

# Eurolimes

Journal of the Institute for Euroregional Studies  
“Jean Monnet” European Centre of Excellence

University of Oradea

University of Debrecen

Volume 30

*15 Years of Eurolimes. Studying and Researching  
the European Union at its Borders*

Edited by

**Ioan HORGĂ, KOZMA Gábor, Yaroslav DROZDOVSKY**

References by

**Fabienne MARON & Mirela MĂRCUȚ**



2021



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Editors-in-chief: **Ioan HORGA** (*Oradea*) and **István SÜLI-ZAKAR** (*Debrecen*)

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## Eurolimes – End of the Road or a Necessary Reset

*Ioan HORGA*\*

**Abstract:** *On the 15th anniversary of the first issue of Eurolimes and 30 issues, we aim, on one hand, to make a retrospection of the conception and direction of research of the authors that have published in the journal. Thus, these have evolved from a balanced optimism – specific of the years before the European economic boom and the ending of Enlargement – to a moderate optimism – developed in the context of economic crisis and the period after (2012–2019). On the other hand, in recent years and particularly, in the context of Crimea annexation and the war in Donbas, the refugees’ crisis and the assault on the EU external borders, it can be noticed a slight shift to pessimism in approaching the issue of European borders. The pessimistic approach is increasing in the last 2 years with the effects of pandemic crisis on the internal and external borders and we are in the situation to ask is our perspective about EU borders is at the end of the road or to keep still an optimistic perspective, our approach must be reset.*

**Key words:** *Eurolimes*, EU borders, balanced optimism, moderate optimism

### Introduction

At 15 years after the publication of the first volume (Spring of 2006), *Eurolimes* is still living through the 30th volume, which in difficult conditions from an institutional and personal perspective continues to maintain a beautiful scientific collaboration, first between colleagues from the University of Oradea and those from the University of Debrecen, then that around this nucleus to maintain or assert both individually and institutional colleagues in the region, especially at the eastern border of the EU (Moldova and Ukraine) and at the same time to be a bridge between them and the scientific community from all over Europe, interested in border issues, the CBC, regional development in the cross-border area.

Starting with the 20th volume of *Eurolimes*, the voice of this scientific community mentioned above has been heard in giving way to perceptions, feelings, anxieties and last but not least to explain the dynamics at the EU's borders, especially those at the external borders. If the time when volume XX appeared was that of the crossing of the EU borders, especially those in the south and south-east by millions of refugees, with all obstacles of this phenomenon, volume 30 appears in a period in which anxiety, anxiety, subjectivity, inherent in a period of pandemic crisis, which, through its effects, has not yet had its last word, including on border issues. To these are added the concerns about the situation on the eastern border of Ukraine, a country that through its *Eurolimes* collaborators and the analyses made by other authors was somewhat in the foreground of the volumes published after 2015. And then the natural question arises the following: is the concept of *eurolimes*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ioan Horga and Dana Pantea, “Europe from Exclusive Borders to Inclusive Frontiers,” in “Europe from Exclusive Borders to Inclusive Frontiers,” ed. Gerard Delanty, Dana Pantea, and Teperics Károly, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 4 (Autumn 2007): 5–10.

and implicitly the meaning of *Eurolimes* magazine at the end of the road or did you find us in front of a natural reset?

The *Eurolimes* journal remains, on the one hand, attached to the values it has promoted over the past 15 years, those of opening and permeabilizing borders. We consider that, despite the pandemic protests and the security challenges at its external borders, borders are an important resource development, as evidenced by the realities on many of the EU's internal borders, but also enough examples at the external borders. Even though the European project is experiencing some syncope, including from the perspective of its borders, it remains dynamic and profound.

Alternatively, perhaps more than in previous crisis situations, the issue of internal borders, but especially external ones, needs to be re-analysed. There must be a reset in many ways, in line with the changes that are occurring in the political, socio-economic, mental and cultural environment around the world. Based on these considerations, the philosophy of the *Eurolimes* journal must be rethought in accordance with current realities. By doing so, *Eurolimes* will retain its place in the community of researchers interested in border issues.

Arriving here, we announce to those who are interested in the magazine that starting with volume 31, there will be a resettlement of the magazine on more nuanced coordinates. On the one hand, there is a change of an editorial nature. The disappearance of the late teacher. István Süli-Zakar, from Debrecen, co-founder of the magazine, left a huge gap in March 2017, which was hardly overcome and which was partially felt in the evolution of the magazine. With my resignation, in October 2021 and with the accumulation of a natural fatigue in managing the magazine, I decided to retire from the management of the magazine and entrust it to a young team from Oradea (Cristina Dogot, who takes over the duties of Editor-in-Chief, Constantin Țoca and Edina Mészáros as deputy editors) and from Debrecen (Klára Czimre, as Editor-in-Chief, Kosma Gábor and Károly Teperics as deputy editors).

In fact, the magazine retains a very dear idea to Professor István Süli-Zakar, to have a permanent balance of representation between the two founding universities.

On the other hand, the young teams from Debrecen and Oradea, naturally, propose an ambitious plan toward increasing the visibility of the magazine by indexing in ever-higher international databases and will also change the format of the magazine and its periodicity, making a much more dynamic. In a way, the actual volume actually announces how it will work in the future, with much smaller numbers in terms of several articles and much more thematically focused.

For example, this volume is brought together in a section of works that go into the content of research from the perspective of change in border communities, this time it is about the role of European Studies in the Europeanization of the EU's eastern border. In the second part, there are very current contributions on the impact of the pandemic on borders and border communities.

The university environment at the EU's internal, but especially external borders could not be immune to "general rebordering pressures which result from widening boundary gaps at the EU's external borders, exogenous shocks to cross-border transactions, growing community deficits of debordering, their politicization" and now the pandemic crisis. Likewise, actions, but especially the inaction of academic communities, cannot be understood without looking at them in the context of limited results or even the failure of EU programmes developed at its borders, such as the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy, European Immigration Policy, and European Neighbourhood Policy. To these are

added national re-bordering pressures to Brussels for a Fortress Europe, which some EUMS on the EU's eastern border (Hungary and Poland) are making increasingly active.

We consider that bringing back into discussion our vision concerning the European borders at four jubilee moments of the *Eurotimes* journal, expressed by synthesis articles (debut, in 2006<sup>2</sup>; the anniversary of the volumes 10<sup>3</sup> and 20<sup>4</sup> and 30) allows the reader interested in our conception of the phenomenon of borders and the CBC to see that, on the one hand, we remain attached to the belief that the European Union and Europe must remain with permeable borders to the movement of goods, services, capital, but especially people.

On the other hand, the reader will notice that we have always been attentive to the evolutions in the socio-political reality of Europe and its neighbourhood and we have adapted the theme and approaches of these evolutions.

