conventions on human rights and fundamental freedoms, of all Romanian citizens: the right to non-discrimination in exercising a legitimate right, the right to use the mother tongue in relations with the administration, within the judicial system, within public and private relations, as well as the right to study in their native language, the right of free political association and representation in the Parliament.⁴

The main institutions active in the segment of national minority rights that promote good interethnic relations and fight anti-discrimination are: the Department for Interethnic Relations (DRI) which cooperates with the Council of National Minorities (the latter brings together three representatives of national minorities represented in Romanian Parliament), the National Agency for Roma (ANR), Institute for Research on National Minorities (SPMN), National Council for Combating Discrimination (CNCD), the People's Advocate, together with the ministries that have departments for minority issues (Janosi, 2008). The minorities institutions, totalling 1804 units⁵, with predominant activity within culture, protection / promotion of human rights, education / science and religion actively contribute to the formation of an overview of civil and social engagement of minority communities; we will not try to fight the case examples given by the jurisprudence for the violation of minorities rights, especially on instances of property

⁴ According to the Constitution of Romania, art. 62, para. 2: "Organizations of citizens belonging to national minorities, which fail to obtain the number of votes for representation in Parliament, have the right to one Deputy seat each, under the terms of the electoral law. Citizens of a national minority are entitled to be represented by one organization only." In addition, there is a requirement for obtaining a number of votes equal to at least 5% of the average number of votes validly expressed for election of a Deputy (Law for electing the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate no. 68/992).

⁵ In accordance with the data supplied by the Institute for Research on National Minorities

return in cases of religious cults in Romania, but to the extent that such activities are not only promoted, but also financed (limited, it is true, and often insufficiently). We can say that the Romanian state has committed, indeed, to provide a framework for the development of intercultural dialogue, stating that the enforcement of norms continues to be poor, either because the authorities do not fully respect them, or because of existing uncertainties in both the body of law and the powers established for the various institutional structures.

Critical approach of the Romanian model of interethnic relations

Amendments to the Constitution, electoral law, restitution of property belonging to organizations or individuals, reforms in education and in local government, and other initiatives of the Romanian State are clear landmarks for its receptivity in relation to the claims of various ethnic groups (in this case, the Hungarian fraction), but typical manifestations of a dominant culture, constructed and reproduced in the nation-state logic (justified by the imperatives of stability required from the international community) have never ceased to manifest themselves, the time that has passed in the rigors of the post-December new societal model only contributes to refining them and to give them more clear meaning.

The regime of national minorities rights in Romania and, simultaneously, of confessional rights, is regulated by a series of laws aimed at (in the subsidiary of its stated objectives) a harmonization (mandatory, in fact) with the laws of supranational structures, namely the European Union, which Romania joined. Without disregarding the moral value of such initiatives it should be noted that the inefficiency of the implemented framework arises from the haste introduction of laws setting out general non-discrimination clauses and provisions on minority rights aimed more at the agreement and appreciation of those structures to which the Romanian state joined than the actual welfare of the categories concerned.

In a study carried out by Radu Chiriță and Anca Săndescu on the existing normative acts, as well as on the implementation mechanisms, the authors say: “even though, unlike other areas of study, the internal legal framework does not know contradictions between several legislative provisions, and the international legal provisions have been transposed into national law with much fidelity,

the established legal system fails to create the necessary legal instruments to ensure full compliance with the rights enjoyed by members of national minority communities.” (Chiriță and Săndescu, 2008: 121). As it was reiterated in the conclusions of many studies on minority issues (e.g. Marian Chiriac, *op. cit.*), the absence of a law specifically defining the status of national minorities in Romania is a major impediment in developing a legal framework to reproduce ethno-political legitimacy for non-dominant cultures without direct prejudice or compromise of the state’s efforts to increase the degree of internal cohesion. In this respect, Kelemen Hunor, leader of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, launched the call for the reintroduction on the party’s political agenda for 2012 the draft Law on national minorities, which would provide new perspectives for the development of interethnic relations in Romania.

The method of positive discrimination, noted in the access to the Parliament granted to minorities, also has a number of shortcomings caused mainly by falsely assuming a minority identity in order to get a political seat, or by accepting one political organization as an exponent of the entire minorities community (result of a hostile attitude against minority political pluralism).⁶ The institutional framework implemented in order to protect national minorities in Romania shows the same deficiencies identifiable also in the measures of the legislative nature applied by Romanian authorities. Beyond the technical issues that these structures have been facing, often cumulated to the lack of infrastructure or human resources, there is also a communication problem that occurs at both inter- and intra-institutional levels, and especially regarding the visibility of these organizations, not so much among relevant civil society, but especially among unaffiliated minorities.

Furthermore, relating to the degree of organization, both social and political, there is an obvious disproportion generated, most

⁶ In this light, Lucian Năstăsă, Levente Salat, *op. cit.*, p. 13: “On the other hand, we should not overlook the fact that [...] the cardinal elements of the Romanian model - representation of minorities in Parliament, the existence of a Council of National Minorities or the very presence of representatives of one of the major minorities in the government – do not automatically solve all problems. [...] The dialogic framework should be maintained with care and beyond, so that the presence of representatives of minorities in these structures would not remain a formal presence, invoked in times of balance, but a real participation, effective and efficient in those decisions relating to destinies of the communities which they represent.”

likely, by the tradition that has shaped these minorities and by the number of each minority members. Perception of own needs, together with an unequal apparatus to fight discrimination, have generated the assumption of a completely separate development for different ethnic groups in Romania. If Hungarians display a claiming attitude based on real structures to combat discrimination, the Roma minority, for example, the second large minority in Romania, despite the many political organizations established to defend its interests, fails to build a model for addressing their issues in a unified, coherent and reasoned manner. On the other hand, the general pushing to the periphery of minorities against the majority population, namely Romanians, sometimes triggers claim-release from any minority group of any political connotation, the affirmation of national identity being based wholly on reproduction within the community of specific forms of cultural tradition; this is the case of small minorities in Romania. At this level, the institutional mechanism should promote, in a more active, more participatory manner, the idea of intercultural communion, the multicultural education being a decisive factor for achieving the desired degree of complementarity for the modern cultural and societal political project of post-totalitarian Romania.

Conclusions

The Romanian society in post-communist period was deeply influenced by the changes made by removing the totalitarian communist regime. National minorities are in a different rapport with the majority. Modernization and post-communist democratization have been linked to this process of assuming a new model for managing inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations to assume a correct relation between the majority community (Romanian / Orthodox) and the minority communities. In this context, the legislation on the rights of minorities has experienced a renewal process to allow alignment to the standards required and imposed by the European integration process, and also to reach that level of attaining the full spectrum of human rights in Romania. Despite this legal framework, considered to be one ideal, Romania still has pending problems whose solutions are expected to clear the future. Challenges and prospects of building a multicultural society require priority on finding solutions to some of the most striking and topical issues of inter-ethnic relations management: the discrimination

against the Roma population and the dispute over the granting of a form of autonomy from the central regions for the Hungarian community. Reducing discrimination against Roma is proving to be a European challenge not only Romanian one. That, and finding compromise solutions regarding the issue of local autonomy are subjects of debate requiring increased attention from both the Romanian authorities and the civil society.

In what concerns the education for and about national minorities it must be concluded that there is great need to develop a legal and institutional framework to enable and promote an intercultural education system. National minorities should not only be able to express themselves freely and without any restrictions from the majority by adequate education, but their specific characteristics and particularities should be included in school curricula of the majority.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bennett, Tony (2001), *Differing diversities. Transversal study on the Theme of Cultural policy and cultural diversity*, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg
- Dalma Janosi, "Cadrul instituțional privind protecția minorităților naționale din România" în Levente Salat, (ed.), *Politici de integrare a minorităților naționale din România. Aspecte legale și instituționale într-o perspectivă comparată*, Fundația CRDE, Cluj-Napoca, 2008
- David, Doina; Florea, Călin (2007), *Archetipul cultural și conceptul de tradiție*, în *The Proceedings of the European Integration-Between Tradition and Modernity Congress 2nd Edition*, Editura Universității „Petru Maior”, Târgu Mureș
- Ioan Horga, Mircea Brie, *Europe: A Cultural Border, or a Geocultural Archipelago*, în *The Cultural frontiers of Europe, Eurolimes*, vol. 5, volume edited by Alina Stoica, Didier Francfort, Judit Csoba Simonne, Oradea, 2010, p. 155-169.
- Iuliu Furo, *Păstrarea identității minorităților naționale*, în Lucian Năstasă, Levente Scarlat (ed.), *Relații interetnice în România postcomunistă*, Fundația CRDE, 2000

- James Rosapepe, *Relații interetnice în România*, în Lucian Năstasă, Levente Scarlat (ed.), *Relații interetnice în România postcomunistă*, Fundația CRDE, 2000
- Marian Chiriac, *Provocările diversității. Politici publice privind minoritățile naționale și religioase în România*, Fundația CRDE, Cluj-Napoca, 2005
- Martine Abdallah-Pretceille, Louis Porcher, *Education et communication interculturelle*, Presse Universitaires de France, 1996.
- Mircea Brie, *Ethnicity, Religion and Intercultural Dialogue in the European Border Space*, în Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș, *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union's East Border*, Editura Universității din Oradea/Editura Universității din Debrecen, supliment *Eurolimes*, Oradea/Debrecen, 2011
- Mircea Brie, *European Culture between Diversity and Unity*, în *Analele Universității din Oradea, Seria Relații Internaționale și Studii Europene*, 2010, p. 79-92;
- Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Sorin Șipoș (coord.), *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union's East Border*, Editura Universității din Debrecen/Editura Universității din Oradea, Debrecen/Oradea, 2011.
- Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, *The European Union External Border. An Epistemological Approach*, în *Revista Română de Geografie Politică*, 2009, p. 15-31;
- Muller, Uwe; Schultz, Helge (2002), *National Borders and Economic Desintegration in Modern East Central Europe*, Franfurter Studien zum Grenzen, vol. 8, Berliner Wissenschaft Verlag, Berlin
- Petre Roman, *Experiența abordării diversității în România*, în Lucian Năstasă, Levente Scarlat (ed.), *Relații interetnice în România postcomunistă*, Fundația CRDE, 2000
- Pierre Dasen, Christiane Perregaux, Micheline Rey, *Educația Interculturală. Experiențe, politici, strategii*, Polirom, Iași, 1999
- Radu Chiriță, Anca Săndescu, "Analiza actelor normative privind drepturile minorităților în România" în Levente Salat (ed.), *Politici de integrare a minorităților naționale din România. Aspecte legale și instituționale într-o perspectivă comparată*, Fundația CRDE, Cluj-Napoca, 2008
- Traian Rotariu, Petru Iluț (coord.), *Introducere în sociologie*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996.

**SOCIAL VALUES, INTEGRATION AND
MULTICULTURAL COMPATIBILITY IN
EUROPE**

ANALYSIS OF THE ACTIVITY OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES IN ROMANIA FOR THE SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES

Mădălina COCOȘATU*

Abstract. *Migration is a phenomenon that has grown in recent years in Europe. Taking into account the implications this phenomenon has on citizens and European states, the European Union has adopted refugee integration policies.*

The development of the national asylum system has led to the harmonization of the legislation with the standards imposed by the obligations assumed by Romania by adhering to various international bodies and international legal instruments in the field of human rights.

International refugee protection involves a sustainable solution, such as voluntary repatriation, relocation and local integration.

Starting from the definition of integration and establishing the contextual framework of work, the present paper aims to analyze two dimensions of the integration process of refugees: the instrumental dimension of integration and the social dimension of integration, by analyzing areas where success is not only seen as a "result" of the integration process, but also as a "means" for achieving integration.

Keywords: *refugees, integration, funds*

1. Considerations about socio-professional integration

Refugees' integration is a complex and multidimensional construct, referring to integration into the economic, health, educational and social contexts. Multiple factors contribute to how smooth refugees' integration occurs, including their experiences, their physical and mental health, or social support. There is in general a lack of understanding of the diversity and the range of experiences

* Ph.D. Associate Professor, Faculty of Public Administration, National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (N.U.P.S.P.A.), Bucharest, Romania, madacocosatu@yahoo.com

refugees bring with them. Protective factors that can support their social integration include key resilience characteristics such as personal agency, beliefs that life has meaning, goal direction, sense of purpose, and motivation (Robila, 2018: 10).

There were 22.5 million refugees worldwide in 2017, over half of them under 18 years of age (UNCHR, 2018). More than half of refugees are from three countries: Syria (5.5 million), Afghanistan (2.5 million) and South Sudan (1.4 million), and the major host countries for refugees are: Turkey (2.9 mil), Pakistan (1.4 mil), Lebanon (1 mil), Iran (979,400 people) (UNCHR, 2018).

The integration policy areas identified at the EU level are employment, education, social inclusion and active citizenship (UNHCR, 2013:118).

Worldwide population mobility has led European Union countries to adopt new policies regarding the status of foreigners, characterized by an increase in the number of immigrant assistance programs, which has no longer allowed a clear differentiation between refugees and immigrants.

A monitoring system able to evaluate the integration of migrant citizens in the host society raises great problems, particularly if integration, like here, is considered as a two way process which involves both migrants and the host society (Conseil de l'Europe, 1995).

Government Ordinance no.44/2004 on the social integration of foreigners who obtained a form of protection in Romania, with subsequent amendments defines social integration as the active participation of foreigners who were granted a form of protection or a right of residence in Romania and citizens of Member States of the European Union and European economic Area in the economic, social and cultural development of Romanian society in order to prevent social exclusion, respectively to adapt to the conditions of Romanian society.

The professional integration of the foreigner has to be seen as a process which is strictly related to his legal status (the type of residence permit, whether this has been granted or not, the duration of the permit, etc.), but also to the cultural and social resources which are necessary to become part of the labour market, in order to have one's competences appreciated and one's position consolidated (Gregori, 2006:10).

2. Institutional actors involved in integration of refugees

In Romania, the most important institutional actors involved in socio-professional integration of refugees are: Ministry of Interior Affairs, Ministry of Education, Health Ministry and Minister of Labor and Social Justice.

Institutional coordination is achieved mainly through meetings with decision makers (organized by the National Strategy on Migration) and the meeting of experts (organized periodically by the General Inspectorate for Immigration and the Asylum and Integration Directorate).

In Romania, each institutional actor (is responsible for the integration of foreigners in its field, while the coordination and monitoring of the policy belongs to the Ministry of Interior Affairs, through the General Immigration Inspectorate, which has the power to provide, through its regional structures, specific services to facilitate the integration in Romanian society of different categories of foreigners.

Integration of refugees (Necula, Mircea, 2009: 14):

- is an international protection tool and one of the three solutions available for refugees;

- is based on the hypothesis that refugees will remain permanently in the asylum country, where a new one begins life;

- is a long-term process that starts from the moment of arrival in the host country and ends when the refugee becomes an active member of society from a social, economic, legal and cultural perspective. It is often the case that the process of integration extends beyond the first generation of refugees;

- it is a process of dynamic change, in two directions: it requires a preparation and availability from the refugees to adapt to the specifics of the host society, an adaptation that will not lead to the loss of their own cultural identity, but also an adaptation of the host community and the its institutions to the specific needs of refugees;

- it is both a complex, multidimensional process - legal, economic, social and cultural, as well as a result - from the perspective of the level of integration achieved.

The Romanian integration program can offer:

- Accommodation, upon request, IGI centers for the period you are enrolled in the integration program (up to 12 months). In order to

benefit from this service you will have to pay a monthly contribution representing the cost of utilities. The vulnerable persons are exempted from the payment of utilities, according to Government Ordinance 44/2004.

- Romanian language courses during the period in which you are enrolled in the integration program (up to 12 months);

- Sessions of cultural accommodation;

- Providing, during a period of two months, an amount equal to the material aid for asylum seekers;

- Social counseling that includes access to the rights you have in Romania: the right to employment, the right to housing, the right to health and social care, social security, the right to education.

- Counseling and psychological support;

- Romanian language courses organized with the support of school inspectorates;

- Material aid grant amounting to 540 lei / person for a period of up to 12 months, under the condition of taking part in these activities and in the integration program and in the specific individual integration plan.

- After completing the program, the person interested can apply for financial support to pay for accommodation outside the center, settling up to 50% of the accommodation costs for a period of one year.

3. Accessing Funds Granted by the European Union to Extra-community Immigrants – instrumental dimension of integration

Member States have several EU funds at their disposal. These include funding instruments under shared management, including the European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) and the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF), and under direct management, for example, the EU programme for Employment and Social Innovation, Rights, Equality and Citizenship programme, the Health for Growth programme etc.

The EU provides Member States with financial resources to support efforts in the areas of legal migration and irregular migration, return, asylum, border management and integration. In the 2014-2020 period, the main EU financial instruments supporting these areas are the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund and the Internal Security

Fund - Borders and Visa, under which EUR 3.6 billion is allocated directly to Member States. During this new funding period, Member States may also receive emergency assistance.

The Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund will promote the efficient management of migration flows and the implementation, strengthening and development of a common Union approach to asylum and immigration.

The Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund is the continuation of the three funds implemented in the 2007-2013 financial period, namely the European Return Fund, the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals and the European Refugee Fund.

All EU States except Denmark participate in the implementation of this Fund. Examples of beneficiaries of the programmes implemented under this Fund can be state and federal authorities, local public bodies, non-governmental organisations, humanitarian organisations, private and public law companies and education and research organisations.

The objectives of AMIF are:

- asylum: strengthening and developing the Common Asylum System by ensuring that EU legislation in the field is effective and uniform;

- legal migration and integration: supporting legal migration in the Member States in line with labor market needs and promoting effective integration of beneficiaries of international protection and aliens with a legal form of residence;

- return: Strengthening fair and effective return strategies to help combat illegal migration;

- solidarity: ensuring that the Member States most affected by migratory flows can rely on the solidarity of the other Member States.

At Member State level, the Fund is implemented through National Programs approved by the European Commission, all proposed actions being based on respect for fundamental rights and human dignity.

National Programme for the "Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund" was developed under Regulation (EU) no. 514/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 April 2014 laying down general provisions on the Asylum, Migration and

Integration Fund and on the instrument for financial support for police cooperation, preventing and combating crime, and crisis management, in order to coordinate practical cooperation on asylum between Member States, to support Member States facing particular pressures on their asylum systems and contributing to the implementation of the Common European Asylum System.

The General Inspectorate for Immigration holds both the capacity of the Authority Delegated to FAMI in accordance with the provisions of the Decision no. 48 of 28 January 2015 on the establishment of the management and control system for the management of the funds granted to Romania through the 2014-2020 multiannual financial framework, the Internal Affairs field, and the quality of the Final Beneficiary.

The Internal Security Fund - Borders and Visa component, is the continuer of the External Borders Fund, implemented in the 2007-2013 financial framework.

The overall objective of the Internal Security Fund - borders and visa component is to contribute to ensuring a high level of safety within the EU, facilitating, in the same time legitimate journeys through a uniform external border control and high quality and effective processing of Schengen visas, respecting EU commitments on human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The specific objectives of the Internal Security Fund, borders and visa component are:

- supporting the common visa policy in order to facilitate legitimate journeys, ensure a high quality of services offered to visa applicants, equal treatment of third-country nationals and combat illegal migration;

- supporting integrated border management, including the promotion of further harmonization of border management measures in accordance with the common Union standards and sharing information between Member States, also between Member States and Frontex Agency in order to ensure, on the one hand, a uniform and high level of control and protection of external borders, including through combating illegal migration and, on the other hand, the smooth crossing of external borders in accordance with Schengen acquis, ensuring at the same time, access to international protection for persons who need it, according to human rights obligations

undertaken by Member States, including the principle of non-refoulement.

4. Conclusions

The migrants and refugees' crisis which unfolded in Europe in 2015 represents one of the biggest challenges the EU as a whole has faced insofar, and it still remains high in the political agenda of Member States.

In the context of the refugee crisis, European leaders and decision makers need pragmatic, relevant and practical advice to address migrant integration challenges and develop effective strategies to benefit from migration.

According to the EU Commission, the integration of third-country national is a cross-cutting political priority involving all the aforementioned policy areas along with different levels of governance (EU, national, regional, local) and stakeholders (NGOs, civil society organizations, including diasporas and migrant communities, and faith-based organizations).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Gregori Emilio, (2006), *Indicators of Migrants' Socio-Professional Integration*, Nota di Lavoro, No. 59.2006, Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM), Milano
- Necula Cătălin, Mircea Radu (2009), *Manual de pregătire în domeniul integrării refugiaților în România*, Ministry of Interior Affaires Publishing House, Bucharest
- Robila Mihaela (2018), *Refugees and Social Integration in Europe*, United Nations Expert Group Meeting, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York
- Conseil de l'Europe (1995), *Les mesures et indicateurs d'intégration*, Strasbourg, Editions du Conseil de l'Europe
- <http://igi.mai.gov.ro>

THE CONSEQUENCES OF DIVORS ON CHILDREN IN MULTICULTURAL FAMILIES

Iulia-Maria BARLA (SAID)*

Abstract. *Family relationships have always provided a sensitive area of research, enjoying special attention on moral, social, psychological and legal grounds. Like a living organism, they are in constant evolution, consistent with the transformations in society. The family is becoming more and more integrated into an international dimension. The progressive disappearance of political, cultural, linguistic and professional frontiers has favored the development of peoples' migration with the consequent increase in the number of marriages between people of different nationality. Parallel, the problem of the splitting of mixed marriages and the resulting consequences, and especially the impact of divorce on the children born of these families, arises. The effects of divorce in these cases are complex and diverse, which implies interdisciplinary research. The purpose of the paper is to identify as much as possible each category of effects and to propose solutions in their blurring.*

Keywords: *divorce, culture, multicultural, intercultural, multicultural families, ethnic groups, children, consequences.*

Introduction

I chose this paper, to capture the effects of the divorce phenomenon, especially on children. A negligible component of this relational ensemble is the dissolution of marriage caused by cultural differences between conjugal partners. Abandoning state barriers and creating the European Union is increasingly favoring the migration of peoples. Migration in turn has opened the way for mixed marriages. They end either between persons of different nationality or within the same ethnic group, but from different groups.

* Phd Student, Oradea University, Doctoral School of Sociology. E-mail: saidiulia@yahoo.com

In both situations, the problem we face is that of cultural differences, which in many situations are so deeply implemented in the personality of the partners that a compromise in saving marriage seems to be impossible to find. The consequence is obvious, the divorce. The even more pressing issue is the consequences of divorce on children born of these multicultural families. So, speaking of spouses, belonging to different nations and implicitly citizens of different states, we ask, what is the fate of these children after divorce. In which of the two states belonging to their parents will they live? Who and how is the future of these children decided?

According to the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by Romania through Law no. 18/1990, any legal act issued in the field of the observance and promotion of the rights of the child shall be subordinated to the principle of respecting the best interests of the child. The judges of the signatory States of this Convention are subject to compliance with these regulations when deciding on the issue of children following the divorce of their parents, but are they sufficient to fade at least a possible uprooting of a child in his native country? How will this child be accommodated in a country where she may never have been, or how to speak and follow a school in a language she does not know?

There are dozens of such questions that need to be found next to an answer and a solution, precisely in the sense of respecting the child's best interest.

I think divorce between multicultural partners has a particular impact, with more complex and more varied consequences on children from these families. A study devoted to this theme would highlight a series of problems faced by these children and, as a result, it will be possible to draw guidelines to follow in solving them.

I. Characteristics of the phenomenon of divorce in contemporary society

Divorce is a social fact that we meet lately, more and more often, becoming so familiar that it no longer raises questions like: *what is the real cause of divorce? why were married partners if the divorce followed shortly after the marriage ended ?; what are the consequences of divorce ?; does the marriage in Romania still preserve its traditional values?*

The institution of divorce - specific to family law, a component of Romanian civil law, appears as a living organism in a permanent change and its evolution must be projected in the social, political and cultural context of each age, in order to analyze and research the concrete reasons of divorce.

In **Romania**, we notice an increase in the divorce rate after 1948. In this respect, in 1955 it was 1.8 per thousand, in 1960 by 2 thousand, in 1965 by 1.94 per thousand, and after 1975 by over 1.5 to me. In 2012, we notice a slight decrease, namely 1.4 per thousand, which is also maintained in 2015 (World Economy in Figures, 2018, p. 13).

According to data published by the National Institute of Statistics in 2017, the number of divorces awarded by final or administrative judgments was 31,147, increasing by 650 divorces compared to 2016. The divorce rate increased from 1.37 divorces to 1.000 inhabitants in 2016, to 1.40 divorces per 1,000 inhabitants in 2017. In the urban area, in 2017, there was a double number of divorces compared to the one recorded in rural areas, the divorce rate being 1.5 times higher in the urban area than in the rural area. The share of the first divorce in the total number of divorces was 93.6% for men and 94.0% for women.

The maximum number of divorces was recorded for the 35-39 age group for both men (5,904 divorces) and women (5,649 divorces).

The ratio between the number of marriages concluded and that of divorces pronounced by final or administrative judgments was 4.6 marriages in divorce in 2017.

The breakdown by age and gender of persons who divorced in 2017 shows the following:

- on average, divorce occurs with the highest frequency among men and women in the 35-39 age group (19.1% of divorces for women and 19.8% for males), followed by women in the group 30-34 years of age (18.5% of divorces) and the 40-44 age group for males (19.2% of divorces);
- the number of women aged up to 30 years who divorced was 2.3 times higher than the number of men belonging to the same age group;

- after the age of 50, the number of divorced men was significantly higher than that of women, 1.5 times in the 50-54 age group and 1.8 times in the 55-year-old and older.

The average age of divorce spouses was 42.5 years for men and 38.9 years for women, with higher urban values than rural ones. Comparing the average age to divorce with mean age at marriage (33.3 years - men, 30.1 years - females) can be seen in couples who divorced that marital life lasts for an average of 9.2 years for men, respectively 8.8 years for women.

In the counties, the average age at divorce was the highest in Hunedoara County, for men (43.7 years) and for women in Covasna and Hunedoara (40.0 years). The lowest average age for divorce was registered in Ilfov county for men (41.1 years) and for women in Maramureş and Satu Mare counties (37.5 years).

Divorces were pronounced in 46.2% of the cases of both spouses, 11.6% of the husband's fault, 3.8% of the cases of the wife's fault, and 38.4% of other causes.

Of the total divorces awarded in 2017, almost two-thirds were made with the "parties' agreement", ie the divorce by administrative means, it being possible to ascertain the dissolution of the marriage by the civil status officer or the notary public.

Other causes of divorce were:

- *Conjugal Infidelity* 2.7%;
- *Domestic violence* 1.9%;
- *Alcoholism* 1.7%;
- *Combined causes* 4.0%;
- *Agreement of parties* 64.4%;
- *Other situations* 25.3%.

In almost all counties (except the counties of Buzau, Giurgiu, Ilfov, Teleorman and Vaslui), the number of divorces is higher in urban than in rural areas.

In territorial territory, in 2017, over 1,000 cases of divorce were recorded in the counties of Argeş, Bacau, **Bihor**, Braşov, Constanţa, Iaşi, Prahova, Suceava and Timiş, and in Bucharest were registered 2,740 divorce cases, representing 8.8% of the total number of registered divorces. The lowest number of divorces was recorded in Vâlcea County (208 divorces).

The highest divorce rate was recorded in Gorj County (1.90 divorces per 1,000 inhabitants) and the lowest divorce rate was recorded in Valcea County (0.52 divorces per 1,000 inhabitants).

Compared with the other European Union countries, in 2015 (the last year for which data are available at European level), Romania, with a divorce rate of 1.6 ‰, recorded an average level. The lowest rates of divorce rates at European level were registered in Malta (0.9 ‰) and Slovenia (1.2 ‰). The highest divorce rates were registered in Denmark (2,9 ‰) and Lithuania (3,2 ‰) (<https://divorce-in-romania-in-2017>), source: National Institute of Statistics).

The lower rate of divorce in Romania compared to statistics in other states is explained by the fact that, due to its cultural specificity, the family is at present an important value, and the resort to its dissolution occurs only in extreme situations, which attests to the idea that divorce, although legally permissible, is disavowed by the population of Romania (Chipea, 2015, pp. 141-143).

World states have the readiness to regulate their own divorce law, which makes it very different from the point of view of severity.

Scientific research demonstrates that marriage partner selection follows homogamy principles, in which sense it will be chosen for a partner who has as many common features as possible. The provenance of partners from cultural backgrounds, social status, similar life concepts favors the creation of a set of common values that will be continually enriched with new sets of common values, thus achieving a solid construction of marriage (Apostu, 2013, p. 389).

On the opposite side, the differences between partners are more prominent, and the strengthening of a viable marital life is more difficult.

II. Multiculturalism and divorce

Intercultural education draws a few axes on the knowledge of culture in general and a culture in particular, including its impact on the behavior of individuals and groups. Reflection on one's own culture precedes reflection on the culture of alterity.

Concepts: "**Multicultural**", "**intercultural**", as well as the terms derived from the same lexical family of culture ("interculturality", "multiculturalism", etc.) present a premise in the

analysis of the social values that cemented the structure of a society, which is why outlines the theoretical and practical stakes of their use.

Culture is a concept that contains a deep ambiguity, focusing on a basic similarity of individuals (both being determined by culture), and on the other hand it configures the difference between individuals, the culture being in itself a difference.

In cultural anthropology in the United States, there is also a trend that anthropologists should no longer use the term culture because of the ambiguity of the concept (Kluckhohn, Kroeber, 1952). It is the case of the evolutionary trend, according to which the societies are going through successive and identical stages of development, culminating in the highest stage of development, Western European society (Geertz, 1973, p. 89).

Cultural relativism supports the idea of equality of different cultures with their intrinsic value content, without agreeing to any alternative that would recognize that a culture would be superior or inferior to another. In this logic, the values, norms, symbols of a culture are evaluated in their context and functionality, and not according to the criteria of another culture.

The existence of several cultures in the same area has generated a set of concepts of common origins, namely: **multicultural**, **intercultural**, **multiculturalism**, **interculturality**, but which present essential differences (Ivasiuc, Koreck, Kővári, 2010).

Multicultural is essentially a descriptive concept, refers to a state of affairs, the cohabitation of several groups in a particular society, and highlights the difference between cultures and groups categorized as different. The term is specific to post-colonial societies (Great Britain, the Netherlands), where we often encounter the parallel cohabitation of ethnic groups, lacking a real relationship to each other.

The **intercultural** concept reveals the interaction between groups perceived as distinct in society engaged in a dynamic process of exchanges, dialogue, negotiation between groups, identifying a common language and a common space of communication that highlights the reciprocity of the constituent elements of the exchanges.

Multiculturalism consists in accepting the coexistence of more cultures, the political management of diversity. This cultural,

political, religious pluralism characterizes the Anglo-Saxon states, where national politics embrace the recognition of the existence of several ethnic groups. Multiculturalism, however, reaches only superficially the interaction and mutual influences between ethnic groups (Taylor, 1992).

Interculturality highlights the dynamic space between two or more cultures where permanent negotiations take place between two groups belonging to different cultures. Such a space is a potential support for intercultural communication, dialogue, negotiation, leading to a true interaction between individuals and different cultural groups. The dynamism of communication processes fosters a continuous construction and reconstruction of culture with a continuous flow of influences in restructuring and reinterpretation (Abdallah-Preteille, 1999, p. 49).

The definition of interculturalism embraces the normative character of the concept, which expresses the desirability and possibility of good understanding between individuals belonging to apparently different groups (Perregaux, 1999, p. 125).

Interculturality is born through education and must be seen as a cure for racism, xenophobia, exclusion and marginalization. The intercultural concept, therefore, expresses the accuracy of dynamic and reciprocal processes for the interconnection of different groups, which is why the use of this term is preferable in addressing the role of education in society, communication being the essential tool in translating into practice the desires of individuals and groups perceived as different from the optics of culture.

From a sociological point of view, we discuss a process of interactive socialization of communication, involving individual development in the context of social influences, configuring the personal reception and interpretation of social messages and the variable dynamics of the intensity and content of social influences (Vlăsceanu, 1993, p. 555).

The International Commission for the Education of the 21st Century emphasizes this component of education as a vital one in the development of a harmonious society. This pillar refers to the ability to live with others by "developing the knowledge of the other, of its history, its traditions and its spirituality" (Delors, 1996, p. 18).

The current European societies, from an ethnical and cultural point of view, as well as from the perspective of identities and

interests, are the arena of coexistence with more and more obvious alterities. Under these circumstances, it is imperative that the generations in the process of socialization learn basic skills that enable a peaceful cohabitation with groups claiming the difference, whether ethnic, identity, cultural or interest (Ivasiuc, Koreck, Kóvári, 2010, p. 11).

Recent research carried out in Romania on the implementation of the principles of intercultural education have shown that there are a number of obstacles facing the transposition process, and it is necessary to accelerate and make more effective the implementation of intercultural education in the Romanian school.

Cultural differences include characteristics specific to cultural typologies from different backgrounds or different types of education from the same social environment. Each married partner will more or less impress family life so that their mutual adaptation will guarantee the success of a functional marriage, instead the lack of flexibility of at least one of them will lead the marriage to failure.

Cultural differences are noticeable in interethnic marriages, for example one of the spouses is Romanian and the other is a gypsy in mixed marriages, when spouses come from different countries.

The consequences of divorce on spouses and children have been extensively studied by psychologists and sociologists. Psychologist P. Bohannan marks six dimensions of the effects of divorce (apud Chipea, 2000, p. 116):

- **emotional** - with implications in the deterioration of affective relations between family members;
- **legal**- divorce judgment by a court;
- **economic**- sharing common spouses' heritage, establishing maintenance due;
- **parenting**- assignment of minor children to a parent, establishment of exercise of parental authority over children;
- **Community**- separation of the community of friends and isolation from the ex-husband's kinship community;
- **psychic** - acquiring psychological autonomy over the former husband.

The concept of divorce in contemporary society has undergone a profound change in the idea that divorce is not only a failure but also a cure for a better life.

The 1989 Revolution in Romania opened the way for **the migration phenomenon of the population**, with a special social impact on the family life of migrants. The implications are multiple, both positive and negative.

Positive effects can be seen in increasing the quality of life of migrant families, as one or both of the couple's partners work abroad, thus achieving beneficial consequences.

From another perspective, we face family suffering caused by the absence of one or more members, even for a certain period of time, but as long as the length of time is longer, the impact of adverse effects on the family is more dramatic. Family members at home find themselves in the face of a re-design of the family's design taking on the roles and functions of the homeless, a context that can lead to an imbalance in the couple's relationship, loss of family life, culminating in divorce.

We are therefore witnessing a divorce case that ultimately generates the same negative effects as any other cause of divorce.

The negative effects of divorce are perpetrated on society in various ways.

It is worth mentioning the *decrease in the birth rate of the population in Romania*, from the perspective of encouraging population migration, by the states that face a natural reduction of the population, by offering jobs. These countries will complement demographic changes in their birth rate by foreign labor, Romania and the other Eastern European countries, which are an important source of food supply (Ghețău, 2007).

The economic crisis in Romania, triggered in 2010, has created favorable conditions for the Romanians' migration in the hope of a more consistent gain to ensure a decent living aspired by any family.

Migration movements in recent years have been represented by young people around the age of 30. The financial aspects of migration have been identified by the volume of large money transfers, bringing an increase in the quality of life of Romanians .

The most recent statistics show that the reason for the divorce caused by the Romanians' return to work is among the top places, and in response to a report published by the World Bank, migrant Romanians working abroad sent home in 2017, 4.9 billion dollars (<https://www.digi24.ro/stiri/economie/bani-afaceri/romanii-care-lucreaza-in-strainatate>).

Looking for a better job, animated by the belief that their work abroad will open profitable prospects in family life, **the Romanians' migration** has caused the temporary abandonment of children, not taking seriously enough into account the unfortunate impact on children, neglecting the growth and development especially on the affective level.

The consequences of leaving for work abroad were often not the expected but rather the long time spent away from the family favored the affective affiliation of another person, the migrant accepting the breakdown of his marriage.

According to the studies on the possibilities of Romania's recovery from the economic crisis, uncertainty still exists, and there are enough resources for the future to maintain the migration phenomenon of Romanians looking for a job abroad.

Currently, the reason for the divorce caused by the Romanians' departure to work is highlighted in the cases brought to justice.

So now, there still persists a potentially growing divorce cause generated by factors outside the couple, a worrying situation for the entire population in Romania.

Negative effects have a particular impact on the emotional balance of children, generating often major dysfunctions in all aspects of their lives: personal, social, relational, professional, economic, spiritual. The negative effects are in direct correlation with some characteristics of the child: age, sex, temperament, physical and mental health, amplified by the conflict between parents, which often succeeds for long periods of time.

III. Effects of divorce in multicultural families. Case studies

The consequences of divorce on children are complex and most strongly felt. In traditional societies there is still a tendency to stigmatize the child whose parents have divorced, through the psychological negative experiences of the child. In modern society and especially in the postmodern urban environment, this aspect becomes almost non-existent (Chipea, 2014, p. 229).

Divorce, as a psycho-social and legal phenomenon with profound implications in the partner's family, brings complex consequences especially to children, and their adaptation to the new living environment depends partly on their age, maturity, genre, temperament, and their psycho-social adaptation of divorce.

Researchers Paul R. Amato and Bruce Keith (1991) trying to answer the question "What makes divorce have negative consequences on the child?" Identified three primary factors in the psychological difficulties of children:

- 1). *lack of one of the parents at home;*
- 2). *the socio-economic situation of the one-parent family;*
- 3). *the conflict between parents, whose witness was the child before and sometimes after divorce*(Amato, Bruce, 1991).

Among these factors, the most important in sociological research is *the marital conflict*, which is able to have the most powerful effect on the psychological development of the child. There is research to show that the negative influences arising from the marital conflict may lead to longer childhood development problems than the death of one of the parents. Consequently, the parent's own absence is responsible for the child's reactions, but for the parental *conflict* that is considered to be *the most pathogenic influence in the psychological development of the child* (Cummings, 1994, pp. 16-36).

Researching the consequences of divorce on children is a major concern for the whole society, without borders, in the idea of knowing them, counteracting the harmful effects and creating the premises necessary for the development of the human being.

The concept of child / childhood marks a stage in human development, perceived as a bio-psycho-social construct, with subtle interferences in law, sociology and psychology, thus providing an object of study.

The child is an entity called "physical person", both in the psychological, legal and social realm, which is individualized by the human being with an evolutionary structure of discernment, its biological, psychological and social determinants. He represents the very individual, who up to the higher is legally protected in order to give effect to the fundamental social values related to the person. The child is no longer a substitute for the parents, it has a defined status, self-contained, embodying rights and obligations specific to its stage of development, necessary for access to the fullness of the fundamental values of society whose "cultural hierarchy manifests itself" (Pivniceru, Luca, 2016, pp. 2-13).

The issue of the family life of a child born in the marriage area is highlighted when family relations are not harmonious, revealing hostility or adversity, paving the way for parents' divorce, an event

likely to alter its original coordinates. The differences arise from the separation of parents and from the objective impossibility of maintaining and following the breakdown of marriage the same configuration of family values in the fullness of its components.

The provisions of the New Romanian Civil Code in Art. 503 and 397, expresses the idea that the exercise of parental authority in common is the rule established by the lawyer in order to ensure good development of the child by involving both parents in making important decisions such as education, medical treatment, the administration of its assets, and the exercise of parental authority by a single parent constitutes the exception.

The child perceives the divorce of his parents as a threat to the attachment security at all stages of his development. The attachment was defined by Thompson (1996, p. 127) as *"a lasting emotional bond that connects one person to another and which is usually manifested by efforts to seek proximity and contact with the attachment figure, especially when the person is under stress"*.

Relatively recent research (Lussier, Deater-Deckard, Dunn & Davies, 2002; Sims, 2009) has shown that attachment certainly behaves as a protective element facilitating the adaptation of children to stressful situations such as divorce.

Nowadays, marriage disintegration due to cultural differences has seen a significant increase. Whether we refer to marriages between partners from different countries or different ethnic backgrounds, cultural differences are a rather difficult impediment to adapting to family life. Intercultural communication plays a major role in facilitating the skills of coexistence in the plural society of today.

Case study no. 1

R.V., a 29-year-old woman aged now, comes from a rural socialized Roma family from a village with a Hungarian ethnic population in Bihor County. She has five brothers and two sisters. The family home is in the village's Roma colony.

R.V. attended primary classes in the village school, finishing with a school dropout at the end of the primary cycle. At the age of 17 he met **V.I.**, with whom he married in the next year, despite the conflicts between the two families who disagreed with this relationship.

V.I., aged 28, at the moment, comes from a family of Hungarian ethnicity in the neighboring village. He is the only son of the parents. His family has a good physical condition. **V.I.** has completed a professional school in Oradea, having the tinsmith profession. Following his marriage to **RV**, his family interrupted any connection with him. The marriage of the two young people, without the consent of their families, led to their renegade by their parents. They moved to a village near the home. **V.I.** not finding a job in his job, he hired a construction company to support his family.

Two married girls, **Anita and Sandra**, emerged from their marriage. Parents have grown up and educated their children, attending school regularly and showing excellent school returns.

With the birth of their first child, the family of the young Roma mother returned to their decision to refuse, finally accepting their daughter's marriage. Not the same thing happened to the younger parents, who have not even known their granddaughters, now 11 and 7 years old, respectively.

The rather difficult material situation of the young family led **V.I.** to work abroad. The absence of her husband at home has generated mutual jealousy between the two spouses.

The family of the young wives, along with the other relatives, probably taking advantage of the opportunity, claimed the conflict between them, aggravating the crisis, which led **R.V.** to make the divorce decision.

At present **V.I.** does not come home from abroad, but regularly contributes to family financial support. **R.V.** is trying to rebuild his life: he lives with a Roma man who has problems with alcohol and works occasionally as a daydreamer. Girls suffer from the lack of father and mother's concubine. Their learning results have dropped significantly. **R.V.** claims that this compromise can not last for long. She thinks she will go abroad to work and leave her children in the care of her mother, not having to depend financially on a man who is not the father of the children.

Preliminary Conclusions: Cultural differences between different ethnicities, such as the marriage between a Hungarian man and a Roma woman, were particularly insurmountable by their families, respecting the culture traditions they prioritized with regard to their children's feelings.

Study no.2

V.H., a 26-year-old young woman, comes from a Roma family with five children, socialized in rural areas, living in a village with a majority Hungarian population in Bihor County. Neighbors of Hungarian ethnicity appreciate the diligence and desire of this Roma family to integrate into the Hungarian community. The family took on only superficial traditions of Roma culture.

V.H. followed the school and finished eight classes. At the age of 16 years met **H.**, A young man aged 28 years, with origins in a traditional gypsy family. His family consists of two parents and 11 children. Their material situation is extremely difficult, they live in the village colony. **H.A.** did not attend school, is illiterate.

V.H. was married **H.A.** in the next two years, despite the opposition of the parents. According to the Roma tradition, the marriage took place after the kidnapping of the girl by the groom's family.

After they got married, the young men moved to the village's colony in a vaige hut, having quite lively living conditions. The girl's family has interrupted any connection with the young. However, the birth of the first child has resulted in family reconciliation.

From their marriage were born three children: **Paul (8 years), Melissa (6 years) and Armando (3 years).**

H.A. has endeavored to maintain his family, working occasionally with different people, and also providing seasonal work abroad, 3-4 months a year. The material situation of the family was particularly difficult, and they were living from one day to the next. The family of the young wife did not like to help her baby, though she could. Children regularly attend school and kindergarten.

Due to stress and difficult living conditions, says the young husband, he has consumed excessive alcohol. This, under the influence of alcoholic beverages, provoked conflicts and became aggressive towards his wife and children.

In this context, her wife had to flee to her parents with her children. She has decided to divorce, given the family conflicts that have proven to be irreparable. Of course, when making this decision, her family had a decisive role, urging the young woman to break away from her husband who is a rum of another "tradition" and who is not compatible with their family.

Preliminary Conclusions: Cultural differences within the same ethnic group have led to divorce. The husbands, with all their

endeavors, have failed to overcome critical situations, especially those concerning the traditions of their own cultures.

Final conclusions

From the researches analyzed, it is concluded that divorce leads to complex, traumatic, unwanted consequences on the community, the couple's partners and especially the children.

Parental divorce marks a risk factor for the psychological health of children, with repercussions even at the age of their maturity. Family breakdown is also a risk factor for the future marriage of children. Children in divorced families have a worse attachment to their parents and mutual help is at a lower level (Amato, 2003, p. 52,4).

From another perspective, divorce is not always a reflection of unhappiness. It can generate new possibilities, rewards, and self-fulfillment for some people (Giddens, 2010, p. 241). The risks involved in divorce can be reduced in multiple forms, especially if the relationship between parents and child-parent is of good quality (Amato & Booth, 1991, p. 69,3).

The consequences of divorce on children open up a wide-ranging debate that needs to be researched with priority and with much diligence. Based on the results of specialized researches, it will be possible to identify deficiencies in the system and to propose legislative interventions through strategies to help children affected by the divorce trauma when parents are overcome by the situation.

Desideratum would be that parents, in collaboration with educational establishments and specialists in the field, should make a contribution to diminishing the effects of divorce in order to ensure a healthy population. The family, the smallest core of society, must be protected and valued because she is the mirror of the population.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdallah - Pretceille, M., 1999. *L'éducation interculturelle*, Paris, PUF.
- Amato, PR & Booth, A. (1991). Consequences of Parental Divorce and Marital Unhappiness for Adult Well-Being: *Social Forces*, 69,3.

- Amato, PR (2005). The impact of family change on the cognitive, social and emotional well-being of the next generation. *The future of the children*, 15 (2): 75-96.
- Apostu, I. (2013). *Marriage between stability and dissolution*, Tritonic Publishing House, Bucharest.
- Chipea, F. (2000). *The woman in the context of change, status, roles, identities*. University of Oradea Publishing House.
- Chipea, F. (2014). *Prospects, themes and fundamental concepts of sociology*. Eikon Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca.
- Delors, J., 1996. *L'éducation: un trésor est caché dedans. Report from UNESCO to the International Commission on Education and Training*, Paris, Editions Odile Jacob.
- Geertz, C., 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, Basic Book.
- Giddens, A., 2010. *Sociology, 5th Edition*, All Publishing House, Bucharest.
- Ivasiuc, A., Koreck, M., Kővári, R., (2010). *Intercultural education: from theory to practice - implementation of intercultural education in multiethnic schools in Romania*- Research report of the Community Development Agency "Together".
- Kluckhohn, C., Kroeber, AE, 1952. *Culture: a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Perregaux, C., 1999. *For an intercultural approach in education*, in Dasen, P., Perregaux, C., Rey, M., Intercultural Education, Polirom Publishing House, Iasi.
- Taylor, C., 1992. *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Vlăsceanu, L., 1993. *Dictionary of sociology*, Polirom Publishing House, Iași.

Internet Sources

<https://www.digi24.ro/stiri/economie/bani-afaceri/romanii-care-lucreaza-in-strainatate-au-trimis-acasa-49-miliarde-de-dolari-anul-trecut-918032>, accessed on 08.02.2019.

<https://www.transfergo.com/en/blog/romanii-de-pest-hotare/>, accessed on 08.02.2019.

https://divorțul-in-romania-in-2017 /, source: National Institute of Statistics.

Objectives and their methodology of intercultural education, elaborated by the Intercultural Institute Timisoara in the the Dromesqere Euroskola project. Documents related to this project can be found at www.dromesqere.net, accessed on 25.03.2019.

DESIDERATUM OF UNIFICATION IN SOCIO-CULTURAL AND POLITICAL SPACE OF REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA AT PRESENT STAGE

Alexandru SOLCAN*

Abstract. *The subject of the Unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania has been omnipresent in the socio-cultural and political space of the Republic of Moldova since the declaration of independence until nowadays. The period 2009-2019 in the Republic of Moldova is characterized by a strong dynamics of political processes, which also influenced the attitudes of the citizens towards the unification. The identity issue, inherited from the historical past, remains an important benchmark in analyzing the social and political processes in the Republic of Moldova at the present stage. The statistical data indicate a tendency to increase the identification of the population of the Republic of Moldova as Romanians, and the Romanian language as the native language spoken. Sociological surveys reveal an increase in the pro-unionist perceptions among the citizens of the Republic of Moldova and account for about one-quarter of the number of those questioned. The increase in pro-unionist tendencies made the unification's wish to be included in the programmatic documents of certain political parties. The evolution of events on the subject of the unification will largely depend on the ability to formalize unionist political formations into a unifying political entity, capable of capitalizing politically on the unionist choices of citizens.*

Keywords: *identity issue, statistical data, sociological studies, geopolitical cleavage, political party.*

The theme of Unification has been present on the political agenda in the Republic of Moldova since the proclamation of independence until today. The political actors in Chisinau approached the subject of Unification, trying to obtain the citizens'

* Moldova State University, Faculty of International Relations, Political and Administrative Sciences,, Department of Political and Administrative Sciences, asolcan@gmail.com

adhesion. The programmatic documents of the political formations in the Republic of Moldova express their position in the relations with Romania. The intensity and forms of manifesting the unionist tendencies in the space between the Nistru and the Prut rivers were largely determined by social and cultural factors. In order to elucidate the proposed subject, we will investigate these aspects projected over the recent history of the Republic of Moldova from 2009-2019.

In the period 2009-2019 in Chisinau succeeded each other several governmental coalitions, which declared the European integration as the major political objective. Eurointegration efforts culminated with the signing and ratification in 2014 of the Association Agreement between the Republic of Moldova and the European Union. But the financial and banking crisis, the effects of which were felt more in the years 2015-2016, resulted in a worsening of the socio-economic situation with an impact on the political processes in the Republic of Moldova. All these events influenced citizens' opinions and perceptions regarding the country's developmental vector, including the unionist options.

One of the major issues that mark the socio-cultural and political space of the Republic of Moldova at the present stage is the identity issue. We consider that this issue has its roots in the history of the population living on today's territory of the Republic of Moldova, more precisely in 1812, when the territory between the Prut and the Nistru rivers was annexed to the Russian Empire. According to some researchers, the partition of the Principality of Moldova was the most unfortunate consequence of Russia's advance towards the Balkans, "this partition had undesirable consequences, which are felt even now" (Micu, 2011: 305). From 1812 until the proclamation of independence, the history of today's territory of the Republic of Moldova "represents a history of a county in the composition of the Russian Empire, a province in the composition of Romania and a Soviet republic the composition of the USSR" (Fruntașu, 2002: 514). These events have had an impact on the formation of national consciousness and the self-identification of the population on this territory throughout history.

Thus, at the present stage, the fact how the citizens identify themselves, as Romanians or Moldovans, how they call the language they speak, Romanian or Moldovan, determines largely their attitude towards the Unification. In order to understand the views of citizens

on these issues, we will analyze a number of quantitative materials by presenting the statistical data contained in the latest censuses of the population and integrating them into a comparative study. In order to identify the current trends on the topic of unification, we will also analyze the data contained in sociological research in recent years.

According to the latest census of the population, made in 2014, the surveyed population was 2 804 801 inhabitants¹. The ethnic structure of the population was the following: Moldovans - 75.1%, Romanians - 7%, Ukrainians - 6.6%, Gagauzians - 4.6%, Russians - 4.1%, Bulgarians - 1.9%². It should be mentioned that, compared to the 2004 census, the number of the Romanian population has increased from 2.2% to 7%, and from a numerical point of view this increase is from 73 276 in 2004 to 192 800 persons in 2014.

Table 1. Population Structure According to Native Language in 2004 and 2014 Censuses³

	People		In per cent of the total population		In per cent of the total population that declared their native language	
	2004	2014	2004	2014	2004	2014
Total population	3,383,332	2,804,801	100.0	100.0	x	x
Population that declared their native language	3,369,224	2,723,315	99.6	97.1	100.0	100.0
<i>including:</i>						
Moldovan	2,029,847	1,544,726	60.0	55.1	60.2	56.7
Ukrainian	186,394	107,252	5.5	3.8	5.5	3.9
Russian	380,796	263,523	11.3	9.4	11.3	9.7
Gagauzian	137,774	114,532	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.2
Romanian	558,508	639,339	16.5	22.8	16.6	23.5
Bulgarian	54,401	41,756	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.5
Roman*		7,574		0.3		0.3
Other languages	21,504	4,613	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.2

¹ Aplicația de vizualizare a rezultatelor RPL2014. <http://recensamant.statistica.md>, 5 mai 2019

² Rezultatele Recensământului Populației și al Locuințelor 2014 (RPL2014) <http://statistica.gov.md/pageview.php?l=en&idc=479&>. 5 mai 2019

³ Ibidem

Table 1 shows that in 2014 compared to 2004 there is a decrease of 3.5 percentage points of those who declare their native language - the Moldovan language and a 7% increase in the number of those who consider their native language - the Romanian one.

Therefore, the comparative analysis of the statistical data contained in the latest 2004 and 2014 censuses tells us about an increase of 4.8% of persons that identify themselves as Romanians and 6.9% of those who say that their spoken language is Romanian. Although, during a decade of 2004-2014, as evidenced by the latest censuses of the population, there is an increase in the number of people who identify themselves as Romanians, this increase is not so significant. At the same time, the data contained in the statistics of the latest censuses can be the testimony of a trend that marks the political space in the Republic of Moldova at the present stage, hence it should be traced and carefully analyzed.

Taking into account that the latest population census took place in 2014, the evolution of the citizens' perceptions regarding the unification with Romania in the space between the Nistru and the Prut rivers during the last 5 years can be elucidated by analyzing opinion polls and indirectly by analyzing data of the last parliamentary and presidential elections that took place in the Republic of Moldova. The results of the sociological studies give us a large picture of the subject that we are interested in, providing us with a multitude of quantitative data, useful for qualitative analyzes covering a wide range of subjects: the attitude towards unification, the geopolitical vector of the country's development, the attitude towards some events that have marked the recent history, etc. We will analyze the data contained in surveys conducted by different survey houses for different customers.

Various aspects related to the topic of interest were addressed in the opinion polls conducted by the IMAS-INC Institute of Marketing and Surveys in Chisinau (IMAS). The identity issues contained in the "The freedom of being free. Conclusions after 25 years.", conducted by IMAS in July-August 2016 on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Moldova. The study was conducted on a sample of 1144 respondents with a margin of error of 3%. To the question "What is your your spiritual, soul home land?", only 4% answered Romania, 80% -

Moldova, and 11% - Russia or the former USSR (IMAS, 2016: 5). 54% consider that the Moldovan language is identical to the Romanian language, and 43% that Moldovan is a language separate from the Romanian language (IMAS, 2016: 6). "If it were 1991 now and you could choose between ... what would you choose?", 40% would choose the Republic of Moldova to become independent, 37% - the Republic of Moldova to become part of Romania, and 14% - the Soviet Union to remain (IMAS, 2016: 10). "How do you think the Republic Moldova will be in next 25 years? "- 8% - that it will be united with Romani (IMAS, 2016: 12).

To the direct question: "If a referendum takes place next Sunday (you would be asked to vote) regarding the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania, would you vote for or against?" - "I would vote for" said 13%, "I would vote against" - 54%, "I would not participate" - 9%, "I do not know, have not decided yet" - 19%, "Did not respond" - 5% (IMAS, 2016: 25). We note the fairly high percentage of those who would vote against the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania, we also observe the large number and the undecidations on this issue. At the same time, the votes of those who decided were equally divided - 41% each to the question "If you had to vote next Sunday between the European Union and the Customs Union, what would you choose?" (IMAS, 2016: 26).

Socio-political barometer data, made by IMAS over one year in July 2017, speak of an increase of up to 25% (increases by 12 percentage points) in the number of those who would vote for the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania, while the number of respondents who would vote against increases by 7 percentage points, constituting 61%. The number of undecideds decreases by 10 percentage points and represents 9% (IMAS, July 2017: 38). It should be noted that these results were recorded against the background of growing population discontent related to the banking crisis.

One of the most representative surveys conducted in the Republic of Moldova was the research entitled "ance" conducted by Lake Research Partners (USA) in partnership with IMAS at the order of the Democratic Party of Moldova. In the survey conducted between 1-14 April and 25 April - 7 May 2017, 12 322 respondents were questioned and the margin of error was only 0.89% (IMAS,

May 2017: 2). The respondents' views on the country's geopolitical vector of development, membership in NATO and, of course, at the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania are of interest for us. Thus, the ratio of the options "Moldova's accession to the EU" - "Moldova's accession to the Eurasian Economic Union" is 48 to 52, and of those that are against respectively 36 to 30. The accession of the Republic of Moldova to NATO is supported by 18 of those questioned, and 62% would vote against. As we can see, the accession of the Republic of Moldova to the North Atlantic Alliance is not supported by the majority of the population. Concerning the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania, 24% would vote for, and 65% of the citizens are against (IMAS, May 2017: 39). If we compare it with the previous surveys, we find during the years 2016-2017 a stable increase in the number of those who pronounce for the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania.

IMAS Company in November 2018 presented the results of a comparative study on the evolution of citizens' views on the issue of unification with Romania in the framework of 15 surveys conducted by the company between February 2016 and November 2018. Synthesizing the answers to the question: "If a referendum is held next Sunday (you would be asked to vote) on ... would you vote for or against?", the authors of the study obtained the following picture of those who pronounced for unification (IMAS, 2018: 47):

Table 2. Unification of Republic of Moldova with Romania

Feb. 2016	Apr. 2016	Jun. 2016	Aug. 2016	Sep. 2016	Oct. 2016	Nov. 2016	Mar. 2017	May 2017	Jul. 2017	Oct. 2017	Dec. 2017	Feb. 2018	Jun. 2018	Nov. 2018
21	20	21	19	20	22	22	27	25	25	27	32	25	28	23

The latest IMAS survey, conducted at the order of the Democratic Party of Moldova from 17 March to 5 April 2019 on a sample of 1110 respondents with a maximum sampling error of $\pm 3\%$, to the question " If a referendum is held next Sunday (you would be asked to vote) regarding the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania", the following answers were registered: 29% of the respondents said they would vote for, against 58%. (IMAS, 2019: 35).

The topic of the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania is also found in the polls conducted by the Institute of

Public Policies (IPP) within the Barometer of Public Opinion. In April 2017, the IPP shows dynamically the results of four surveys on the subject of the unification, conducted between November 2015 and April 2017 (IPP, 2017 April: 25). We synthesized the data presented in the following table:

Table 3. If next Sunday is a referendum on the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania, would you vote for or against the unification?

Survey time / respondents' answer (%)	November 2015	April 2016	November 2016	April 2017
I would vote for unification	19,20	17,30	15,60	23
I would vote against unification	54,70	66,10	63,80	58
I would not participate	8,60	4	8,10	8
I do not know, I have not decided	14,40	11,50	11,80	9
I do not answer	3,20	1,10	0,80	2

As we can see, the IPP survey, with some exceptions, in this case we refer to the November 2016 research results that differ by more than 6 percentage points, confirms the same trends as the IMAS surveys and those ordered by the IPP, recording by April 2017 an increase in those who would vote for unification. In the survey of November 2017, for the unification would vote 21.75 of those surveyed (IPP, Noiembrie 2017: 26) and in May 2018 24 percent (IPP, 2018: 83).

The theme of the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania as part of the geopolitical cleavage, which continues to determine to a large extent the political processes in the Republic of Moldova, has certainly been approached by the political formations. Thus, the subject of unification is also found in the programmatic documents of certain political parties and movements, while being completely ignored by other political parties. To begin with, we will analyze the programmatic acts of political parties and movements, which in 2009-2019, in one form or another, were represented in the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova.

The Liberal Party (PL) is one of the parties with parliamentary representation until the latest parliamentary elections of 24 February 2019. The program of the Liberal Party, adopted at the 2nd Congress of 24 April 2005, states that the main activity of the PL is "promoting liberal values for the democratization of society and our inclusion in the European family" (Programul PL, 2005: 1) and one of the main directions of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova is "the consolidation of bilateral relations with the neighboring states: Romania and Ukraine" (Programul PL, 2005: 13). As we can see, the 2005 PL program does not address the issue of unification. The subject of the unification is neither found in the statute of the PL, adopted at the same congress of the party on 24 April 2005.

In the political program of the Liberal Party, adopted at the 3rd Congress of 26 September 2010, is stipulated as one of the general political objectives of the PL "the accession of the Republic of Moldova to the EUROPEAN UNION and to the NORTH-ATLANTIC ALLIANCE" (Programul Politic PL, 2010: 2) Regarding the relations with Romania, in the program adopted in 2010 is also stipulated "the development of a European Strategic Partnership with Romania and valorisation of the Romanian knowledge and experience in the process of EU accession and the relations of this partner within the EU". The latest program of the Liberal Party, adopted in 2014, basically repeats the provisions stipulated in the previous program, the Moldovan-Romanian relations being approached in the context of the accession of the Republic of Moldova to the European Union and to the North Atlantic Alliance. In an annex to the PL Program, called "Principles of Reunification - the "Ghimpu" Plan" and published on the party's website, there is actually a detailed plan for the reunification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania after the "German model of reunification from 1989" (Principiile unificării, 2014).

Another party that played an important role in the social-political life of the Republic of Moldova in that period was the Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova (PLDM), which in the 2010 parliamentary elections obtained the votes of 29.42% of voters (32 mandates of 101) and in the 2014 parliamentary elections - 20.16% of the votes (23 mandates). The subject of the unification is not found among the strategic objectives of the PLDM, stipulated in the party's programs adopted in 2007 and 2011. Thus, the strategic objectives of

the party, which are included in the political program of the PLDM adopted at the 4th Congress of 10 April 2011, mention only the following: "Integration of the Republic of Moldova in the European and Euro-Atlantic area, returning to the European civilization and to the sense of the shared values" (Programul PLDM, 2011: 3). With reference to the foreign policy to be promoted, the 2011 PLDM program focuses on the following aspects: The PLDM considers it fundamental to promote mutually beneficial relationships and to build strategic partnerships with the EU, Romania, Ukraine, the United States of America and the Russian Federation. In this context, it is necessary to capitalize on the existing potential in the bilateral relations with Romania by intensifying the political dialogue and streamlining the multidimensional cooperation mechanisms, including through trilateral cooperation projects and the revitalization of cross-border cooperation." (Ibidem).

The Political Program of the Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova, adopted at the extraordinary 8th Congress of the PLDM of 9 September 9 2018, marks the change of the party's option regarding the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania. Thus, in the new PLDM Political Program referring to "PLDM Values, Principles and Objectives" it is mentioned that "PLDM accepts the desideratum of the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania as a natural expression of the ideal of its members." (Programul PLDM, 2018). It is worth mentioning that the repositioning of the PLDM leadership on the issue of unification took place in a rather complicated period for the party. By the year 2018, PLDM was no longer part of the arc of government, and several deputies, elected in the country's top legislative force on the PLDM list, left the faction of the Liberal Democratic Party in the Moldovan Parliament. Taking this into account, the change in PLDM's optics in the question of the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania needs to be addressed in the light of the challenges created by the new context that had grown towards the autumn of 2018. Accepting for the first time in the PLDM program the desideratum of Moldova's unification with Romania, was more probably part of the tactical arsenal of the political formation, applied out of the necessity of strategic repositioning of the formation in the new conjuncture created.

The Democratic Party of Moldova (PDM), as of January 2016, was the main political force, which had taken the act of government. In the programmatic document "PROGRAMMATIC OBJECTIVES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MOLDOVA", adopted at the 7th Congress of 16 June 2012, the following aspects were emphasized on the external relations dimension: "Promotion of a balanced foreign policy ensuring the image and interests of the Republic of Moldova in a regional context and globally, by integrating into the European Union and developing cooperation with CIS countries." (OBIJECTIVE PROGRAMATICE, 2012: 4).

On 21 October 2018, within a party event organized in the Great National Assembly Square, the Democratic Party of Moldova adopted the Commitment "PDM for Moldova" stipulating: "We will fully support the political orientation of PDM for Moldova." (Angajamentul, 2012). The adopted document also states: "We will continue to make efforts to implement the Moldova-EU Association Agreement and to maintain the Western model of Moldova's development. We are sure that this approach is the best solution for ensuring the welfare of Moldovan people. We urge the political class to move forward firmly in the implementation of the Moldova-EU Association Agreement and to establish the irreversibility of the modernization process of the Republic of Moldova" (Ibidem). Although the Commitment emphasized the implementation of the Moldova-EU Association Agreement, many observers spoke of a strategic change of the Democratic Party, focusing on its own forces.

Democratic Party leaders said in their speeches that since the Declaration of Independence, for 27 years in the Republic of Moldova there have been three directions to which politicians have tried to take the citizens. It is the European way, the Euro-Asian one and the reunification with Romania. Each of the directions had a certain support from the citizens, but, according to the speakers, Moldova had been waiting too much for someone to build its future: "We gathered together here to go together on the fourth path, a path that no one had the courage to start. It is the path towards Moldova, the path that leads to Moldovans, to solving the problems of the people" (PDM, 2018). This change was largely caused by the rather hostile position of the EU leaders against the PDM, which was at that time governing the Republic of Moldova, invoking the slow

pace of implementating the reforms, especially those related to the establishment of the state law and the fight against corruption.

The programmatic documents of the other two parties with parliamentary representation during the period 2009-2019 - the Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM) and the Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (PSRM) ignored the subject of the unification. At the same time, through their programs, these parties confirm their position on the political stage as state-focused political formations. Thus, the Communists' Program, adopted at the 6th Congress of 15 March 2008, proclaims PCRM "the only party of the independence of the Moldovan statehood and its multinational people" (Programul PCRM, 2008: 15). In its turn, the PSRM in the program, adopted at the Extraordinary Congress of 28 September 28 2014, "advocates Moldovan nationality and national identity" (Programul PSRM, 2014: 5).

A political force that has recently emerged in the political space of the Republic of Moldova is the Political Party Platform Dignity and Truth (PPPDA). In December 2015, a part of leaders from the Civic Platform "Dignity and Truth", set up in February 2015, established the basis for formation of Political Party "Platform Dignity and Truth" (PPPDA), through the renaming of an already existing party - the People's Force Party. The party's program, adopted at the 2nd Extraordinary Congress of the PPPDA of 5 February 2017, does not address the issue of unification. The relations with Romania are approached in Chapter XV "A BALANCED EXTERNAL POLICY", where among the priority directions in the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova is mentioned: "Strengthening the strategic partnership with Romania by deepening political, economic, commercial, cultural relations" (Programul PPPDA, 2017: 43).

The Action and Solidarity Party (PAS), formed in May 2016, in a relatively short time managed to capture the adhesion of many citizens. Thus, following the parliamentary elections of 24 February 2019, the PAS, which together with the PPPDA constituted the electoral bloc ACUM (NOW), obtained 26 mandates in the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova. The PAS Program, adopted at the Constitutional Congress of 15 May 15 2016, regarding the relations with Romania states the following: "We will strengthen relations with Romania, starting from the cultural and historical

affinities and the economic interests of the two states. We will count on Romania's support as a member of the European Union in the process of European integration. We will carry out joint projects in various fields, focusing in particular on: stimulating trade and investment, ensuring energy security by interconnecting gas pipelines and electricity networks to the EU ones, harmonizing national legislation with the *acquis communautaire*, solving a number of problems concerning environmental protection, promotion of tourism, promotion of renewable energy, development of joint projects in the field of education and culture." (PROGRAMUL PAS, 2016: 22).

Among the extra-parliamentary parties, the unionist option is found in the programs of a number of political parties. Thus, the National Liberal Party (PNL), in the program adopted at the 3rd Congress of 3 December 2011, assumes the promotion of the "Romanian Reunification Objective" (Programul PNL, 2011: 2). The National Liberal Party proposes to define the identity of the Republic of Moldova as the second Romanian state. The PNL program also mentions: "The party accepts the transfer of a part of the state sovereignty in the case of the formation of the Inter-State Union Romania-Moldova and of the EU accession as a first step towards the unification of the two states - Romania and the Republic of Moldova, which is the shortest way of integrating the Romanian territory from the left of the Prut river into NATO and the EU. The Party is campaigning for this goal by legal, peaceful, non-violent means, in accordance with the fundamental principles of democracy." (Ibidem: 7).

A formation that promotes the desideratum of unification is the National Unity Party (PUN), formed in February 2016 under the name of the "RIGHT" Political Party (PPD). In the program, adopted at the Constitutional Congress of 16 February 2016, the party's "reunification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania" is identified as the ultimate goal of the party (Programul PPD, 2016: 1). The PUN program also emphasizes that the reunification of the Romanian nation, a componential part of the European civilization and an integral part of the European Union, will ensure the harmonization of all political, economic, legislative and social segments of the Republic of Moldova and Romania.

The parliamentary elections of 24 February 2019 brought the win of the part declared pro-European. Together, the PDM (30

mandates) and the ACUM block (26 mandates) accumulated 56 mandates out of 101. Pro-unionist parties are not found in the new parliament. Some did not pass the electoral threshold (PL, PNL), others did not participate in the electoral campaign, urging its supporters to vote for the ACUM candidates.

Besides the political formations, the desire of the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania is promoted by various public organizations. Among the apolitical movements is the Association "Honor, Dignity and Homeland" (ODIP). On 27 March 2017, the ODIP Association becomes Unification Association. The change of the name was meant to highlight the objective of the Association - Unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania (Asociația ODIP, 2017). Today, this organization identifies the "UNIFICATION - ODIP" Association, a movement that aims to "educate a generation of young people who are able to bring a better future to others" and having as their primary purpose the UNIFICATION of the two states through the promotion of Romanian national values, patriotism and devotion to the COUNTRY, the involvement of young people through the activities that educate them and cultivate the spirit of patriotism and love for the nation" (Scopul UNIREA – ODIP, 2019).

The 100th anniversary of the Great Unification of 1 December 1918 occasioned a series of events under the aegis of the Centenary of the Great Unification in the public space the Republic of Moldova. Of these, a certain echo in society had the Congress for the establishment of the Country's Council 2 and the Unification Declarations signed by several mayoralities in the Republic of Moldova. The congress of establishing the Country's Council 2 with 1,700 delegates from all the districts of the Republic of Moldova took place on 27 March 2016. The Congress adopted a Roadmap for the reunification with Romania until 2018 and the subsequent steps to this act (Proclamația de constituire, 2016). Following the later work of the Country's Council 2, we find that most of the objectives adopted at the Constitutional Congress have not been reached.

On the occasion of the Centenary of the Great Unification, in Moldova the signing of the Declaration of Unification with Romania was signed by the mayoralities of the Republic of Moldova. Until 27 March 2018, this symbolic act was voted by some 140 mayors. (Primarii Unirii, 2018). During this period, the "Unification Through

Twinning" campaign became popular, when villages on both sides of the Prut river signed twinning agreements. Supported by the Congress of Local Authorities of Moldova, the Association of Romanian Communes, as well as the Romanian Towns Association, the mayors from the two countries met, established relations, partnerships and joint projects (Acordurile de înfrățire, 2019).

From the above mentioned, we can see that the subject of the Unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania has been omnipresent in the socio-cultural and political space of the Republic of Moldova since the declaration of independence until nowadays. The period 2009-2019 in the Republic of Moldova is characterized by a strong dynamics of political processes, which also influenced the attitudes of the citizens towards the Unification. The identity issue, inherited from the historical past, remains an important benchmark in analyzing the social and political processes in the Republic of Moldova at the present stage. The statistical data indicate a tendency to increase the identification of the population of the Republic of Moldova as Romanians, and the language spoken as "Romanian language". Sociological surveys reveal an increase in the pro-unionist perceptions among the citizens of the Republic of Moldova, which account for about one-quarter of the number of those questioned. The increase in pro-unionist tendencies made the unification's wish to be included in the programmatic documents of some political parties.

However, the unionist parties did not succeed in the parliamentary elections, which took place during the reference period, to make effective use of the growing unionist options of the citizens and materialize them as deputy mandates. From our point of view, the unionist option, as part of the geopolitical cleavage, belongs to the country's developmental vector: pro-east or pro-west. The unionist electorate is rather rational, in order not to scatter the vote, evaluating the possibilities for success of the electoral competitors, offered the vote for pro-European parties or candidates accredited with higher chances of accession in the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova.

After the events of June 2019, a new context was created in the political space of the Republic of Moldova. Elements of the Electoral Block ACUM - The Action and Solidarity Party and the Platform Dignity and Truth, which, in the campaign for the parliamentary

elections of 24 February 2019, declared their pro-Western orientation, created a parliamentary alliance with the Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova, pro-eastern one. On the other hand, the votes of the unionist electorate continue to be disputed by several political parties, which are not represented in the country's supreme legislative body. The evolution of events on the subject of the Union will largely depend on the ability to formalize unionist political formations into a unifying political entity, capable of capitalizing politically on the unionist choices of citizens.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acordurile de înfrățire au reunit românii de pe cele două maluri ale Prutului (2019), <http://tvr moldova.md/unire-prin-infratire/acordurile-de-infratire-au-reunit-romanii-de-pe-cele-doua-maluri-ale-prutului/>, 06.06.2019
- Angajamentul „PDM pentru Moldova” (2018).
<http://www.pdm.md/ro/angajamentul-pdm-pentru-moldova/>, 31.05 2019
- Asociația ODIP devine Asociația Unirea (2017),
<https://www.moldova.org/asociatia-odip-devine-asociatia-unirea/>, 06.06.2019
- Fruntașu Iulian (2002), O istorie etnopolitică a Basarabiei, Editura Cartier, Chișinău
- IMAS (2016), The freedom of being free. conclusions after 25 years,
[http://imas.md/pic/archives/5/\[imas\]%20the%20freedom%20of%20being%20free.pdf](http://imas.md/pic/archives/5/[imas]%20the%20freedom%20of%20being%20free.pdf), 24.05.2019
- IMAS (July 2017), Socio-politic barometer,
[http://imas.md/pic/archives/2/Prezentare%20\[bsp\]%20Iulie%202017_English.pdf](http://imas.md/pic/archives/2/Prezentare%20[bsp]%20Iulie%202017_English.pdf), 24.05.2019
- IMAS (May 2017), Public Perceptions of Government, Parties, and the Electoral System in the Republic of Moldova,
http://imas.md/pic/archives/3/Public%20perceptions%20in%20Republic%20of%20Moldova_May%202017_English.pdf, 24.05.2019
- IMAS (2018), Dinamica percepțiilor cu privire la mediul social, economic și politic, Republica Moldova [2016-2018], noiembrie 2018, [http://imas.md/pic/archives/13/\[imas\]%20dinamica%20perceptiilor%202016-2018.pdf](http://imas.md/pic/archives/13/[imas]%20dinamica%20perceptiilor%202016-2018.pdf), 26.05.2019

- IMAS (2019), barometrul socio-politic, Republica Moldova, aprilie 2019, [http://imas.md/pic/archives/19/\[imas\]%20barometrul%20socio-politic%20aprilie%202019.pdf](http://imas.md/pic/archives/19/[imas]%20barometrul%20socio-politic%20aprilie%202019.pdf), 26.05.2019
- IPP (2017, Aprilie), Prezentarea publică a rezultatelor Barometrului Opiniei Publice, aprilie 2017, <http://ipp.md/old/libview.php?l=ro&idc=156&id=820>, 27.05.2019
- IPP (2017, Noiembrie), Barometrul Opiniei Publice - Noiembrie 2017, prezentarea publică, <http://ipp.md/2017-12/barometrul-opi> 27.05.2019
- IPP (2018), Barometrul Opiniei Publice, Aprilie-Mai 2018, http://ipp.md/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/BOP_05.2018_sondaj.pdf, 27.05.2019
- Micu Gabriel (2011), Basarabia, România și geopolitica marilor puteri (1914-1947), Editura Pontos, Chișinău
- Principiile reunificării - planul „Ghimpu” (2014), <https://www.pl.md/slidepageview.php?l=ro&idc=630&t=/Documente/Programul-PL&>, 30.05.2019
- OBIECTIVE PROGRAMATICE ALE PARTIDULUI DEMOCRAT DIN MOLDOVA (2012).** <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/parties/pdm-program-2012-ro.pdf>, 31.05.2019
- PDM anunță o a patra cale de dezvoltare a țării, cea pro-Moldova (2018). https://www.ipn.md/ro/pdm-anunta-o-a-patra-cale-de-dezvoltare-a-tarii-cea-pro-moldova-7965_1044829.html, 31.05.2019
- Primarii Unirii. Declarația de Unire a Republicii Moldova cu România, semnată în 140 de localități (2018) http://stiri.tvr.ro/primarii-unirii--declara--ia-de-unire-a-republicii-moldova-cu-romania--semnata-in-140-de-localitati--i_829512.html#view, 06.06.2019
- Proclamația de constituire: SFATUL ȚĂRII 2 / Foaie de parcurs - Reunirea 2018, (2016), <https://www.timpul.md/articol/proclamaia-de-constituire-sfatul-arii-2---foaie-de-parcurs---reunirea-2018-90302.html>, 06.06.2019

PROGRAMUL Partidului Comuniștilor din Republica Moldova (2008), <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/parties/pcrm-program-2008-ro.pdf>, 02.06.2019

Programul Partidului Liberal (2005). Adoptat la Congresul II din 24 aprilie 2005. <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/parties/pl-program-2005-ro.pdf>, 30. 05. 2019

Programul Partidului Național Liberal (2011). Adoptat la Congresul III din 3 decembrie 2011. <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/parties/pnl-program-2011-ro.pdf>, 04.06.2019

PROGRAMUL PARTIDULUI POLITIC "DREAPTA" (2016), <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/parties/dreapta-program-2016-ro.pdf>, 04.06.2019

PROGRAMUL PARTIDULUI POLITIC „PARTIDUL ACȚIUNE ȘI SOLIDARITATE” (2016). <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/parties/pas-program-2016-ro.pdf>, 02.06.2019

PROGRAMUL PARTIDULUI POLITIC "PLATFORMA DEMNITATE ȘI ADEVĂR" (2017). <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/parties/pppda-program-2017-ro.pdf>, 04.06.2019

PROGRAMUL POLITIC AL PARTIDULUI LIBERAL (2010). Adoptat la Congresul III din 26 septembrie 2010. <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/parties/pl-program-2010-ro.pdf> , 30.05.2019

PROGRAMUL POLITIC AL PARTIDULUI LIBERAL DEMOCRAT DIN MOLDOVA (2011). <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/parties/pldm-program-2011-04-ro.pdf>, 30.05.2019

Programul Politic al Partidului Liberal Democrat din Moldova (2018), <http://pldm.md/2018/03/11/programul-politic/>, 30.05.2019

PROGRAMUL PARTIDULUI SOCIALIȘTILOR DIN REPUBLICA MOLDOVA (2014) <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/parties/psrm-program-2014-ro.pdf>, 02.06.2019

Scopul UNIREA – ODIP (2019), <https://odip.md/despre-noi/scopul/>, 06.06.2019

ROMANIAN CHILDREN IN RISK SITUATIONS

Ionuț Mihai OPREA *

Abstract. *The analysis of phenomena can be structured in the dimensions of social stereotypes and prejudices, attitudes and behavior of parents and acceptance of the phenomenon by children, the culture of inherited and replicated violence in children, family problems and personal problems, parents' dependence on vices, the pressure of poverty. The norms in the society have a high degree of family neglect and violence, the insufficiency and inefficiency of child protection services and insufficient and inadequate liability in cases of violence.*

Many parents have no concerns about how children should be properly educated, what are the effects of violence on children and how they could be their children if they were educated without violence. Many parents lack basic knowledge and skills of interpersonal communication and communication skills with children, respectively. The lack of information on positive and non-violent methods of child education as well as information on the consequences of child violence contributes to society's toleration of violence and family education with the use of forms of violence.