### 1. Why *Eurotimes*?

In the opening article of the *Eurotimes* journal, we argue the importance of the debate about the European borders/frontiers. Nowadays, to dedicate a journal to the issue of the borders in Europe – as *Eurotimes* is – appears to be an outdated question both from the point of view of the process of the European integration or the enlargement, and from the point de view of the expectations of the Europeans, who wish to circulate, work and live wherever they want to. But the issue of the border is much more complex than we assume from the viewpoint of its essence and of the different experiences of Europe as a whole. This scepticism thinks of the complexity of the interpretation given to the notion of European border and its evolution in the context of phenomena of globalisation and integration<sup>5</sup>.

When we chose the name of the journal – *Eurotimes*, we have brought several arguments that resulted from the perception of the initiators of the journal project,<sup>6</sup> on the European borders<sup>7</sup>. First, *Eurotimes* considers the issue of the border as tightly related to the notion of territory and sovereignty. In the context of the emergence of globalisation, of the appearance of supranational forms of organisation, such as the European Union, several analysts are compelled to re-conceptualise territoriality in close connection with the idea of the sovereignty and the idea of border.<sup>8</sup> The border is the first institution of the

<sup>2</sup> Ioan Horga, “Why *Eurotimes*?,” in “Europe and Its Borders: Theoretical and Historical Perspective,” ed. Ioan Horga and Sorin Şipoş, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 1 (Spring 2006): 5–11.

<sup>3</sup> Ioan Horga, “*Eurotimes* Where to?,” in “The Geopolitics of European Frontiers,” ed. Dorin I. Dolghi et al., *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 10 (Autumn 2010): 5–14.

<sup>4</sup> Ioan Horga, “Still *Eurotimes*,” in “*Eurotimes*: Theoretical Approaches and Borders’ Assessment,” ed. Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 20 (2015): 5–25.

<sup>5</sup> Horga, “Why *Eurotimes*?,” 5.

<sup>6</sup> See the list of the Board of the journal *Eurotimes*.

<sup>7</sup> See the list of the Board of the journal *Eurotimes*.

<sup>8</sup> Horga, “Why *Eurotimes*?,” 6; István Süli-Zakar, “Borders and Border Regions in East Central Europe,” in *Borders and Cross-border Co-operations in the Central European Transformation Countries*, ed. István Süli-Zakar (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadója, 2005), 42–61. See also: Malcom Anderson, *Frontiers. Territory and State Formation in the Modern World* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), 1–3; Malcom Anderson, *Frontiers of the European Union* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); David Newman, *Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity* (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 2002); Mabel Berezin and Martin Schain, eds, *Europe without Borders, Remapping Territory. Citizenship and Identity in Transnational Age* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 5sq; Monika Eigmüller and Georg Vobruba, *Grenzsoziologie. Die politische Strukturierung des Raumes* [Border sociology. The political

contemporary state, it is the image of the world's geopolitical space and it is inseparable from the institution of power as sovereignty.<sup>9</sup> The contemporary sovereignty is shared on multiple nodal points in an international system of power relations that first “unbound” the relations between sovereignty and territoriality and, secondly, redesigns the “single perspective” state as a “multi-perspective” polity.<sup>10</sup>

Our vision was circumscribed, also, in multiple postmodern endeavours that conceive the relationships among borders, territory and sovereignty, seen not only as an ambivalent relationship of deterritorialization – reterritorialization, where one exists in the other, but also a dynamic relationship of de-bordering – re-bordering. The “boundary differentiation” can, indeed, be seen compatible with a postmodern perspective on boundaries<sup>11</sup>.

In the second place, *Eurolimes* considers that the role of the State border tends to fade away in a manifold process of State relativisation encouraged by the multiplication of connection and exchanges, as numerous authors outlined during the *balanced optimism*<sup>12</sup> period. Two phenomena have contributed to the process of relativisation of the national borders in Europe. On one side, through the *deepening*,<sup>13</sup> a double process has been stressed: the “distribution of the State sovereignty with other supranational political structures in the framework provided by the globalization process”<sup>14</sup>; the relativisation of the role of the borders, “that we perceive more and more diffuse”<sup>15</sup> or “we witness a redefinition and a repositioning of the borders”<sup>16</sup>.

structuring of the room] (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006); Jan Zielonka, *Europe Unbound. Enlarging and Reshaping the Boundaries of European Union* (London, New York: Routledge, 2001); Vladimir Kolossov and John O'Loughlin, “New Borders for New World Orders: Territorialities at the Fin-De Siecle,” *GeoJournal* 44, no. 3 (1998): 259–273; Liam O'Dowd and Thomas M. Wilson, eds, *Borders, Nations and States: Frontiers of Sovereignty in the New Europe* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1996); Niklas Luhmann, “Territorial Borders as System Boundaries,” in *Cooperation and Conflict in Borders Area*, ed. Raimondo Strassoldo and Giovanni Delli Zotti (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1982), 235–244; Paul Allières, *L'Invention du territoire* (Grenoble: Presse Universitaire de Grenoble, 1980).

<sup>9</sup> Etienne Balibar, “Europe as Borderland,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, no. 27 (April 2009): 192.

<sup>10</sup> John Gerard Ruggie, “Territoriality and Beyond: Problematising Modernity in International Relations,” *International Organization* 47, no. 1 (1993): 139–174.

<sup>11</sup> Mathias Albert, “On Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity: An International Relations Perspective,” in *Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity*, ed. David Newman (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 2002), 62.

<sup>12</sup> James Anderson, Laim O'Down, and Thomas M. Willson, *New Borders for a Changing Europe. Cross-Borders Cooperation and Governance* (London and Portland: Frank Cass, 2003); Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, “Beyond the New Borders,” *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 1 (2004): 48–62; Berezin and Schain.

<sup>13</sup> Ioan Horga, “Deepening/Widening EU Building versus Debordering/Rebordering of EU Frontiers,” in *Communicating EU Policies beyond Its/the Borders*, ed. Ioan Horga and Ariane Landuyt (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2013), 27–37.

<sup>14</sup> Horga, “Why Euroclimes?” 6.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>16</sup> Jean Luc Piermay, “Ces frontières qui vous attendent. Recherches menées à Strasbourg,” in *Europe between Millenniums. Political Geography Studies*, ed. Alexandru Ilieș and Jan Wendt (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2003), 160; Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro, *Ideas de Europa: que fronteiras?* [Ideas of Europe: that borders?] (Coimbra: Quarteto Editora, 2004).



On the other side, through the *widening* of the EU enlargement, mutations have occurred in “our perception of the change of borders from boundaries,<sup>17</sup> to limits combining local, regional and national responsibilities with the European community’s responsibilities. Europe is a genuine laboratory of “meta-state-centric globalization.”<sup>18</sup>

In the third place, *Eurotimes* considers that the European borders represent obstacles or issues, in building of European identity. *Eurotimes* shared the opinion, affirmed by different authors, that the identity of Europe is dominated by “ambiguous territoriality,” where the quality of being an EU member is based on the nation-state, and where European citizenship necessarily passes through the quality of being a citizen of the European State,<sup>19</sup> where trans-national mobility for work does not always find a common language within the Schengen agreements<sup>20</sup>.