In this context, particular attention should be paid to the quality of the communication process between parents and children and, respectively, the use of all the technical means available to communicate with children not only on everyday subjects but also for discussing and deepening sensitive topics to ensure a higher degree of prevention and protection against specific risks of different ages of children.

Keywords: *children, risks, poverty, protection services, social assistance.*

Child abandonment is frequently encountered in contemporary society. The causes of abandonment are numerous, but the main cause is poverty. The small family income and improper living conditions make it difficult to provide a normal living and meet basic personal needs. For abandoned children, the Romanian protection

* Lecturer PhD, Head of Social Sciences Department, Faculty of Humanistic and Social Sciences, University of Oradea, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: oprea_ionut_mihai@yahoo.com

system has managed to make progress in this respect, giving children more opportunities such as day centers, maternity centers, placement centers, family placement and professional foster carers. All these services are designed to protect the child and the family in difficulty at one time. Abuse and neglect of the child, parental leave abroad and leaving children in the care of grandparents and child delinquency under the age of criminal responsibility are also more and more present situations nowadays requiring immediate intervention by the competent institutions.

Art. 4 of the Law no. 272/2004 on the protection and promotion of children's rights defines the terms of child, family and extended family. Thus, a child means a person who has not reached the age of 18 and has not acquired full exercise capacity, according to the law. The family is made up of parents and their children, and the extended family is the child's relatives up to the 4th grade inclusive.

Psychologists define the child as an innocent being from the first years of life to adolescence when he begins to develop his accumulated knowledge. Specialists argue that the child is an "incomplete" being, devoid of experience and the power to cope with society alone, being dependent on parents (Iovu, 2011: 89).

According to George Neamțu, the basic needs of the child are as follows:

The need for love and security - is activated immediately after birth, being characterized by affectivity. It is very important from birth because it helps the child to become self-conscious and to shape his / her own values. The love that parents receive from their parents is greatly emphasized regardless of the child's gender and personality. The need for security is closely linked to family relationships, protection from family members.

The need for new experiences - Through the ability to discover and explore the child as much as possible, new experiences accumulate. His interest in discovering what is new leads him to explore more, to learn and learn more.

The need for encouragement and appreciation - Teachers have an important role in developing their abilities, and this helps them understand the people they consider important to him and helps him become an adult.

The need for responsibility - School has an important role in this regard, each child is important to win and be recognized by others (Neamțu, 2003:62).

Thus, in a survey conducted in 2008, interviewed specialists integrated into the category of "children in difficulty": the vulnerable child, child abused child, labor exploited child, neglected child, child with health problems, dependent child, child without child parents, institutionalized child, childless child or whose schooling is endangered, child without access to education, child who does not have optimal living conditions, child not legally represented, child whose basic needs are not met, child "Home alone" (whose parents are going to work abroad), the child with alcoholic parents, the trafficked child, the child who has unpaired parents about family life, the abandoned child, the child whose growth needs cannot be met by parents (Irimescu et al., 2008:23).

Compared with families in traditional societies, the socializing function of the family has begun to be increasingly taken up in schools, cultural institutions, but also in other institutions. The family is the most important social institution. Socialization has a family advantage in that it is done in a climate of affection.

Family is a complex of roles and social statuses. Family couples relate to each other through their husband and wife roles. The preparation of family roles is based on norms, broadcast models. Family roles can be exercised in a multitude of forms: the husband can be tender, another authoritative, another plays a better role in educating the child, while the role of wife, mother can be a good housewife, and another to refuse to do the housekeeping, the child can be obedient, stubborn (Mihăilescu, 2007:114).

In the family, communication is one of the children's educational experiences. The way parents communicate with their children determines the education and some specific characteristics of it that are shaped as a style of communication, and also as an educational style. The concept of personality is a relative, uniform and stable pattern of behavior that individuals manifest and repeats in their activities. Family life, in particular, the experiences of learning directly and thoroughly, daily communication especially with parents, determines the formation of specific personality and styles: a) cognitive style as "an ensemble of particular ways of acquiring, storing, transforming and using information "and especially as a way

to understand situations and to seek solutions; b) affectional style as a "set of facets of personality highlighted by motivation, emotions, self-esteem. Family life, the family style of education implies mutual sharing of the affection (Ionescu, Negreanu, 2006: 62-63).

In the family, basic or primary socialization is achieved. The child learns that people have interests, desires, or other things that the other must take into account; they learn to share the necessary and limited resources such as food, housing, affection, learn how to behave, learn how to act for you achieve a goal or a desire. Family socialization of the child is essential for its social integration. Familiarization failures in the family have negative consequences both at community level and in society (Mihăilescu, 2007:98).

"One of the fundamental aspects of the child's situation (especially in times of economic crisis) is its economic standard - on the one hand analyzed by vulnerability to poverty (understood as the inability to consume basic goods and services) and on another part is the effective access of relevant services and goods to this age from educational consumption to toy or recreation "(Buzducea, 2013:59).

The impact of poverty on the child

Children's poverty differs from that of adults by having childhood causes, and the impact of poverty can have opposite effects on minors. Poverty has a shorter impact on children than on adults due to their vulnerability due to age and adult addiction. Childhood poverty can cause cognitive and physical efficiency for the rest of life when children are permanently deprived, and this perpetuates the vicious circle of poverty transmitted from one generation to the next (Stănculescu, Marin and Popp, 2012).

In Romania, about 3.8 million children under the age of 18 (3.2 million 0-14 years old, INS data on January 1, 2012) were living in 2012, living in 3.2 million households. Most children were part of complete nuclear families (58% of households with children) or multigenerational households including grandparents and / or other relatives, with or without parents (36%). The other children lived in single-parent families, which accounted for around 6% of all households with children. Irrespective of the method of estimating poverty, children and young people in Romania have the highest poverty risk among all age groups. In their case, the depth of poverty is greater. Of the households with children, the highest risk of falling

into poverty is constantly: rural households, 25-44-year-olds with low education, low-skilled adults, account workers personalities, day-laborers, informal workers, unemployed, Roma, as well as atypical forms of family: single-parent families, consensual unions (Stănculescu, Marin and Popp, 2012:15).

The category of children coming from immigrant households generally enjoys good living conditions. However, their economic vulnerability is determined by strong reliance on remittances. When these are irregular, reduced or absent, the household may fall into poverty. Usually, it is a temporary poverty that makes the experience of growing far away from parents even worse, which in any case causes emotional disturbances. More or less the lack of parental care and supervision also has effects on quality and school outcomes (Stănculescu, Marin and Popp, 2012:20).

Child abandonment is a painful reality in today's society. The risk factors that lead to abandonment are: "the death of parents, the lack of contraceptive education, the indifference and lack of parental responsibility, the medical or psychological problems of the parents and the child, children infected with HIV or AIDS, the society / community opinion towards illegitimate children , single-parent families, families with more than 4 children under 10, families who do not have the support of their relatives, members of the community who are discriminated against from ethnic point of view; these factors can act together or separately "(Malai et al, 1999, p.2).

Poverty is considered one of the causes of child abandonment. The small income of the family and improper living conditions make it difficult to lead a normal living standard and satisfy the basic personal needs. The absence of these conditions makes survival of family members impossible. Lack of income and employment endangers the family, which can lead not only to the abandonment of the child but also to the fact that one of the spouses leaves the family. Another factor that could be the cause of abandonment is the poor health of the parent. At this stage the family can not afford the cost of care, treatment or, in more serious cases, hospitalization. All these aspects, poverty, lack of housing, physical condition and unemployment represent a risk of abandoning the child, making it impossible to provide the necessary living needs (Botezatu, 2011:29).

Vulnerable situations

Doru Buzducea considers that "in a risk situation we understand every circumstance that may endanger the state of health and the normal development of the child" (Buzducea, 2013, p.245) and includes in the category of children actually "in multiple risk situations, in various vulnerable situations (...): children separated from the family, children in abuse, neglect, exploitation, children with disabilities, children with parents working abroad, Roma children, children living with HIV / AIDS, children and adolescents drug users "(Buzducea, 2013, p.11).

The consequences of abandoning the child are very important. Abandonment or aggression can be manifested in different forms, starting with the dissimulated abandonment, in which the parents behave as if the child did not exist, neglected, paid no attention, the child was rejected, and his needs development is ignored, until the physical abandonment, the moment one of the parents leaves the child or in the case of divorce considers him an obstacle to the formation of his new family. This is the last situation we encounter in the case of pregnant girls who are left behind by their partners and parents, having great difficulty in raising and educating the future child. The abandonment includes a diverse range of behaviors ranging from inappropriate feeding to the child, lack of concern for health.

Abandonment is the most serious form of neglect of the child. According to a 2005 UNICEF study, "the abandoned child is that child whose biological parents give up responsibility for caring for and satisfying the child's basic developmental needs physically separated from it before this responsibility is taken over by an authorized institution ". Abandonment may occur immediately after the child's birth or at any time during his or her development after having previously spent a period of time in the family. Subsequently, the child is entrusted to state protection institutions, which have the role of taking over parental responsibilities and supporting child development.

The child shapes his relational style according to the stable patterns he has observed within the family, mainly provided by his mother and father. In the situation of the abandoned child, he no longer benefits from classic, familiar socializing models, but from some formal, institutional type. The child experiences delays in physical and emotional development, lack of maternal heat, insecurity generated by "being nobody", causing emotional

imbalances and underdevelopment in the physical plane. The child has a sense of guilt, can not explain why he was abandoned by his parents, and in the absence of this explanation, he comes to think that something is wrong with him, that he is guilty and because of his faults the parents have given up to him (Dumitriu, 2008:16). Child maltreatment is not a new phenomenon nor can it be associated with a certain historical period. Over time, the children were killed, beaten, abandoned, sometimes forced to practice cultural practices, sometimes simply because of the pathology of their parents. Unfortunately, until recently the modern society refused to recognize the scale and gravity of this social problem (Dâmboeanu, 2009:22).

In the family, child abuse is committed by family members, those in whom the child trusts, those responsible for raising and caring for them. The designation of family behavior as abuse or neglect depends on a number of social and cultural factors. In a society, behavior is considered abusive if it goes beyond the usual community standard. In Romania, beating a baby or a slap is considered punishments given by parents (Neamțu, Stan, 2005:51).

Physical abuse can have physical, neurological repercussions and can lead to illness, fracture, disability, and even death. Aggressive behaviors, emotional problems, and behavioral problems are also common. Depending on the context in which the physical abuse occurs, it may be in the family, at school, in foster care, on the street, even in society. Emotional abuse has long-term repercussions on child development, mental health, behavior and self-esteem. Sexual abuse is most often recognized by aggressive behaviors, depression and behavior inappropriate to the age of the child. The severity of the impact is even greater as the abuse has a longer duration and intensity, the higher the child's age, if there is a threat or coercion (Grădinaru, Stanculeanu, 2013:69).

The consequences of child abuse are either direct consequences, namely burns, contusions, wounds, multiple fractures, sleep disorders, behavior, depression, or consequences on child development such as behavioral disorders, decreased school performance, decreased cognitive ability or long-term consequences ie blockages in relations with others, negative emotional behaviors, difficult communication (Ancuța et al., 2005:20).

Between January and March 31st, 2017, according to data provided by the National Authority for the Protection of Children's

Rights and Adoption, the total number of children left at home was 97,841, of which 18,846 are from families in which both parents go to work abroad, 66,054 families in which a parent is working abroad and 12,941 families in which the sole parent is working abroad (ANPDCA, 2017). The positive effects of migration are related to the well-being of children whose parents are abroad. In most cases, the migration of parents leads to an increase in the living standard of the child left at home. As is also stated in other studies, foreign income is largely used to improve living conditions and household endowment with durable goods. On the other side of material welfare, migrant children, especially those with both parents, tend to have a greater experience of traveling abroad than other children. In addition to the positive effects, there are also negative effects such as the departure of one of the parents, which in some cases causes deterioration of the relationship between the child and the parent left in the home. Thus, for those with their father abroad, the share of children who do not have a very good relationship with their mother is higher than in other cases. Family is the main source of support for children when faced with a problem, especially if the issue is related to school.

Conclusions

The problem of child separation is a fairly common phenomenon that has major consequences for the minor.

According to the above, the causes of separation of the child from the family are many, the main cause being poverty. Low income levels can cause great difficulties in family functioning and cause child abandonment in the absence of the necessary conditions for childcare and care. Other causes commonly encountered in practice are: parental leave abroad, divorce, death of one of the parents, domestic violence, parental alcoholism, negligence.

Even though for the family the decision to abandon the child is the only option he feels good for raising and educating children, parents are not aware of the consequences of separation on the minor. The institutionalization of children after the death of one or both parents causes a shock in the lives of children and this shock will remain in their memory for the rest of their lives.

The role of the family in the minor's life is very important in raising and educating the child. It is important to know that a child in the protection system does not benefit from the need for affection and

love. The long-term effects of institutionalization are serious, affecting the child's self-esteem, creating a feeling of rejection on the part of society. The problems of integration, socialization, communication, formation and development of inter-human relationships, family formation, and finding a job are the difficulties faced by young people coming from the child protection system. Most of these young people need support, they need a system to help them. Of course, we do not always find institutionalized young people in need of specialized help, situations when young people are doing their own, having a job, a home, and a family.

The problem of separation of the child from the family will remain a phenomenon that will persist in the future in the context of maintaining the main causes. "Preventing child separation" means the support of the family in crisis situations, including by social services in the field of child protection. To prevent child separation, measures related to parenting, community support, youth education, the development of family-type centers, where the child has the opportunity to grow in an environment of harmonious development, would be necessary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ancuța M., Cănilă A., Constantin M., Moisii G., Tătărașanu M., Toma C., (2005), *Stop violența în familie. Cunoaștere, prevenție, intervenție*, Editura Lumen, Iași.
- Botezatu C.E, (2011), *Strategii de prevenire a abordării copiilor de către familii*, Editura Polirom, Iași.
- Buzducea D., (2013), *Copii și tineri în situații de vulnerabilitate*, în D. Buzducea (coord.), *Economia socială a grupurilor vulnerabile*, Editura Polirom, Iași.
- Crăciunescu C., M., (2015), *Protecția Copilului cu Părinții plecați la muncă în străinătate (Child Protection with Parents Leave). Impactul transformărilor socio-economice și tehnologice la nivel național, european și mondial*, disponibil pe https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2670472, consultat la data de 20.07.2019.
- Dâmboeanu C., (2009), *Forme și particularități ale abuzului fizic săvârșit de părinți asupra copiilor*. *Revista Română de Sociologie*,

- disponibil pe <http://www.revistadesociologie.ro/pdf-uri/nr.5-6-2009/03 C. Dâmboeanu.pdf>, consultat la data de 01.07.2019.
- Dumitriu C., G., (2008), *Efectele abandonului –Nou născuți.ro*, disponibil pe www.nou-nascuti.ro › Ghidul Parintilor, consultat la data de 15.07.2019. (salvaticopiii.ro/upload/p00010011-Conferința-Națională-Copii-Singuri-Acasă.pdf)
- Grădinaru, C., Stănculeanu, D. (2013), Abuzul și neglijarea copiilor. Studiu sociologic la nivel național Organizația „Salvați copii București, disponibil pe http://www.salvaticopiii.ro/upload/p0002000100000002_Studiu%20-%20abuzul%20si%20neglijarea%20copiilor.pdf, consultat la data de 15.07.2019
- Ionescu M., Negreanu E. (coordonatori), (2006), *Educația în familie, repere si practici actuale*, Editura Cartea Universitară, București
- Iovu M.-B., (2011), *Maltratarea copilului în familia din România. De la teorie la practică*, Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca.
- Irimescu G., Stan D., Cojocaru M., Pitea M, (2008), *Copii în dificultate. Studiu comparativ Iași-Chișinău*. Revista de cercetare și intervenție socială nr.22, pp.27-44 disponibil pe www.rcis.ro/images/documente/rcis22_02.pdf, consultat la data de 22.07.2019.
- Mihăilescu I., (2007), *Sociologie generală, concepte fundamentale și studii de caz*, Editura Universitară, București.
- Neamțu G., (2003), *Tratat de asistență socială*, Editura Polirom, Iași.
- Rădulescu M. S, (2012), *Reglementări legislative cu caracter internațional și național vizând prevenirea abuzului sexual asupra copiilor precum și protecția acestora*, Revista Română de sociologie, nr.1-2, disponibil pe www.revistadesociologie.ro/pdf-uri/nr.1-2-2012/01-Radulescu.pdf, consultat la data de 18.07.2019.
- Stănculescu, M. S. (coord.), Marin, M., Popp, A. (2012), *Copil în România. O diagnoză multidimensională, raport realizat pentru UNICEF*. <http://www.unicef.ro/wp-content/uploads/Copil-in-România-O-diagnoză-multidimensională-2012.pdf> consultat de data de 20.07.2019.

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE TEACHING

Laurian Fitzgerald SIMONA*
Fitzgerald CARLTON JAMES**

Abstract. *As the world has become more integrated teachers have the responsibility to teach in a way that makes students more responsible and aware of the diversity that exists in the world. Teachers have to help students realize that there are multiple ways to look at how people should live and interact with each other. If we are to live in a world that is more and more diverse and complex, people have to learn how to get along. Students have to be taught that diversity is the natural cause of life, that cultural, religious, political, philosophical and egotistical views of the world will do nothing but continue to create conflict throughout Europe and the rest of the world. The paper presents ideas for educators to use to help their students be prepared to deal the realities of a diverse world.*

Keywords: *culturally responsive teaching, diversity, student interaction*

1.1. Introduction

A colleague is fond of saying, "After all has been said and done; a lot more has been said than done." In thinking about educational reform, her saying makes a great deal of sense. Many people in the field are sick and tired of living in the next great reform movement. People like Charles Payne (2008) and Sir Ken Robinson (2017) tells that a great deal of educational reform has occurred, but very little has changed in educational systems around the world. Our schools still follow the Industrial Revolution model of education, preparing students to become factory and service workers (Robinson, 2017; Sousa, 2017). Wagner (2014; 2016) advises that even our best

* Associate professor, University of Oradea, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: mmonalaurian@yahoo.co.uk

** Adjunct professor, New England College, Henniker, USA, E-mail: cfitzgerald@yahoo.com

schools continue to fail in training our students in the critical thinking and collaboration skills our students will need when they graduate from school. Even worse, Robinson (2017) indicates that too many schools continue to drive creativity, imagination, the love of learning, and independent thinking out of our students. Preble and Gordon (2011) remind us that if we are serious about helping our students be engaged in their education, then educators and schools must facilitate the development of student voice. Albert Einstein supposedly said something like, “Insanity is continuing to do the same things expecting different results.” He was correct, and what education is doing in too many places today is insane.

Paulo Freire (1994), the famous liberation education guru, explains that schools either integrate youth into the present system and bring about conformity, or they become the practice of freedom where youth learn to think critically and creatively to discover how to transform their world. Education is supposed to be the great equalizer, the agency that lifts up all people to be successful citizens in a democratic society. Unfortunately, for way too many students, education has been one of the largest agents of conformity (Freire, 1993; Hammond, 2015; Preble and Gordon, 2011; Robinson, 2017). Despite all of the reforms efforts for the past twenty-five years or more, education has failed to remove the gaps in education for students of color, students of poverty, minority students, inner city students, etc.). Hammond (2015:12) believes schools have created an “epidemic” of dependent, low level thinkers who are unprepared to do the critical thinking and problem solving they will need in their future world.

So, how do schools become bastions of freedom, creativity, critical thinking, and collaboration where students take charge of their learning, and teachers mentor and guide students to reach goals that student set for themselves (Caine, 2018; Laurian-Fitzgerald & Fitzgerald, 2018)? Robinson (2017) believes education has to be transformed, not reformed, from what it is today to something very different. In this new educational system, students are placed at the center of the teaching and learning process; not test scores, not curriculum, not teachers, not special interest groups, not politicians – students.

Laurian-Fitzgerald and Fitzgerald (2018: 7) developed 10 elements for instructors to consider when attempting to create

student-centered educational experiences. Their student-centered elements include:

1. constructivist activities,
2. metacognitive reflections,
3. student and professor partnerships,
4. collaborative/cooperative efforts,
5. authentic assessments,
6. active and on-going student engagement in the work to learn,
7. explicit teaching of important skills,
8. student control of at least some of their learning,
9. peer and professor/teacher feedback, and
10. learning based, to a large extent, on student effort.

To get there, educators must determine that the gaps that exist today must be removed. In order to do so, Robinson (2017) believes educators must change their assumptions about teaching and learning. He believes educators must remove their assumptions about conformity and the one-size-fits-all teaching and assessment present in to many schools today and replace them with assumptions of student power and freedom (Freire, 1993). The following goals are worth consideration:

1. All students need to learn.
2. Close all gaps: social, achievement, equity, standard of living, health care.
3. Give every student a voice.
4. Make invisible students visible.

Hammond (2015) believes the education for the future should be engaged in culturally-responsive teaching. The world is getting to be more and more interactive and interdependent. More problems/issues in our world are becoming multi-national issues (e.g., trade, the environment, immigration, health, etc.). More and more young people will need an understanding of diverse cultures both in their business lives and in their personal decision-making (Wagner 2014; Davidson, 2017). Ravitch (2016) believes education must change to help students understand diversity and use it to make the world a better place. Culturally-responsive teaching offers hope for the future.

1.2. Culturally-Responsive Teaching (CRT)

Culturally Responsive Teaching (CRT) is a pedagogy that recognizes the importance of including students' cultural references in all aspects of learning (Ladson-Billings, 1994). This process is not just a way to help students from different cultures feel accepted in their classes. CRT is more than a motivational tool, culturally responsive teaching is a serious and powerful tool for accelerating student learning. It is a mindset that helps teachers to think about and organize instruction for great flexibility in teaching and learning (Hammond, 2015: 3).

1.2.1. CRT Teacher Characteristics

According to The Education Alliance (2019: 7), teachers who teach according to CRT principles display the following characteristics:

1. Positive perspectives on parents and families,
2. Communication of high expectations,
3. Learning within the context of culture,
4. Student-centered instruction,
5. Culturally mediated instruction,
6. Reshaping the curriculum,
7. Teacher as facilitator.

Teachers employing the CRT philosophy attempt to change the status quo by not accepting old biases about different kinds of students (e.g., students of color, students who do not speak the main language of the country, minority students, students of poverty, students with special needs, students who are socially underdeveloped, etc.). The first job of CRT is for the teacher to take inventory on oneself for implicit and hidden biases, in order to be open, accepting, and hopeful for all students. CRT educators believe all people are equal, and there are multiple ways to view the world.

CRT teachers fully respect and celebrate every student. If teachers believe each of their students is special, then it will naturally follow that understanding the cultural background of each student is important. One of the important goals is to have every student understand all of the different cultures in their classroom. In schools in which there is little diversity, the teachers will have to venture outside of their classroom to accomplish the diversity goals. Teachers also must be courageous, because there are groups in every

community that fear understanding different people. They do not want schools teaching their students about diversity or openness of thought, and some will rebel against schools that teach acceptance. Stay strong.

Using the CRT process means that teachers understand that the curriculum must be more inclusive. All people have to be represented in the curriculum. All children should see people who look like them in the curriculum. Teachers have to be willing to add to and change how the curriculum is presented so all children feel represented. These changes should be based on the goals, needs, interests, and talents of students. Teachers can no longer allow biased curricula to rule the day. They must be willing to challenge the status quo and bring their students not the second half of the 21st century.

1.2.2. CRT Areas of Practice

According to Hammond (2015) there are four areas of practice for CRT teachers: 1. Awareness, 2. Learning Partnerships, 3. Information processing, and 4. Community building. Teachers must first be aware of the cultural differences of students and the world. In order to change bias, teachers must be aware of their personal implicit biases and institutional biases that keep so many students out of successful educational careers. Second, teachers are responsible to create positive and strong learning partnerships between the teacher and the students, and among students. Part of the process of creating strong educational partnerships is creating effective ways for teachers to become student mentors. This process must be student-centered. This implies that students must be engaged in complex learning experiences (Caine, 2018).

Third, according to Sousa (2017) for students to learn deeply they must process what they are learning, how they learn, and how to generalize what they learn. CRT teachers develop, implement, and monitor active student processing of learning. Fourth, according to Sousa (2017) the emotional aspects of learning are critical for learning in general, and for deep learning in particular. Teachers own the educational setting (Fitzgerald and Laurian, 2013), and teachers are the people who are responsible for setting a positive, student-centered environment. This safe environment has to be set up to support students emotionally and academically.

Teachers must be willing to think and do things differently, if they want to help students feel accepted and celebrated and to give students the authority, responsibility, and mentoring they will need to become independent learners who are going to be prepared for the world in which they will live after graduation. Integrating culture into teaching is an ongoing process, not a single event. Students need to see their cultural identities on a regular basis. Females need to see themselves as mathematicians, scientists, and engineers, and males need to see themselves as teachers, nurses, and designers. People of color need to see themselves as part of the daily fabric of their nation.

CRT is not only good for the students who have different minority cultures, it is good for everyone. The more students learn about different cultures, the more prepared they will be to be able to work internationally in their careers. When students learn to celebrate diversity, the better prepared they will be to solve real-world problems in positive ways. The future of the world will be shaped by the next generation of students, and how well prepared they are to work with diverse people will determine, in large part, whether or not people live in more harmony, or in more conflict.

1.3. Levels of Culture

According to Hammond (2015) there are three levels of in which teachers and students should venture: 1. Level 1 includes the things we can easily see in different cultures – food, dress, religious ceremonies, music, holidays, etc. 2. Level 2 includes the unspoken rules or norms of a culture – attitudes about the elderly, marriage, courtesy, friendships, time, eye contact, non-verbal communication, etc. Level 3 includes the deeper concepts connected to culture – core beliefs, worldview, assumptions, ethics, spirituality, etc.

From these levels one can see how it takes time to grow to understand different cultures. Students cannot understand different cultures deeply unless they get to spend time interacting with and thinking about different cultures. This is why CRT is more than a few lessons or superficial exposures to cultures. The idea of cultures and diversity must be integrated into daily lessons and experiences, if students are to understand deeply what diversity is and diversity can make the world a better place.

For example, a look at two archetypes for cultures might help out this into perspective for teachers. There are cultures that are more

independent focused and there are cultures that are more collectively orientated (Hammond, 2015). A collectivist culture might display the following characteristics:

1. Relationships – to get things done, this kind of culture relies on interpersonal relationships for help.
2. Interdependence – the feeling that people need each other to be successful.
3. Cooperative Learning – working in small groups or teams is seen as vital in school and in careers.
4. Group success – the success of the group is more important than the success of an individual.
5. Collective wisdom & resources – people share their ideas, experiences, and physical resources (e.g., finances, health care, etc.).
6. Take care of each other – the expectation that people take care of the relatives, the elderly, neighbors, and friends.
7. Harmony/Group dynamics – the goals of the group are more important than individual goals; showing respect to the group is important.
8. Relational philosophy – this philosophy looks at interpersonal relationships and groups norms as vital to being a good person.

On the other hand, a more independent culture might display the following characteristics:

1. Individualism – people are expected to take control of their own lives.
2. Independence – people are responsible for their own success, and not worry about the success of other people.
3. Self-reliant learning – people are expected to get the job accomplished through their own initiatives; they do not rely of others for success, and they are not responsible for the success of other people.
4. Individual achievement – Individual accomplishments are more important than team success.
5. Individual knowledge & status – One's status is determined by one's knowledge and accomplishments; when working on a team, the goal is to learn all one can, not to contribute to the other team members.

6. Winner takes all – The goal is to win; there are always winners and losers.
7. Competition – Success is built on the ability to compete against others and to outdo everyone else.
8. Competitive philosophy – This philosophy believes that life is competitive and to be successful, one must win more times than one loses.

Naturally, these two archetypes show very different ways of approaching life, including school life. Students who have been told their entire lives that life is a competition often struggle with the idea of interdependence when working with their peers in groups. Alternatively, students, who have been taught that life is about relationship building, often struggle with the notion that they are supposed to compete against their peers in learning. It is important for teachers to understand which archetype has influenced their students. Of course, it is important to teach all students how to work independently, how to work cooperatively, and how to work competitively, because, in the real world, they will be faced with each of these three interaction patterns. Teachers should prepare their students to be successful using each philosophy or strategy. That will occur best if teachers know where their individual students are at the beginning of the process.

1.4. Where Do I Begin?

There is a great deal here about which to contemplate, so where do I begin? As the song says, “Look in the mirror.” All teachers have to think about who they want to be as teachers. So, the first place to begin is with oneself. Every person has implicit biases, because each one has grown in a culture that has influenced them in different ways – some positive and some negative. Each one has learned many positive things from their cultures, and each has learned some things that are biased. It is vitally important for each teacher to look inside to find their implicit biases. It is only when teachers face their own biases that they can begin to address them. The good news is that each one of us is capable of identifying and changing those biases. Thus, step one is to find and change our biases.

The second step might be to be comfortable with who we are and to accept that everyone is just a human that has strengths and weaknesses. But, within us, all have the talent, intelligence, goodness,

and good heart to become the kind of teachers we want to be. If teachers accept their humanity and take one day at a time to improve step-by-step, we will change the educational world. As the mindfulness people say, “Live in the moment.” Give yourself credit for your efforts and move as slowly as you must to gain positive ground.

Step three might be to build the courage to talk about difficult issues like sexism, racism, classism, etc. That might begin with talking with trusted friends, and it might lead to developing ways for students to address some of these issues in class in very positive ways. For example, teachers might work with students with the idea that all people are equal by talking about girls and boys. Lessons might include pictures of girls and boys and/or women and men doing the same kind of work (doctors, teachers, presidents, CEOs, etc.). Teachers might make sure all of the students are represented in pictures in their learning (different cultures, races, religions, etc.). Students can begin to learn that when they say all people are created equal, we mean ALL THE PEOPLE.

Step four might be to think about how to work with every individual student positively, constructively, and individually. This includes making sure one knows the cultural backgrounds of students, as well as their emotional, social, and academic profiles. Maybe move a little more into student-centered notions of teaching and learning. Continue the cool things you already do, and add one more tool to your repertoire. As part of that process, try to make space for alternative explanations. Develop scenarios where students will develop different ideas in their work. Then have the students share those ideas openly and freely, in a safe environment.

Finally, make a commitment to yourself and your students to become more culturally responsive for all students. Read articles and books and review videos about CRT. Maybe create a goal for oneself where you want to be in six months from the day of your commitment. Write a letter to yourself. In your letter, congratulate yourself on your courage to become more culturally responsive and set a goal that is realistic for yourself. Put the letter in a stamped self-addressed envelope, give it to a trusted friend, and tell that person to mail to you on a specific date. When you receive your letter, assess how you have done, and then make your next plan.

Each person, of course, can develop one’s own model to follow. These are just some ideas about which to think. The most

important thing is to become conscious about the ideas of CRT. Once teachers become aware and think about what is best for students, the rest will become history. Teachers know how to develop awesome and complex experiences for their students, and adding in more variety for the sake of diversity will soon become a way of thinking about teaching and learning. Let the fun begin.

1.5. Conclusions

Each person who reads this article will draw their own conclusions. Here are four conclusions from the authors, just to help people develop some more ideas. Hopefully, people will develop their own and share them with colleagues. These are just food for thought:

1. We can no longer afford to have some students succeed and some students fail.
2. We need all of the skills and talents that our students have the potential to amass.
3. Peace, love, and cooperation are the best ingredients for prosperity of spirit, quality of life, and political well-being.
4. Teachers have all of the talent, skills, and intellect to lead the way.

Thank you for all you already do for your students. What you do makes a huge difference in their lives. Hopefully, some of these ideas will help you to be even more successful with your students.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Caine, G. (2018), *Making Connections between e-learning and natural learning*, in C. Fitzgerald, S. Laurian-Fitzgerald, & C. Popa (Eds), *Handbook of research on student-centered strategies in online adult learning environments*, PA: IGI Global, Hershey
- Davidson, C.N. (2017), *The new education: How to revolutionize the university to prepare students for a world in flux*, NY: Basic Books, New York
- Freire, P. (1993), *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, NY: Continuum, New York

- Fitzgerald, C. & Laurian, S. (2013), *Caring our way to more effective learning*, in *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 76 (2013) 341–345. Available online at www.sciencedirect.com
- Hammond, Z. (2015), *Culturally responsive teaching and the brain: Promoting authentic engagement and rigor among culturally and linguistically diverse students*, CA: Corwin, Thousand Oaks
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994), *The dreamkeepers*, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishing Co., San Francisco
- Laurian-Fitzgerald, S. & Fitzgerald, C. (2018), *Student centered learning in undergraduate preservice teachers*, in *The European proceedings of social & behavioural sciences*. Presented at EDU WORLD 2018 The 8th International Conference.
- Payne, C. (2008), *So much reform, so little change: The persistence of failure in urban schools*, MA: Harvard Education Press, Cambridge
- Preble, W. K. & Gordon, R. (2011), *Transforming school climate and learning: Beyond bullying and compliance*, CA: Corwin, Thousand Oaks
- Ravitch, D. (2016), *The death and life of the great American school system: How testing and choice are undermining education*, NY: Basic Books, New York
- Robinson, K. (2017), *Out of our minds: The power of being creative*, United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., Chichester, West Sussex
- Sousa, D. A. (2017), *How the brain learns* (5th ed.), CA: Corwin, a Sage Publishing Company, Thousand Oaks
- The Education Alliance (2019), *Teaching diverse learners*. *Brown University*, Retrieved from <https://www.brown.edu/academics/education-alliance/teaching-diverse-learners/strategies-0/culturally-responsive-teaching-0>
- Wagner, T. (2014), *The Global Achievement Gap: Why Even Our Best Schools Don't Teach the New Survival Skills Our Children Need and What We Can Do About It*, NY: Basic Books, New York
- Wagner, T. [Fairfax County Public Schools] (2016, August 9), *Tony Wagner 2016 Leadership Conference Speech* [Video File], Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QbaFyBFC6Jw&list=PLSz76NCRDYQGIC-imN_VkJXmMjSsyS5FF&index=4

IMAGES OF ROMANIAN JEWISH COMMUNITY REFLECTED IN THE NEWSPAPER “ADEVĂRUL”

Anca OLTEAN*

Abstract. *Jewish Community in Romania has become a much debated topic in the Romanian Journals after the demise of communism in Romania, after several decades of absence of the Jews from the Romanian public space. The articles found in the online archive of the Romanian journal “Adevărul” dated especially from the last 5-6 years bring in front of the Romanian readers a community deprived from its rights and some times deported during the Second World War, and also a surviving community (what was left from deportations and emigration) of a small minority which still develop their activities in the framework of the Jewish community, of the Sinagogues, of their memorial places, being also represented as a national minority in Romanian Parliament. The journal “Adevărul” underlines fragments of their contemporary dayly lives but also notices and keeps records of anti-Semite reactions and false perceptions relative to Jewish community. The article intends to take the pulse of the public view of this community and to offer a few explanations when needed.*

Keywords: *Jews, community, press, minority, image, Romania*

The present articles brings into analysis interesting details from the life of Romanian Jews in XIX, XX and XXIth centuries emphasizing, especially, the dramatic years of Holocaust with the deportations and the deprivations of rights of the Jewish community from Romania and NV of Transylvania. The newspaper “Adevărul” furnishes a lot of information on the Jewish issue, remarking through objectivity and variety of topics approaching different facets of the Jewish presence in economy, society, culture, religion and history.

* University of Oradea, Faculty of History, International Relations, Political , Science and Science of Communication, Institute of Euroregional Studies, Universităţii str, no. 1. E-mail: olteananca@hotmail.com

The analysis focuses on articles of the newspaper “Adevarul” from the years 2013-2019.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” from January 31, 2019, it was published the article “Plutonierul major erou pentru evreii din Huși “Toți suntem oameni și fiți siguri că aceste vremuri vor trece” (“The hero-officer for the Jews from Huși <<We are all people and be sure that these times will pass>>”). The article describes the situation of the Jews in the Moldavian village (Huși) with 5000 of Jews, representing 1/3 of the population of the city at that time (Holocaust years). They were deported to Tutova county in the locality of Bogdana where they heard a speech about tolerance and 12 of the Jewish group succeeded to escape from the accusation that they were communist party members. Later on they arrived in the concentration camp of Târgu Jiu.

In the newspaper “Adevărul”, from November 21, 2018, it was published the article “Deputatul Silviu Vexler: E grav și periculos când arunci agresiv, în public, cuvintele pe care nu le înțelegi cu adevărat” („The deputea Silviu Vexler: It is severe and dangerous when you throw out aggressively, in public, words that you don’t fully understand”). The deputea Silviu Vexler is leader of the Jewish Communities of Romania in Romanian Parliament and draws the attention on the new waves of anti-Semitism by recalling the vandalization of the Memorial House of Elie Wiesel from Sighetu Marmăției. Other violences mentioned by the author are the destroyal of funeral monuments from the Jewish cemetery from Bucharest. It is underlined the bilateral contemporary relations between the German Democratic Forum and Jewish Community.