The sum of obstacles that the borders represent in creating a European identity is supplemented by the fact that Europe “does not have a common civic area”<sup>21</sup>, a common public space<sup>22</sup> or “common cultural one,”<sup>23</sup> which would constitute the foundations for building a European identity<sup>24</sup>. There are still many obstacles to the effective development of a European public area which would form the foundation for a common identity. It is enough to remember that the issue of the European public area was not a priority for the political and economic leaders while constructing Europe<sup>25</sup>. The ceaseless hegemony of the nation-state, even in the presence of the process of European integration, underlines the fact that today and for a long time in the future, the issue of the internal borders of the EU must be perceived, on one hand, according to some authors, transnational, and only

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<sup>17</sup> Horga, “Why Eurotimes?” 7; Marc Morjé Howard, *The Politics of Citizenship in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 169–192.

<sup>18</sup> Georges Contogeorgis, “Identité nationale, identité “politicienne,” la citoyenneté à l’époque de la “mondialisation,”” in *Europa em Mutação. Cidadania, Idendidades, Diversidade Cultural* [Europe in mutation. Citizenship, identity, cultural diversity], ed. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro (Coimbra: Quarteto, 2003), 160.

<sup>19</sup> Jeffrey T. Checkel, and Peter J. Katzenstein, “The Politicization of European Identities,” in *European Identity*, ed. Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1–25; Morjé Howard, 17–36.

<sup>20</sup> Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe. Idea, Identity. Reality* (London: Macmillan, 1995); Riva Kastoryano, *Quelle identité pour l’Europe? Le multiculturalisme à l’épreuve* (Paris: Presse de Sciences-Po, 1998); Bo Strath, *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2000).

<sup>21</sup> Renaud de la Brosse, “Espace médiatique européen et “communauté des destines”: complémentarité ou oppositions entre échelles continentales, nationales, régionales et locales?” in *Ideas de Europa: que fronteiras?* [Ideas of Europe: that borders?], ed. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro (Coimbra: Quarteto Editora, 2004), 283–296.

<sup>22</sup> Ioan Horga, “The National Media Impact on European Security,” in *International and European Security versus the Explosion of Global Media*, ed. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro et al. (Bruxelles: IISA, 2004), 25–41.

<sup>23</sup> Mercedes Samaniego-Boneu, “Las fronteras socio-culturales de la Union Europe” [The sociocultural borders of the European Union], in *Ideas de Europa: que fronteiras?* [Ideas of Europe: that borders?], ed. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro, 87–98.

<sup>24</sup> Jurgen Habermas, “Citizenship and National Identity: Some Reflection on the Future Europe,” *Praxis International* 12, no. 1 (1992): 1–19.

<sup>25</sup> Craig Calhoun, “The Democratic Integration of Europe,” in *Europe without Borders, Remapping Territory. Citizenship and Identity in Transnational Age* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 272.

timidly as a post-national attribute<sup>26</sup> while, on the other hand, the “national borders are intrinsically and inescapably an imagined and fabricated thrust.”<sup>27</sup>

In the fourth place, *Eurolimes* considered that the migrational borders will be preserved for at least a few more decades. Maintaining the administrative barriers to migration represents a divergence between the expectations of the political leaders (open to maintain the migration trend) and the mass of people who are more hostile to the European project. This shows that there is a crisis of communication and information between political leaders and public opinion, which works as a new type of border within the EU<sup>28</sup>.

The increase in the human mobility and the development of the means of communication have also contributed to increasing the cross-border relationship, by building up networks and organising communities.<sup>29</sup> Another element to motivate immigrants to set up transnational networks is national, linguistic, or religious fragmentation, which makes the political programmes in the host country to grant to the immigrants the status of minorities.<sup>30</sup>

Generally, the individual migration is “tolerated, even welcomed, but the arrival of large numbers of people, with a sense of identity and solidarity, is usually regarded as a threat.”<sup>31</sup> As a consequence, the borders have been established and will be preserved to prevent the arrival of a large mass of immigrants. Therefore, they become mutually exclusive<sup>32</sup>. We have seen what happened at the end of 2015 and the beginning of 2016 when, one by one, the member states of the Schengen Area have restored their national borders. But the economic needs push the meaning of borders towards their fluidity and porosity, so that they end up by being open and inclusive<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> István Süli-Zakar, “The Role of the Euroregions and Eurometropolises in the Etherealization of the Borders in the Eastern Periphery of the European Union,” in “Europe and the Neighbourhood,” ed. Dorin Dolghi et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea) 7 (Spring 2009): 139–147.

<sup>27</sup> Henk van Houtum, “The Mask of the Borders,” in *The Asghate Research Companion to Borders Studies*, ed. Doris Wastl-Walter (London: Asghate, 2011), 51–57.

<sup>28</sup> Jean Pierre Colin, “La nouvelle frontière de l’immigration,” in *Ideas de Europa: que fronteiras?* [Ideas of Europe: that borders?], ed. Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro (Coimbra: Quarteto Editora, 2004), 257–266.

<sup>29</sup> Klára Czimre, *Cross-Border Co-operation. Theory and Practice* (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2006), 10–11.

<sup>30</sup> Riva Kastoryano, “Transnational Network and Political Participation,” in *Europe without Borders, Remapping Territory. Citizenship and Identity in Transnational Age*, ed. Mabel Berezin and Martin Schain (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 67.

<sup>31</sup> Anderson, *Frontiers Territory and State Formation*, 149.

<sup>32</sup> Niklas Luhmann, “Inklusion und Exklusion” [Inclusion and exclusion], in *Soziologische Aufklärung 6: Die Soziologie und der Mensch* [Sociology of education 6: Sociology and the man] (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1995); Robert Miles and Dietrich Thranhardt, eds, *Migration and European Integration: The Dynamic of Inclusion and Exclusion* (London: Pinter, 1995); Saskia Sassen, *Migranten, Siedler, Flüchtlinge* [Migrants, refugees, settlers] (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1996).

<sup>33</sup> Elsa M. Chaney, “Migrant Workers and National Boundaries: The Basis for Rights and Protections,” in *Boundaries: National Autonomy and its Limits*, ed. Peter G. Brown and Henry Shue (Totowa: Rowman & Littlefield, 1981), 37–78; Charles Riqc, *Les Travailleurs frontaliers en Europe* (Paris: Anthropus, 1981); Charles Ricq, *La Main d’œuvre frontalière en Suisse: Actes du colloque intercantonal tenu à Bâle le 5 février 1988 sur le thème “La maîtrise des flux de travailleurs frontaliers”* (Genève: Institut universitaire d’Etudes Européennes, 1990); Antony J. Fiedling, “Mass-Migration and Economic Restructuring,” in *Mass-Migration in Europe. The Legacy and the Future*, ed. Russell King (London: Belhaven Press, 1993), 7–18; Andreas Gestrich and Marita Krauss, eds,

The institutionalisation of transnational communities requires coordination of the activities based on common objectives and interest. Simultaneously, a coordination of resources and information to cross-national borders is required<sup>34</sup>. The most active spokespersons of the immigrant networks on a European level consider that the States are the most powerful adversaries of their action. Even though, States are subject to European norms, States seek to preserve their autonomy in internal decisions, while seeking to remain the main participants in negotiations in the international relations<sup>35</sup>.