In the newspaper “Adevărul”, “News-București”, from November 10, 2018, it was published the article “Mauriciu Blank, bancherul care a susținut cu bani Războiul de independență. Comuniștii i-au dezgropat oasele din cavoul din Băneasa” („Mauriciu Blank, the banquer who sustained financially the independance war. The communists took off his bones from the grave from Băneasa”). The Jewish community from Romania dedicated to the Marmoroș Blank Bank Director, Mauriciu Blank, a funeral monument in the Filantropia cemetery, in Bucharest. He lived in the XIXth century and he had studies in Vienna and Leipzig, commerce and finances. Since 1869, he became partner with Marmorosch at Marmoroș Blank Bank. He was involved in other branches of the economy such as

forestry, insurances, oil commerce, member in the council of administration of Resita uzines, trams businesses. He had a son, Aristide Blank who opened branches of Marmoroș Blank Bank in Paris, United States and New York. He created the firm of international transport “Air France”.

In the newspaper “Adevărul”, May 24, 2018, the author Borcea Ștefan publishes the article “Ce a mai rămas din comunitatea evreiască din Focșani “În 1896 erau șase sinagogi și 25% populație evreiască”. (“What was left from the Jewish Community from Focșani “In 1896 there were six synagogues and 25% of the population were Jews”). In Focșani, 80 years before, it was living in Focșani one of the most numerous Jewish communities summing up 6000 of Jews. They had been living in Focșani since XVIIth century. They were working like tailors, silver manufacturers, clock makers, commerce. At the beginning of XXth century, they represented already 25% from the total population of the city. It was a center of Zionism where it was founded the organization the daughters of Zion. The Jews from Focșani massively emigrated in Israel in the communist years, in 1949 and 1950-1951.

In the newspaper Adevărul, from 19 March 2018, it was published the article “Cine se încălzește pentru funcția de ambasador în Israel. PSD pregătește un nou val de consuli. Dăncilă a ordonat evaluări rapide “E scuză pentru emigrări” (“Who gets warmer for the function of ambassador in Israel. PSD prepares a new wave of councillors. Dăncilă commanded rapid evaluations <<It is an excuse for emigrations”) by the author Sebastian Zachmann. Diplomatic sources declared that Social Democrat Party has two options for the job of Romanian ambassador in Israel, namely Monica Gheorghită, state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cătălin Dancu, counsul of Romania to New York. Monica Gheorghită graduated the Faculty of Law of the University of Bucharest, has a master at SNSPA and a doctorate în military science at SRI Academy. The other option was Cătălin Dancu, lawyer of many politicians and controverted political leaders. He received in 2014, the decoration “Dr. Filderman – Reword for merit”.

In the newspaper Adevărul, from February 3, 2018 (News Timișoara), it is published the article „FOTO Unul dintre cele mai remarcabile monumente arhitecturale din Timișoara intră în renovare” („PHOTO one of the most remarkable architectural

monuments from Timișoara enters in renovation”) by the author Ștefan Both. The Sinagogue from the fortress built during 1862-1865, by the plans of the architect Ignaz Schumann from Vienna will be renovated. The representatives of the Jewish Community from Timișoara said that they will begin the works in order to restaure the Sinagogue from the Fortress, on Mărășești Street. The Jewish Community from Timișoara is grateful to President dr. Aurel Vainer, Deputee Silviu Wexler, director Rudy Marcovici. The Jews of Timișoara elected Mrs. Friedman as the chief of the local community.

In the newspaper *Adevărul*, from December 31, 2017, the author Costel Crângan writes the article “Dramatica istoria a comunității evreiești din zona Dunării de Jos: au fost motorul progresului dar aproape că au dispărut”. („The dramatic history of the Jewish community from the area of Lower Danube: they were the engine of progress but they almost disappeared”). Alexandru cel Bun who enacted in October 1408 a document that expelled the sellers from Lvov from vama taxes. In Galati they were attested, during the times, 4 Jewish cemeteries and several sinagogues. There were attested Sinagoga mare, Sinagoga Croitorilor (1826), Sinagoga Habad (1846), Sinagoga Blinzer (1847), Sinagoga Blecher (1847), Sinagoga Dolingher (1854), Sinagoga Fierarilor (1856), Sinagoga Merarilor (1858), sinagoga Birjarilor (1860), Sinagoga Caritas (1871), etc.

In the newspaper „*Adevărul*”, from November 27, 2017 it was published the article “Sinagoga de la Alba Iulia, cea mai veche din Transilvania, redeschisă după cinci ani de lucrări de restaurare” („The synagogue from Alba Iulia, the oldest from Transilvania, opened again after five years of works of restoration”). In Alba Iulia, it was open the oldest Sinagogue from Transilvania, the first construction made of stone constructed in this areal. The Jewish Community from here received funds of 300 000 of dollars for the restauration of this building. Restauration works started since 2012. The synagogue was affected by humidity, because it was a swamp of a terrain. The synagogue is one of the oldest in the country. In 1938, a bomb exploted during the religious service. Several people were ingered.

In the newspaper “*Adevărul*”, from June 6, 2017, it was published the article “Wizz Air reînnoadă legăturile dintre evrei și regiunea Banat. Zboruri directe pe ruta Timișoara-Tel Aviv” („Wizz

Air restarts the connections between the Jews and the Banat region. Direct flights on the route Timișoara-Tel Aviv”) by the author Ștefan Both. The low cost company Wizz Air announced the introduction of a new direction of flight on the International Airport “Traian Vuia” from Timișoara, on the way to Tel Aviv (Israel) starting with October 30. By the Jewish Community, Banat has historical ties with Israel, declared the director of the Airport Timișoara, Daniel Idolu. Thus, they will exist two flights/weekly between Timișoara and Tel Aviv, on Monday and on Friday. The tickets can be reserved online, asserts the article.

In the newspaper „Adevărul”, from May 25, 2017 at the chapter News from Alba Iulia, it is published the article “Anii negri ai comunității evreiești din Alba: rație de 150 de grame de pâine pe zi, deposedați de firme și proprietăți” („The black years of the Jewish community from Alba: ratio of 150 grams/day, deprived by firms and properties”), written by Dorin Țimoneu. The article describes the issue of anti-Jewish measures taken against the Jewish population after the years 1940. It was a dark time when the Jews were persecuted. The Jews had a ratio of bread of 150 grams/daily. The Jewish owners lost all their property. They had to work in a field they were not paid for.

In the newspaper „Adevărul”, at the rubric Culture-Books from August 26, 2016, it was taken an interview to Andrei Oișteanu in the square of Alba Iulia “Antisemitismul supraviețuiește evreilor” (“The anti-Semitism survives to the Jews”) by Simona Chițan. At the festival “Dilema veche” from Alba Iulia, the writer Andrei Oișteanu will hold a lecture about the Jewish community from Romania. Each evening, the two scenes from the square of the university and in the interior courtyard of the military institution, they will place concerts (world music, jazz, rock, blues, traditional music, and classical). Andrei Oișteanu will be invited in October to Jewish museum from Brussels with a lecture “The Jews from Romania in the European context”

In the newspaper “Adevărul”, at the rubric Culture-Books, from June 12, 2016, it was published the article “Came out under authors’ rights “Mein Kampf” of Hitler proliferates in Europe more than in the years ‘30. Curiosity, information or neonazism?” by the author Doinel Tronaru. The Italian newspaper of right wing orientation “Il Giornale” proposed under the device “know in order

to reject” the lecture of the books *Mein Kampf*, which was lately published in Germany without obligatory explanations. An edition commented by researchers of the book *Mein Kampf* was published at the beginning of January in Germany, after which the author’s rights reached a matter of the public domain. A small editor from Leipzig proposed the selling of the paper “*Mein Kampf*” of Hitler without the obligatory annotations. This happened in January 2016, in Bavaria, asserts the author Doinel Tronaru.

In the newspaper “*Adevărul*”, at the rubric *News of Timișoara*, from April 30, 2016, it is mentioned that the Jews of Timișoara are celebrating the end of the Easter: “The faith of Pesah brings memories of the poor life of the Jews in the Egyptian slavery”. The author Stefan Both says that while the Orthodox Christians are celebrating the resurrection of Hristos and of the first day of pesah, the small community of Jews from Timișoara are ready for the end of the Easter. The author wants to explain how it was celebrated de Jewish Easter (pesah)? Namely by two evenings of Seder pesah, by prayer, by eating azima or matzah. The Easter pesah reminds the sad slavery of Jews under the Egyptian yoke. Pesah is thus, an act of liberation, the Jews left from Egypt and returned in the country of their forefathers, says the author.

In 15 January 2016, the journal “*Adevărul*” published the article “The number of Jews who moved from Western Europe in Israel increased in 2015”. This fact was caused by anti-Semite attacks and, in this context, the Jews of France are in danger, asserts the article. Over 9800 of Jewish citizens, asserts the article, emigrated in Israel in 2015 and, among them, 8000 of Jews come from France. Everywhere in Europe (in countries like France, Belgia, Denmark), the Jews faced conflicts with the extremist Muslims.

In the newspaper “*Adevărul*” from December 6, 2015 there is an article written by Stefan Both entitled “The Jews of Timișoara celebrate Hanuka: which is the signification of menora?”. The article asserts that at a sinagogue of Josefin quarter it was celebrated the beginning of the feast of Hanuka, a traditional feast of the Jews where everyday it will be light up candel in the Jewish house. Labour is prohibited in the days of Hanuka. This feast is not to be found in Torah, asserts the author. It was created much more later.

In the Journal of “*Adevărul*” from Moldova from April 3, 2015 it was published the article “Comunitatea evreiască din Chișinău

sărbătorește Pesah” („The Jewish community from Chișinău celebrates Pesah”). Pesah is a Jewish feast that last 8 days and is a feast of the spring, symbolizing the liberation of Jews from Egyptian slavery. The message of Pesah is, in the opinion of the author, to bypass the “boundaries”, the limitations.

In the newspaper “Adevărul”, in News of Târgu Mureș from February 2015, it is published the article „*FOTO Sinagoga sau “Templul Mare”- înflorirea și decăderea comunității evreiești din Mureș*”. „(*FOTO The Synagogue or the “Big Temple” – the rise and decadence of Jewish Community from Mureș*”). In the center of the city Târgu Mureș, shows the author, there is an impressive Synagogue, one of the most beautiful from Transylvania. The Jewish community from Târgu Mureș decreased from 25 000 of Jews in 1900 to 2000 in present times. The Jews were for the first time attested in Târgu Mureș in 1682, asserts the author. The Jews from Târgu Mureș represented in 1740 the second Jewish Community from the country and had a beneficial influence in the development of the city. They used to work in branches such as industry, printing house, commerce, banks.

In the newspaper “Adevărul”, News from Cluj-Napoca, from January 16, 2015 the author Florina Pop publishes the article “Sărbătoare mare în comunitatea evreiască din Cluj <<ultima<<primire de lumină>> s-a întâmplat acum 80 de ani”. (“Great celebration in the Jewish community from Cluj <<the last receiving of the saint light>> happened 80 years ago”). The author underlines that, on the street Liszt Ferenc, it was a little synagogue where in these days took place a great Jewish celebration, namely that it was brought, after a time of 80 years, a saint book of Torah from Jerusalem.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” at the page International – in the world from January 14, 2015, it is published the article “*Intensificarea antisemitismului în Europa după atentatele din Franța îngrijorează SUA și comunitatea evreiască*” („*The intensification of antisemitism in Europe after the attacks from France worries USA and the Jewish community*”). The article reveals that the presidency of the United States expressed its concern for the rise of antisemitism in Europe and France. An event come to confirm this, in a shop of Paris with Jewish merchandises they were taken hostages Jews and 4 people were killed. The article asserts that

approximately a half of the Jewish community from UK is afraid to live there. The Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, after the attacks from France, invited the Jews to settle in Israel.

In the newspaper “Adevărul”, section Moldova Social from July 22, 2013, it is published the article *FOTO Evreii vor avea o casă nouă. Clădirea sinagogii din centrul Chișinăului va fi reconstruită/ FOTO The Jews will have a new house. The building of the Sinagogue from the centre of Chișinău will be rebuilt*. The article was signed by Victoria Dodon. The author wanted to show that the former synagogue from Chișinău is today a ruin. Most synagogues from Republic of Moldova that existed at the beginning of XXth century were destroyed or ruins today. The present synagogue from Chișinău from the street rabbi Țirieson is in an advanced deterioration today. The Jews from Chișinău received in 2010 funding to restaurate the building.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” from 22 May 2013 it is published the article of Nadina Neamțu with the title “Angela Merkel a primit premiul iudaismului european” (“Angela Merkel received the prize of European Judaism”). This prize was granted to Angela Merkel by the Conference of European rabbis and by the Jewish Community from Belgium, asserts the author. She received this prize because she is a promoter of fairness, tolerance and respect for dignity, asserts the author.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” from April 11, 2013 relating from the city of Galați, the author Marius Mototolea asserts that in the interwar period existed 17000 of Jews in Galați and today are only 140. The Jews of Galați represented in the interwar period the fourth Jewish community from Romania as numbers. The present-day Jewish community from Galați is formed by elders, the children and young adults are exceptions. The author makes a description of the setting of Jewish community in the city of Galați as a porth at Danube, being very involved in commercial activities. They lived in the place since the time of Alexandru cel Bun and Ștefan cel Mare. After the Second World War, partly because of the emigration, their number decreased considerably.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” it is published the article “Comunitatea evreiască din Capitală, sufletul comerțului pe Lipscani și la Obor, în secolul al XIX-lea. Cum se distrau evreii bucureșteni altădată” (“The Jewish community from Bucharest, the soul of the

commerce on Lipscani and Obor. How were the Jews from Bucharest having fun in the old times”) by the author Cristina Răduță. The author asserts that in Bucharest, at the beginning of XIXth century, it existed a consistent Jewish community formed from carpenters, engineers, commercials, doctors and this Jewish minority was the soul of commerce. In present days, in Bucharest, they are merely a few thousands of Jews. In Bucharest had been living together at the beginning of the XXth century diverse ethnic communities. They were to be found in the area of Obor and Lipscani, having small businesses. The Jews from Bucharest are attested since the XVI century by the school books, concluded the author. The Jewish quarters were destroyed by the dictatorial leader Nicolae Ceaușescu, says the author Cristina Răduță. In the XIXth century, relates the author the road Calea Văcărești and the head of Calea Dudești remains the heart of the Jewish quarter. They were also Jews in Bucharest that were very poor who used to live by selling old clothes or as tailors. Also the area of Dâmbovița was another frequented quarter of the Jews, an areal destroyed by the communist leader Nicolae Ceaușescu, tells Cristina Răduță. After the demolishments from communist times, remained in Bucharest very few sinagogues.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” from Iași, from April 11, 2013 the author Ionuț Benea publishes the article “Cum s-a pierdut în istorie comunitatea evreiască din Iași” (“How it was lost in history the Jewish community from Iassy”). In Iassy, the capital of Moldova, they are living presently 200 of families of Jews. In 1657 there was built the first sinagogue from Iassy, situated in the areal of Târgul Cucului, asserts the author Ionuț Benea. In the XIXth century, the Jews from Iassy started the fight for civil rights while the community of Romanians from Iassy were against the Jewish emancipation. In the interwar period, tells the author, in the city of Iassy existed 35 000 of Jews and, during the pogrom of Iassy, 13 000 were killed.

In the newspaper „Adevărul” from April 11, 2013, at the domain of News from Cluj-Napoca, the author Florin Pop publishes the article “Mihai Viteazul, primul domn care a unit Țările Române, a luat măsuri împotriva evreilor din ordinul împăratului de la Viena” (“Mihai Viteazul, the first voevod who united the Romanian countries took measures against the Jews because of the order of the Emperor from Vienna”). The author asserts that the Jewish community from Cluj Napoca is one of the biggest Jewish

communities from Transylvania. In 2013, the number of Jews residents in Cluj Napoca is only 400, concludes the author. The author draws the painting of the Jewish community from Cluj Napoca country in the medieval and modern epoch. After 1867, the Jews regain their civil rights and it follows from them a period of great development that ended when the Holocaust began.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” from April 11, 2013 at the chapter News from Târgu Mureș, the author Alexandra Ramadea publishes the article “Galerie Foto Istoria evreilor din Târgu Mureș. O comunitate unită care și-a construit sinagogă și școală din fonduri proprii”. (“Photo Galery. The history of Jews from Târgu Mureș. An united community who built its school and sinagogue from public funds”). The author asserts that the Jewish community from Târgu Mureș was an important community, among the Jews being many sellers, they used to help each other and they built a sinagogue close to the city center. During the Holocaust 7700 of Jews were deported from Targu Mureș, and 5900 of them never returned home again, asserts the author. The main sinagogue of Târgu Mureș, asserts the author, was build in eclectic style according to the plans of the architect Jakob Gärtner from Vienna. The Jews had built in Târgu Mureș their own school on Plutașilor street.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” from April 11, 2013 at the domain *news from Vaslui*, the author Ionuț Bălăban publishes the article “Povestea evreilor din Vaslui, o comunitate răpusă de cel de-al doilea război mondial” (“The story of the Jews from Vaslui, a community defeated by the Second World War”). The author asserts that the city of Vaslui had lived in the past a Jewish community in full development, namely a third from the total population were Jews. In 1943, in Vaslui, the Jewish community summed up 13 000 of Jews. The Jews from Vaslui contributed to the economic development of the city, having in administration often diverse small shops. 90% of the pharmacists were Jews in the interwar period and they had also two hospitals “Drăghici” and “Israelit”, tells the author Ionuț Bălăban. They created at the beginning of XXth century, the school “Assey Tov” that together with the Israelite hospital were nationalized later on by the communists, asserts the author.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” from April 11, 2013, the author Dana Mihai writes the article “FOTO Comunitatea evreiască din Ploiești, o istorie de peste trei secole” (“PHOTO The Jewish

community from Ploiești, a history of more than three centuries”). In the city of Ploiești, it exists a synagogue Beth Israel and a community of Jews, quite small. Before the Second World War, asserts the author, in this city they were still living 10 000 of Jews. The remaining Jews who inhabit today the city are no more than 50. The Jews settled in Ploiești starting with the beginning of XIXth century, considers the author. Proves of Jewish presence in Ploiești are the synagogue from Basarabi street and the Jewish cemetery from North of the town.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” from April 11, 2013, written by Ștefan Borcea, in the article “Foto: Evreii din Focșani, mulți au fost, prea puțini au mai rămas” (“Photo: The Jews from Focșani, they were a lot, very few remained in the place”). The author asserts that 70 years ago, the Jewish community from Focșani was very strong and represented 10% of the population of the city of Focșani. They were attested in Focșani during the XVIIth century. In 1896, asserts the author, the Jewish community from Focșani had 6 synagogues. In modern times, the Jews were involved in the economic life of the city. Before the Second World War, the community had 5 schools, a kindergarden, a highschool with 20 teachers. After the Second World War, it followed two waves of massive immigration in 1949 and 1950-1951 and the Jewish population of Focșani was reduced to a half. The actual community of Jews from Focșani is reduced today to a merely 60 persons and 3 synagogues are still in use.

In the newspaper “Adevărul” from April 11, 2013, at the section News from Oradea, it is published the article “FOTO Istoria controversată a evreilor. Sinagogle din Oradea reabilite cu bani europeni” (“PHOTO The controversial history of the Jews. The synagogues from Oradea rebuilt with European money”). The author states the fact that if today there are several Jewish synagogues stands as a prove that once, the Jewish Community was in a continuous process of development in Oradea. During the last years, the authorities got involved in their restauration, mainly by accessing European funds. The Orthodox synagogue from the street Mihai Viteazul, was the first restaured Jewish synagogue from the city of Oradea. This synagogue was built by the engineer Ferenc Knapp according to the plan of the architect Nandor Bach. It is covered with a cloth of protection painted as in Austria, Poland or France, asserts the author. The synagogue Zion through a partnership between the

mayor of the city of Oradea and the Jewish community of Oradea followed to be renovated, a project already accomplished nowadays. This synagogue (neologue) was built by the Jewish neologue community in 1878.

The newspaper “Adevărul” presents in its pages images from the life of Jewish community in XIX, XX and XXIth centuries, focusing on their dramas and achievements, providing a lot of unknown details about their existence. The above mentioned articles successfully completes the history of Romanian Jews in contemporary and modern epoch, with objectivity and moderate views.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alin Ion (2019), „Plutonierul major erou pentru evreii din Huși <<Toți suntem oameni și fiți siguri că aceste vremuri vor trece>>” (“The hero major lieutenant for the Jews from Huși <<We are all people and be sure that these times will pass”) in “Adevărul”, January 31, 2019, <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Bălăban, Ionuț (2013), “Povestea evreilor din Vaslui, o comunitate răpusă de cel de-al doilea război mondial” (“The story of the Jews from Vaslui, a community defeated by the Second World War”), in “Adevărul”, April 11, 2013, <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Benea, Ionuț (2013), “Cum s-a pierdut în istorie comunitatea evreiască din Iași” (“How it was lost in history the Jewish community from Iași”), in “Adevărul”, April 11, 2013, <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Borcea, Ștefan (2018), “Ce a mai rămas din comunitatea evreiască din Focșani <<In 1896 erau șase sinagogi și 25% populație evreiască>>” (“What was left from the Jewish community from Focșani <<In 1896 there were six synagogues and 25% of Jewish population>>”) in “Adevărul”, May 24, 2018, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Borcea, Ștefan (2013), “Foto: Evreii din Focșani, mulți au fost, prea puțini au mai rămas”, in “Adevărul”, April 11, 2013, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.

- Both, Ștefan (2018), “FOTO Unul dintre cele mai remarcabile monumente arhitecturale din Timișoara intră în renovare” (“Photo One of the most remarkable architectural monuments from Timișoara enters into the renovation”), in “Adevărul”, February 3, 2018, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Both, Ștefan (2017), “Wizz Air reînnoadă legăturile dintre evrei și regiunea Banat. Zboruri directe pe ruta Timișoara-Tel Aviv” in “Adevărul”, June 6, 2017, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Both, Ștefan (2016), “Evreii din Timișoara se află la finalul Paștelui: <<Sărbătoarea de Pesah ne aduce aminte de viața amară a evreilor în robia egipteană>>” in “Adevărul”, April 30, 2016, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Both, Ștefan (2015), “Evreii din Timișoara sărbătoresc Hanuka: care este semnificația sfeșnicului cu opt brațe” (“The Jews of Timișoara celebrate Hanuka: which is the significance of the ...with eight arms”) in “Adevărul”, December 6, 2015, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Chițan, Simona (2016), “Interviu cu Andrei Oișteanu, în cetatea de la Alba Iulia <<Antisemitismul supraviețuiește evreilor” (Interview with Andrei Oișteanu, in the square of Alba Iulia <<Anti-semitism survives to the Jews>>), in “Adevărul”, August 26, 2016, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Crângan, Costel (2017), “Dramatica istorie a comunității evreiești din zona Dunării de Jos: au fost motorul progresului, dar aproape că au dispărut” (“The dramatical history of the Jewish community from the areal of Lower Danube: there were the engine of the progress, but they almost disappeared”) in “Adevărul”, December 31, 2017, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Doclon, Victoria (2013), “Evreii vor avea o casă nouă. Clădirea sinagogii din centrul Chișinăului va fi reconstruită” (“The Jews will have a new house. The building of the synagogue from the centre of Chișinău will be rebuilt”) in “Adevărul”, July 22, 2013, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.

- Mihai, Dana (2013), “FOTO Comunitatea evreiască din Ploiești, o istorie de peste trei secole” (“PHOTO The Jewish Community from Ploiești, a history of more than three century”), in “Adevărul”, April 11, 2013, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Mototolea, Marius (2013), “Comunitatea evreiască din Galați se stinge lăsând în urmă o istorie strâns legată de dezvoltarea orașului de la Dunăre” (“The Jewish community from Galați ends its existance, slowly, leaving behind a history strictly related by the development of the city from the Danube”), in “Adevărul”, April 11, 2013, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Neamțu, Nadina (2013), “Angela Merkel a primit premiul iudaismului european” (“Angela Merkel will receive the prize of European Judaism”), in “Adevărul”, May 22, 2013, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Pop, Florica (2015), “Sărbătoarea mare în comunitatea evreiască din Cluj. Ultima <<primire de lumină>> s-a întâmplat acum 80 de ani” in “Adevărul”, January 16, 2015, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Pop, Florina (2013), “Mihai Viteazu, primul domn care a unit Țările Române, a luat măsuri împotriva evreilor din ordinul împăratului de la Viena”(“Mihai Viteazu, the first man who united the Romanian countries, took measures against the Jews at the decision of the emperor from Viena”) in “Adevărul”, April 11, 2013, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Ramadau, Alexandru (2013), “Galerie Foto Istoria evreilor din Târgu Mureș. O comunitate unită, care și-a construit sinagogă și școală din fonduri proprii” (“Photo Galery The history of the Jews from Târgu Mureș. A united community who built a sinagogue and school from proper funds”), in “Adevărul”, April 11, 2013, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Răduță, Cristina (2013), “Comunitatea evreiască din capitală, sufletul comerțului pe lipscani și la Obor, în secolul al XIX-lea. Cum se distrau evreii bucureștiului altădată” (“The Jewish community from the capital, the soul of the commerce on Lipsyani and Obor, in the XIXth century. How the Jews from older times had

- fun”), în “Adevărul”, April 11, 2013, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Țimonea, Dorin (2017), “Anii negri ai comunității evreiești din Alba: rație de 150 de grame de pâine pe zi, deposedați de firme și proprietăți” (The Black years of the Jewish community from Alba: ratio of 150 grames of bread/dayly, deprived by firms and properties”, in “Adevărul”, May 25, 2017, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Tronaru, Doinel (2016), “Teșit de sub drepturile de autor “Mein kampf”-ul lui Hitler proliferază în Europa mai ceva ca în anii ’30. Curiozitate, informare sau neonazism?” (“Came out under the rights of author <<Mein kampf>> of Hitler prevails in Europe more than in the years ’30. Curiosity, information or neonazism?”) in “Adevărul”, June 12, 2016, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- Zachmann, Sebastian (2018), “Surse: Cine se încălzește pentru funcția de ambasador în Israel. PSD pregătește un nou val de consuli. Dăncilă a ordonat evaluări rapide <<E scuză pentru epurări>>” în “Adevărul”, March 19, 2018, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- ***(2018), “Deputatul Silviu Vexler: E grav și periculos când arunci agresiv, în public, cuvinte pe care nu le înțelegi cu adevărat” (The Deputee Silviu Vexler: It is problematic when you throw away aggressively, publicly, words that you don’t really understand”), in “Adevărul”, November 21, 2018, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- *** (2017), “Sinagoga de la Alba Iulia, cea mai veche din Transilvania, redeschisă după cinci ani de lucrări de restaurare” (“The sinagogue from Alba Iulia, the oldest from Transylvania, re-opened after five years of works of restauration”), in “Adevărul”, November 27, 2017, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- *** (2018), “Mauriciu Blank, bancherul care a susținut cu bani Războiul de Independență. Comuniștii i-au dezgropat oasele din cavoul din Băneasa” (“Mauriciu Blank, the banker who financially supported the War of Independance. The communists opened his grave from Băneasa”), in “Adevărul”, November 10, 2018, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.

- *** (2016), “Numărul evreilor care s-au mutat din Europa de Vest în Israel a crescut în 2015” (“The number of the Jews who moved in Western Europe from Israel raised in 2015”) in “Adevărul”, January 15, 2016, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- *** (2015), “Comunitatea evreiască din Chișinău sărbătorește Pesah” (“The Jewish community from Chișinău celebrates Pesah”), in “Adevărul” Moldova, April 3, 2015, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- *** (2015), “FOTO Sinagoga sau “Templul Mare” – înflorirea și decăderea comunității evreiești din Mureș” (“PHOTO Synagogue or <<The Big Temple>>”- the rise and fall of the Jewish community from Mureș”), in “Adevărul”, February 23, 2015, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019 .
- *** (2015), “Intensificarea antisemitismului în Europa după atentatele din Franța îngrijorează SUA și comunitatea evreiască”, în “Adevărul”, January 14, 2015, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.
- *** (2019), “FOTO Istoria controversată a evreilor. Sinagogile din Oradea reabilitate cu bani europeni” (FOTO The controversial issue of the Jews. The synagogues from Oradea rehabilitated with European money”, în “Adevărul”, April 11, 2013, in <https://adevarul.ro/cauta/?terms=evrei>, accessed in March, 2019.

MULTIPLE EXCLUSIONS: CIVIC AND POLITICAL DISENGAGEMENT OF VULNERABLE YOUTH IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Marius Ioan TĂTAR*
Dan APĂTEANU**

Abstract. *Declining levels of youth participation in conventional politics raise concerns about the future of representative democracies. Based on statistical analyses of public opinion survey data, this paper examines youth civic and political disengagement as symptoms of social exclusion. Our findings point out that vulnerable young people living in the European Union face the risk of multiple exclusions that mutually reinforce each other: from the labor market, from education and from the democratic life of their societies. Thus, youth who are neither in education, nor in employment or training (NEET) also tend to be the most politically marginalized group of young people in the European democracies. Acknowledging the interplay between various dimensions of youth social exclusion provides valuable theoretical, methodological and policy insights for reducing youth marginalization and breaking the vicious circle that perpetuates it.*

Keywords: *social exclusion, young people, education, employment, political participation*

1. Introduction

An increasing number of studies show that the overall decline of electoral participation across Europe mainly concentrates among the youth (Sloam 2014, Ekström and Sveningsson 2019, Grasso 2018, Briggs 2017). This raises concerns about the future of representative democracies. A common interpretation of the low

* PhD, Lecturer in Political Science, University of Oradea, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: mariustatar@yahoo.com.

** PhD, Assistant Lecturer in Political Science, University of Oradea, Oradea, Romania, E-mail: danapateanu@yahoo.com.

levels of electoral turnout among young voters is that they are apathetic and part of a generation which does not care about political issues (Cammaerts et al. 2014). This perspective is largely supported by generational theories arguing that during their formative years, young people will face socio-economic and political conditions different enough from those faced by the previous generation (Woodman 2016) and these conditions are likely to influence young people's feelings and attitudes towards politics across their life course. Similarly, the life-cycle perspectives contend that young people are at a life stage in which they are not well established in society, they are more mobile and have other priorities than politics, such as continuing education, finding a job or establishing a family, and therefore they have lower stakes in participating in the political process (Garcia-Albacete 2014, Jaime-Castillo 2008). Both generational and life-cycle theories offer a rather fragmented and incomplete perspective on youth political disengagement. If generational approaches are correct then youth disengagement is likely to remain a persistent feature of the current generation of young people. On the other hand, the life-cycle perspective presumes that once young people will become adults, they will get more engaged into politics simply because they will enter a different stage in their life course. Both these approaches are grounded on the assumption that, at a certain time period, youth represents a rather homogeneous category of people. In this paper, we question this assumption and suggest an alternative perspective.

Based on the observation that today's young people are a highly heterogeneous group, at least in terms of identities, educational and socio-economic backgrounds, we ask if civic and political disengagement evenly affects various categories of youth. In order to answer this question, we investigate whether levels of disengagement are linked to various forms of social exclusion that especially affect the young people. More specifically, using statistical analyses of public opinion survey data, we compare levels of civic and political disengagement between different categories of youth, defined according to their educational and employment status. In contrasting different groups of young people, we follow Cammaerts et al. (2016, 174) who contend that the most excluded youth are those who are neither in employment, nor in education or training, named in the literature as NEET. In scholarly and policy papers the term

NEET is frequently associated in with vulnerable, marginalized, disadvantaged or excluded youth, although there is no perfect overlapping between these notions (Thompson 2011, Pouw and Hodgkinson 2016). Throughout this paper, we use these terms interchangeably to refer to the young NEETs as a distinct subgroup of the larger category of “excluded” youth. Thus, *the main goal of this paper is to examine to what extent youth experiencing social and economic disadvantage tend to also be the most politically marginalized group of young people in their society.*

Social exclusion is a multidimensional phenomenon that affects both individuals’ quality of life, as well as the equity and cohesion of society (Levitas et al. 2007). Generally, social exclusion is viewed as a process involving the lack and/or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, as well as the inability of vulnerable groups of persons to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas (Levitas et al. 2007, 25). Youth are particularly affected by social exclusion (Thompson 2011, Augsberger et al. 2017) and this hinders their successful transition to adulthood (Kieselbach et al. 2013). Eurostat reports estimate that around one out of three young persons aged between 18 and 24 years face the risk of poverty or social exclusion in the European Union (Eurostat 2017). While a large body of research provides evidence about the economic and social deprivation of young people (Weil, Wildemeersch, and Percy-Smith 2016, Littlewood 2017, Saunders et al. 2018), particularly during the 2008-2009 economic crisis (Tanveer Choudhry, Marelli, and Signorelli 2012, Scarpetta, Sonnet, and Manfredi 2010), the civic and political dimensions of youth marginalization are generally studied separately from other dimensions of youth social exclusion (Barrett and Pachi 2019). This fragmented approach limits our understanding of the complex interplay between various factors that hinder the social integration of youth. Thus, examining if young people who are experiencing social and economic disadvantage tend to also be the most politically disengaged in society will provide evidence about the multiple exclusions affecting the youth and will thus contribute to the larger academic and policy literature on the main pathways of social and political marginalization among young Europeans.

Beside this first section that serves as an introduction, the rest of this chapter has four parts. Section 2 of the paper conceptualizes youth civic and political disengagement as forms of social exclusion. It also acknowledges the interplay of various dimensions of social exclusion that drive and reinforce each other, focusing particularly on the interconnections between the inability to access education and employment and youth civic and political disengagement. Section 3 examines how the interplay between various forms of exclusion to which young persons are particularly exposed, hinders their successful transition to adulthood. The section will focus on young people who are neither in employment nor in education or training (NEET) and will point out their financial difficulties, sense of socio-economic exclusion and satisfaction with life. Section 4 investigates to what extent young people experiencing social and economic disadvantage tend to also be the most politically marginalized category of youth in their societies. To do so, we analyze the link between young people's education and occupational status and a plethora of forms of civic and political engagement. The concluding section of this paper highlights the main findings and discusses their methodological, theoretical, public policy and normative implications.

2. Conceptualizing Youth Civic and Political Disengagement as Forms of Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is a multi-dimensional and dynamic concept (Barnes 2019, Apăteanu and Tătar 2017). Overall, it refers both to “a state of exclusion characterized by the inability of individuals or groups to fully participate in the economic, social, cultural or political life as well as to the processes leading and perpetuating such a state” (United Nations 2016, 18). In this paper we argue that conceptualizing the lack of young citizens' participation in the political processes and in civic life as dimensions of the overall notion of social exclusion is a fruitful analytical strategy that could increase our understanding of the structural and psychological factors that hinder inclusive and equal democratic participation (Tătar 2016). Political and civic participation is a “major part of social life and crucial to promoting inclusion” (United Nations 2016, 5), for several reasons. First, citizens who participate in various aspects of social and political life can make their voice heard in the political arena and

their interests have better chances of being represented in the political process, compared to those that do not or cannot participate (Tătar 2015b). On the other hand, “individuals and groups who are excluded from these processes have limited voice or power to affect the attitudes, norms, institutions and policies that drive social exclusion in the first place” (United Nations 2016, 5). Second, participation in political processes drives networks of relationships on which social capital is built and the potential for collective action is generated. On its turn, social capital might foster better access to employment, income, health and education (Durlauf and Fafchamps 2005), all of which contribute to youth social inclusion. Thus, existing research suggests that political disengagement and other dimensions of social exclusion consolidate and drive each other (The Electoral Commission 2005, 1).

Acknowledging the interplay between various dimensions of social exclusion provides valuable policy insights for reducing youth marginalization and breaking the vicious circle that perpetuates it. Based on lessons drawn from youth work, an EACEA (2013) report notes that “social exclusion produces deep and long-term damage to the living conditions, social and economic participation, emotional life, and health status of young people. It also contributes to the intergenerational transmission of poverty. In turn, insecurity in living standards, political and social isolation, feelings of estrangement and unhealthy lifestyles aggravate pre-existing conditions of social exclusion. This results in a vicious circle where socially excluded young people are in even more danger of suffering from additional material deprivation, social and emotional marginalization, and health issues, which in turn expose them to more serious risks of exclusion” (EACEA 2013, 4). Thus, disadvantages on these dimensions of social exclusion tend to reinforce one another. For instance, the UN 2016 report on inclusive development highlights that lower levels of healthcare and education go hand in hand with higher levels of poverty and unemployment, and often also with less voice in political and civic life. Similarly, the employment situation affects not only a person’s income but also his or her participation in social and political life. Thus, in terms of policy outcomes, progress in one domain alone will not be sufficient to end social exclusion (United Nations 2016, 99).

Young persons are prone to be affected by unemployment and various forms of exclusion from the educational system (Briggs 2017). Early school leaving and barriers to accessing affordable, quality education and training are common occurrences in the life trajectories of socially excluded young people, which affect their ability to secure long-term employment and comfortable living conditions (EACEA 2013, 12). Exclusions from the labor market and education are key forms of youth social exclusion that are interconnected to financial precarity, feelings of exclusion and lower life satisfaction. Being not in employment, education or training (NEET) for an extended period of time leads to the long-term social and political marginalization of young people, strengthening the feeling of dependence and powerlessness (EACEA 2013, 14) both in the private and public spheres of life.

Following Barrett and Pachi (2019, 3) we use the term political engagement to refer to the engagement of an individual with political institutions, processes and decision-making. By contrast, the term civic engagement is used to refer to the engagement of an individual with the concerns, interests and common good of a community. As suggested by Barrett and Pachi, the term community is understood in a broad sense as any kind of cultural or social group which is salient to an individual and which therefore provides a site for that individual's civic action (Barrett and Pachi 2019, 3). Thus, we contend that young people are politically and civically disengaged if they do not know, value or participate in the community and democratic life. While engagement usually entails participatory behaviour, the literature on youth political engagement pinpoints that young persons can be psychologically or affectively engaged without being behaviorally engaged. For instance, Barrett and Pachi (2019, 3) argue that lack of overt political or civic action cannot necessarily be interpreted as a sign of political or civic disengagement. One of the most common indicators of youth psychological engagement are political interest (Soler-i-Martí 2015) and political efficacy. Political interest is a key factor associated both with conventional (voting in elections, election campaigning, party membership, contacting politicians etc.) and non-conventional (attending demonstrations, protests, signing petitions, writing political blogs, etc.) forms of political participation (Tătar 2016, 2015a, b, 2011a, b). We use the term political efficacy to refer to the self-perceive capacity of an

individual to understand and influence political decisions which is an essential aspect of any collective attempts to bring about change in society.