*Eurolimes*, in fifth place, starts from the premise that one has to make the distinction between the *borders*, as a physical or territorial limit, and the *frontiers*, as the identity or diversity ones. By the *Borders*, we understand the institutional boundaries of the territory. They are frequently associated with the officially sanctioned boundaries separating one State from another, and with waning importance of territorialisation or the drawing of spatial boundaries through their functioning, starting with the Westphalian system, as a tool of preventing the conflict<sup>36</sup>. Thomas M. Wilson said that the borders are still the essence and embodiment of state and nationhood, the symbols of national identity and historical continuity, and despite many advances globally, which open up borders to more commerce, ideas and people, the emotive ideas of sacred and sovereign homelands persist<sup>37</sup>.

But the concept of *borders* has exceeded, in the first decade of the XXI century, the geographical and physical aspects, by plunging into the anthropological dimension, which is focused “on the visible borders between the state, on the symbolic boundaries of the identity and culture.”<sup>38</sup>

The notion of the *frontier* means, for *Eurolimes*, a special territorial division issued from differences amongst identities and the “cluster of inhabitants within a physically undivided space”<sup>39</sup> evolving towards the “parochialisation of native identities”<sup>40</sup> and creating the nations as the “imagined communities.”<sup>41</sup> This definition is circumscribed to the definitions described by other authors, with the stipulation that, for

*Migration und Grenze* [Migration and border] (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998); Andrew Geddes, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (London: Sage, 2003); Adrian Favell, “Immigration, Migration, and Free Movement in the Making of Europe,” in *European Identity*, ed. Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 167–191.

<sup>34</sup> David Held, *Democracy and Global Order. From Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>35</sup> Horga, “Why *Eurolimes*?” 10.

<sup>36</sup> Albert, 61; Fabrizio Eva, “International Boundaries, Geopolitics and the (Post) Modern Territorial Discourse: The Functional Fiction,” in *Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity*, ed. David Newman (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 2002), 34.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas M. Wilson, “Territoriality Matters in the Anthropology of Borders, Cities and Regions,” *Cadernos do CEOM*, no. 37, Ano 25 (2012): 201.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, “Borders and Borders Studies,” in *A Companion to Borders Studies*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Malden & Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

<sup>39</sup> Roy J. Eidelson and Ian S. Lustick, “National Identity Repertoires, Territory, and Globalisation,” in *Europe without Borders, Remapping Territory. Citizenship and Identity in Transnational Age*, ed. Mabel Berezin and Martin Schain (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 98.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 106–111.

<sup>41</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflexions on the Origin of Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991).

us, it has a broader character: *identitarian, cultural, communicational, social and economic* territorial division. For Malcom Anderson, the “frontiers between states are institutions and processes,”<sup>42</sup> which have four dimensions: instruments of state policy; the degree of *de facto* control which they have over the state frontier; the frontiers are the markers of identity; the frontier is a term of discourse<sup>43</sup>. For Thomas M. Wilson, the frontier is a “zone of negotiation, contest and integration provide only a partial image of their function and significance because they are also tied to notions of land, place, belonging and territory.”<sup>44</sup> For Olli Rehn, the notion of *next frontier* is more suitable than the *border* for testing ground for the EU soft power.

The ambivalence of the *frontiers* and *boundary* concepts which are meant to convey the territorial separation, specific to different types of policies,<sup>45</sup> is also part of the thematic panoply proposed by *Eurotimes*.

Going through the main points of reflection, developed in the *Eurotimes* pages, we consider that we have brought more understanding to the phenomenon of the European borders, particularly of the Eastern border and of the place that the new EU Member States from the Central and Eastern Europe have in the governance of the European borders, in general. In the same time, most of the authors that have published in the journal's pages have brought a nuanced perspective on the anthropology of border, resulted from their own experiences and readings<sup>46</sup>. Based on these considerations, the volume 4 of *Eurotimes* gave several answers to the question *What is Eurotimes?*

In the Introductory article, titled “Europe from Exclusive Borders to Inclusive Frontiers,” we have expressed, on one hand, not only our attachment, but also our faith – we, the inhabitants of the Central and Eastern Europe, that the fall of communism, followed by the dynamism of the European construction, with the corollary or the accession of the former communist countries to the united Europe, will remove from history the *close, hard and exclusive* barriers, and will give way to *open, soft and inclusive* delimitation among the states, nations, communities, etc.

Our assertion was twofold. On one hand, we have done it in the terms developed by the anthropological research on borders/frontiers, situating us halfway between the anthropological perspective on borders – theorised by Thomas Wilson and Hastings Donnan, and the anthropological perspective on frontiers – developed by Malcom Anderson. On the other side, it was done from the perspective of the *Eurotimes* paradigm – developed by Kalypso Nicolaïdes, according to which is outside the European borders is bonded to what is inside them, through the means of interculturalism, inter-ethnic relations, social relations, but also through the links between the states within the EU borders and the states from outside<sup>47</sup>.

For *Eurotimes*, the presentation of how the changing in the meaning of the internal frontiers occurs, as seen evolving from the national perspective to the community one, and how the meaning of the EU's external frontier changes from exclusive community to a

<sup>42</sup> Anderson, *Frontiers Territory and State Formation*, 1.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>44</sup> Wilson, “Territoriality,” 209–210.

<sup>45</sup> John Robert Victor Prescott, *Political Frontiers and Boundaries* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

<sup>46</sup> Donnan and Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity*; Mathiji Pelkmans, *Defending the Border: Identity, Religion, and Modernity in the Republic of Georgia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

<sup>47</sup> Kalypso Nicolaïdis, “Les fins de l'Europe,” in *Vision d'Europe*, ed. Bronisław Geremek and Robert Picht (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2007), 287.

flexible inclusive one,<sup>48</sup> in the sense of the Etienne Balibar's opinion on the European frontiers as borderland<sup>49</sup>, and of Thomas Christiansen and all those who speak about fluid frontiers"<sup>50</sup>. The balance between open frontiers and closed frontiers,<sup>51</sup> confirming borders-transcending the borders,<sup>52</sup> intercultural dialogue and impact of media,<sup>53</sup> the role of media in changing the meaning of the borders,<sup>54</sup> frontiers and interreligious relations,<sup>55</sup> was the subject presented in the first ten issues of *Eurolimes*.

## 2. *Eurolimes* Where to?

As we have said in the previous chapter, that among the territory, state and frontiers a strong correlation fluctuates according to the political, security, economic and social environment, from flexibility – translated by openness, inclusion and call to the *soft* means, so as we had until the outbreak of the economic and financial crisis, to a certain sovereign nervousness – expressed through the individual answers given by the EU Member States, at least until 2011. These developments have put their mark, on one hand, through a kind of “intellectual autarhism,” that is reflected in the opinions of most of the authors that have written in the *Eurolimes*' pages since 2010, which permeates certain scepticism and a reconsideration of the national borders' role, but also a second place for the European borders. However, the authors from Central and Eastern Europe that deal with another territorial aspect, but connected to the borders' issue – that of regionalisation and decentralisation, notice that, in this part of Europe, re-centralization actions make their way<sup>56</sup>.

This nuance in the journal's orientation has begun since the first volumes of *Eurolimes*. For instance, in the volume called *Europe, from Exclusive Borders to Inclusive Frontiers*, in which we express our confidence in a progressive change of the European borders into *eurolimes* bridging neighbouring area, has never excluded a certain reserve that things would not evolve in a simple and predictable manner. At the time, we had not

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<sup>48</sup> Horga and Pantea, 5.

<sup>49</sup> Balibar, 192.

<sup>50</sup> Thomas Christiansen, Fabio Petito, and Ben Torna, “Fuzzy Politics around Fuzzy Borders: The European Union's ‘Near Abroad’,” in *Cooperation Conflict* 35, no. 4 (2000): 389–416.

<sup>51</sup> Gerard Delanty, “Borders in Changing Europe: Dynamics of Openness and Closure,” in “Europe and Its Borders: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives,” ed. Ioan Horga and Sorin Şipoş, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 1 (Spring 2006): 46–58.

<sup>52</sup> Bohdana Dimitrova, “Towards a Controversial Border Strategy? The Case of Transcarpathia,” in “Media, Intercultural Dialogue, and the New Frontiers of Europe,” ed. Fabienne Maron et al. *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 3 (Spring 2007): 110–122.

<sup>53</sup> Ioan Horga, “The Role of Media in Changing the Meaning of Borders,” in “Media, Intercultural Dialogue, and the New Frontiers of Europe,” ed. Fabienne Maron et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 3 (Spring 2007): 28–47.

<sup>54</sup> Renaud de La Brosse, “Dialogue interculturel, diversité culturelle et régulation des médias,” in “Media, Intercultural Dialogue, and the New Frontiers of Europe,” ed. Fabienne Maron et al. *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 3 (Spring 2007): 12–18.

<sup>55</sup> Maria Marczevska-Rytko, “Europe and Challenges of Globalisation,” in “Europe and Its Borders: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives,” ed. Ioan Horga and Sorin Şipoş *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 1 (Spring 2006): 77–86.

<sup>56</sup> Ioan Horga, “The State as the Most Important Partner of the European Union in the Field of Regional Policy in Central and Eastern Europe,” in *Facing the Challenges in European Union. Re-thinking of EU Education and Research for Smart and Inclusive Growth (EuInteg)*, ed. Ewa Latoszek et al. (Warsaw: Polish European Community Studies Association – Elipsa, 2015), 257–282.

experienced economic and financial crisis,<sup>57</sup> or lectures on the possible European disintegration<sup>58</sup>.

These contextual elements have nuanced, in the journal's pages, some intellectual orientations, such as: the bringing to the fore of the *border* notion and the passing in the second place of the *frontier* notion; the examination of the notion of *boundary*, corresponding to the border as limit, in correlation with the notion of border as state boundary<sup>59</sup>; a dispatch of the notion of *frontier* in the area of communication, of the social aspects and, partially, of the economic ones.

Going through the *Eurolimes* volumes of the next five years (2010–2015), it was revealed that these intellectual orientations have been achieved from the perspective of the Europe's limits, as political entity, during its different stages of expansion, "a new political community superimposed on the pre-existing ones."<sup>60</sup>

Some authors draw the attention to the identification of the European integration with the phenomenon of overcoming the borders, whether political (borders of the newly established body), economic (relations between the internal market and the third parties), or societal (building a new European identity would mean defining a new non-European alter). The existence of these borders does not have a negative aspect, as new governing areas are "constitutive for political action that is they define political stakeholders and confer specific rights and obligations"<sup>61</sup>. Under such theoretical auspices, *Eurolimes* has brought into discussion the contribution of different stakeholders in the construction of the European boundaries<sup>62</sup>.

*Eurolimes* presented in its pages, on one hand, how it is changed the meaning of the internal frontiers, from a national perspective to the community one<sup>63</sup>. On the other side, *Eurolimes* aimed at seizing how the meaning of the EU's external borders change from an exclusive community perspective to a flexible inclusive frontier, in accordance with other authors<sup>64</sup>.

But with the outbreak of the economic and financial crisis, we express in the journal's pages as it follows: "many European Societies develop a strong "self-protection" feeling not only of economic origin. There is also a way of preservation of their own identity, including the cultural one. Crisis or exaltation moments can easily lead to

<sup>57</sup> Luminița Șoproni and Ioan Horga, "The Romanian-Hungarian Border, Link or Delimitation for the Post-Adhesion Process of Romania and Hungary," in "Europe and Its Economic Frontiers," ed. Luminița Șoproni et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 8 (Autumn 2009): 43–56.

<sup>58</sup> Hans Volland, "A Theory of European Disintegration," *Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics*, 25–27th September 2008, University of Latvia, Riga, accessed November 16, 2015, <http://www.jhubc.it/ecpr-riga/virtualpaperroom/017.pdf>.

<sup>59</sup> Ioan Horga, "Eurolimes Where to?" 5.

<sup>60</sup> Ernst B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe. Political, Social and Economic Forces (1950–1957)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), 16.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Diaz, "The Paradoxes of Europe's Borders," *Comparative European Politics*, no. 4 (2006): 236, 249.

<sup>62</sup> See more in Horga, "Eurolimes Where to?" 6.

<sup>63</sup> It was regarded in the meaning given by Jacques Rupnik to Europe's frontiers, which speaks about the new frontiers "inside of Europe" (Jacques Rupnik, "La nouvelle frontière de l'Europe: quels confins pour une Europe élargie?" in *Vision d'Europe*, ed. Bronisław Geremek and Robert Picht (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2007), 299–316.

<sup>64</sup> Christiansen, Petito, Tonra, 389–415; Olli Rehn, *Europe's Next Frontiers* (Baden Baden: Nomos Publishing House, 2006).

nationalist feeling diluting the “Europeanist” perception of the borders.”<sup>65</sup> The dilution occurs, simultaneously, with strengthening the identity-community and feeling of ethno-cultural appurtenance to a nation. There is the 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 Members States officials at European institutions<sup>66</sup>.

Suppressing the state borders and enhancing the limits of the community borders have two directions. On one side, suppressing the physical barriers, without suppressing the mental cycles that have served to the creation of a distorted image about “other,” as defence mechanisms that will maintain or create new borders within the European memory<sup>67</sup>. On the other side, it is impossible to ensure a material development by giving up the potential of mutual cooperation<sup>68</sup>. If we combine a real need, the need to belong to a community, with the historically consolidated collective identity which, for long times, has been represented by the States, the political frontiers can become a cultural reality<sup>69</sup>. If borders are the physical expression of the social boundaries existing around the community,<sup>70</sup> memory is the mental expression of the geographical frontiers. The geographical perspective of the frontiers cannot be automatically turned into a social reality, because “borders communities, although officially national community members, are also socially integrated with the other, resulting in their being viewed with some suspicion”<sup>71</sup>.