In this paper, we operationalize youth civic and political engagement starting from various normative conceptions of democracy (Tătar 2011a, Cammaerts et al. 2016). Thus we examine several forms of youth engagement: participation in electoral democracy (voting in elections and membership in political parties); participation as attempts to influence decision-making in representative democracy (political efficacy and voice, signing petitions); cognitive engagement in deliberative politics as a way of getting information and forming opinions on political issues (political interest, participation in debates); engagement in the civic structures which promote participatory democracy (participation in youth organizations and other NGOs, participation in organized volunteer activities). One of the prominent explanations of political participation is offered by the “civic voluntarism model” developed by Sidney Verba and his colleagues (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). Adapting their model to youth disengagement we can argue that young people are not politically active mainly because: *they can't*, that is they don't have the means or resources necessary for engagement such as education, employment, time, money and civic skills (organizational, communication and leadership skills); *they don't want to*, that is they lack *motivation* such as interest in politics, knowledge about politics and political efficacy; *nobody asked*, that is they are not exposed to *recruitment opportunities* offered by civic and political organizations and social networks. In this paper, we are particularly interested to what extent the lack of access to resources, such as education or employment, impedes the civic and political engagement of vulnerable youth in the European Union. Thus, in the next two sections we examine how the interplay between various forms of exclusion hinders young people's successful transition to adulthood and their participation in society and politics.

3. Trajectories of Vulnerable Youth in the European Union

This section explores the patterns and magnitude of youth marginalization in the European Union, by focusing on the most excluded young people, namely those who are neither in employment, nor in education or training (NEET). Scholars generally

analyze youth as a life stage marked by a transition between childhood and adulthood (Tanner and Arnett 2016, Pouw and Hodgkinson 2016, Ruspini 2016, Halfon et al. 2018). Nevertheless, conceptions of what youth means generally differ from one cultural context to another and may also differ from one generation to another. For instance, Cammaerts et al. (2013) point out that in some countries young people are dependent on their parents for much longer than elsewhere and this tendency is exacerbated in times of crisis. Nevertheless, studies concerned with youth point out that during this life phase several social markers of childhood turn into adulthood markers (Pouw and Hodgkinson 2016). For example, scholars often view the transition from living as a dependent family member to living independently, or the transition from education to professional training and employment as illustrating the processes which occur during youth (Pouw and Hodgkinson 2016). Yet, transitions to adulthood are not necessarily linear and smooth for all individuals. Consequently, understanding youth as a transition life stage might be problematic since young people represent a diverse and highly heterogeneous group in society with a complex variety of identities and socio-economic as well as educational backgrounds (Cammaerts et al. 2013). Moreover, “the transition from childhood to early adulthood can prove a highly variable, non-linear, fragmented and sometimes extended process, with the transition to independent living in some contexts not taking place until 30 or even 35 years of age” (Barrett and Pachi 2019, 2). For the purpose of this study, most of the data analyses presented in the next sections focus on young persons aged between 16 and 30.

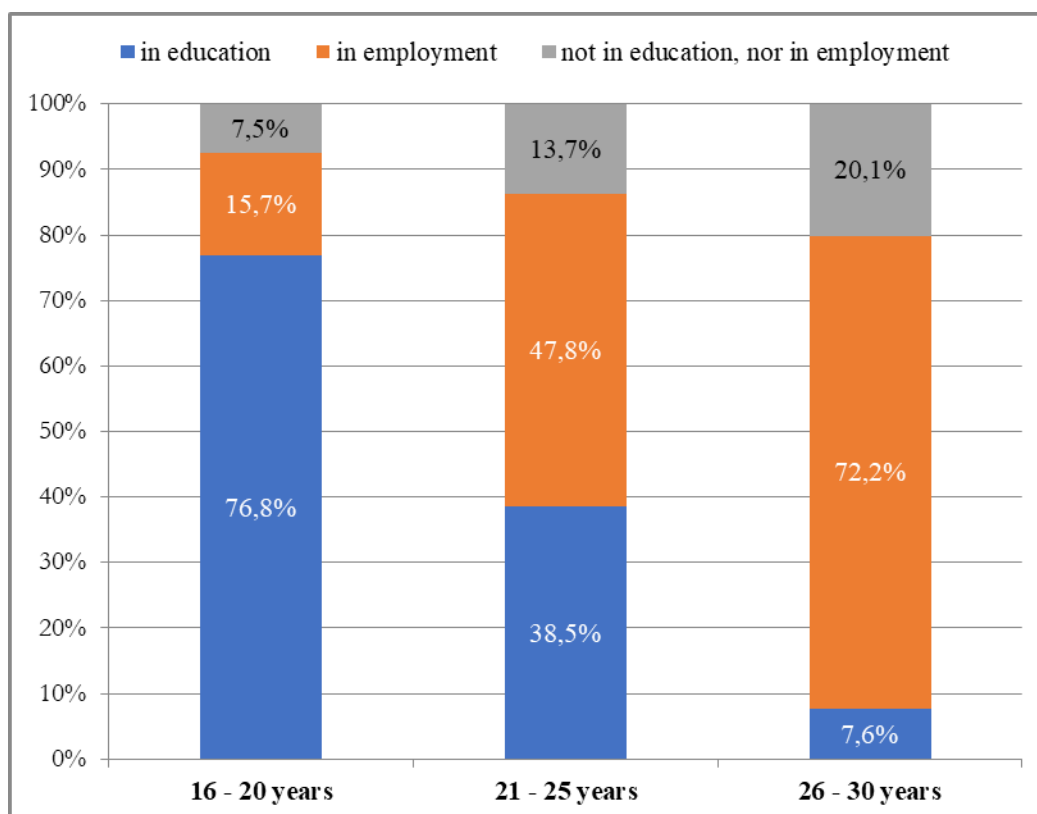
Figure 1 illustrates that between 16 and 30 years of age an important shift occurs from the world of education to the world of employment¹, for most European young people. While in the 16-20 age group more than three quarters were in education, most of those aged 26-30 were in employment². In-between, young people aged 21-25 were more balanced in terms of distribution between education and employment. A third category comprises the young people who

¹ The association between age groups and occupational status of youth is proven statistically significant by a Chi Square test of association [$\chi^2(4) = 3536.78$, $p < 0.001$, $N = 10295$ valid cases] and the effect size coefficient, Cramer's $V = 0.414$, indicates a strong association between the two variables.

² A similar pattern is also revealed by Eurostat (2016) data.

are neither in employment nor in education. Their proportion increases considerably with age: from 7.5% for the age group 16-20 in 2016, to 13.7% in the age group 21-25, and reaches more than 1 person in 5, for those aged 26-30 (20.1%).

Fig. 1. Education and employment patterns of young people in Europe, by five-year age groups, 2016³



Source: Authors' elaboration based on *Eurobarometer 85.1OVR: European Youth in 2016*. All 28 member states of EU were included

Young people who are neither in employment nor in education or training have a higher risk of poverty and social exclusion, than

³ Data in this figure is based on variables D11r (age recoded in 3 categories) and D15a (occupation) from the original Eurobarometer dataset. Variable D15a was recoded into a new variable having 3 categories (1=in education, 2=in employment, 3=not in education, nor in employment). The original questionnaire did not allow multiple answers for respondents' occupation, therefore we were unable to highlight individuals who were both in education and employment. For more information on data source please see the Eurobarometer 85.1OVR (April 2016) commissioned by the European Commission and European Parliament (2016), *doi:10.4232/1.12642*, last accessed on 20 August 2017.

other categories of youth. Table 1 illustrates that European NEETs have indeed a much more precarious financial situation, compared to other categories of young persons. Almost one quarter of NEETs (24.4%) have difficulties most of the time to pay their bills at the end of the month, and additionally 39% of them occasionally have such difficulties. The percentages of those who frequently have difficulties to pay their bills are much lower among those who are in education (6%) or those who are in employment (6.4%). In addition, various studies show that people who are worried about their financial situation have less working memory available to them, which subsequently negatively affects their work performance (Meuris and Leana 2017).

Table 1: Financial precarity among European youth⁴

During the last twelve months, would you say you had difficulties to pay your bills at the end of the month...?	Young persons aged 16-30			Total
	in education	in employment	neither in education, nor employment	
<i>Most of the time</i>	6.0%	6.4%	24.4%	8.8%
<i>Occasionally</i>	22.3%	28.8%	39.0%	27.7%
<i>Almost never/never</i>	64.2%	63.3%	34.5%	59.6%
<i>Refusal (SPONT.)</i>	7.6%	1.4%	2.1%	3.9%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

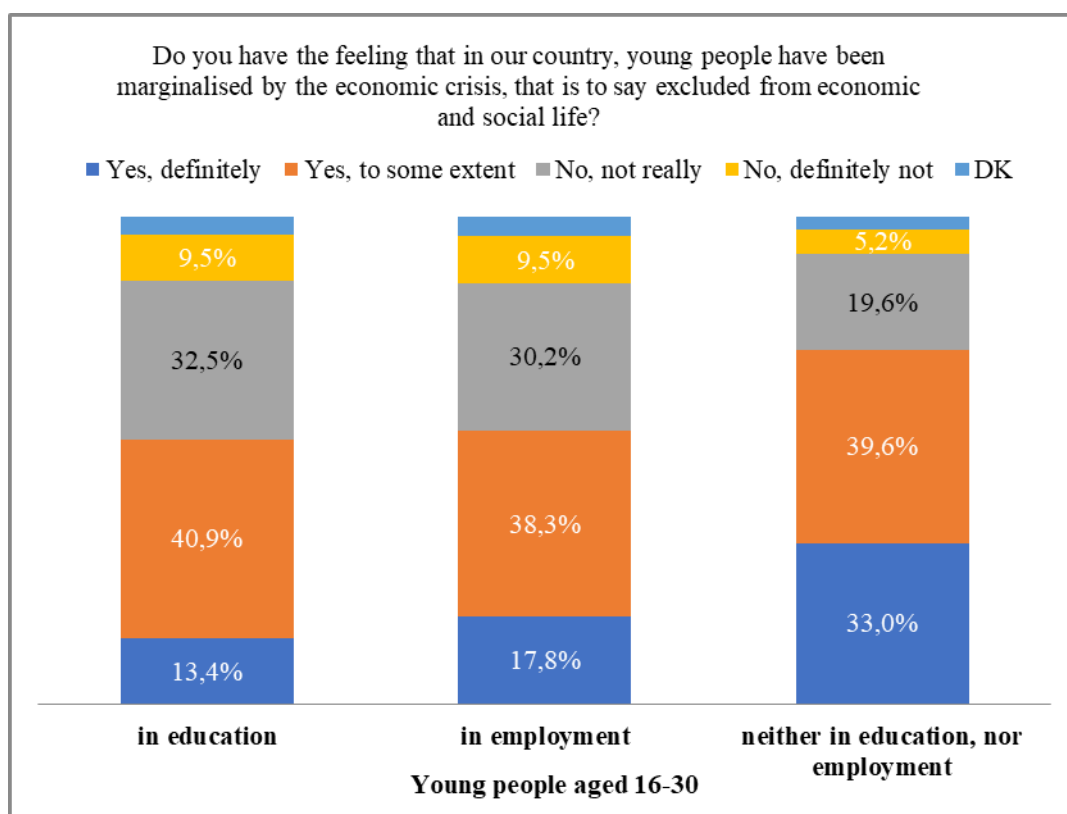
Source: Authors' elaboration based on *Eurobarometer 85.1OVR: European Youth in 2016*. Percentages are shown on columns. All 28 EU member states were included.

At EU level, almost 5 million young persons aged 20-24 were in 2015 neither in employment nor in education or training (Eurostat 2016, 2). While the overall share of NEETs remained relatively constant in Europe between 2006 and 2015, there are divergent developments in this regard between EU Member States. According to Eurostat (2016, 2) data, in 10 Member States the proportion of NEETs aged 20-24 decreased between 2006 and 2015, while in other eighteen countries the proportion of NEETS has increased significantly between 2006 and 2015, notably in Italy (from 21.6% to

⁴ The association between financial difficulties and occupational status of youth is proven statistically significant by a Chi Square test of association [$\chi^2(6) = 987.80$, $p < 0.001$, $N = 10293$ valid cases] and the effect size coefficient, Cramer's V = 0.219, indicates a moderate level association between the two variables.

31.1%, or +9.5 percentage points-pp), Greece (+9.3 pp), Spain (+9.0 pp), Cyprus (+8.5 pp), Ireland (+7.8 pp), Croatia (+5.4 pp), Romania (+5.2 pp). With 24.1% NEETs in the age group 20-24, Romania ranked among the EU Member States with the highest percentages of vulnerable youth in 2015. Compared to Romania, higher proportions of NEETs (aged 20-24) were recorded in only 3 Member States: Italy (31.1%), Greece (26.1%) and Spain (22.2%).

Fig. 2. Marginalization of youth during the economic CRISIS



Source: Authors' elaboration based on *Eurobarometer 85.1OVR: European Youth in 2016*. Percentages up to 100% are responses with "Don't Know"/DK. All 28 members states of EU were included.

Young people neither in employment, nor in education often feel excluded from social and economic life. Figure 2 illustrates the significant link between perceptions of social exclusion and the occupational status of young people. For instance, almost three quarters (72.6%) of those who are neither in employment, nor in education (NEETs) feel that young people in their country have been marginalized during the economic crisis: 33% believe that youth

have been definitely affected and 39.6 believe they were affected to some extent. Perceptions of youth social and economic exclusion are less widespread among other groups of young people. For example, only 13.4% of young people in education, and 17.8% of those in employment believe that youth in their country have been definitely marginalized by the crisis. Overall, slightly more than half of those who are in education (54.3%) or in employment (55.1%) believe that young people in their country have been at least to some extent marginalized during the economic crisis.

Social exclusion is often indicated by subjective measures that are based on perceived states or self-assessed evaluations of individuals or groups (Labonté, Hadi, and Kauffmann 2011, DeWall 2013). Satisfaction with life is such a subjective measure that relates to youth occupational status⁵ (see Table 2). While overall young people are quite satisfied with their life, there are significant differences between those who are in education or employment, on the one hand and those who are neither in education nor employment or training (NEETs), on the other hand. For instance, only 7.3% of those who are in education and only 10% of those who are in employment are “not very satisfied with their life”, while more than one quarter of the NEETs are “not very satisfied with their life” (26.4%). Differences are even more clear-cut when it comes to those who are “not at all satisfied” with their life: only 0.9% of those in education and 1.4% of those in employment, compared to 10.6% of those who are neither in education, nor employment. If we add the percentages of those who are “not very” and “not at all satisfied” with their life we find that more than one third of the NEETs are not satisfied with life (37%), compared to only 11.4% of those in employment and 8.2% of those in education. Previous research has demonstrated that the precarious status of NEETs undermines their self-esteem and builds resentment and disillusionment with politics and the political process (Briggs 2017). For instance, Flavin and Keane (2012) find that individuals who are less satisfied with their lives are less likely to turn out to vote and participate in the political process through other avenues. Moreover, the magnitude of the effect

⁵ The relationship between the occupational status of youth and their life satisfaction is proven statistically significant by a Chi Square test of association [$\chi^2(8) = 965.60$, $p < 0.001$, $N = 10295$ valid cases] and the effect size coefficient, Cramer's $V = 0.217$, indicates a medium association between the two variables.

of life satisfaction on political engagement rivals that of education, which is a commonly used predictor of political participation (European Commission 2014). Building on these findings, in the next section we show that the most vulnerable categories of young people (i.e. the NEET) not only feel excluded from economic life and have lower degrees of life satisfaction, but they are also more likely to be excluded from various forms of social and political participation.

Table 2: Life satisfaction and occupational status of youth in Europe

On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?	Young people aged 16-30			Total
	in education	in employment	neither in education, nor employment	
<i>Very satisfied</i>	33.3%	26.6%	15.1%	27.6%
<i>Fairly satisfied</i>	57.8%	61.2%	47.5%	57.9%
<i>Not very satisfied</i>	7.3%	10.0%	26.4%	11.3%
<i>Not at all satisfied</i>	.9%	1.4%	10.6%	2.5%
<i>DK</i>	.6%	.7%	.5%	.7%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Authors' elaboration based on *Eurobarometer 85.1OVR: European Youth in 2016*. Percentages on columns. All 28 EU member states were included.

4. Civic and Political Disengagement of Marginalized Youth in the EU

This section examines to what extent young people experiencing social and economic disadvantage tend to also be the most politically excluded group of young people in their society. Most studies focus on singular aspects of social exclusion and thus fail to reveal the multiple disadvantages that reinforce processes of exclusion (Levitas et al. 2007, 10). Using the case of European youth, in this section we illustrate how factors pertaining to resources (namely education and occupational status) are linked to levels of political and civic engagement.

Membership and participation in organizations and associations are generally viewed as a reliable variables used to assess young citizens' engagement in civic life (Cammaerts et al. 2016, 111). Participation in sport and leisure clubs, along with local community organizations seem to be the most popular forms of civic

engagement among young people. Nevertheless, not all young people equally participate in these organizations. Exclusion from the labor market and the education system is linked with lower levels of youth civic engagement. Data presented Table 3 show that young people who are neither in education, nor in employment have significantly lower participation rates in the activities of various civil society organizations, than to those who are employed or continuing education. Compared to other categories of young persons, NEETs get involved less in the activities promoted by sports and youth clubs, cultural and community associations, organizations promoting human rights or global development as well as in the actions of any other type of organization. In fact, almost two out of three NEETs (62.9%) have not participated in any activity organized by civil society organizations during the last 12 months (see the last row in Table 3). On the other hand, only about one third of those who are both in employment and education didn't get involved in any activity of these organizations.

Table 3: Youth civic participation in the EU

In the last 12 months, have you participated in any activities of the following organizations?	Young people aged 15-30 ⁶				Total aged 15-30
	Both in education and employment	In education	In employment	Neither in education, nor employment	
<i>A sports club</i>	38.6%	34.3%	28.4%	16.6%	28.8%
<i>A youth club, leisure-time club or any kind of youth organization</i>	20.0%	21.1%	13.5%	12.7%	16.4%
<i>A cultural organization</i>	11.1%	12.5%	7.9%	8.2%	9.8%
<i>A political organization or a political party</i>	7.5%	5.5%	4.1%	2.8%	4.5%
<i>A local organization aimed at improving your local community</i>	16.6%	10.6%	10.6%	9.4%	10.6%
<i>An organization active in the domain</i>	3.3%	2.8%	3.8%	2.3%	3.1%

⁶ A new variable measuring the occupational and educational status of youth (having 4 categories) was created based on the combination of variables D4 and D5. This new variable was added to the original dataset.

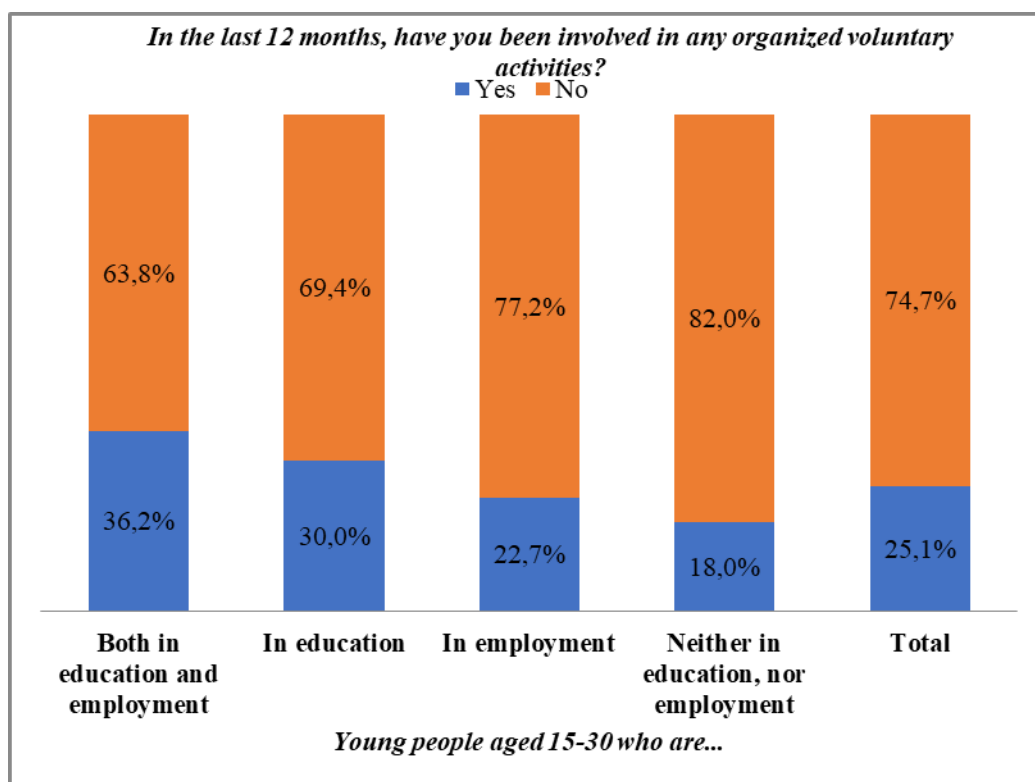
In the last 12 months, have you participated in any activities of the following organizations?	Young people aged 15-30 ⁶				Total aged 15-30
	Both in education and employment	In education	In employment	Neither in education, nor employment	
<i>of climate change/environmental issues</i>					
<i>An organization promoting human rights or global development</i>	10.6%	5.3%	4.0%	3.6%	4.7%
<i>Any other non-governmental organization</i>	12.0%	7.6%	6.8%	6.3%	7.2%
<i>None of these</i>	34.9%	42.9%	53.7%	62.9%	50.7%

Source: Authors' elaboration based on *Flash Eurobarometer 408: European Youth*, December 2014 - January 2015 (European Commission 2015). Data⁷ entries represent percentages within each category of young people of those who have participated in the activities of various organizations. All 28 EU member states were included. Examples of reading data: "During the last 12 months, 62.9% of young people who are neither in employment, nor in employment have participated in none of the activities of the organizations listed above."

Encouraging volunteering is a key aspect of developing a civic consciousness amongst young people (Cammaerts et al. 2016, 116). Figure 3 shows that about a quarter of the 15-to-30 years old in the EU have been involved in organized voluntary activities, in the last 12 months. Nevertheless, there is a clear difference between the volunteering experience of the NEETs and other categories of youth, who engage significantly more in voluntary activities. Since the data presented in Figure 3 refers to organized voluntary activities, it might be the case that the NEETs are harder to reach by civil society organizations that offer the context for such voluntary activities.

⁷ The relationships between the occupational and educational status of youth and their participation in the activities of various organizations are proven statistically significant by a series of Chi Square tests of association [$p < 0.01$, $N = 13453$ valid cases].

Figure 3: Youth participation in organized voluntary activities in Europe



Source: Authors' elaboration based on *Flash Eurobarometer 408: European Youth*, December 2014 - January 2015 (European Commission 2015). *Note:* Percentages up to 100% represent "DK/NA" answers.

This explanation seems to be also supported by data in Table 3, which point out that the NEETs are rather disconnected from any type of social and cultural organization or community group, which could be salient to an individual and which therefore, could provide a site for civic action (Barrett and Pachi 2019, 3). Summarizing, data in Table 3 and Figure 3, reveal that the NEETs are not only excluded from the labor market and education system but they also seem to be more disengaged from civic matters, understood here as the concerns, interests and common good of a community, compared to other categories of youth.

Marginalized youth have lower levels not only of civic, but also of political engagement. Table 4 compares the effect of the occupational status on the interest in politics among young people (aged 15-30) and adults (aged 31-55). Regardless of age, people who are better off in terms of occupational status, are more likely to be

interested in politics, than those who are in a disadvantaged position. For instance, the young NEETs tend to have lower levels of interest in politics compared to young persons who are in employment or in education. The same pattern holds for adults too: those who are unemployed are more likely to declare lower levels of political interest, compared to those who are employed or self-employed. However, the effect of occupational status on political interest seems to be bigger for adults than for young people. This difference is particularly visible in Table 4 when one examines the percentages of those who have a strong interest in politics. In the case of young persons who are strongly interested in politics, there is only a 3.6 percentage points difference between those who are in education (13%) and those who are neither in education, nor in employment (8.4%). On the other hand, among the adults that have a strong interest in politics there is a substantial difference of 15.9 percentage points between the self-employed (27.4%) and those who are not working (11.6%). Overall, the data presented in Table 4 show that adults are more likely to be interested in politics than young people. For instance, about 51% of youth have a strong or medium political interest, while among adults the percentage of those who are strongly or moderately interested in politics is about 63%. However, the difference between youth and adults is unevenly distributed between various occupational categories. For instance, there is a substantial difference of over 14 percentage points between the strongly interested in politics self-employed adults (27.4%) and young people in education (13%). On the other hand, when it comes to expressing a high interest in politics, the difference between adults who are not working (11.6%) and young NEETs (8.4%) is of only about 3 percentage points. To sum up, the findings in Table 4 suggest that interest in politics is not merely a consequence of age, and as today's young people will age, they will not become automatically more interested in politics as life cycle effects theories would predict.

Table 4: Political interest among youth (aged 16-30) and adults (aged 31-55) in the European Union

Interest in politics	Young people aged 16-30				Adults aged 31-55			
	<i>In education</i>	<i>In employment</i>	<i>Neither in education, nor employment</i>	Total youth	Self-employed	Employed	Not working	Total adults
<i>Strong</i>	13.0%	12.2%	8.4%	12.0%	27.4%	16.1%	11.6%	16.5%
<i>Medium</i>	37.4%	43.6%	33.6%	39.7%	46.7%	48.6%	41.5%	47.0%
<i>Low</i>	23.8%	21.6%	20.8%	22.4%	14.3%	18.9%	18.3%	18.3%
<i>Not at all</i>	25.8%	22.7%	37.2%	25.9%	11.6%	16.3%	28.6%	18.3%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Authors' elaboration based on *Eurobarometer 85.1OVR: European Youth in 2016*⁸ and the standard Eurobarometer 85.1, April 2016. Percentages are on columns. All 28 EU member states were included.

Another important psychological factor that has been linked with civic and political participation is political efficacy, namely the self-belief that one can understand and influence political decisions. Data in Table 5 measures political efficacy as the self-belief that one's voice counts in the EU and compares the results for young people and adults. Marginalized people in terms of occupational status tend to have lower levels of political efficacy and this pattern holds both for youth and adults. Thus, young NEETs tend to believe to a lesser extent that their voice counts in the EU, compared with employed or in education youth. Similarly, adults who are not working are more likely to consider that their voice does not count in the EU, compared with those who are employed or self-employed. Overall, youth are having slightly higher levels of subjective political efficacy: almost 42% of young people tend to believe that their voice counts in the EU, compared to 39% of adults.

⁸ Eurobarometer 85.1OVR consists of the respondents aged 16 to 30 years from the basic wave Eurobarometer 85.1 (ZA6693), completed with an oversample of young people of the same age group. In addition to the basic sample about 200 young respondents in each country were interviewed (about 300 in DE).

Table 5: Political efficacy of youth (aged 16-30) and adults (aged 31-55) in the European Union

“My voice counts in the EU”	Young people aged 16-30				Adults aged 31-55			
	<i>In education</i>	<i>In employment</i>	<i>Neither in education, nor employment</i>	Total youth	Self-employed	Employed	Not working	Total adults
<i>Totally agree</i>	10.4%	11.0%	9.4%	10.5%	10.5%	12.1%	8.5%	11.2%
<i>Tend to agree</i>	32.3%	32.3%	25.7%	31.4%	26.6%	29.7%	22.5%	27.9%
<i>Tend to disagree</i>	28.3%	29.8%	23.6%	28.3%	28.4%	31.0%	30.0%	30.5%
<i>Totally disagree</i>	21.1%	21.8%	34.7%	23.4%	29.8%	22.6%	33.3%	25.6%
<i>DK</i>	7.9%	5.0%	6.6%	6.4%	4.7%	4.5%	5.7%	4.8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Authors’ elaboration based on *Eurobarometer 85.1OVR: European Youth in 2016* and the standard Eurobarometer 85.1, April 2016. Percentages are shown on columns. All EU 28 member states were included.

Table 6 further compares youth on other 3 forms of political participation: taking part in public debates, signing petitions and expressing views on public issues on the Internet or social media. Young men tend to take part in public debates to a larger extent (19.6%) compared to young women (12.6%). These participation differences are particularly high between males (25.3%) and females (13.8%) who are both in education and employment. Conversely, participation differences between young males and females are smaller among those who are neither in education, nor in education. There are no statistically significant differences between female NEETs and other categories of young women in terms of rates of participation to public debates.

On the other hand, young NEETs, regardless of gender, tend to sign petitions to a significantly lower extent than those who are in education and employment (see Table 6). However, the effect of the occupational status on signing petitions is stronger in the case of young women, compared to young men. Thus, in terms of signing petitions there is a difference of 26.6 percentage points between young women who are both in employment and education, on the one hand, and young women who are neither in employment nor

education, on the other hand. As data in Table 6 reveals, young people (both women and men) that are both in education and employment tend to have higher rates of signing petitions than other categories of youth. Within this occupational group, young women have petitioned more than men (60% compared to 49.5%).

Table 6: Youth participation in public debates, signing petitions and online engagement

Have you done any of the following in the last two years?	Gender	Young people who are...				Total aged 15-30
		Both in education and employment	In employment	In education	Neither in education, nor employment	
Taken part in a public debate	Male (NS)	25.3%	19.7%	19.7%	17.7%	19.6%
	Female (NS)	13.8%	11.8%	12.9%	13.2%	12.6%
Signed a petition (on paper or online)	Male**	49.5%	32.5%	35.2%	29.1%	33.8%
	Female***	60.0%	33.7%	40.1%	33.4%	36.8%
Expressed your views on public issues on the Internet or social media	Male (NS)	44.6%	45.3%	42.3%	46.2%	44.0%
	Female***	60.6%	39.7%	40.0%	36.5%	40.0%

Source: Authors' elaboration based on *Flash Eurobarometer 373: Europeans' Engagement in Participatory Democracy*, February 2013. *Note:* Data entries represent percentages within the categories of youth's occupational and educational status by respondents' gender. All EU 27 member states were included. Significance levels: NS, non-significant $p > 0.05$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

As data in Table 6 further points out, the young NEETs women have expressed their views on public issues on the Internet or social media to a significantly lower extent, than those who are in education or employment. On the contrary, occupational status seems to play no statistically significant role in differentiating between rates of online engagement among young men. The highest levels of expressing views on public issues online are recorded among young women who are both in education and employment (60.6%), while the lowest rates are registered among those who are neither in education, nor in employment (36.5%). Overall, young men tend to

slightly engage more on public issues online than young women (44% compared to 40%). However, among young people who are both in education and employment, women are more likely to participate online than men. Socially excluded youth are less likely to participate in the electoral process and to engage in the mechanisms of representative democracy more generally. Table 7 illustrates that young people who are neither in education, nor employment participate less in local, national or EU level elections, compared to other categories of youth. This pattern holds both for young women and men suggesting that exclusion from the labor market and the education system is generally associated with exclusion from the political sphere, presumably as part of a larger phenomenon of social exclusion. Overall, electoral turnout seems to be higher among young men than among young women. However, young women who are in education tend to have higher rates of participation than men who are in education, especially in local elections. Nevertheless, among the NEETs, men tend to have a higher electoral participation than women and this pattern is particularly visible in national and European elections.

In general, members of a political party are more likely to vote in elections than non-members (Tătar 2013). While political party membership is generally low among youth (Ekström and Sveningsson 2019), it tends to be even lower among young people who are neither in employment, nor in education or training. Thus, vulnerable youth are less likely to participate in the actions of political organizations or parties. For instance, data in Table 3 (row 4) points out that only 2.8% of NEETs have participated in the activities of political parties. In comparison, 7.5% of those who are both in education and employment, 5.5% of those who are only in education and 4.1% of young people who are only in employment have participated in the activities of political organizations, in the last 12 months. Thus, vulnerable young persons excluded from economic and social life, also tend to be marginalized in the basic processes of representative democracy.

Table 7: Electoral participation of European youth

During the last 3 years, did you vote in any political election at the local, national or EU level?	Gender	Young people who are...				Total aged 15-30
		Both in education and employment	In employment	In education	Neither in education, nor employment	
<i>Yes, at local level</i>	Male	61.9%	59.7%	52.7%	51.0%	56.5%
	Female	54.0%	60.6%	59.2%	43.0%	55.3%
<i>Yes, at national level</i>	Male	61.8%	58.0%	46.1%	50.8%	53.7%
	Female	52.7%	55.4%	47.2%	37.0%	48.1%
<i>Yes, at EU level</i>	Male	49.8%	40.3%	37.3%	37.8%	39.5%
	Female	32.4%	36.4%	39.7%	26.3%	34.5%

Source: Authors' elaboration based on *Flash Eurobarometer 408: European Youth*, December 2014 - January 2015 (European Commission 2015). *Note:* Data entries represent percentages of self-declared voters within the categories of youth's occupational and educational status by the level of elections and respondents' gender. Persons, who were at that time not eligible to vote, were excluded from this analysis.

5. Conclusion

Starting from a conceptualization of youth civic and political disengagement as a dimension of social exclusion, the goal of this study was twofold. First, it explored the patterns and magnitude of youth marginalization in the European Union by focusing on the most excluded young people, namely those who are neither in employment, nor in education or training (NEET). Second, the study examined to what extent these young people, experiencing social and economic disadvantage, tend to also be the most politically marginalized category of youth in their societies. Regarding the first goal of the paper, we have shown that young people who are neither in employment, nor in education or training face significantly higher risks of being affected by poverty and other forms of social exclusion. Social exclusion of youth represents a widespread phenomenon in the EU, although it is unevenly distributed between member states. At EU level, almost 5 million young persons aged 20-24 were in 2015 neither in employment, nor in education or training

(Eurostat 2016, 2). According to our own analysis, the share of the NEETs increases considerably with age: from 7.5% for the age group 16-20 in 2016, to 13.7% in the age group 21-25, and to more than one fifth of those aged 26-30 (20.1%). The NEETs have fewer resources that would enable them to fully participate in the democratic life of their societies. Their well-being is also affected by their vulnerable social status and they have lower levels of satisfaction with life, compared to other categories of young people. Moreover, the NEETs are more likely to have the feeling that youth in their country were marginalized during the economic crisis. The perception that it is they, the younger generation, who are increasingly excluded from the economic and social spheres, “bearing the brunt of the cuts and the austerity measures across Europe as a whole, is likely to fuel feelings of unfairness” (Briggs 2017, 6), particularly among the marginalized youth.

Secondly, the paper highlighted the interdependence between social, economic and political exclusions. Vulnerable youth in the European Union face the risk of multiple exclusions that mutually reinforce each other: from the labor market, from education and from the democratic life of their societies. Our study showed that young people who are neither in employment, nor in education or training have systematically lower levels of civic and political engagement, compared to other categories of youth. Thus, in terms of civic engagement, the NEETs tend to participate less in the activities of various non-governmental organizations ranging from sports clubs, youth organizations, cultural and environmental associations, to community organizations or political parties. They also tend to volunteer less than other categories of youth. The substantial civic engagement gap between the NEETs and those who are both in employment and education suggests that workplace and schools are places that provide opportunities for recruitment and mobilization of young people for civic engagement. Marginalized young persons are in a situation that hinders their access to such places and thus they generally miss the opportunities and the potential benefits derived from participation in civil society organizations.

Structural barriers such as lack of access to employment or education are associated with lower levels of political engagement too. The NEETs have lower levels of interest in politics, compared to other categories of youth. Moreover, the young NEETs and the

unemployed adults tend to have rather similarly low levels of political interest, despite their generational and life-cycle differences. These findings suggest that as today's youth will age, they will not automatically become more interested in politics. Therefore, political interest is not merely a consequence of a person's lifecycle or belonging to a generation, but it is also linked with access to employment and education, both of which might offer individuals higher stakes in society and a better awareness of the relevance of politics into their lives. On the other hand, socially excluded youth, who have little to no control over the basic circumstances of their lives, are less likely to be interested in politics, voice their interests in the political process or believe they can understand and influence political decisions. Socially excluded youth are often pushed to the margins of society and politics and this impedes their access to power and decision-making processes and institutions. Consequently, they usually feel powerless and unable to take control over decisions that affect their lives. As our findings showed, the NEETs are also less likely to sign petitions on paper or online, to join the activities of political parties or to vote in local, national or European elections, compared with other categories of young people.

These findings have several methodological, theoretical, public policy and normative implications. Methodologically, it is highly relevant how we conceptualize and measure youth in our studies. Young people are not a homogeneous category, but instead they represent a diverse and highly heterogeneous group in society, with a complex variety of identities and socio-economic, as well as educational backgrounds. From a theoretical point of view, placing individuals in the category of youth only by looking at their age is common in youth studies based on lifecycle or generational theories. Such an approach not only obscures the high diversity of situations in which young people live, but also hinders our understanding of the root causes of youth political (dis)engagement. In this paper we have argued that youth civic and political disengagement are in fact forms of social exclusion. As Duffy (1995) suggests, the focus is not on investigating whether political exclusion is caused by social exclusion but, rather, understanding that political exclusion is a form of social exclusion. Acknowledging the interplay between various dimensions of social exclusion that mutually reinforce each other provides valuable policy insights for reducing youth marginalization

and breaking the vicious circle that perpetuates it. Our research suggests two such policy pathways, namely stimulating youth long-term employment and better access to education, which along with access to housing could facilitate young people's successful transition to adulthood, while also increasing their stake in society and their awareness of the relevance of politics into their lives. In normative terms, youth social exclusion might undermine democracy particularly if young citizens' engagement is obstructed by structural constraints which can widen and reinforce the inequality of political influence of those who participate and those who do not (Tătar 2015b). Participants can make their voice heard in the political arena and their interests have better chances of being represented in the political process, compared to those that do not or cannot participate. Thus, the participatory bias that comes along with social exclusion compromises the very principle of political equality that underlies democracy (Dahl 1989, Verba, Scholzman, and Brady 1995).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Apăteanu, Dan, and Marius Ioan Tătar (2017) "An Introduction into the Civic Dimension of Social Exclusion. The Case of Romanian Youth." In *Education, Social Values and European Integration*, edited by Gabriela Goudenhoft and Ioan Horga, 336-347. Debrecen: University of Debrecen Press.
- Augsberger, Astraea, Mary Elizabeth Collins, Whitney Gecker, and Meaghan Dougher (2017) "Youth Civic Engagement: Do Youth Councils Reduce or Reinforce Social Inequality?" *Journal of Adolescent Research* no. 33 (2):187-208.
- Barnes, Matt (2019) *Social Exclusion in Great Britain: An Empirical Investigation and Comparison with the EU*. London: Routledge.
- Barrett, Martyn, and Dimitra Pachi (2019) *Youth Civic and Political Engagement*. Edited by John C. Coleman, *Adolescence and Society*. London: Routledge.
- Briggs, Jacqueline (2017) *Young People and Political Participation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Cammaerts, Bart, Michael Bruter, Shakuntala Banaji, Sarah Harrison, and Nick Anstead (2013) *Youth Participation in Democratic Life - Final Report*. In *EACEA*. London: LSE Enterprise.
- Cammaerts, Bart, Michael Bruter, Shakuntala Banaji, Sarah Harrison, and Nick Anstead (2014) "The Myth of Youth Apathy: Young Europeans' Critical Attitudes Toward Democratic Life." *American Behavioral Scientist* no. 58 (5):645-664.
- Cammaerts, Bart, Michael Bruter, Shakuntala Banaji, Sarah Harrison, and Nick Anstead (2016) *Youth Participation in Democratic Life: Stories of Hope and Disillusion*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dahl, Robert A. (1989) *Democracy and its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- DeWall, C. Nathan (2013) "Emerging Perspectives on the Study of Social Exclusion" in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Exclusion*, edited by C. Nathan DeWall. pp. 3-5. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Duffy, Katherine (1995) *Social Exclusion and Human Dignity in Europe: Background Report for the Proposed Initiative*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Durlauf, Steven N., and Marcel Fafchamps (2005) "Social Capital" in *Handbook of Economic Growth*, edited by Philippe Aghion and Steven N. Durlauf, 1639-1699. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- EACEA (2013) *Youth Social Exclusion and Lessons from Youth Work: Evidence from literature and surveys*. Bruxelles: Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA).
- Ekström, Mats, and Malin Sveningsson (2019) "Young people's experiences of political membership: from political parties to Facebook groups." *Information, Communication & Society* no. 22 (2):155-171.
- European Commission and European Parliament (2016) "Eurobarometer 85.1OVR (April 2016): European Youth 2016" in *TNS opinion: GESIS Data Archive*, Cologne. ZA6696 Data file Version 1.0.0.
- European Commission, Brussels (2014) "Flash Eurobarometer 373: Europeans' Engagement in Participatory Democracy" edited by TNS Political & Social. Brussels: GESIS Data Archive, Cologne.