Border communities<sup>72</sup> play a double role to play in the national memory, according to Rob Shields<sup>73</sup>. On the one hand, the inhabitants of the minority communities are heroes because they live there. Borders Communities mark the limits of identity and they defend traditions. Simultaneously, they assert the myths and traditions about the unity of the people and the myths about national unity of the territory. Alternatively, border

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<sup>65</sup> Horga, “*Eurolimes* Where to?” 9.

<sup>66</sup> Ioan Horga and Mircea Brie, “Europe – A Cultural Border, or a Geo-Cultural Archipelago?” in “The Cultural Frontiers of Europe,” ed. Alina Stoica et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 9 (Spring 2010): 158.

<sup>67</sup> Ioan Horga, “Communication and Information Studies Curricula – Instrument for the Internal and External Cross-Border Communication of the EU,” in “Communication and European Frontiers,” ed. Luminița Șoproni et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea) 12 (Autumn 2011): 21–31; Cristina-Maria Dogot and Ioan Horga, “Enlargement Process, Classic Geopolitics, and EU Internal Priorities,” in “Enlargements, Borders and the Changes of EU Political Priorities,” ed. Ariane Landuyt et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea) 14 (Autumn 2012): 164–165.

<sup>68</sup> Samaniego Boneu.

<sup>69</sup> Horga, “Communication and Information Studies,” 22; Enrique Banús, “The Cultural Relevance of the Borders,” in “From Smaller to Greater Europe. Border Identity Testimonies,” ed. Mircea Brie and Gábor Kosma, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea) 2 (Autumn 2006): 21.

<sup>70</sup> Frederik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture* (London: George Allain&Unwin, 1970).

<sup>71</sup> Fiona Gill, “Public and Private: National Identities in a Scottish Borders Community,” *Nation and Nationalism. Journal of Association for Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11, no. 1 (2005): 84.

<sup>72</sup> On this subject see Anthony P. Cohen, *Symbolising Boundaries: Identity and Diversity in British Cultures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); O’Dowd and Wilson; Anssi Passi, *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finish-Russian Borders* (Chichester: John Wiley& Son. 1996); Donnan and Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity*.

<sup>73</sup> Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1992).

communities can represent “the other” in the national memory<sup>74</sup>. According to other scholars, the border people are comfortable with the notion that they are culturally tied to many other people in the neighbouring states. Cultural diversity involves a plurality of ideas, images, values and expressions. They are all possible through various expressions and the presence of a great number of parallel local, regional, ethnic, national or other types of cultures<sup>75</sup>.

From what we have analysed in the previous paragraphs, we can conclude that, even if the central dimension of our research in the area of the frontiers studies is dominated by the vision of the cultural-identity frontiers, we should also take into consideration the perspective of communication in the alteration of the political borders, as well as the identity and cultural borders. If we consider the example of the European Union, we can state the fact that internal political borders have lost their primordial meaning of being the markers of the states’ limits. However, the collective mind has kept the memory of alterity. Which could be found just outside the border, although nowadays we can testify about the intense communication between different entities, especially between the regions<sup>76</sup>.

### **Still *Eurolimes*?<sup>77</sup>**

The *moderate optimism* regarding the perception of borders has been presented in our reflections, in the volumes published in the context of the economic and financial crisis, being revealed in several directions.

Firstly, we have focused on the impact of policy on the construction of formal or informal frontiers. Considering that the EU “is not yet a future state,”<sup>78</sup> but “the most ambitious and successful organization,”<sup>79</sup> we have presented the experience of the certain leaders in the transformation of the frontiers into borders, in the history of the last decades of the XX century,<sup>80</sup> who have been imitated by most of the European leaders, in the second half of 2015, in the context of the refugees’ crisis. In the context of the refugees’ crisis, we have seen what potential the European leaders have in being, simultaneously, “charismatic” and “toxic,” in the shift from the *frontier* meaning to that of *border*, in the perceptions and political decisions, which proves how weak is the European consciousness at the policymakers’ level, but also how close is the distance that separates the notion of *frontier* (as inclusive limit), to that of *border* (as exclusive limit). If in the article “*Eurolimes* Where to?” we consider that certain regions, territories, situated at the edge of Europe or beyond the EU’s borders, play a major role in the stability or instability of the European borders<sup>81</sup>, the refugees’ crisis has showed us, once again, that the EU borders can be endangered even in the heart of the EU.

<sup>74</sup> Horga, “Communication and Information Studies,” 23; Gill, 84.

<sup>75</sup> Horga and Brie, 155–169.

<sup>76</sup> Alina Stoica and Mirela Mărcuț, “Communication and Nationalism at the French-Spanish Border. The Basque Country,” in “Communication and European Frontiers,” ed. Luminița Șoproni et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea) 12 (Autumn 2011): 163.

<sup>77</sup> Horga, “Still *Eurolimes*,” 5–25.

<sup>78</sup> Horga, “*Eurolimes* Where to?” 10.

<sup>79</sup> Andrew Moravcsik and Farnk Simmelfennig, “Liberal Intergovernmentalism,” *European Integration Theory*, ed. Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, II edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 84.

<sup>80</sup> “Leaders of the Borders, Borders of the Leaders,” ed. Cristina-Maria Dogot et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 11 (Spring 2011).

<sup>81</sup> Horga, “*Eurolimes* Where to?” 10.



Secondly, in the *Eurolimes* pages, we paid attention to the impact of the communication on the future of the European identity and, consequently, on the existent European borders. The development of ideas is necessary since the concept of identity of Europe is dominated by “ambiguous territoriality,” where the quality of being an EU member is based on nation-state, and where European citizenship necessarily through the quality of being a citizen of a European State, where trans-European mobility for work does not always find a common language within the Schengen agreements, where there can be found “an emotional attachment.”<sup>82</sup> There are still a lot of obstacles to the effective development of a European public area, because there are many communicational frontiers in Europe.

This shows that there is a crisis of communication and information between the political leaders and the public opinion, which works as a new type of border within the EU. This border is determined, on one hand, by the level of expectation of the political leaders who wish to pass quickly to a transnational perception of the European realities, and the population where the public opinion wishes to preserve the national political mechanisms within the European area. On the other side, the barrier is determined by the level of understanding of the EU political area as a new type of transnational community that no longer guarantees the ideas of the national public body<sup>83</sup>. The dimension of communication in the construction and de-construction of the frontiers has been a research topic for many of the founding members of the *Eurolimes* journal, in the project called *Initiative and Constraint in the Mapping of Evolving European Borders*<sup>84</sup>. In the context of this research, we have noticed that there is an ambivalent evolution regarding the creation and evolution of the borders/frontiers, induced not only by determinism, but also by political voluntarism.