- European Commission, Brussels (2015) "Flash Eurobarometer 408: European Youth" edited by TNS Political & Social. Brussels: GESIS Data Archive, Cologne.
- Eurostat (2016) "Education, employment, both or neither? What are young people doing in the EU?" *Eurostat Newsrelease*, 11 August 2016, 4, Luxembourg: Eurostat.
- Eurostat (2017) "People at risk of poverty or social exclusion" in *Eurostat Statistics Explained*, Luxembourg: Eurostat.
- Flavin, Patrick, and Michael J. Keane (2012) "Life Satisfaction and Political Participation: Evidence from the United States" *Journal of Happiness Studies* no. 13 (1):63-78.
- Garcia-Albacete, Gema (2014) *Young People's Political Participation in Western Europe: Continuity or Generational Change?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Grasso, Maria (2018) "Young People's Political Participation in Europe in Times of Crisis" in *Young People Re-Generating Politics in Times of Crises*, edited by Sarah Pickard and Judith Bessant, 179-196. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Halfon, Neal, Christopher B. Forrest, Richard M. Lerner, and Elaine M. Faustman (eds.) (2018) *Handbook of Life Course Health Development*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Jaime-Castillo, Antonio M. (2008) "Young People's Trajectories of Political Participation in Europe: Cohort Effects or Life-Cycle Effects?" *Young People's Studies Magazine* no. 81:63-87.
- Kieselbach, Thomas, Kees van Heeringen, Michele La Rosa, Louis Lemkow, Katerina Sokou, and Bengt Starrin (2001) *Living on the edge: An empirical analysis on long-term youth unemployment and social exclusion in Europe*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Labonté, Ronald, Abdullahel Hadi, and Xaxier E. Kauffmann (2011) *Indicators of Social Exclusion and Inclusion: A Critical and Comparative Analysis of the Literature*. Ottawa: Globalization and Health Equity Research Unit, Institute of Population Health, University of Ottawa.
- Levitas, Ruth, Christina Pantazis, Eldin Fahmy, David Gordon, Eva Lloyd, and Demi Patsios (2007) *The Multi-Dimensional Analysis of Social Exclusion*. Bristol: University of Bristol.
- Littlewood, Paul (2017) *Social exclusion in Europe: problems and paradigms*. London: Routledge.

- Meuris, Jirs, and Carrie R. Leana (2017) "The price of financial precarity: Personal finance as a barrier to work performance." *Academy of Management Proceedings* no. 1, 2017.
- Pouw, Nicky, and Katie Hodgkinson (2016) *SOS Children's Villages Literature Review: The Social Exclusion of Vulnerable Youth*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press.
- Ruspini, Elisabetta (2016) *A New Youth?: Young People, Generations and Family Life*. London: Routledge.
- Saunders, Peter, Megan Bedford, Judith E. Brown, Yuvisthi Naidoo, and Elizabeth Adamson (2018) "Material Deprivation and Social Exclusion Among Young Australians: A child-focused approach". In *SPRC Report 24/18*. Sydney: Social Policy Research Centre, UNSW Sydney.
- Scarpetta, Stefano, Anne Sonnet, and Thomas Manfredi (2010) "Rising Youth Unemployment During the Crisis: How to Prevent Negative Long-term Consequences on a Generation?" In *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers*. Paris: OECD.
- Sloam, James (2014) "New Voice, Less Equal: The Civic and Political Engagement of Young People in the United States and Europe" *Comparative Political Studies* no. 47 (5):663-688.
- Soler-i-Martí, Roger (2015) "Youth political involvement update: measuring the role of cause-oriented political interest in young people's activism" *Journal of Youth Studies* no. 18 (3):396-416.
- Tanner, Jennifer Lynn, and Jeffrey Jensen Arnett (2016) "The emergence of emerging adulthood: The new life stage between adolescence and young adulthood." in Andy Furlong (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood*, pp. 34-40. London: Routledge.
- Tanveer Choudhry, Misbah, Enrico Marelli, and Marcello Signorelli (2012) "Youth unemployment rate and impact of financial crises." *International Journal of Manpower* no. 33 (1):76-95.
- Tătar, Marius Ioan (2011a) *Participare politică și democrație în România după 1989*, PhD Thesis, Oradea: Universitatea din Oradea.
- Tătar, Marius Ioan (2011b) "Votez, deci exist? Un studiu longitudinal al participării la vot în alegerile parlamentare din România." *Sociologie Românească* (03):90-120.

- Tătar, Marius Ioan (2013) "From Partisanship to Abstention: Changing Types of Electoral Behavior in a New Democracy." *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* no. 7 (1):2-30.
- Tătar, Marius Ioan (2015a) "Rediscovering Protest: Reflections on the Development and Consequences of the Early 2012 Romanian Protests." *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* no. 9 (2):62-85.
- Tătar, Marius Ioan (2015b) "Selective or Generic Activism? Types of Participants, Political Action Repertoires and Mobilisation Capacity in a Post-Communist Society." *Europe-Asia Studies* no. 67 (8):1251-1281.
- Tătar, Marius Ioan (2016) "Democratization and Political Alienation: The Legacies of Post-Communist Transition in Romania." *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* no. 10 (2):85-108.
- The Electoral Commission (2005) *Social Exclusion and Political Engagement - Research Report*. edited by Catherine Johnson. London: The Electoral Commission.
- Thompson, Ron (2011) "Individualisation and social exclusion: the case of young people not in education, employment or training" *Oxford Review of Education* no. 37 (6):785-802.
- United Nations (2016) *Leaving No One Behind: The Imperative of Inclusive Development - Report on the World Social Situation 2016*. UN - Department of Economic and Social Affairs. New York: United Nations.
- Verba, Sidney, K. Schlozman, and H. E Brady (1995) *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Weil, Susan Warner, Danny Wildemeersch, and Barry Percy-Smith (2016) *Unemployed youth and social exclusion in Europe: learning for inclusion?* London: Routledge.
- Woodman, Dan (2016) "The sociology of generations and youth studies." in Andy Furlong (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood*. pp. 20-26, London: Routledge.

THE IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT ON MIGRATION

Zsolt BOTTYAN*

Abstract. *In the present paper I will analyze the conflicting ideologies regarding migration. The nations of Europe are facing the most difficult question after the fall of the Berlin Wall: will they remain distinct nations with a clearly defined cultural identity or will they be washed in a form of multiculturalism proposed by the globalist elites? The answer to this question is shaped by political, economic and cultural interest groups which are waging a cultural war in Europe and North America. The goal of this paper is to define the ideological groups participating in the conflict, to analyze their arguments and the possible consequences of the implementation of the resultant policies.*

Keywords: *ideology, migration, multiculturalism, secularism, globalism, national identity*

1. The problem of migration

There are two forms of migration that will have a major effect on the future of Europe: the “internal migration” which is made possible by the Union’s free movement agreement and the “external migration” which concerns the migratory movements towards Europe from the South and East, from demographically fast-growing areas that are characterized by economic, political and ecological hardships.

In the present paper I would like to analyze the ideological context of the debate regarding external migration that brought up many issues including xenophobia, racism, economic nationalism, concepts that were considered pertaining to the past of Europe.

The problem of external migration is not recent, Western Europe received large numbers of migrants from outside Europe, mainly from Africa and the Middle East for many decades (Hansen

* PhD University of Oradea, e-mail: bottyan.zsolt@gmail.com

2003). The issue was put to the forefront of the European debate by the events which occurred in 2015 at the border of Hungary where hundreds of thousands of migrants from Africa and the Middle East tried to go through the Hungarian border illegally towards countries such as Germany or Sweden. These events determined the Hungarian government to close their southern border with Serbia and Croatia with a barbed wire fence, a decision that caused a lot of controversy throughout the European Union. The Hungarian government was condemned as xenophobic, Islamophobic, that breaches the government commitments towards international engagements regarding refugees and asylum law.

The debate about what should be Europe's stance on migration was set in a dichotomous choice: should Europe welcome more migrants from the south and the east becoming a multicultural and multiracial society or should limit drastically the influx of migrants, retaining the national and Christian identity of Europe.

It's difficult to have an open conversation about migration because of the political correctness that engulfs and distorts any argument made in the public sphere. Accusations of xenophobia, racism are hurled without second thought at any opposing view of the leftist-progressist or liberal agenda on migration. National-conservative arguments face an uphill battle mainly because of their underrepresentation in the mainstream media and academia which represents almost exclusively the leftist-progressist and liberal vision in most European countries.

2. Some Aspects of ideological analysis

Latent social phenomena produce changes in society that sociologists measure post-factum trying to construct and validate statistically various hypotheses which sometimes amount to an explanatory pattern. Quantitative models based on attitudinal measurements rarely offer a satisfactory predictability of social phenomena and are presenting a truncated model of causality because they don't take in account the influence of ideological structures on social change. Migration is a phenomenon that cannot be explained only by "objective" or latent social factors and if we want to understand the evolution of this phenomena, we need to understand the ideological framework of migration next to the objective factors that are determining it.

Ideological analysis combines sociological measurements, document and discourse analysis to reveal the ideological structures and ideas that have an influence on society in a given historical place and time. In opposition to latent phenomena, ideologies have a more immediate influence on social change and are the determining factors in explaining social phenomena like migration which are creating a distinct awareness at political level.

Ideological analysis can be complicated as there are various nuances of the positions regarding the “cleavage” of migration. As the scope of the present article demands simplification, we can identify two main sides in this ideological debate: those who see an increased immigration in Europe as a positive development, as a solution to the demographic problem (Bouvier 2001, Keely 2001, Bijak, Kupiszewska et al. 2008) which plagued Europe for a long-time (Glass 1968) and those who see immigration as a direct attack on national identity, Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orban considering it as an “invasion” which will slowly replace the indigenous populations of the European continent ¹.

In Western Europe and in the USA, we have an unusual alliance between liberals, progressives and leftist political groups on the issue of migration. At a first glance it would be baffling to put in the same pot ideologies that seems incompatible as liberalism and various leftist (socialist) groups. Progressivism, which is a distinct American ideology, is more malleable and can be associated with both liberal and left-wing ideas (Eisenach 2006).

The modern-day liberals are proposing an extreme form of individualism which is strangely in a convergence with some leftist views. An example is the liberal-leftist convergence regarding gender and sexual ideology. Liberals emphasize the right of women to empower themselves and not to obey traditional social norms, going as far as suggesting that having no children offers women a more fulfilling life. Regarding sexuality, liberals champions the right of every person to define their own sexuality, considering non-heterosexual relationships or behavior as “normal” and equal in social value, describing them as “alternative lifestyles”. Leftist groups are close to these liberal views as they approach the same issues from the

¹ Interview with Hungary’s Viktor Orban - „You wanted the migrants – we didn’t! “. [online] Available at: <https://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/viktor-orban/exclusive-interview-with-viktor-orban-54405140.bild.html> [Accessed 5 Jul. 2019].

perspective of the “oppressed groups”: women, minority groups (racial, ethnic, sexual, religious etc.).

There are enough issues where the left and the liberals converge, forming, in many situations, a unified, functional ideological structure. One of the issues where these historically opposing groups are converging today is migration.

In ideological analysis, the elites play a greater role compared with the measurement of the attitudes of various social groups in explaining the prevalent ideological structures in a given society. The ideological elites define the cleavages in society and are proposing political solutions that determine social actions from various groups.

In Western Europe, after the Second World War, the liberal-leftist “establishment” was the elite that defined cleavages and solutions. The alternatives to the mainstream political thinking, dubbed by the establishment as “fringe politics”, were simply drowned out by the media and the academia. The liberal democracy of the West became a left-right rotation political game with less and less relevance regarding the substance of policies because there were minimal differences between the rotating establishment parties.

The “establishment” developed a set of “orthodox” policies that were maintained or minimally altered by the political parties that rotated in power. Often, these policies were developed based on social and economic theories (Dequech 2007, Dequech 2012) that were considered the correct way of thinking or scientifically grounded. Economists seemed to forget that every theory about society which goes beyond a banal quantitative assessment contains a certain amount of ideology. The establishment considered their own policies as the “optimal” solutions based on the “social science” behind them. As a reminder, we had in Marx an economist who viewed the “thinking” of the proletariat not as an ideology but as a set of ideas that were substantiated scientifically in contrast with capitalist thinking which he considered as pure ideology (Drucker 1972, Wood 2004), a theory that led to the forming of authoritarian socialist and communist governments in Europe. This is one of the most important shortcomings of the mainstream critique on alternative political thinking (populism), the fact that they consider their position as inherently superior, scientifically validated, negating practically any substantive debate on the issues often expressing authoritarian tendencies.

3. Europe divided: West vs. East

There's a geographic separation that mirrors the ideological divide in Europe on migration: North-Western Europe is more immigration friendly compared with Eastern and Central Europe.

The pro-immigration groups in Western Europe are represented by the mainstream political establishment, which contains mostly leftist or liberal (pseudo-conservative) parties that have an ecosystem formed by various lobby groups, the mainstream media and the humanities part of the academia. This ideological ecosystem sustained the political establishment that governed Western Europe after the Second World War, assuring through media and public discourse domination the prevalence of its ideology and policies. Some of the institutions of the European Union, like the Commission or the European Parliament, which are influenced and controlled by these power centers are also pro-immigration (we have yet to evaluate the changes of the position towards immigration in these structures after the European elections from May 2019).

The North-Western part of Europe enjoyed a half a century of prosperity in welfare economies which combined with the need for human resources for the economic growth after the Second World War made them more willing to open their societies towards migrants from outside Europe (Hansen 2003).

During the crisis of 2015 the establishment made it clear that they are willing to receive large numbers of people from outside of Europe. German chancellor Angela Merkel openly expressed the so called "Willkommenskultur" which is translated as "welcoming culture" towards migrants that came mostly from the Middle-East and Africa (Hamann and Karakayali 2016). Most of the migrants were Muslims that were in part refugees from the civil war in Syria, but many were economic migrants from countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan and other Middle Eastern or African Muslim countries. The legal status of the migrants represented an early point of debate between those who wanted to limit the numbers of the people received in Europe and those who argued that only the migrants that can reasonably prove their status as refugees should have permission to receive asylum in Europe.

In opposition, Central and Eastern European countries joined the European Union with a different historical background. These countries faced great economic hardship during the communist era

and in the transition period that followed the collapse of communism. The Central and Eastern Europeans never sought colonial exploits and never had imperial ambitions but instead struggled to maintain their sovereignty fighting various empires such as the Ottoman, Hapsburg or the Soviet Union. In Central and Eastern Europe there is little economic capability to integrate large numbers of migrants or ideological openness towards immigration especially from societies outside of Europe.

From these opposing ideological standpoints are emerging different views about the future of the European Union. The Franco-German establishment is favoring a European superstate which is multicultural and multi-racial, a sort of “United States of Europe” with a high internal and external mobility where the national identities are greatly weakened (Morgan 2009). Opposing this view, the current regimes that are governing Hungary and Poland, dubbed “populists” by their ideological opponents, are proposing a Europe of nations with low internal and external mobility and strong national identities. In opposing mass-immigration, Hungary and Poland are joined by other Central European countries such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria and recently from Southern Europe by Italy which is one of the most affected countries by illegal immigration.

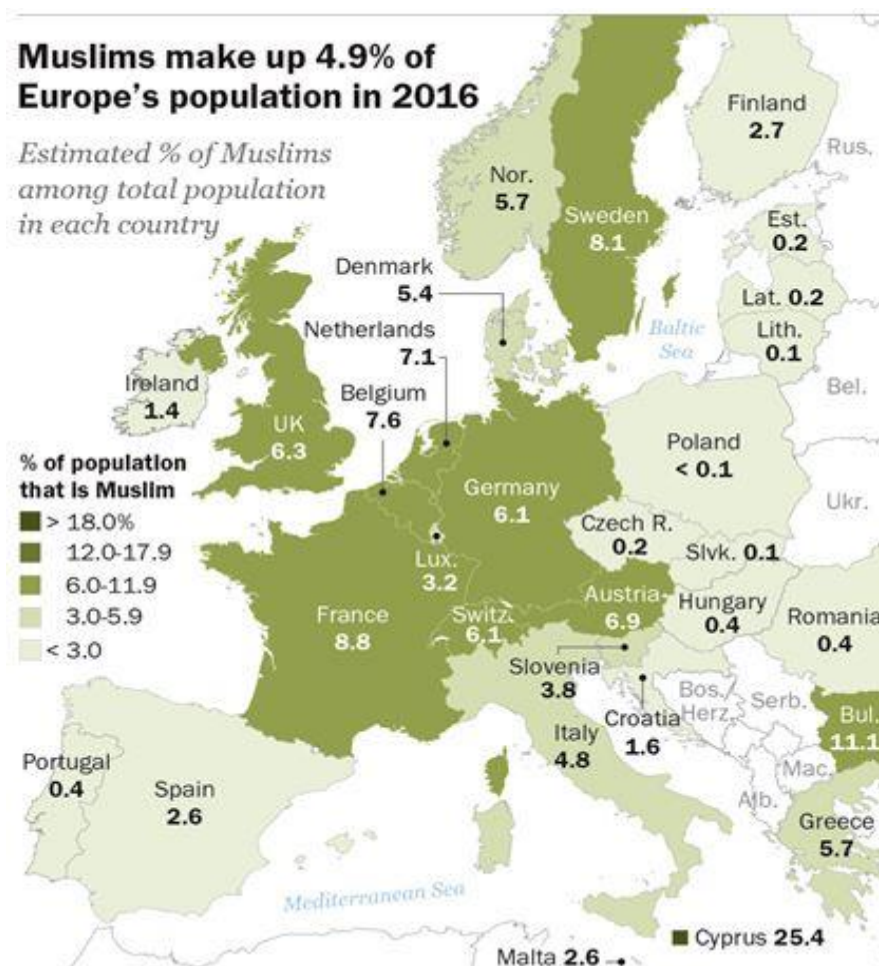
3.1 Multiculturalism in Western Europe: Secularism, Postnationalism and Globalism. The economic argument for immigration.

If we take in account the ethnical and religious identity, we can distinguish between three types of societies in Europe: societies with a strong ethnic and religious identity which are mostly represented by Central and Eastern European countries, “open” societies that lost their ethnic character and are deeply laicized which are situated mostly in the North-Western part of Europe, and in the South we have countries which are in transition between the aforementioned models (Greece, Italy, Spain).

At the center of the argument regarding migration is the ideological conflict between multicultural and ethnically homogenous societies. Western Europe was transformed after the Second World War from ethnically homogenous in multicultural

societies with considerable non-European, especially Muslim, minorities (see Fig.1).

Fig.1. Muslim population in Europe 2016.



Source: Pew Research Center, www.pewresearch.org Webpage: https://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/pf_11-29-17_muslims-update-20/ [Accessed 4 Jul. 2019]

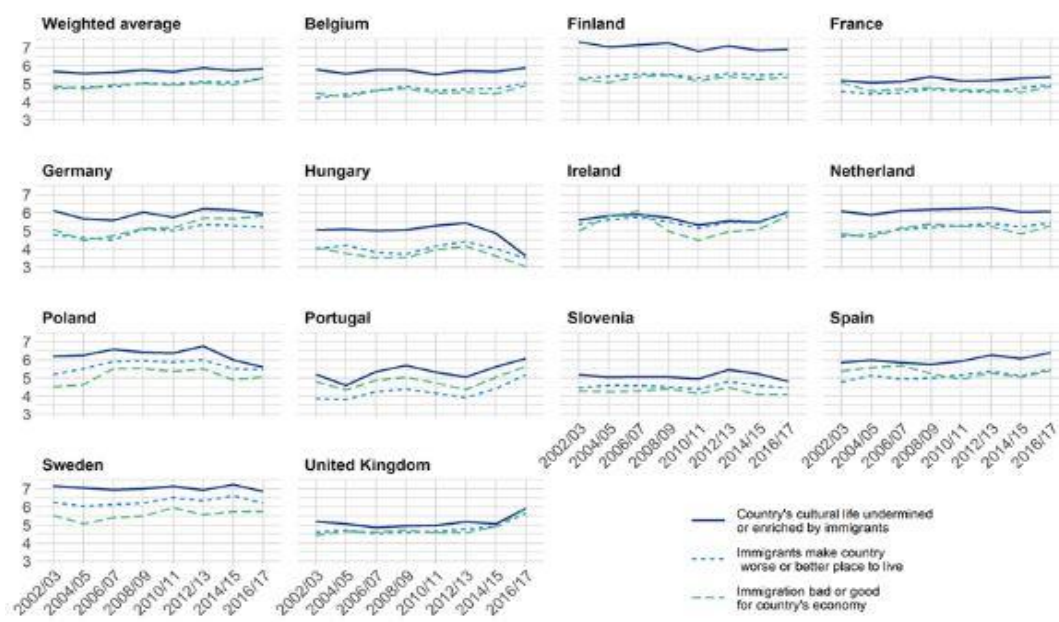
The Pew Research study underlines different scenarios for the countries of Europe regarding the proportion of the Muslim population². In a medium migration scenario, which I expect to happen

² Europe's Growing Muslim Population [online] Available at: Webpage: <https://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/> [Accessed 4 Jul. 2019]

if we take in account the migrational pressure from Muslim countries in the following decades, countries like Sweden, France or the UK will have close to 20% of the population Muslims. If we want to reduce the issues raised by multiculturalism, we can focus on two core issues: the relationship between Islam and European societies with a Christian heritage and the cohabitation between different races.

Western societies, which are more diverse racially, are more open towards immigrants and more willing to integrate them (fig.2).

Fig. 2. Attitudes towards migrants in Europe 2002-2017



Source: Europeans Are More Accepting of Immigrants Today than 15 Years Ago. Evidence from eight waves of the European Social Survey. Webpage: <https://www.medam-migration.eu/en/publication/europeans-are-more-accepting-of-immigrants-today-than-15-years-ago/> [Accessed 1 Jul. 2019]

This openness towards multiculturalism in Western Europe can be explained in part with the colonial past that created a complicated relationship towards the issues of race and multiculturalism in many societies in the West (Benjamin 2007, Pojmann 2008). As a response to its colonial past, in some parts of the West we can observe the development of the culture of “white guilt” as a way of reckoning with hundreds of years of exploitation and segregation justified at the time with racist and white supremacist theories. Despite an unparalleled access to political rights of racial and ethnic minorities in the West, we

can observe a surge in anti-racist attitudes inside of the millennial generation in the USA and Europe, through aggressive movements like Antifa ³, which is fueled by social theories developed in the social science fields in the academia. The main arguments in these theories about racism are the concepts of “white privilege” (Kendall 2012, McIntosh 2018) and “structural or systemic racism” which, in the view of the leftist ideologues, is still persistent in contemporary Western societies. Structural or systemic racism was a system of oppression based on racist theories applied in the USA (Feagin 2013) and in the former European colonies but it’s questionable to equate the racism in those situations with the problem of preserving national identity that confronts contemporary Western societies.

It would be incorrect to say that an overwhelming majority of Western Europeans considers immigration as a favorable development. There is a distinct disconnect between the attitudes toward migration in some Western countries and the positions that some mainstream political parties and their ecosystem take on the issue. I presented above the “Willkommenskultur” policy promoted at the beginning of the crisis in 2015 by the German government. Merkel was swiftly criticized by the AFD (Alternative for Germany) and by the CSU (Christian Social Union in Bavaria), overestimating the support of the German public about receiving 1 million refugees most of them fleeing the Syrian war. If the position of AFD, a far-right, anti-immigration party is not surprising ⁴, the CSU clearly felt that the moderately conservative German electorate is concerned about the migration friendly policies of the government so they tried to position themselves ahead of CDU (Christian Democratic Union of Germany) in Bavaria⁵. The pressure was effective, and the chancellor changed the tune on migration by cutting a deal with Turkey in March 2016 that would stop the migration route from the Turkish refugee camps towards Europe. The deal proved

³ Antifa attack conservative blogger Andy Ngo amid violence at Portland Proud Boys protest [online] Available at: <https://news.yahoo.com/antifa-attack-conservative-blogger-andy-115152895.html> [Accessed 5 Jul. 2019]

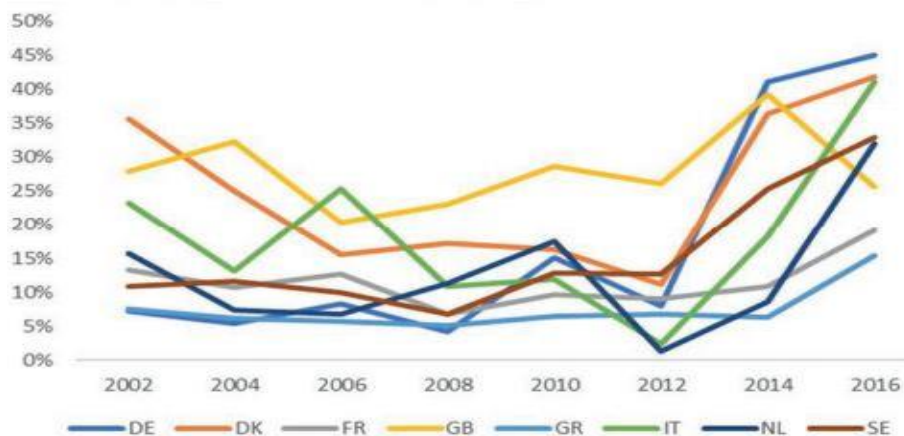
⁴ Migration [online] Available at: <https://www.afd.de/migrationspolitik/> [Accessed 3 Jul. 2019]

⁵ Bavarian CSU takes tough migration stance but rejects far-right [online] Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-politics-csu/bavarian-csu-takes-tough-migration-stance-but-rejects-far-right-idUSKCN1LV0K2> [Accessed 3 Jul. 2019]

efficient in cutting drastically the number of migrants that came to Europe from Turkey ⁶.

It can be observed from the analysis of the Eurobarometer data, made by James Dennison and Teresa Talò, regarding attitudes towards migration (fig.3) that starting from 2012 there is a significant increase in the percentage of people who considers immigration as the most important issue facing their country. Germany and Italy, two of the most important European countries from the perspective of the issue of migration, Italy is the door of the North-African migration route and Germany is the most seek after countries by immigrants, are registering a steep increase in people who see immigration as the most important issue facing their nation.

Fig. 3. Percentage of the population that picked immigration as the most important issue facing their country between 2002 and 2016 (Eurobarometer)



Source: Attitudes towards immigration in Europe: myths and realities. Explaining variation in attitudes to immigration in Europe, James Dennison and Teresa Talò, (Page. 9). Webpage: https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/findings/IE_Handout_FINAL.pdf [Accessed 4 Jul. 2019]

The critique of multiculturalism it's beginning to get steam even in the West. Former champions of multiculturalism like Angela Merkel were obliged by the political realities to change their position

⁶ EU-TURKEY STATEMENT Two years on [online] Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/20180314_eu-turkey-two-years-on_en.pdf [Accessed 5 Jul. 2019].

on multiculturalism and migration. At the end of 2015, when the political consequences of the wave of 1 million refugees who entered Germany were obvious, the German Chancellor came out with a more nuanced speech: "Multiculturalism leads to parallel societies" and represents a "lie of life" or "fiction," Merkel said, adding that Germany "can reach its limits by accepting more refugees", stating the idea of a significant reduction in the number of refugees ⁷.

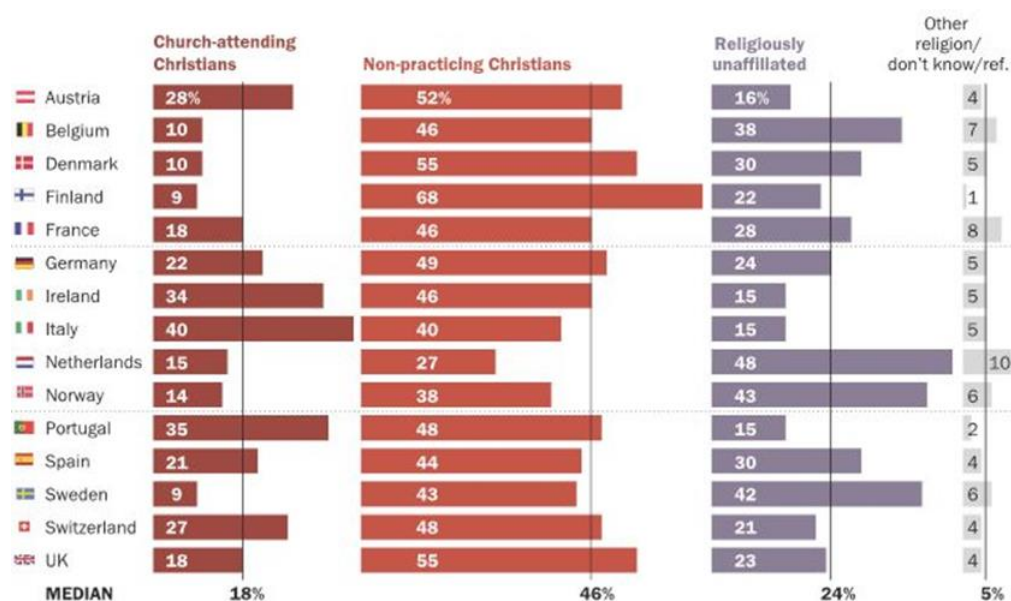
The main catalysts of multiculturalism in Western Europe is secularism and globalism. One of the common, orthodox, convictions of the liberal, leftist establishment parties and their ecosystem was the idea that the future of humanity lies in globalization and in supra-national structures. The old nation-state is almost dead in the West, they argued, because is becoming practically devoid of any traditional characteristics such as religious or ethnic identity (Hoffmann 1966, Holton 2011). One of the main issues raised by this paradigm was if democracy, as a functional governance system, is possible outside the nation-state (Zürn 2000). Many establishment political thinkers advanced the idea of a European "superstate", which will take over several functions of the nation-state, while being less concerned by the issues regarding democratic oversight and emphasizing the benefits: less nationalism, more mobility and free trade (Morgan 2009).

The left had internationalist roots, which helped disseminating their politics, but they were historically more protectionist than favoring free trade. At end of the 20'th century, the left in Western Europe turned towards the political center. The process was named by Giddens the "Third Way" (Giddens 1998) and changed the left's view on globalization and trade: they were accused of betraying the interest of the working class whose jobs they shipped to low-wage countries putting an important pressure on the middle class which basically sustained Western democracies (Giddens 2013). Before the financial crisis of 2007-2008 there was a debate about the costs and benefits of outsourcing well-paying jobs which pro-globalist economists seemed to have won in first instance (Bhagwati 2004) manipulating the public with "scientific" arguments, but the mainstream orthodoxy ultimately lost politically at the voting ballots

⁷ Multiculturalism remains a life lie [online] Available at: <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/fluechtlinge-angela-merkel-spricht-von-historischer-bewaehrungsprobe-fuer-europa-a-1067685.html> [Accessed 2 Jul. 2019]

to populists because the reality of globalization (loss of jobs, migration) kicked in. In the USA one of the main issues of the winning Trump campaign was the deindustrialization of the USA made in the benefit of the Chinese economy⁸.

Fig. 4. Christian religiosity in Western Europe



Source: Pew Research Center, www.pewresearch.org.

Webpage: <https://www.pewforum.org/2018/05/29/being-christian-in-western-europe/>
 [Accessed 5 Jul. 2019]

If the economy is the endgame of globalism, a prerequisite is creating a social acceptance through promoting multiculturalism and simultaneously weakening national identity. The West undermined the national identities starting with The Enlightenment. This statement may seem an exaggeration because many national identities in Western Europe were in full development and transformation reaching their peak in the two major cataclysms of the 20th century. My argument regards the application of the principle of separation between church and state, formulated as a clear political principle in the Age of Enlightenment, which was interpreted in an anti-religious or, to be more specific, in an anti-Christian manner by the progressive Western elites. This antagonistic attitude towards

⁸ Donald Trump, Made in China, By Reihan Salam [online] Available at: <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2016/01/donald-trumps-insurgent-candidacy-has-been-fueled-by-chinese-driven-job-losses.html> [Accessed 1 Jul. 2019]

religion determined the overwhelming secularization of the West towards the end of the 20th century (Fig.4).

The war on Christianity was waged, after the Second World War, by the mainstream elites of Western Europe which included Christian Democrat parties which slowly abandoned their Christian roots and steered toward the center-left (Hanley 1996). For example, in Italy, where Christianity was still an important part of society and politics after the War, we witnessed a strong secular shift towards the end of the 20th century caused by the compromise made by the Second Vatican Council with the secular establishment that greatly diminished the influence of the Church in society (Pollard 2008) and the implosion of the Italian Christian Democracy Party under the evidence of ties with the Mafia (Gehler and Kaiser 2004). At the end of the 20th century, Christianity ceased to remain a living force in people's life in the West (fig.4) becoming practically a cultural relic.

Religion is one of the defining elements of national identity which interweaves with ethnic elements such as language or traditions. We can talk about Polish, Italian or German Catholicism and Serb, Bulgarian or Romanian orthodoxy. There are similarities between those national iterations of religions but there are a lot of differences that contributes to a unique national culture and identity.

The loss of an religion that underlines a national identity in Western cultures not only deprived those societies of a strong moral basis, role which humanism, which was a form de-theologized Christian morality, or secular jurisprudence could never fulfill, but made those societies incapable to respond to aggressive religious minorities, with a strong sense of identity like the Muslims (Fetzer and Soper 2005). Some will argue that the secular West is stable, less corrupt than the more religious Central and Eastern European nations. The order and stability that the West enjoyed after the Second World War it's less the result of a flimsy secular moral philosophy but it's more the result of the inertia of a moral system that was developed for centuries, which evolved in a sort of utilitarianism checked and guided by Christian principles (which were later replaced by humanist principles), and by the welfare state that the west was able to build after the war. We can imagine a scenario where, in scarce economic conditions, the Western democracies would crumble similarly to the Central and Eastern European nations under communism because the secular morality

system have little capability of guiding and limiting human behavior without an authoritarian regime.

Multiculturalism it's a catalyst of the acceptance of immigration by the native populations but it's not the root cause of initiating it. The initial motives that opened the gates of migration towards Western Europe were twofold: the economic motive of supplying workers to a growing economy with an aging population and the historical motive of responding with openness towards people that were soliciting asylum from countries that were former colonies of European powers (Hansen 2003).

If multiculturalism and "the historical guilt" of former colonial powers are pure ideological aspects of migration, the economic argument seems to be, at least on the surface, an objective, measurable argument for encouraging migration. The economic argument is intertwined with the demographic problems that Europe's aging societies are facing. We can separate two aspects of the economic argument: first an expanding economy needs more workers who are willing to do jobs that the natives are avoiding, and secondly there is the social security issue of paying the checks for the pensioners.

Economists often push in the mainstream media for increased immigration to solve Europe's economic growth problems⁹. Economic analysis show the net positive outcome of integrating migrants on the medium to long term (Kancs and Lecca 2018). But these measurements regarding economic growth are "guided" by basic ideological positions these economists are coming from. There is a banal quantitative relationship between economic growth, growth sustainability and population size (structure) but the crux of the growth issue is ideologic in nature: would I want to live in a country with high growth rates and high immigration, which becomes more crowded? The idea of continuous "economic growth" as a must follow principle for economic decisions is an ideological position that stems from the unspoken principle of the orthodox economic view that "people are here for the economy". If we reverse that aforementioned principle to "the economy is for the people" the growth issue is becoming more nuanced, it's less easy to evaluate compared with the constant growth necessity of the orthodox view. These types of growth analysis ignore an entire shift in Western

⁹ Immigration is vital to boost economic growth, Ian Goldin [online] Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/f1ca7b14-b1d6-11e8-87e0-d84e0d934341> [Accessed 1 Jul. 2019]

culture that is masked by the solution of immigration: the processes that are changing the social fabric of western societies such as the weakening of the heterosexual family, the altering of gender roles and sexual behavior that directly affects the demographic parameters and, by consequence, economic growth.

3.2 Central and Eastern Europe: The Rebirth of Nationalism

The debate on multiculturalism raised the issue of the meaning of nationality. If there is no more a distinct and unifying cultural elements besides language, which is by the way undermined by the internet and the omnipresent English language, what is the purpose of the concept of nation? The latter question raises another ideological issue: is the loss of national identity a good or a bad development, what will be the effects on society (Cesarani and Fulbrook 1996)? Some thinkers are arguing that the dissolution of nations is a good process because strong national identity it's leading to nationalism and ultimately to conflicts (Hoffmann 1966).

These views simply dismiss the role played by national identity in social cohesion, sustainable development and democratic governance, role that a supra-state structure cannot take over. Multiculturalism it's not capable of shaping an identity for a group, it's only diluting the national identity, pushing the culture towards cosmopolitanism that melts in a limited set of abstract ideas that formed what we call today "correct political thinking" which dominates the Western public discourse. Multiculturalism is not enriching culturally the world, on the contrary, it's destroying vibrant cultures replacing them with an uniformized culture. This manipulative environment created by the mainstream, establishment parties and their ecosystem in the West contributed to the strong populist response that we see in Europe, in the USA and in many other parts of the world.

One of the most important voices against multiculturalism is the Hungarian prime-minister Viktor Orban. He is constantly vilified by the pro-immigration forces in Western Europe for his firm stance on defending the sovereignty of Hungary and for his strong anti-immigration stance by sealing Hungary's southern border from illegal immigrants and for not accepting the proposed quota system regarding the redistribution of migrants from other European Union

countries¹⁰. Orban expressed his opposition to multiculturalism favoring a homogenous society from ethnic and religious perspective. The Hungarian leader affirmed that he wants to build an ‘illiberal’ state which was interpreted by his detractors that he wants to create in Hungary an authoritarian political system such as Putin’s regime in Russia or the Erdogan’s regime in Turkey. Orban clarified that by illiberal state he means a state based on national conservative and Christian values that is opposed ideologically to the liberal open societies of Western Europe¹¹. In Orban’s vision everything is negotiable in a democratic system besides national identity. This position was dubbed by the leftist and liberal propaganda as a far-right, outright fascist ideology which is in opposition with the European values.

Central and Eastern European societies never had the pretension of representing a universal culture that some Western European national cultures had. Always worried about their sovereignty, Central and Eastern European societies cherished their heritage, traditions and kept their ethnic identities. So, while a Moroccan can become French in a cultural sense because of the perception of French culture as a universal culture that can embed different ethnicities and religions, he will never become a Romanian or a Hungarian unless he renounces his traditions and religion. Nationality means more ethnicity than citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe, with a clear distinction between political and cultural identity. This makes integration of people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds more difficult and a good example is the failure to integrate the Roma community in Eastern and Central Europe even after hundreds of years of cohabitation.

Secularization in Central and Eastern Europe, led by the principle of separating church and state, never had the anti-religious and anti-Christian fervor of the process in the West. The individualism generated by Protestantism was much less present in Central and Eastern Europe. Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy,

¹⁰ Hungary 'will never accept mandatory quota system for migrants (interview with Péter Sziijártó Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Hungary) [online] Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d-Kw8kZtejc> [Accessed 1 Jul. 2019]

¹¹ Full text of Viktor Orbán’s speech at Băile Tuşnad (Tusnádfürdő) of 26 July 2014 [online] Available at: <https://budapestbeacon.com/full-text-of-viktor-orbans-speech-at-baile-tusnad-tusnadfurdo-of-26-july-2014/> [Accessed 2 Jul. 2019]

which are prevalent in the region, is emphasizing more on the religious communities than on the individual, religion being more embedded in society and with politics comparatively with the West. Central and Eastern European countries are more religious than Western societies, Romania and Poland being one of the most religious countries in the European Union¹². The fact that religious identity is stronger in Central Europe makes very difficult the acceptance of a large number of migrants with a different religious background.

This idea of cultural incompatibility between a culture with Cristian roots and Muslim communities was formulated clearly by the Hungarian prime-minister Viktor Orban, the undisputed ideologue of the anti-migrant forces in Europe¹³. In Orban's vision "Christian culture determines the morals of our daily lives" and "The essence is not how many people go to church, or how many pray with true devotion. Culture is the reality of everyday life: how we speak and behave towards one another; the distance we keep from one another and how we approach one another; how we enter this world, and how we leave it". It's clear from his words that he sees Christianity not as a transcendental or theological presence in modern European societies but more as an ethical and political foundation or a way of life, position which is congruent with the revival of Christian Democracy in Hungary one of the most non-religious countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

Orban's position on Christianity and migration it's at odds with the Pope's vision and that is raising several issues not only because Hungary is a majority Catholic country but because the Pope's vision seems to be backed more by the Bible and especially by the New Testament. The position of the Pope on migration is well known, expressed many times publicly, where he advocates for the receiving and integration of migrants, criticizing the actions of the Hungarian government by saying that: "Builders of walls, be they made of razor wire or bricks, will end up becoming prisoners of the walls they

¹² How do European countries differ in religious commitment? Jonathan Evans, Chris Baronavski [online] Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/05/how-do-european-countries-differ-in-religious-commitment/> [Accessed 2 Jul. 2019]

¹³ We must defend Christian culture. Orban Viktor [online] Available at: <http://www.miniszterelnok.hu/we-must-defend-christian-culture/> [Accessed 25 Jun. 2019]

build.”¹⁴. On the other hand, Orban’s ideological oeuvre is not shying away from theological arguments. He used Christ’s second commandment “Love your neighbor as yourself” from the Gospel of Saint Mark, emphasizing that love of another is not possible if you don’t love yourself which is primordial. Transposing the argument from the individual level to a nation, in Orban’s view if you don’t love your culture, if you don’t have a strong national identity you cannot appreciate another’s culture or identity.

In this framework of thinking, limited immigration that don’t affect a nation’s identity is possible but mass immigration that could deeply affect a society’s culture and identity is not acceptable. The love of your culture means that you want to keep it and pass it on to future generations, but mass-migration equates with abandoning your identity and giving your homeland to others who never fought for it end never felt anything special for it.

4. Conclusions

The ideological war on migration continues and the parties involved have diametrically opposed views without the possibility of a compromise in the near future. The conservatives struggle to create a coherent ideology mainly because they have weakened elites, conservative views being marginalized in the academia and in the media. There is a real danger in a revival of national extremism that could undermine the goal of preserving the national cultures and identities. Central and Eastern European countries can only defend their identities and cultures if they act together on the issues that undermines national identities and cultures, including migration.

The liberal, progressist and leftist continuum still argues from an arrogant and politically irresponsible position by considering their ideas about migration as implicitly the right ones refuting substantive debates on the issue. Their proposals are sometimes just impractical and politically bankrupt, such as the open borders proposal for migrants from American progressives, alienating many people who want stability and security for their countries, thereby facilitating a populist and nationalist resurgence in Europe.

¹⁴ Pope criticizes building walls to keep migrants out. [online] Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-immigration-border-pope/pope-criticizes-building-walls-to-keep-migrants-out-idUSKCN1RC0UO> [Accessed 25 Jun. 2019]

Southern migration will remain a constant problem for Europe, despite the considerable decrease in the number of migrants from 2015, which is the result of strong anti-migration measures such as the EU-Turkey migration agreement, the Hungarian border fence and Italy's intransigence on maritime migration. In the coming decades, even if the Middle East and North-Africa somehow stabilizes politically, which is highly unlikely, climate change and demographic trends will determine an increased pressure of migration from the region towards Europe. The Union has two options: either it will find a compromise between the two opposite factions on migration, or it will break apart.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Benjamin, T. (2007). *Encyclopedia of Western colonialism since 1450*, Macmillan reference USA.
- Bhagwati, J. N. (2004). *In defense of globalization*, Oxford University Press New York.
- Bijak, J., et al. (2008). "Replacement migration revisited: Simulations of the effects of selected population and labor market strategies for the aging Europe, 2002–2052." *Population Research and Policy Review* 27(3): 321-342.
- Bouvier, L. F. (2001). "Replacement migration: Is it a solution to declining and aging populations?" *Population and Environment* 22(4): 377-381.
- Cesarani, D. and M. Fulbrook (1996). *Citizenship, nationality, and migration in Europe*, Psychology Press.
- Dequech, D. (2007). "Neoclassical, mainstream, orthodox, and heterodox economics." *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics* 30(2): 279-302.
- Dequech, D. (2012). *Post Keynesianism, heterodoxy, and mainstream economics*. In *Defense of Post-Keynesian and Heterodox Economics*, Routledge: 103-119.
- Drucker, H. M. (1972). "Marx's Concept of Ideology." *Philosophy* 47(180): 152-161.
- Eisenach, E. J. (2006). *Social and Political Thought of American Progressivism*, Hackett Publishing.
- Feagin, J. (2013). *Systemic racism: A theory of oppression*, Routledge.

- Fetzer, J. S. and J. C. Soper (2005). *Muslims and the state in Britain, France, and Germany*, Cambridge University Press.
- Gehler, M. and W. Kaiser (2004). *Christian Democracy in Europe since 1945*, Routledge.
- Giddens, A. (1998). *The third way: The renewal of social democracy*, Polity.
- Giddens, A. (2013). *The third way and its critics*, John Wiley & Sons.
- Glass, D. V. (1968). "Fertility trends in Europe since the second world war." *Population Studies* 22(1): 103-146.
- Hamann, U. and S. Karakayali (2016). "Practicing Willkommenskultur: migration and solidarity in Germany." *Intersections* 2(4).
- Hanley, D. L. (1996). *Christian democracy in Europe: a comparative perspective*, Pinter Pub Ltd.
- Hansen, R. (2003). "Migration to Europe since 1945: its history and its lessons." *The Political Quarterly* 74(s 1): 25-38.
- Hoffmann, S. (1966). *Obstinate or obsolete? The fate of the nation-state and the case of Western Europe*, na.
- Holton, R. J. (2011). *Globalization and the nation state*, Macmillan Education UK.
- Kancs, d. A. and P. Lecca (2018). "Long-term social, economic and fiscal effects of immigration into the EU: The role of the integration policy." *The World Economy* 41(10): 2599-2630.
- Keely, C. (2001). "Replacement migration: The wave of the future?" *International Migration* 39(6): 103-110.
- Kendall, F. (2012). *Understanding white privilege: Creating pathways to authentic relationships across race*, Routledge.
- McIntosh, P. (2018). *White privilege and male privilege*. Privilege, Routledge: 28-40.
- Morgan, G. (2009). *The Idea of a European Superstate: Public Justification and European Integration-New Edition*, Princeton University Press.
- Pojmann, W. (2008). *Migration and Activism in Europe since 1945*, Springer.
- Pollard, J. (2008). *Catholicism in modern Italy: Religion, society and politics since 1861*, Routledge.
- Wood, A. W. (2004). *KARL MARX*. New York, Routledge.
- Zürn, M. (2000). "Democratic governance beyond the nation-state: The EU and other international institutions." *European Journal of International Relations* 6(2): 183-221.

EUROPEAN INTEGRATIONIST ASPIRATIONS - A FACTOR DRIVING THE MOLDOVAN-FRENCH PARTNERSHIP

Violeta COTILEVICI*
Svetlana CEBOTARI**

Abstract. *Given the intensification of globalization and regionalization processes around the globe, the bilateral and multilateral cooperation has become fundamental today, and a subject arising in political and academic discourse. In the context of new geopolitical metamorphoses, bilateral cooperation is posing new challenges for states and institutions to promote foreign policy. Under the conditions of regional integration processes, the sovereignty of states and their diplomacy are indispensable elements, including for the Republic of Moldova, that requires support for the European integration process. One of the central goals of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova remains the extension of the bilateral relations with the European states, among which the French Republic, one of the main founders of the European Union. For the Republic of Moldova, the political, economic and socio-cultural support granted by France represents a clear support in the process of democratization of society, of economic reforms and, in particular, of our country's rapprochement with European standards and values. Under this aspect, the French Republic intervenes as the most honourable partner which permanently supports Moldova, a state distinguished by Latinity, the respect for the values of the French people and belonging to the francophone space. In the context of France's essential weight on the international arena, the continuous development of Moldovan-French cooperation becomes a priority of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova.*

Keywords: *European integration process, foreign policy vectors, European standards, Moldovan-French cooperation.*

* PhD student, lecturer, Moldova State University, Department of International Relations, Email: violetterosca@yahoo.fr

** PhD habilitat in Political Sciences, associate professor, Moldova State University, Department of International Relations, Email: svetlana.cebotari1973@mail.ru

Given the intensification of globalization and regionalization processes present around the globe, the bilateral and multilateral cooperation has become fundamental today, and a subject present in political and academic discourse. Both bilateral and multilateral cooperation becomes the area of manifestation of the foreign policy vectors of all international law actors, including the Republic of Moldova. In the context of new geopolitical metamorphoses, bilateral cooperation is launching new challenges for states and institutions to promote foreign policy. Under the conditions of regional integration processes, sovereignty of states and their diplomacy are indispensable elements, including for the Republic of Moldova, that requires support for the European integration process. One of the central goals of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova remains the extension of the bilateral relations with the European states, among which the French Republic, one of the main founders of the European Union. It should be noted that the complexity of this foreign policy stance requires the building of a consolidated dialogue with the states that can plead for the pro-European cause of the Republic of Moldova and which will identify the most fundamental affinities regarding the international or cultural evolutions. For the Republic of Moldova, the political, economic and socio-cultural support granted by France represents a clear support in the process of democratization of society, of economic reforms and, in particular, of our country's rapprochement with European standards and values. Under this aspect, the French Republic intervenes as the most honorable partner which permanently supports Moldova, a state distinguished by Latinity, the respect for the values of the French people and belonging to the francophone space. The inherence of the expanding of the regulatory framework for cooperation and fostering greater political, economic and sociocultural interactivity is a current topic. In the context of France's essential weight on the international arena, the continuous development of Moldovan-French cooperation becomes a priority of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova.

The Republic of Moldova remains involved in a complicated process of building its foreign policy, having important premises for mutually beneficial cooperation with the European countries. The specific geopolitical situation sparks a greater focus on our country from the international community (Hotărâre pentru aprobarea..., 1995).

Placed in a geographical area currently encompassed by complex processes of transition from a totalitarian system to democracy and a market economy, Moldova can not remain outside the integration processes existing in the European space. The Republic of Moldova is positively influenced by the processes taking place in the West. Being a young state, which gained independence 28 years ago and at the junction of three macro-regions – Central Europe, the Balkans and the Commonwealth of Independent States, our country is trying to find its place in these processes (Cebotari, Saca, Coropcean, 2008).

In the context of integration processes in the European space, it is worth studying the relations between the Republic of Moldova and the French Republic. Analyzing the political and legal basis of the Moldovan-French relations, it is worth mentioning that France could become one of the main partners and supporters of the Republic of Moldova in the process of EU integration. In the context of the European integration process of the Republic of Moldova, it is noted that the bilateral dialogue derives from the need to strengthen the European area by cultivating and strengthening the interstate relations, focusing on respecting the universal values of freedom, democracy and solidarity, as well as respecting human rights.

France represents a privileged partner of the Republic of Moldova in the development of the potential for connecting to European standards. The goals accomplished so far in the Moldovan-French cooperation could be a start for modernizing the country on the basis of the European model. With the objective of European integration, the Republic of Moldova is constantly trying to consolidate its relations with all the European states, especially those that have been the basis for the creation of the European Union. Moldovan-French relations advanced in the period 1992-1998. Thus, analysing the Moldovan-French relations, it is worth mentioning that they were legally recorded on 12 March 1992 in Paris by signing the Protocol on Establishing Diplomatic Relations between the French Republic and the Republic of Moldova. The signing of the Protocol on Cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova and the French Republic on 29 January 1993 in Paris, is another step in fortifying the political and legal basis of the Moldovan-French relations. Willing to contribute to the development of friendly relations between the peoples of the two states and to

establish close cooperation between them, the parties agreed on consultations on interstate relations, the implementation of bilateral agreements, as well as international issues of common interest (Tratatate naționale la care Republica Moldova este parte, 1999:412).

Analysing the political and legal framework of the Moldovan-French cooperation, it is worth mentioning that it is based on the “Treaty of friendship, understanding and co-operation between the Republic of Moldova and the French Republic” signed on 29 January 1993 and entered into force on 1 December 1995 (Traité d’amitié, d’entente et de coopération, 1995). This is the only such treaty signed between France and a Western country. The Treaty marks the traditional relations of friendship, cultural and civilizational proximity between the French and the Moldovan people. Thus, by analysing the provisions of the Treaty, it is worth mentioning that bilateral dialogue derives from the need to strengthen European solidarity through a rapprochement between states based on the respect for the universal values of freedom, democracy and solidarity, and the respect for human rights. Through this Treaty, the French Republic and the Republic of Moldova have committed themselves to developing relations of trust and cooperation in all areas.

Also, subjecting to the analysis of the political and legal framework of the Moldovan-French relations, it is worth mentioning that, with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, numerous visits and high-level exchanges have taken place that have helped to strengthen and deepen political relations. Thus, on January 28-30, 1993, the first official visit to the French Republic was held by the first President of the Republic of Moldova M. Snegur.

This event was followed by other high-profile visits that strengthened relations between the Republic of Moldova and France. In this context, it is also worth mentioning the working visit to the French Republic on June 28, 1995, of P. Lucinschi, President of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova. In his capacity as President of the Republic of Moldova, P. Lucinschi paid an official visit to France from September 7-9, 1997. This visit was considered the first one made by P. Lucinschi in a G7 member country and was conceived as a possibility to convey a clear message to the Western powers that the Republic of Moldova has chosen the way of integration into the European Union. In the document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova *Benchmarks for the*

meetings of President Lucinschi with the French officials it is mentioned that it is very important that France becomes the promoter and catalyst of our country's EU accession. The factors that determine this situation are multiple: the community with a common Latin origin, the special interest for France, its language and culture, historically established in Moldova, our country's membership in the Francophonie, which was a deliberate and conscious choice supported by the entire political spectrum in the country (Arhiva curentă a MAEIE a Republicii Moldova, p. 66).

The historic visit with great importance in forging the Moldovan-French relations is that of the French President in the Republic of Moldova, J. Chirac, on 4 September 1998. During the plenary sitting of the official delegations of the two countries, there was an emphasis on the desideratum for France to continue being an active supporter of the process of the European integration of the Republic of Moldova. President Lucinschi outlined the Republic of Moldova's vision of the process of enlargement of the EU and Moldova's gradual integration strategy into the EU. In particular, the desire to start negotiations on the EU Association Agreement was raised. President J. Chirac reconfirmed France's position on the Republic of Moldova, pointing out that his country, like the European Union, wants to see Moldova as a free, independent and territorially integrated country. It was pointed out that the visit of the French President to Chisinau was very important for the prospects of Moldovan reforms and was conceived as an impetus for the Moldovan-French bilateral relations as well as the process of integration into the European Community. The French President recalled that the Republic of Moldova had been through a difficult period, suffering from the totalitarian disease, and does not need protectors, but rather friends. France can behave like a friend who helps in difficult moments, but it is not empowered to give lessons to anyone. J. Chirac underlined the essence of his visit to the Republic of Moldova – to express solidarity on the behalf of France as well as the European Union. According to the French President, Moldova is a country with an European vocation and has every right to benefit from it (Arhiva curentă a MAEIE a Republicii Moldova, p.6).

In the conclusion of an informative note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova it was said that the official visit of the President of the French Republic to Chisinau

demonstrated: the importance that France attached to cooperation with the Republic of Moldova, a member state of the Francophonie; the support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova; the political will of France and personally of President J. Chirac to provide political support to the Republic of Moldova; the support granted by France to the aspirations of the Republic of Moldova for EU integration; France's increasing interest in the development of commercial and economic relations between our countries and especially the intention of the new French companies to invest in the economy of the Republic of Moldova (Arhiva curentă a MAEIE a Republicii Moldova, p. 9).

The years 1997, 1998 could be qualified as landmark years in the Moldovan-French relations. Starting its activity in Paris in 1997, the Embassy of the Republic of Moldova has made considerable efforts in developing multidimensional relations with France: obtaining political, economic and financial support. The major event was the visit of the President of the Republic of Moldova P. Lucinschi to France and the visit of President J. Chirac to Moldova, which gave a new impetus to the Moldovan-French relations.

Another step that brought the Republic of Moldova closer to the French Republic was the December 1998 and June 2001 visit of Deputy Minister for Cooperation and the Francophonie Ch. Josselin. The perspectives of the Moldovan-French bilateral relations were discussed on March 12, 1999 during the meeting between I. Leanca, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Republic of Moldova, and D. Chassart, Head of the Continental Europe Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic. The present visit of the Chief of the Continental Europe Directorate is part of the provisions of the Cooperation Protocol in force between the Moldovan and French Foreign Ministries and is a continuation of the political and diplomatic dialogue between our countries. At the same meeting, the priority of the gradual integration into the European ensemble was reaffirmed as a strategic objective of the Republic of Moldova and the wish for France to be a supporter and promoter of the Republic of Moldova's accession to the EU (Arhiva curentă a MAEIE a Republicii Moldova, p.34).

Since 1999, the Moldovan-French relations have been enhanced by Moldovan authorities' visits to the French Republic. Among these, the one that deserves special attention is the visit to

Paris in September 1999, by the then Prime Minister I. Sturza. During the meetings, the French officials stated that the Republic of Moldova occupied a special and privileged place in the foreign policy of France. It was mentioned that France will support Moldova for European integration and will encourage it on the path of reforms. The Prime Minister's visit was very successful, and the French authorities had a very benevolent and cooperative attitude with the Republic of Moldova. The bilateral talks revealed a positive image of Moldova internationally and a more convincing European orientation for France (Arhiva curentă a MAEIE a Republicii Moldova, p.57).

An important step in the Moldovan-French relations is the visit on 31 January 2008 by M. Lupu, the Speaker of the Moldovan Parliament. The meeting was essentially devoted to the development of relations between the European Union and the Republic of Moldova in the perspective of the French Presidency of the Council of the European Union. Moldova's accession to the European Union has been marked by the entry into force of the Agreement on facilitation and readmission of the visa regime (Relații moldo-franceze...).

However, although the cooperation agreements have been signed, the political and legal framework of the Moldovan-French relations remained to be insufficient, leaving room for new perspectives for the signing of bilateral agreements in the most diverse fields of activity, for a better cooperation. Given that the main objective of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova is the European integration, at the moment the French Republic remains one of the main supporters of Moldova in achieving the goals regarding the European integration.

Collaboration in various fields, the experience of the interaction gained so far, the mutual sympathy between the peoples of Moldova and France, the joint work within the International Organization of Francophonie and within other regional, European and international organizations determine the prospects for the development of the Moldovan-French partnership.

The Republic of Moldova and the French Republic are committed to fostering socio-cultural, economic, diplomatic, military relations that are very important for the whole set of relations between countries. The actions taken constantly at the level of state institutions, diplomatic missions, business organizations strengthened

the image of Moldova in France, promoted the bilateral relations between the two countries.

Currently, France is one of the major geopolitical actors both in the European space and in the international arena. Thus, at the European level, France is the first agricultural power and the second industrial power. At international level, France is the world's fourth-largest economic power; the first tourist power in the world; the second food industry and second in service provision.

From the point of view of the evolution of history, France played an essential role in the process of establishing the European community. After the Second World War, France played the role of creating a space of peace and security on the continent, as well as creating a favourable common economic area. France was also the founder of the project to create CSC (Coal and Steel Economic Community) on 18 April 1951. A no less important role that France had in international relations was the participation in the signing of the 1957 Rome Agreement, the purpose of which was to create a common path in developing economic cooperation between countries, removing customs barriers that would be an obstacle to economic progress. France is one of the founding members of the European Union, of the Schengen area, of the euro area. At the same time, it is one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. France is currently a member of NATO, WTO, G7 + 1, G20, International Organization of Francophonie (Cebotari, Căldare, 2018:161).

Therefore, the French Republic is one of the countries with a considerable weight in the structures of the European Union and an important international position, and the priority cooperation of the Republic of Moldova with France is one of the directions confirmed by the Moldovan and French officials. Thus, of particular importance for Moldova in supporting the cause of European integration was the visit to Chisinau of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Human Rights in the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the French Republic, R. Yade, who reconfirmed the support granted by France in the implementation of reforms in the Republic of Moldova. Special emphasis was placed on the need for reforms to ensure the transition of the Republic of Moldova and the intention of France to support our country in choosing the European model, socially and

economically, the success of Moldova being in the common interest of the two countries (Franța va susține Moldova...).

The development of bilateral relations depends to a large extent on effective cooperation in the economic and sociocultural field. These two areas should be explored to the fullest extent of ensuring an open and progressive dialogue between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Republic of France.

After the Republic of Moldova gained independence, the Moldovan-French relations have grown considerably, the official and working visits have multiplied, a permanent commercial and economic partnership has been created. Moldova's foreign trade volume with France increased from 9.5 million US dollars in 1996 to 86.5 million in 2006 or 9.1 times, and 96.59 million USD in 2015 (Neguța, 2007:153).

Moldovan-French relations go inside the EU format. France is a Member State of the European Union and all its subsequent multilateral agreements are also valid for France. The Association Agreement (AA) between Moldova and the EU, signed in June 2014, introduced a preferential trade regime – Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA). In April 2015, France ratified the agreement. France is one of the first European states to establish economic and diplomatic relations with the Republic of Moldova. The first ambassador to Moldova was appointed in 1992, shortly after Moldova became independent. Some key facts: being an import market for Moldovan exports, France ranked 11th and 13th in the last 5 years and has consistently held the 11th place as a supply market for Moldova (Rezumat al sectorului...).

The liberalization of the visa regime with the European Union has contributed to the economic development of the Moldovan-French relations. The increasing mobility of business people through Europe for negotiations, forums and other events has undoubtedly a positive influence on economic relations between countries, including France.

France's cooperation with Moldova today comprises two priority objectives set out in the Action Plan of the French Embassy in the Republic of Moldova: to help bring the country closer to the European Union and to contribute to its economic development and the course towards prosperity.

Although trade relations between France and the Republic of Moldova remain rather modest, the presence of French investors in the country deserves an analysis. Having regrouped within CCI France Moldavie, they contribute to the structuring of the local economy and play the role of an attractiveness factor for the country. Therefore, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry France-Moldova (CCIFM), previously Club France, an institution created by the heads of the French enterprises present in the Republic of Moldova, has an important role in the Moldovan-French economic relations. CCIFM's objectives are to promote and support the French and Francophone business community in the Republic of Moldova, to strengthen ties with Moldovan enterprises that have economic and trade relations with France. In the Republic of Moldova there are a few large French investors: Orange, Lafarge cement plant, Lactalis group, one of the largest dairy industry companies in the world, Société Générale.

The aspects of the development of commercial and economic relations, the deepening of the bilateral cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and France on all dimensions, were discussed on 7 October 2015 by the Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister of Economy, St. Bride, with the Ambassador of France in Chisinau, P. Vagogne. Referring to bilateral relations between the two countries, Bride stressed that our country is interested in deepening and expanding them, because France plays an important role in the social, political and economic architecture of both Europe and the world. In this regard, the Minister of Economy reiterated the interest of the Republic of Moldova in the development of bilateral relations on all dimensions, elaboration and realization of investment projects in our country with the participation of French companies, as an example being the success stories on the Moldovan market of France Telecom in telecommunications, Lafarge in construction, Lactalis and BARGUES Agro Industry in agriculture and Société Générale in the banking sphere (Republica Moldova este cointeresată...).

Direct contacts with French specialists are becoming more common. There is quite a close cooperation of Moldovan and French spirits producers. Lately, the links between farmers in Moldova and France have been strengthened. Foreign tourism is of great importance in strengthening the economic relations between Moldova and France. Figures that characterize travel exchanges are

still quite modest, but the reciprocal visitation trend is positive (Neguța, 2007).

The liberalization of the visa regime with the European Union has contributed to the economic development of the Moldovan-French relations. The increasing mobility of business people through Europe for negotiations, forums and other events undoubtedly positively influences economic relations between countries, including France.

The Association Agreement between the Republic of Moldova and the European Union came into force on 1 July 2016. With the aim of deepening the political and economic relations between the Republic of Moldova and the European Union, this agreement creates a deep and comprehensive free trade area that encourages trade and economic growth in this country by improving access to the European market for its products and services by adapting trade-related laws and regulations to European Union standards. It should facilitate the progressive integration of the Republic of Moldova into the single European market.

Since 1 September 2014, with the partial implementation of the agreement, exports from the Republic of Moldova to the EU have already increased, the latter becoming the country's first trading partner. The EU brings substantial support to the implementation of the country's reform program. Under the Association Agreement, the Republic of Moldova is committed to implementing ambitious structural reforms in key areas such as democracy, good governance, the rule of law, human rights, security policy, trade and economic development.

The agreement also provides for enhanced cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and the EU in the areas of energy, transport, environmental protection, industrial cooperation, social protection, equal opportunities, education, consumer protection, youth and culture.

Real progress has been made, so the EU has appealed to the Republic of Moldova to not only remain content with adopting the new laws but also to deal with them. It called for more efforts on the part of the authorities to fight corruption and improve governance.

The entry into force of the Association Agreement opens up new and far-reaching perspectives for French companies to take advantage of this market to strengthen both their trade and their investments. CCI France Moldova, thanks to the knowledge of the

country and the local network of contacts, can effectively accompany them to the Moldovan and national markets. The European Commission claims that France has a privileged image in the Republic of Moldova, still quite a francophone country, and should consolidate its position among foreign investors and trading partners (Intrarea în vigoare a Acordului...).

Trade relations between France and Moldova are stable and lasting, but they remain modest in spite of the many existing opportunities. French exports are primarily composed of different electrical equipment and transport vehicles. These are followed by textile and agricultural products, particularly the wine sector. France is the 13th customer of the country. French imports are made up of the vast majority of agricultural and textile products. Although the size of the country is modest, French investment is visible. France is one of the first countries to have made significant investments in the Republic of Moldova since the late 1990s.

The Moldovan-French collaboration was officially confirmed by the signing on 12 March 1992 in Paris of the Protocol on Establishing Diplomatic Relations between the French Republic and the Republic of Moldova. The basis for the Moldovan-French cooperation is the document signed on 29 January 1993 and which came into force on 1 December 1995; Treaty of Understanding, Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and the French Republic (*Traité d'amitié, d'entente et de coopération*, 1995), a document that marks the traditional relations of friendship, cultural and civilizational proximity between the French and the Moldovan people. Thus, it is noteworthy that bilateral dialogue derives from the need to strengthen European solidarity through a rapprochement between states based on respect for the universal values of freedom, democracy and solidarity and respect for human rights.

An important step in strengthening the Moldovan-French relations on the sociocultural dimension is the signing on November 24, 1994, in Chisinau of the Agreement on cultural, scientific and technical cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government The French Republic, which came into force on July 1, 1995. By signing this agreement, the Paris and Chişinău governments have assumed the responsibility of complying with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Also, taking into account the

cultural identities and economic needs of the countries and taking into account their common belonging to a European cultural space by participating in the development of projects of common interest within multilateral programs, the signatory parties have decided to promote cooperation among peoples in the fields of culture, education, science, technology and training. Through this act, the French side undertakes to support the efforts made by the Moldovan side in favor of studying the French language, paying due attention to it by providing qualified staff (lecturers, assistants, linguists), supporting the francophone affiliates of the Moldova State University and the pedagogical universities in Moldova, organizing language training sessions in France, jointly elaborating textbooks and audiovisual methods of teaching the French language (Acordul de cooperare...).

The Francophonie is a privileged framework of the dialogue between the Republic of Moldova and the French Republic, relevant through the political, economic dimension of cooperation between member states, or those having associate or observer status. The Francophonie is an indisputable political and cultural reality, and the French language is the bond of coordinated activities between 70 states and governments, with a population of over 803 million people. Two member states of the International Organization of Francophonie (OIF) are currently members of the G8 – France and Canada, and 14 member states of the European Union are also members of OIF with different status (including associate or observer ones), the convergence between European and Francophone values (especially the promotion of diversity) and the role of the French language in the diplomatic practice of the European Union being quite obvious. “The Francophonie is the institutional device that organizes political and cooperative relations between states and governments sharing the French language and respect for universal values” (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie...).

The Republic of Moldova can be considered the most francophone country in Central and Eastern Europe. The Republic of Moldova joined the International Organization of Francophonie in February 1996, holding the status of a member state. At present, in the International Organization of Francophonie, the Francophonie is not only about promoting the French language, it is also about promoting the diversity of languages and cultures in the world, a struggle for preserving the richness of multiculturalism and

multilingualism. In addition to accessing various cultural and educational programs, belonging to the large family of Francophonie countries is yet another way for the European integration of the Republic of Moldova.

As stated in the *Treaty of Understanding, Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and the French Republic*, with a view to building an European ensemble, the two countries have committed themselves to creating a favourable climate for deepening their economic cooperation, which will have a special significance in implementing economic reforms in the Republic of Moldova (Tratatul de înțelegere, prietenie și cooperare între Republica Moldova și Republica Franceză, 1993). In this context, the Francophonie plays a special role.

In the book *Moldavie: les atouts de la francophonie*, by F. Parmentier one can read about the Francophonie weight in Moldova and of the impact of the Francophonie exchanges on the political and economic development of the country. Thanks to the framework provided by OIF, mutual assistance networks and European cooperation, the citizens of the Republic of Moldova gradually get rid of a dying Stalinist heritage and aspire to better days. The Francophonie plays an important role in the Moldovan-French relations and presents an advantage for a democratic, European and prosperous Moldova. According to the author, the Francophonie is a vector that could lead Moldova to the European Union (Parmentier, 2010).

From our research we can conclude that the political will of France to deepen the manifold ties with the Republic of Moldova and to support our country's EU integration efforts, has been reaffirmed not just once. The support of the French Government has been repeatedly confirmed at the numerous meetings between the representatives of the two countries. It is obvious that France can be considered the advocate of the European perspective of the Republic of Moldova with some reticence. In this context, the main motivation for the favourable action of Paris towards the Republic of Moldova is the Francophonie, a factor to be considered in the context in which the expansion of the French language on the territories of the European Union neighbouring countries is straightforward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acordul de cooperare culturală, științifică și tehnică între Guvernul Republicii Moldova și Guvernul Republicii Franceze.*
Disponibil: <http://lex.justice.md/index.php?action=view&view=doc&lang=1&id=356851>. [citată: 26-03-2016].
- Arhiva curentă a MAEIE a Republicii Moldova, fond 2, inventar 3-b, dosar 141, f.66.
- Arhiva curentă a MAEIE a Republicii Moldova, fond 2, inventar 3-b, dosar 143, f.6-8.
- Arhiva curentă a MAEIE a Republicii Moldova, fond 2, inventar 3-b, dosar 144, f.34-36.
- Arhiva curentă a MAEIE a Republicii Moldova, fond 2, inventar 3-b, dosar 146, f.25.
- Arhiva curentă a MAEIE a Republicii Moldova, fond 2, inventar 3-b, dosar 147, f.57.
- Cebotari, S., Căldare, G. (2018), *Politica externă a Republicii Moldova*. CEP USM, Chișinău. p. 161-162.
- Cebotari, S., Saca, V., Coropcean, I. (2008), *Politica externă a Republicii Moldova în contextul proceselor integraționiste. Monografie*. Chișinău. 180 p. ISBN 978-9975-9692-3-9.
- Franța va susține Moldova în procesul integrării europene.*
[citată: 16.03.2016]. Disponibil: <http://www.moldova.md/md/newslst/1211/1/2536/>.
- Hotărâre pentru aprobarea *Concepției politicii externe a Republicii Moldova*: nr. 368, din 08.02.1995. *Monitorul Oficial al Republicii Moldova*. 1995, nr.020. <http://lex.justice.md/index.php?action=view&view=doc&lang=1&id=306955>.
- Intrarea în vigoare a Acordului de Asociere UE-Republica Moldova: avantaje pentru întreprinderile franceze.* [citată: 28-12-2016].
Disponibil: <http://www.ccifm.md/ro/single-news/n/intrarea-in-vigoare-a-acordului-de-asociere-ue-republica-moldova-avantaje-pentru-intreprinderile-franceze-1/>.
- Neguța, A. (2007), *Relațiile economice moldo-franceze*. În: *Moldoscopie (probleme de analiză politică) № 1 (XXXX)*, Chișinău : CEP USM.

- Neguța, A. (2007), Relațiile economice moldo-franceze. *Moldoscopie (probleme de analiză politică)* № 1 (XXXX), Chișinău : CEP USM. pp.153-168
- Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie. Qui sommes-nous?*
Disponibil: <http://www.francophonie.org/Qui-sommes-nous.html>
[citat: 7-02-2016].
- Parmentier, F. (2010), Moldavie: les atouts de la francophonie. ISBN 9782352700760.
- Relații moldo-franceze. Disponibil: <http://www.ambafrance-md.org>.
[citat:13-08-15].
- Republica Moldova este cointereseată în extinderea relațiilor comercial-economice cu Franța. Disponibil: https://monitorul.fisc.md/editorial/republica_moldova_este_cointereseata_in_extinderea_relatiilor_comercial-economice_cu_franta.html. [citat: 20-12-2016].
- Rezumat al sectorului de piață externă-mierea de albine în Franța. Disponibil: http://miepo.md/sites/default/files/Honey-France-Market-Study_ro.pdf. [citat: 20-12-2016].
- Traité d'amitié, d'entente et de coopération (en vigueur depuis 01.12.1995)// Disponibil: <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do;jsessionid=DA6D742D0424838E1EAF2CF83>.
[citat:13-08-15].
- Traité d'amitié, d'entente et de coopération (en vigueur depuis 01.12.1995)*// Disponibil: http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do;jsessionid=DA6D742D0424838E1EAF2CF832232055.tpdjo07v_2?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000735418&categorieLien=id. [citat: 21-02-2016].
- Tratat nr. 1993 din 29.01.1993 de înțelegere, prietenie și cooperare între Republica Moldova și Republica Franceză.*
<http://lex.justice.md/index.php?action=view&view=doc&lang=1&id=360245> [citat: 29-03-2016].
- Tratate internaționale la care Republica Moldova este parte. Volum 18, (1990-1998). Moldpress, Monitorul Oficial al Republicii Moldova. Chișinău, 1999. p.412-413.

EFFECTIVENESS OF EUROPEAN STRUCTURAL AND COHESION FUNDS IN THE PROCESS OF FIGHTING SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Diana GLIGOR*

Abstract. *The social exclusion is a phenomenon all the European Union Member States are confronted with, being also an extremely important characteristic of the basis the European Union was founded on, fighting social exclusion being clearly stipulated in art. 151 of the TFEU.*

Considerable efforts have been made continuously for reducing the degree of poverty and social exclusion, being assumed an objective of reducing the number of persons at risk of poverty and social exclusion with 20,000,000 at the level of the European Union (according to the Strategy Europe 2020) and with 580,000 at the level of Romania.

The European structural and cohesion funds represent one of the instruments used for reducing this phenomenon, their effectiveness being analyzed in the present paper in case of Romania.

Keywords: *social inclusion, ESF [European Social Fund], European funds, efficiency, absorption, cohesion Policy*

1. What is the Social Inclusion?

The concept of social inclusion is rather abstract, there being no real definition in the genuine sense of the word, however, this can be defined as a process of improving the living conditions for persons, of being part of the society, having in mind the fact that the persons are part of the society through the market (e.g. the labour market), services (e.g.: medical, educational, etc.) or location (e.g.: geographic).

* PhD Candidate, Babes-Bolyai University, Faculty of European Studies, specialization: International Relations and European Studies, Cluj Napoca, România, diana.gligor@knm.ro

Right from the start, a few aspects that define or not the concept of social exclusion must be settled:

→***The Social Exclusion : poverty or inequality***

When talking about social exclusion, this is often associated with persons under the risk of poverty or confronting themselves with situations of inequality. For all that, it is necessary to determine whether a person in a situation of poverty can be automatically included in the category of socially excluded persons. The answer, from my point of view, is NO. Someone being under the risk of poverty can be included [integrated] socially, whereas a person having a good, or even excellent material condition can find himself/herself in a risk of social exclusion. Why is that so?

Because social exclusion is not set (exclusively) by the material situation of a person but it is defined by several aspects such as: religion, sexual orientation, etc.

Despite all this, one has to admit that the majority of people being under the risk of social exclusion are also under the risk of poverty, too.

→***The social exclusion is not specific only to the developing countries***

Another aspect that has to be taken into account when addressing the issue of social exclusion refers to the fact that this is specific to all states and does not resume itself solely to the developing states. Therefore, even if we talk about economically developed states, the social exclusion exists and is reflected particularly in the attitude with which certain aspects are addressed, such as acceptance (or non-acceptance) of emigrants within the community.