Trying to summarise the evolution of the studies focused on frontiers, we can remark that the research on the border/frontier studies have developed in two major directions. One of them points out especially the geographical, historical, sociological, economic or political sciences / international relations perspective of the Borders, as delimitation of Territory, State and Nation, underlined, mainly, the hard/close/exclusive dimension of the border<sup>85</sup>. The other one emphasizes the anthropological perspective of the Borders, as the delimitation of Identity, Nation, State, underlined, mainly, the soft/open/inclusive dimension of the border<sup>86</sup>.

In the *Eurolimes*’ pages, especially after 2010, we have paid attention to the communication dimension,<sup>87</sup> on one side, in the existence of the Borders/Frontiers, as the delimitation of Prosperity, Security and Identity,<sup>88</sup> and on the other side, in the analysis of

<sup>82</sup> Berezin, “Territoriality and beyond,” 5.

<sup>83</sup> Horga, “*Eurolimes* Where to?” 10–11.

<sup>84</sup> Project financed through the “Jean Monnet” Program, Key Activity 1, during the period 2011–2013 (see: [www.iser.rdsor.ro](http://www.iser.rdsor.ro) and [www.borders.cvce.eu](http://www.borders.cvce.eu)).

<sup>85</sup> Anderson, *Frontiers. Territory and State*, 1–3. Anderson, *Frontiers of the European Union*; Anssi Paasi, “The Changing Discourses on Political Boundaries: Mapping the Backgrounds, Contexts and Contents,” in *B/ordering the World*, ed. Henk van Houtum et al. (London: Ashgate, 2005), 17–31.

<sup>86</sup> Antony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Tavistock, 1985); Donnan and Wilson.

<sup>87</sup> See “Communication and European Frontiers,” ed. Luminița Șoproni et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea) 12 (Autumn 2011).

<sup>88</sup> See “Permeability and Impermeability of Socio-Economic Frontiers within European Union,” ed. Violaine Delteil et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea) 13 (Spring 2012); “Enlargements, Borders and the Changes of EU Political Priorities,” ed. Ariane Landuyt et al.

voluntarism/determinism in the de-bordering/re-bordering of the Territory, Communities, Identities.

Thirdly, *Eurolimes* noticed that the trends of contradictory evolution of the social frontiers, inside the EU Member States, have maintained. The European nation-states have to ensure the replacement of the population that has left the labour market, to support the need to maintain a constant labour force, as well as to contribute to the pension funds for the aged population. Certain politicians would like to create the image that the borders still work on our continent. This seems to turn Europe into an area where the regime of public and private freedoms are subjective factors, solely dependent on a decision-making political group, and which might look in a few years from a historical viewpoint to be a new form of deportation<sup>89</sup>.

Finally, *Eurolimes* has concentrated on the impact of security issues on the EU borders. This perspective has evolved from the impact of the border on the internal security of the Member States, to the issue of legitimacy of the national preferences concerning the problem of the borders' security and will focus, at least for several volumes, on the impact of some European geopolitical security realities, as the relation between the minorities and borders, between the migration and borders, the place of the Black Sea, the Balkans, the Mediterranean Sea in the equation of the security of the EU borders.

From this perspective, we consider that, on one side, *Eurolimes* will remain an active platform for reflection on the European borders, in general, and on the EU's borders, in particular, aiming to respond, rapidly, with knowledge products, to the fast changes of the European society. On the other side, *Eurolimes*, although it has been forced by the recent years' realities to nuance its opinions regarding the future of the European borders, it strongly reaffirms that the EU will exist as long as it has osmotic borders,<sup>90</sup> that for very short periods can become closed, for needed adjustments, as it happened in the fall of 2015, under the pressure of the refugees' wave. But the European Union will be forced to find solutions to keep its borders permanently open, in a space *Eurolimes* – type, appealing for this, among others, to the electronic surveillance of the traffic at its borders and even within it.

### **Eurolimes end of the road or a necessary reset**

Developments at the EU's external borders, with the migrant crisis of 2015–2016, called into question our idea of the spectrum of flexible borders, with variations in permeability and impermeability, but dominated by their flexible nature. The crisis has passed and a return to the previous situation has become a reality, but something of the anxiety of the uncontrolled reversal of waves asked by migrants has remained in the guidelines of the border police, but also of public opinion. We could say that we lived then the feeling that the idea of *Eurolimes* as a frontier is at the end, but a reset followed in the open conditions above.

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*Eurolimes* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea) 14 (Autumn 2012); "A Security Dimension as Trigger and Results of Frontiers Modifications," ed. Giuliana Laschi et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea) 15 (Spring 2013).

<sup>89</sup> Horga, "Eurolimes Where to?" 10.

<sup>90</sup> Cristina-Maria Dogot, "How Permeable or Impermeable Could be the Borders?" in "Permeability and Impermeability of Socio-Economic Frontiers within European Union," ed. Violaine Delteil et al., *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea) 13 (Spring 2012): 6.

The pandemic crisis was the second moment of the major crisis for the European borders, this time not only the external ones, but also the internal ones. In March-April 2020, I lived through the closure of internal borders, with the avatars springing from here – travellers caught on the road and stranded at border crossings for several days, freight transport, cross-border work, one of Europe's most beautiful relations with open borders, have become the socio-economic victims of these measures. Seeing all this, many people said they were ready with Europe without borders, we return to the Westphalian borders.

It is to the credit of the European Commission, the Parliament and the whole institutional and political spectrum in Brussels that it intervened and determined the Member States to create a green transport colour for crossing Member States in the first stage, and then to find solutions to help the states in the worst situation with the number of diseases. One by one, Member States have taken the lead in resolving humanitarian transport or cross-border workers' problems. Here we could mention the professional way in which the governmental authorities in Hungary and Romania acted, in this case, since April 2020.

Of course, the issues mentioned are minor in relation to the huge challenge for the whole EU and for its internal or external borders, which is the pandemic itself. The closure of the borders was done in accordance with international and European regulations on health protection, with, of course, side effects such as those mentioned above or others that referred to human rights issues and the issue of borders.<sup>91</sup>

In the context of restrictive measures to limit pollution, both human and freight flows from outside the EU to the EU have suffered, which added to the burden of the idea that *Eurolimes'* vision of borders is at the end of its career. However, despite these limitations, borders have served as vectors of communication and flexibility, which theoretically requires a reset of *Eurolimes'* vision of borders. With the entry into full maturity of the team that supports the magazine and with a well-deserved rejuvenation, I am convinced that the *Eurolimes* journal will live a stage with the most spectacular challenges.

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<sup>91</sup> Vincent Chetail, "Crisis without Borders: What Does International Law Say About Border Closure in the Context of Covid-19?" *Frontiers in Political Science* 2 (2020): 1–6.