→***The social inclusion does not [implicitly] solve the problem of social exclusion***

The social inclusion does not [implicitly] solve the problem of social exclusion! Although one might tend to believe the contrary, it is no so.

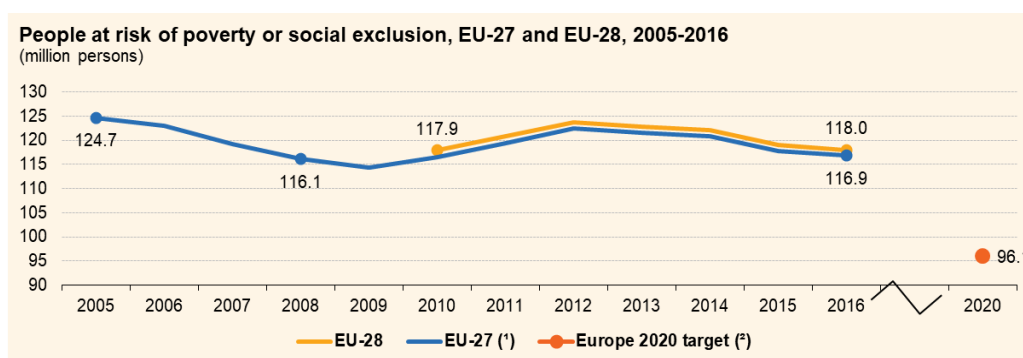
The social exclusion occurs when the people are excluded from the social, economic, a.o. life, but there are situations in which they are accepted (and implicitly included) rather out of necessity reasons than out of a real feeling of acceptance. Thus, a person can be

accepted on the labour market because there is registered a deficit of people in a particular field, but he/she is paid less than a person of other nationality. A good example is the case of Rroma people, which in the majority of cases are financially disadvantaged at the work place.

2. The Social Exclusion in Europe

One of the priorities set within the Strategy Europe 2020 is represented by providing a growth that is favourable to inclusion, which would promote a high rate of work force occupancy, once with promoting an inclusive economy concomitantly.

Figure no. 1 People at risk of poverty or social exclusion, EU-27 and EU-28, 2005 – 2016¹



(¹) Data for 2005 and 2006 are estimates.

(²) The overall EU target (referring to the EU-27 — the 27 EU countries before the accession of Croatia) is to lift at least 20 million people out of the risk of poverty or social exclusion by 2020. Due to the structure of the survey on which most of the key social data is based (EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions), a large part of the main social indicators available in 2010, when the Europe 2020 strategy was adopted, referred to 2008 as the most recent year of data available. This is the reason why monitoring of progress towards the Europe 2020 strategy's poverty target takes 2008 as a baseline year.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: t2020_50)

eurostat 

Currently, one in four people² in the European Union is under the risk of social exclusion. According to the European Commission, this situation is generated by 3 main causes, namely: poverty, material deprivation and low occupancy rate.

¹ [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion,_EU-27_and_EU-28,_2005-2016_\(million_persons\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion,_EU-27_and_EU-28,_2005-2016_(million_persons).png), accesat în 27.03.2019

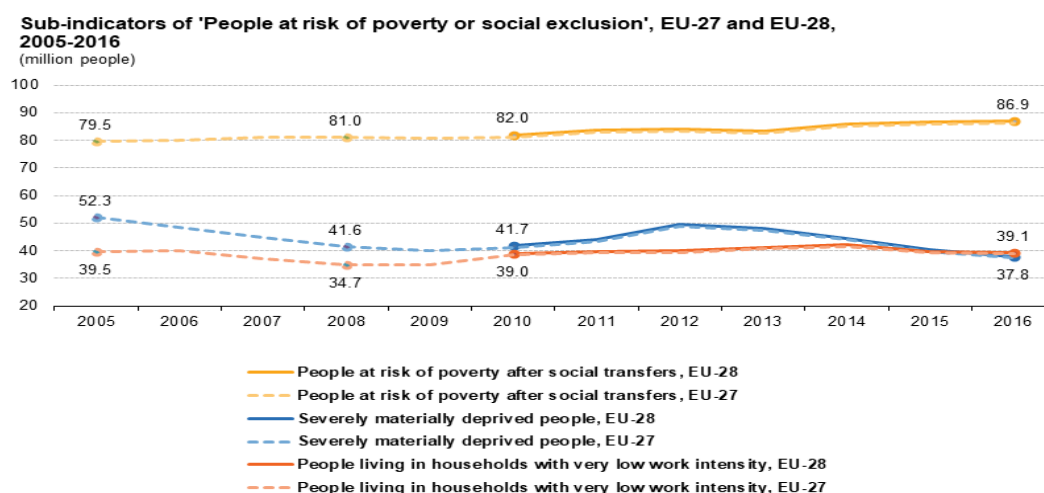
² https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Europe_2020_indicators_-_poverty_and_social_exclusion#General_overview, accesat în 27.03.2019

As it can be seen from the above graph, Europe is confronted with a high rate of people under the risk of social exclusion, there being established, however, by Strategy Europe 2020, a decrease of the number of persons in this situation.

The European Commission has approved an important objective within the Strategy Europe 2020, i.e. getting a number of 20 million people out of poverty and social exclusion, having in mind the fact that in 2008 there were 80 million people living in poverty and social exclusion³.

In what concerns the employment of the persons being under the risk of social exclusion based on the 3 above-mentioned causes, the graph below illustrates their distribution:

Figure no. 2: Sub-indicators of "People at risk of poverty or social exclusion", EU-27 and EU-28, 2005 - 2016⁴



Note: EU-27 data for 2005 and 2006 are estimates; EU-27 data for 2009 for 'severe material deprivation' are estimates.

Source: Eurostat (online data codes: t2020_51, t2020_52 and t2020_53)

eurostat

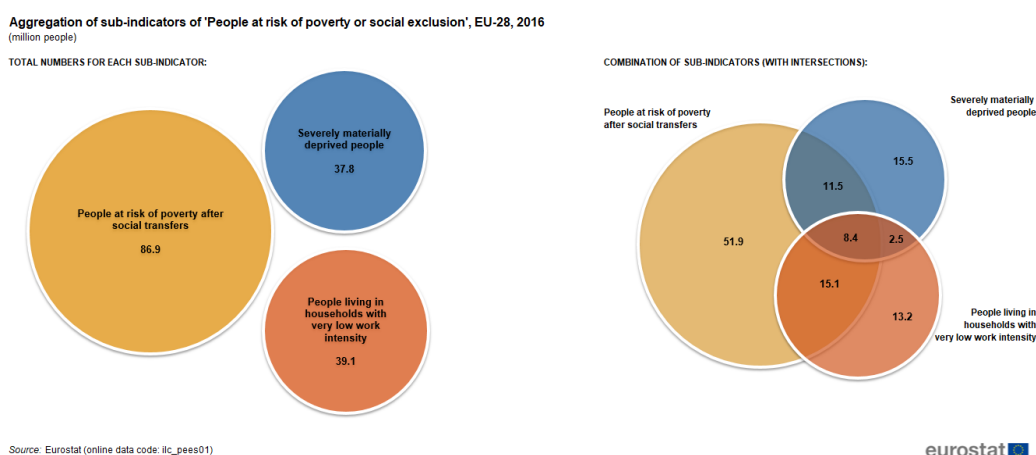
The data presented above offer a global image of the number of people being in one of the 3 categories or causes identified,

³ COMUNIQUE OF THE COMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF REGIONS The European Platform of fighting poverty and social exclusion: a European framework for social and territorial cohesion SEC (2010) 1564 final, page 2.

⁴ [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Sub_indicators_of_People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion%27,_EU-27_and_EU-28,_2005-2016_\(million_people\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Sub_indicators_of_People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion%27,_EU-27_and_EU-28,_2005-2016_(million_people).png) , accesat în 27.03.2019

leading to the the social exclusion, but one has to take into account, nevertheless, that a person can be part not only of one, but of 2 or even 3 categories, the process of overcoming the condition of vulnerability in which the person finds himself/herself being made more difficult.

Figure no. 3: Aggregation of sub-indicators of "People at risk of poverty or social exclusion", EU-28, 2016⁵



As it is known, the European Union was founded on principles such as solidarity and respect for the human dignity, while fighting social exclusion represents one of its essential objectives. Thus, according to article 151 of the TFEU: *"The Union and member states, aware of the fundamental social rights like those stipulated in the European Social Charter signed at Torino on 18 October 1961 and in the community Charter of the social fundamental rights of the workers adopted in 1989, have as objectives the promoting of labour force occupancy, improving the living and working conditions, enabling their harmonization in conditions of progress, an adequate social protection, social dialogue, the development of human resources allowing for a high and durable level of work force occupancy and **fighting exclusion.**"*⁶

⁵ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/images/0/04/Aggregation_of_subindicators_of_people_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion%2C_EU-28%2C_2016_%28million_people%29.PNG, accessed on 27.03.2019

⁶ The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, page 68, accessed at: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:9e8d52e1-2c70-11e6-b497-01aa75ed71a1.0020.01/DOC_3&format=PDF, on 25.03.2019

At the beginning of the present article there were addressed a few issues on what the concept of social exclusion signifies or does not. Therefore, as I have mentioned, the social exclusion is not solely identified with poverty, but, as it can be observed in the majority of the official texts of the European Commission and/or of other European institutions, the social exclusion is most often linked to poverty. This thing is not erroneous but it does not fully define the concept of social exclusion.

Thus, the social exclusion can be analyzed out of diverse perspectives, but before getting into details, however, it must be mentioned that neither perspective identified as a triggering factor of social exclusion does exclude another one, each of them generating a particular form of social exclusion.

2.1 From the perspective of the relationship with poverty, material deprivation and the living conditions

Poverty occurs in people's lives in various forms, from the lack of incomes to confer a decent standard of living, to the lack of access to the basic services such as education or health which leads, indirectly, to the exclusion of the persons in the community.

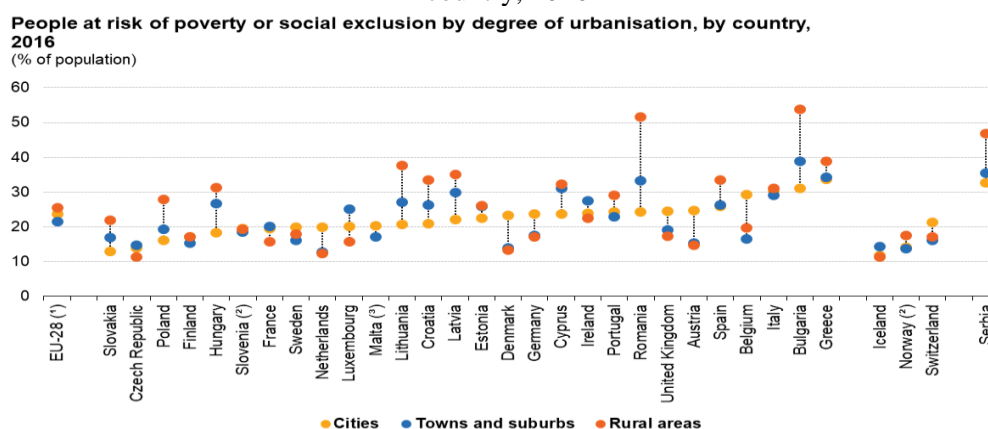
In order to have an image of the social exclusion existent both at the level of the **European Union**, and at the **national level (Romania)**, a series of statistical data are presented below.

As it can be observed from the graph above, the persons being at risk of poverty and social exclusion at the level of the **European Union** amounted to approximately 25%, in 2016, the highest percentage being registered in the rural area, without being major differences in the urban area.

However, upon a more close analysis, one can notice that **Romania** and Bulgaria are confronted with the highest number of persons at risk of poverty and social exclusion, the highest percentage being registered in the rural area, over 50% of the total population and over 30% in the urban area. At the other end there is the Czech Republic with the lowest number of persons at risk of poverty and social exclusion.

The large number of persons at risk of poverty and and social exclusion required working out and implementing policies to sustain the social cohesion.

Figure no. 4: People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by degree of urbanisation, by country, 2016⁷



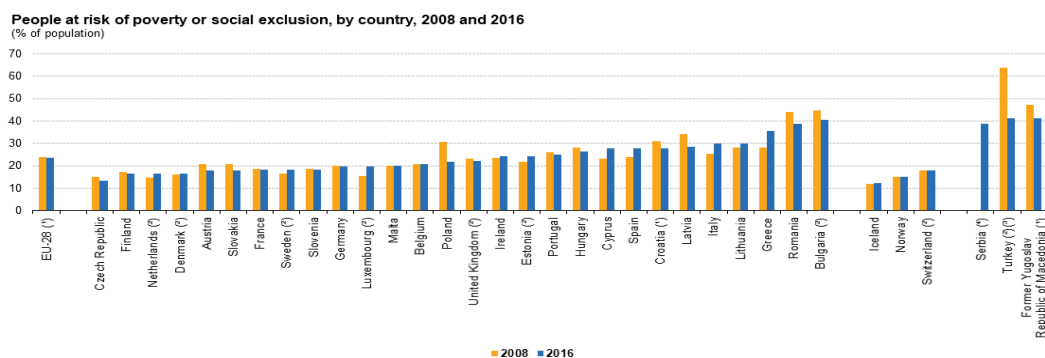
(¹) Estimated data for rural areas.
 (²) 2015 data.
 (³) Missing data due to low reliability.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: ilc_peps13)



Analysed from the perspective of the three categories – poverty, material deprivation and poor living conditions, the situation is not a favourable one, illustrated as follows:

Figure no. 5: People at risk of poverty or social exclusion, by country, 2008 and 2016⁸



(¹) 2010 data (instead of 2008).
 (²) Break(s) in time series between 2008 and 2016.
 (³) 2015 data (instead of 2016).
 (⁴) No data for 2008.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: t2020_50)

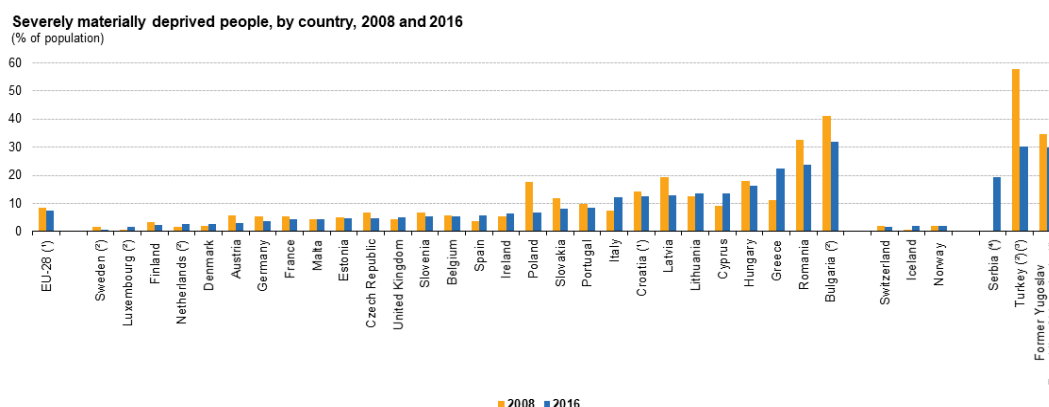


⁷ [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion_by_degree_of_urbanisation,_by_country,_2016_\(%25_of_population\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion_by_degree_of_urbanisation,_by_country,_2016_(%25_of_population).png), accesat în 27.03.2019

⁸ [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion,_by_country,_2008_and_2016_\(%25_of_population\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion,_by_country,_2008_and_2016_(%25_of_population).png), accessed on 27.03.2019

From the point of view of poverty, in 2016, 23.5% of the total EU population was at risk of social exclusion generated by poverty, in Romania there being registered 38.8%, higher than the EU average and the second highest percentage of all member states, after Bulgaria.

Figure no. 6: Severely materially deprived people, by country, 2008 and 2016⁹



(*) 2010 data (instead of 2008).
 (†) Break(s) in time series between 2008 and 2016.
 (‡) 2015 data (instead of 2016).
 (†) No data for 2008.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: t2020_53)

eurostat

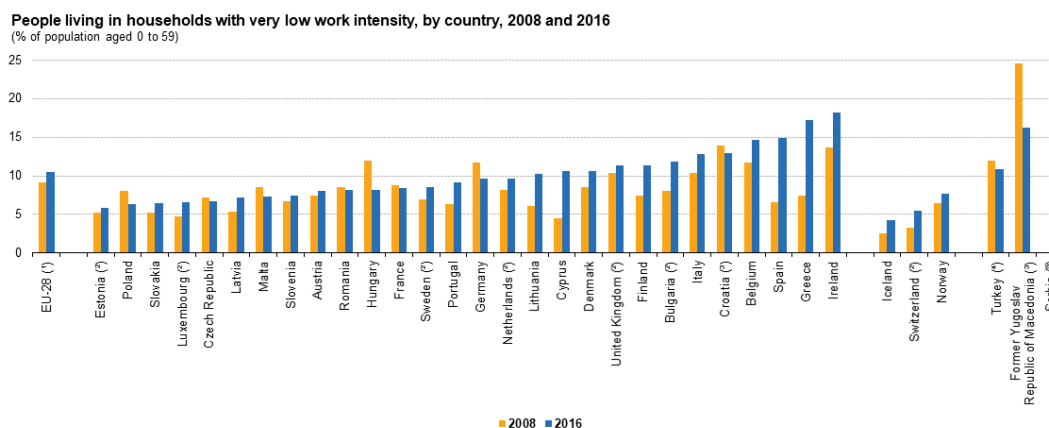
The material deprivation is defined by a very low standard of living or people, generated by financial aspects, poor living conditions and the impossibility of having access to certain material goods, considered to be normal in daily life, such as: payment of rent or bills, ensuring meat /proteins regularly, owning a TV-set, a car and a telephone, etc.¹⁰

At the EU level, in 2016, 7.5% (37.8 million) of the total population lived in conditions of material deprivation, a threefold percentage (23.8%) well over the EU average as well being registered in Romania, fact which poses a big question mark, being worrying at the same time, the only EU member state exceeding this percentage being Bulgaria, while at the opposite end being Sweden.

⁹ [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Severely_materially_deprived_people_by_country_2008_and_2016_\(%25_of_population\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Severely_materially_deprived_people_by_country_2008_and_2016_(%25_of_population).png), accessed on 27.03.2019

¹⁰ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Europe_2020_indicators_-_poverty_and_social_exclusion#cite_note-8, accessed on 27.03.2019

Figure no. 7: People living in households with low work intensity, by country, 2008 and 2016¹¹



(*) 2008 data refer to EU-27 (instead of EU-28).
 (*) Breaks in time series between 2008 and 2016.
 (*) 2010 data (instead of 2008).
 (*) 2015 data (instead of 2016).
 (*) No data for 2008.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: t2020_51)



As it can be noticed, in 2016, 10.5% (39.1 million) of the total European Union population lived in houses, having a low work intensity. This is due, on the one hand, to the lack of education and professional training, and on the other hand, to the lack of identifying a work place for oneself.

In 2016, 6.9% of the total population in Romania lived in households having a low work intensity.

In conclusion, there can be noticed that the 3 forms of poverty conducting to social exclusion are different from one member state to the other, there being several variants, the most often encountered being that of registering values over the EU average in 2 out of the 3 categories identified.

In the case of Romania, although the percentage of people living in households with a low work intensity is not a very high one, we are confronted with the highest number of persons (following Bulgaria) living in conditions of poverty and material deprivation.

¹¹ [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_living_in_households_with_very_low_work_intensity_by_country_2008_and_2016_\(%25_of_population_aged_0_to_59\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_living_in_households_with_very_low_work_intensity_by_country_2008_and_2016_(%25_of_population_aged_0_to_59).png), accessed on 27.03.2019

2.2 From the perspective of other elements conducive to social exclusion, such as sexual orientation or religion .

One of the most important questions to be addressed is why the social exclusion determined by other reasons is not as pronounced and approached at the level of European policies; a possible answer being that poverty is in fact, the biggest factor triggering the risk of social exclusion.

Irrespective of the "model" of each member state in part, generated particularly by the specific politics and culture, one thing is clear further to the above-mentioned analyses, namely that social exclusion exists, in one form or another, in all the EU member states, particularly in Romania, there being required measures to counteract it.

Thus, problems leading to poverty and, implicitly, to social exclusion are complex and finding solutions to them requires a multidisciplinary approach and working out policy making in several domains, there being insufficient a single policy devoted to social exclusion.

Having in mind the wide range of solutions that can be identified, as well as the multitude of policies that can be analyzed, the present paper focuses on **analyzing the solutions** with regard to reducing poverty, i.e.: **access to education, access to a work place**, in an attempt at identifying at national level, the non-reimbursable funds allocated for solving these problems which generate social exclusion particularly in the Roma people communities but not only, the way in which they were allocated, as well as their effectiveness.

3. The Social Inclusion In Romania – Introductory Aspects

3.1 The social policy in Romania

Romania has assumed the diminishing of the number of people being at risk of poverty and social exclusion with 580,000, number which supports the objective set within the Strategy Europe 2020, of reducing the number of people under the risk of poverty and social exclusion with 20,000,000 at EU level.

According to the *National Strategy on the Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction 2015 – 2020*, a person is considered to be in a risk of poverty and social exclusion if they are in at least one of the above-mentioned situations as well as by the European legislative documents: risk of poverty, living in households with a very low

work intensity or severe material deprivation.¹² The three categories were synthesized in a single indicator which shows the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion– AROPE.

The AROPE index in Romania, for the year 2015 was 37.3%¹³.

There are many people or groups currently at risk of poverty and social exclusion, the main ones being: the poor people, children without parental care and elderly people, Roma people, the disabled, etc.

The reasons leading to the social exclusion of the population in Romania, as well as at the EU level are manifold, however, among them the following can be mentioned:

- The lack of access to education;
- Relatively high share of unemployed people, or people having low incomes;
- Lack of professional competences required for employment;
- Integration difficulties generated by certain aspects such as: ethnicity, sex, religion, sexual orientation, etc.;
- Major discrepancies between the rural and the urban area in what concerns the access to information, social services, medical services, etc.

In view of solving the above–mentioned problems that were identified, The National Strategy on the Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction 2015 – 2020 sets forth a series of **measures**¹⁴:

- Policies for stimulating the professional training in view of increasing the occupancy rate and increasing the income;
- Increasing the degree of coverage with social services;
- Improving and supplementing measures for increasing the rate of participation to education, as well as facilitating access to Life Long Learning programmes;
- Working out policies to ensure the providing of quality social services to the people in vulnerable groups;
- Measures for improving the quality of households – for the vulnerable groups.

¹² Ministry of Labour and Social Justice, *National Strategy on the Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction 2015 – 2020*, page 17

¹³http://www.insse.ro/old/sites/default/files/field/publicatii/dimensiuni_ale_incluziunii_sociale_in_romania_1.pdf, accessed on 30.03.2019

¹⁴ Idem, page 25 - 26

Thus, in order to overcome the state of poverty and social exclusion, it is required an integrated and multidimensional approach of the problems identified by concomitantly applying the above-mentioned measures, and life-long measures.

For *children* it is highly required to ensure access to education, concomitantly with applying measures for the rest of the family for their integration on the labour market with the aim of changing the climate in which these grow and develop themselves. Therefore, it is necessary the professional formation of the persons and facilitating their access on the labour market, once with ensuring their access to medical services.

For the *elderly persons* it is necessary the working out and applying policies to further support participating to an active life by providing social services.

Having in mind the situation of Romania from the point of view of social exclusion, for the programming period 2014 – 2020 European structural and cohesion funds have been allocated for reaching the objective assumed, respectively reducing the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion by 580,000.

The main financing programs existent at the country level in the social field are as follows: the **Operational Program Human Capital**, having a financial allocation of 4,371,963,027¹⁵ Euro and **The Operational Program Support for the Defavoured Persons**, with a financial allocation of 518,838,876¹⁶ Euro, both being financed in the great majority through the European Social Fund. Apart from these, the Regional Operational Program finances complementary activities in infrastructure.

The object of the case study is the Operational Program Human Capital (POCU) 2014 – 2020, this having the highest amount allocated, at the level of Romania, destined to the human capital.

The main Priority Axes ¹⁷ destined to defavoured categories are:

1. Priority Axis 1 - Initiative work places for young people;

¹⁵ Model for operational programmes based on the objective for investments for growth and work places [Model pentru programe operationale în temeiul obiectivului privind investițiile pentru creșterea și locuri de muncă, accessed at the address: <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/pocu-2014>, on 30.03.2019, page 243;

¹⁶ <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/poad-2014>, accessed on 30.03.2019;

¹⁷ <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/pocu-2014>, accessed on 30.03.2019.

2. Priority Axis 4 - Social inclusion and fighting poverty;
3. Priority Axis 5 - Local development placed under the responsibility of the community (DLRC);
4. Priority Axis 6 – Education and competences.

Of the 4 priority axes above-mentioned, the most complex one from the perspective of the financial activities is the priority axis 4, respectively specific objectives 4.1 and 4.2 which have as objective reducing the number of persons (Rroma and non-Rroma) at risk of poverty and social exclusion by financing and implementing integrated measures for these. The two priority axes make up the object of the case study.

Both project calls were launched in May 2016, the funds being destined to the marginalized communities at risk of poverty and social exclusion. In order for an area to be defined as marginalized, a series of conditions were presented:

Figure no. 8: Key indicators and minimal thresholds for validating the marginalized areas ¹⁸

Criteria/Dimension	Key Indicators	Minimum threshold
Human Capital	The % of people aged 15-64 who have completed a maximum of 8 grades (gymnasium)	22%
	The % of people with disabilities, chronic diseases or other diseases that limit their daily activities	8%
	The % of children and young people (0-17 years) of the total population	20,5%
Employment	The % of people aged 16-64 years who are not on the formal labor market (employees with an employment contract or who work officially on their own, with or without employees - employer or company manager) and does not follow a form of education	22,5%
Living*	The % of over-agglomerated dwellings (<15,33 m2 per person)	54%
	Living insecurity: the % of households that do not own the dwelling	12%

* *The Eurostat over-agglomeration indicator, without the requirement for a room per household*

¹⁸ Ministerul Fondurilor Europene [Ministry of European Funds], Ghidul Solicitantului [Applicants' Guide] – Specific Conditions, Priority Axis 4, OS 4.1 – Reducerea sărăciei în comunitățile marginalizate rome [Poverty reduction in the Rroma marginalized communities], page 5

In order to be validated as marginalized area, it was necessary for all three conditions to be met, i.e.: human capital – minimum 2 of the 3 conditions, work force occupancy– one, living – minimum 1 condition, there being the possibility of using the Atlas of the Marginalized Urban Areas¹⁹/ Atlas of the Marginalized Rural Areas and of the local human development in Romania²⁰ or making its own analysis.

A first aspect to be mentioned, referring to the determining of those marginalized areas requiring interventions is the fact that although the project call was launched in 2016, the data based on which the two atlases were made had been collected at the 2011 census, but when the call for projects was launched, these no longer reflected the reality in the territory.

Having in mind that the data at the 2011 census could not be used, the second option, that of making its own analysis of the community in order to establish which those marginalized areas are in need for intervention, did not prove to be an easy thing to do, since the applicant's guide stipulated, for validating those areas, sectors of census, these being obtained with difficulty from the National Institute of Statistics, as well as applying questionnaires in the marginalized areas and, in the case of the OS 4.1, determining the number of Roma persons – again a problem, because many of them did not agree to declare their ethnicity.

In order to obtain these funds, the concluding of partnership agreements between the local public authorities and various social actors such as: NGOs, education institutions, medical institutions etc. was necessary for an integrated approach of the problems identified in the community, being mandatory to approach issues in the field of education, work force, ensuring access to medical and social services, as well as improving the living conditions.

Within the first project call launched in 2016, a number of 349 projects have been handed in, of which only 63 passed the

¹⁹ *Elaborarea strategiilor de integrare a comunităților urbane marginalizate – Atlasul zonelor urbane marginalizate din România*, available at <http://www.inforegio.ro/images/Publicatii/Atlas%20zone%20urbane%20marginalizate.pdf>;

²⁰ *Atlasul zonelor rurale marginalizate și al dezvoltării umane locale în România* available at the address <http://www.mmuncii.ro/j33/index.php/ro/minister/minister-rapoarte-studii>;

conformity as well as checking and eligibility stage, while 55 of them were selected for financing²¹.

There is of course a big question mark with regard to the reasons why only 15% of the projects were selected for financing given the fact that, according to statistics, Romania ranks second at the EU level with regard to the number of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion.

Nevertheless, the reasons are not clear; from practice, these pertain both to the eligible applicants' capacity of preparing such complex projects, as well as to the way of organization and planning of the Management Authority, which was not (or was it?!) aware of the complexity of the funded activities, capacity of the local public authorities to prepare such projects, the time required to make a real and complex analysis of the marginalized communities, etc. One thing is clear, however: the first call for projects did not yield the expected results, there being thus launched a second call for projects in 2017. At the projects call in 2017 a number of 213 projects were handed in, out of which there being selected for financing a number of 63²² projects. Subsequently, there were launched projects calls on the two specific objectives.

At present, according to the data²³ published by the Ministry of European Funds and Public Administration, at the end of November 2018 there were under way a number of 118 projects financed by means of the two specific objectives having a total value of **2,184,590,087.28 lei** and an eligible value of **2,184,391,250.32 lei**. The period of implementation of the projects ranges from 2017 (final)

²¹ <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/presa/anunturi-finantari/2228-am-pocu-a-aprobat-55-de-proiecte-pentru-comunitatile-marginalizate-din-cele-63-aflata-in-evaluare>, accessed on 30.03.2019.

²² <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/presa/noutati-am-oi/details/6/539/am-pocu-cereri-de-finan%C5%A3are-aprobate-pentru-apelul-de-proiecte-pocu-140-4-2-%E2%80%9Edezvoltare-local%C4%83-integrat%C4%83-dli-360-%C3%AEEn-comunit%C4%83%C8%9Bile-marginalizate-o-s-4-2-%E2%80%9D?start=180> and <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/presa/noutati-am-oi/details/6/537/am-pocu-cereri-de-finan%C5%A3are-aprobate-pentru-apelul-de-proiecte-pocu-138-4-1-%E2%80%9Edezvoltare-local%C4%83-integrat%C4%83-dli-360-grade-%C3%AEEn-comunit%C4%83%C8%9Bile-marginalizate-%C3%AEEn-care-exist%C4%83-popula%C8%9Bile-apar%C8%9Bin%C3%A2nd-minorit%C4%83%C8%9Bii-rome-regiuni-mai-pu%C8%9Bin-dezvoltate-o-s-4-1-%E2%80%9D>, accessed on 30.03.2019;

²³ http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/images/files/implementare-absorbție/2017/1_martie_2019_-_Arhiva_-_Stadiul_absorbției_2014-2020.zip, accessed on 30.03.2019.

to 2021, there existing until November 2018 a rate of allocated funds absorption of only 13.40%.

Why is there such a small absorption rate at the mid-way of the period of implementing the projects? At present there is no analysis of the way in which the projects are implemented and the problems the beneficiaries are confronted with, but, we can assert that the specific of financing and the integrated approach represent, perhaps, the main elements which hinder the implementation process. The two specific objectives are among the most complex ones financed by POCU and their beneficiaries must make a considerable effort in order to convince first of all the target group (formed both of children, and adults as well) of the necessity and benefits brought by these projects, and also by the opportunity they have for getting out of the poor condition they live in.

Generally speaking, nevertheless, having in mind, on the one hand the target assumed by Romania to contribute to the objectives of Strategy Europe 2020, and on the other hand the people's stringent need of getting out of the state of poverty and social exclusion, I am of opinion that the European structural and investments funds allocated to Romania through the ESF [European Social Fund] are more than beneficial, being able to generate a positive impact upon the development of the human capital BUT only provided they are efficiently used.

When talking about effectiveness, a less positive aspect referring to these funds with which the applicants are confronted is represented by the non-adaptation of the guidelines to the situation in the field, fact which leads sometimes to the financing of projects or target groups which no longer need the respective financing to the detriment of other persons being at risk of poverty and social exclusion.

As to the **effectiveness** of the European structural and cohesion funds in what concerns reducing the degree of poverty and social exclusion, one can assert that it does **exist**. In the absence of such funds, Romania couldn't have assumed such a high target (580,000 persons) and the outcomes of singular efforts made by national authorities wouldn't have been so visible.

The assertion above on the effectiveness of the European structural and cohesion funds allocated to the human capital and reducing the degree of poverty and social exclusion is supported by

studies made by the European authorities according to whom, for each and every Euro spent at the EU level for social activities, the results obtained, reflected in results such as increasing the occupancy rate, preventing the school abandon or reducing poverty, exceed 3 Euro²⁴.

Moreover, having in mind the effectiveness of these funds in spite of all obstacles encountered all along the implementation of the projects, in the forthcoming period of programming Romania shall benefit from a sum of 100,000 million Euro of the European+ Social Fund which shall support the objectives of the European Pillar of social rights, one of the priorities being the promoting of social inclusion, fighting poverty and inequality²⁵.

In conclusion, both the European Union and Romania as well, are confronted with a high rate of the people under the risk of poverty and social exclusion; though efforts are being made for reducing it, one of the main elements being the European structural and cohesion funds, the efficiency [effectiveness] of which, even if not always being the foreseen one, really contributes to reducing inequalities and increasing the standard of living of the European citizens at risk of poverty and social exclusion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Articles:

Comunicarea Comisiei către Parlamentul European, Consiliu, Comitetul Economic and Social European si Comitetul Regiunilor [Comunique of the Comission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions], *”Platforma europeană de combatere a sărăciei si a excluziunii sociale: un*

²⁴ Annex to the Comunicarea Comisiei către Parlamentul European, Consiliul European, Consiliu, Comitetul Economic si Social European si Comitetul Regiunilor [Comunique of the Commission to The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of Regions], *”Un buget modern pentru o Uniune care protejează, capacitează si apără. Cadrul financiar multianual pentru perioada 2021 – 2027”*, page 43;

²⁵ Ibidem, page 44.

cadru european pentru coeziunea socială si teritorială”
SEC(2010) 1564 final

Ministry of Labour and Social Justice [Ministerul Muncii si Justitiei Sociale], The National Strategy for Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction 2015 – 2020.

Ministry of European Funds, Applicants’ Guide [Ghidul Solicitantului] – Specific Conditions, Priority Axis 4, OS 4.1 – Reducing povety in the marginalized Rroma community.

Annex to the Comunique of the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions] Comunicarea Comisiei către Parlamentul European, Consiliul European, Consiliu, Comitetul Economic si Social European si Comitetul Regiunilor, ”*Un buget modern pentru o Uniune care protejează, capacitează si apără. Cadrul financiar multianual pentru perioada 2021 – 2027”*.

On-line Sources:

TEU [Tratatul privind Functionarea Uniunii Europene], accessed at the address: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:9e8d52e1-2c70-11e6-b49701aa75ed71a1.0020.01/DOC_3&format=PDF, on 25.03.2019

MODEL FOR OPERATIONAL PROGRAMS BASED ON THE OBJECTIVE OF INVESTMENTS FOR GROWTH AND WORK PLACES, accessed at the address: <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/pocu-2014>, on 30.03.2019

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Europe_2020_indicators_-_poverty_and_social_exclusion#General_overview, accessed on 27.03.2019

[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion,_EU-27_and_EU-28,_2005-2016_\(million_persons\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion,_EU-27_and_EU-28,_2005-2016_(million_persons).png), accesed on 27.03.2019

[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Subindicators_of_%27People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion%27,_EU-27_and_EU-28,_2005-2016_\(million_people\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Subindicators_of_%27People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion%27,_EU-27_and_EU-28,_2005-2016_(million_people).png), accessed on 27.03.2019

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/images/0/04/Aggregation_of_sub-indicators_of_people_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion%2C_EU-28%2C_2016_%28million_people%29.PNG, accessed on 27.03.2019

[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion_by_degree_of_urbanisation,_by_country,_2016_\(%25_of_population\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion_by_degree_of_urbanisation,_by_country,_2016_(%25_of_population).png), accesat în 27.03.2019

[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion,_by_country,_2008_and_2016_\(%25_of_population\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_at_risk_of_poverty_or_social_exclusion,_by_country,_2008_and_2016_(%25_of_population).png), accessed on 27.03.2019

[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Severely materially deprived people,_by_country,_2008_and_2016_\(%25_of_population\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Severely materially deprived people,_by_country,_2008_and_2016_(%25_of_population).png), accessed on 27.03.2019

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Europe_2020_indicators_-_poverty_and_social_exclusion#cite_note-8, accessed on 27.03.2019

[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_living_in_households_with_very_low_work_intensity,by_country,_2008_and_2016_\(%25_of_population_aged_0_to_59\).png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:People_living_in_households_with_very_low_work_intensity,by_country,_2008_and_2016_(%25_of_population_aged_0_to_59).png), accessed on 27.03.2019

<http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/poad-2014>, accessed on 30.03.2019

<http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/pocu-2014>, accessed on 30.03.2019

Elaborarea strategiilor de integrare a comunităților urbane marginalizate – Atlasul zonelor urbane marginalizate din România, available at <http://www.inforegio.ro/images/Publicatii/Atlas%20zone%20urbane%20marginalizate.pdf> *Atlasul zonelor rurale marginalizate și al dezvoltării umane locale în România* available at the address <http://www.mmuncii.ro/j33/index.php/ro/minister/minister-raapoarte-studii>

<http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/presa/anunturi-finantari/2228-am-pocu-a-aprobat-55-de-proiecte-pentru-comunitatile-marginalizate-din-cele-63-aflata-in-evaluare>, accessed on 30.03.2019

<http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/presa/noutati-am-oi/details/6/539/am-pocu-cereri-de-finan%C5%A3are-aprobate-pentru-apelul-de-proiecte-pocu-140-4-2-%E2%80%9Edezvoltare-local%C4%83-integrat%C4%83-dli-360-%C3%AE-comunit%C4%83%C8%9Bile-marginalizate-o-s-4-2-%E2%80%9D?start=180> and <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/presa/noutati-am-oi/details/6/537/am-pocu-cereri-de-finan%C5%A3are-aprobate-pentru-apelul-de-proiecte-pocu-138-4-1-%E2%80%9Edezvoltare-local%C4%83-integrat%C4%83-dli-360-grade-%C3%AE-comunit%C4%83%C8%9Bile-marginalizate-%C3%AE-care-exist%C4%83-popula%C8%9Bie-apar%C8%9Bin%C3%A2nd-minorit%C4%83%C8%9Bii-rome-regiuni-mai-pu%C8%9Bin-dezvoltate-o-s-4-1-%E2%80%9D>, accessed on 30.03.2019

http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/images/files/implementare-absorbție/2017/1_martie_2019_-_Arhiva_-_Stadiul_absorbției_2014-2020.zip, accessed on 30.03.2019

http://www.insse.ro/old/sites/default/files/field/publicatii/dimensiuni_ale_incluziunii_sociale_in_romania_1.pdf, accessed on 30.03.2019