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## I. EUROPEAN STUDIES AT THE EASTERN EU BORDER

**Ioan HORGA** (Oradea) ◀▶ *European Studies at the Eastern EU Border. The Role of Universities in Transforming Communities Borders*

**Luminița ȘOPRONI** (Oradea) ◀▶ *The Jean Monnet Projects Carried Out in Countries at the Eastern Border of the European Union*

**Edina Lilla MÉSZÁROS** (Oradea) ◀▶ *Does Erasmus+ Mobility Involving Universities from the EU's Eastern Border Play a Role in the Contouring of Cross-Border Academic Communities?*

**Constantin-Vasile ȚOCA** (Oradea), **CZIMRE Klara** (Debrecen) ◀▶ *EU Studies Curriculum at the EU Borders*

**Roman KALYTCHAK** (Lviv) ◀▶ *European Studies in Ukraine: Major Trends and Patterns*



## European Studies at the Eastern EU Border. The Role of Universities in Transforming Communities Borders

*Ioan HORGA\**

**Abstract.** *Universities have always been pivots of knowledge and development, especially in sensitive areas such as borders. Our study reveals the impact of European Studies on the EU's eastern border, seen as a vector of knowledge and action to contribute to the transformation of border communities. The study has two parts: From local initiatives of cross-border academic cooperation to integration into the European Area of High Education and the role of universities in transforming communities from border regions/CBC borders from proximity communities to communities in the process of integration.*

**Keywords:** *Universities, EU Eastren Border, European Studies, Border Communities, European Neighborhood Policy*

### Introduction

A study dedicated to European Studies at the Eastern EU Border is a courageous approach. It is a courageous approach because, on the one hand, it must follow both in diachronic evolution the evolution of this theme – from timid beginning first in the countries that are now members of the EU, in the years immediately following the fall of the Iron Curtain and in the context of the successful expansion and launch of the European Neighborhood Policy in the countries of the former Soviet republic, located in the immediate vicinity of the EU's Eastern border. However, this approach must scrutinize the admirable efforts of some academics, real pioneers in the development of lectures and later of European Studies curricula, who understood not only that the historical evolutions of the Western communist system are irreversible but, simultaneously, they could be in consonance with the thematic and curricular approaches of colleagues from universities in the old EU member states. Of course, there was a lot of awkwardness in these approaches, a lot of mimicry, but the finality is important. Or, even in these circumstances, we consider that beyond the risks of current or subsequent amendments to our approach, it is important to have the courage to highlight these examples of the memory of the evolution of European Studies on the Eastern EU Borders.

The theoretical model I chose for this study oscillates between the idea developed by Franz Schimmelfenning<sup>1</sup> that in the process of EU integration we are witnessing a process of internal debordering and external rebordering and the conception of Christophe Sohn, who sees the border as a resource<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Frank Schimmelfenning, "Rebordering Europe: External Boundaries and Integration in the European Union," *Journal of European Public Policy* (Special Issue: Rebordering Europe? Europe's Crises and EU Boundary Formation) 28, no. 3 (2021): 311–330.

<sup>2</sup> Christophe Sohn, "Borders as Resources: Towards a Centring of the Concept." In *A Research Agenda for Border Studies*, ed. James W. Scott (Cheltenham and Nortampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020), 69–86.

In other words, our approach will be one in which, on the one hand, we examine with optimism, understanding and encouragement to what happened at the border between the former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics, with the exception of the Baltic states, part of the western ridge of this border, from the perspective of cooperation between academic communities. Simultaneously, we will try to see how the advantage of being on the border of these communities has been exploited.

Alternatively, the approach will be realistic, pragmatic and sceptical given that the university environment at this border could not be immune to “general rebordering pressures which result from widening boundary gaps at the EU’s external borders, exogenous shocks to cross-border transactions, growing community deficits of debordering, and their politicization.”<sup>3</sup> Likewise, actions, but especially the inaction of academic communities, cannot be understood without looking at them in the context of limited results or even the failure of EU programmes developed at its borders, such as the EU’s Common Security and Defense Policy, European Immigration Policy, and European Neighbourhood Policy. To these are added national re-bordering pressures to Brussels for a Fortress Europe<sup>4</sup>.

With the establishment of these analysis milestones, we will seek to discuss both the progress in transforming the EU’s eastern border into a community space and academic mobility, as well as the inability of universities to achieve, on the one hand, an integrative academic community, as well as the restraints in giving value to ideas and actions.

As a research method, we will start from the romanticism represented at the end of the Cold War in the realisation of a common university space in this region through associative initiatives, then we will go through the forms of bilateral cooperation on both sides of the EU’s Eastern border and we will focus more on the EU’s contribution to the development of a cross-border academic community on the EU’s Eastern border, as well as the problems that have arisen with the succession of crises that EU had to face after 2014 or those caused by the 2020–2021 pandemic crisis.

The publication of an issue on European Studies at the Eastern EU Border is an approach that must be integrated into the broad Europeanization process that is taking place at the EU’s Eastern border, since the launch of the European Neighborhood Policy in 2003. That’s why the volume includes in general what we considered helpful in understanding how European Studies has been developed in this area (institutional framework, mobility, research, involvement of universities in cross-border cooperation projects etc.). The publication of an issue on *European Studies at the Eastern EU Border* study is a necessary step from several perspectives. First, we must highlight the processualism of the phenomenon of the emergence of the first interinstitutional associative forms<sup>5</sup> at the Eastern border of the EU, resulting on the one hand from the phenomenon of imitation of similar structures in Western Europe - and allowed in the new context after 1990, and on the other another part of the innovative synchronicity of the academics in this region.

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<sup>3</sup> F. Schimmelfening, *op.cit.*, p. 314

<sup>4</sup> Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, “Re-bordering Europe? Collective Action Barriers to ‘Fortress Europe’,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 3 (2021): 447–467.

<sup>5</sup> James W. Scott, “Reflections on EU Geopolitics: Consolidation, Neighbourhood and Civil Society in the Reordering of European Space. *Geopolitics* 16, no. 1 (2011): 146–175.

### **From local initiatives of cross-border academic cooperation to integration into the European Area of High Education**

In the last decade of the XX century, in the area of Central and Eastern Europe, but especially on the border between the former communist states and the Soviet Union, inter-university associative forms (Baltic University Programme (BUP), Association of the Carpathian Region Universities (ACRU), Black Sea Universities Network (BSUN)) appeared, meant to exploit the new context of freedoms, but also to develop practical collaboration projects. The Baltic University Programme (BUP), created in 1991, is one of the largest universities cooperation programme in the world, with about 90 participating universities. In addition to helping to create a framework for collaboration between universities in the Baltic Sea Basin for democratic, peaceful and sustainable development, this programme has played an important role in enhancing interuniversity cooperation at the EU's eastern border and the Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian-Ukrainian border<sup>6</sup>.

The Association of Carpathian Region Universities (ACRU) is an international association of higher education institutions. It was established in 1994 by sixteen universities and colleges from five countries of the Carpathian region to encourage links among its members and institutions throughout the world. The main objective of the Association is the advance of academic, scientific and cultural cooperation, taking advantage of the particular dynamics of the long established historic and cultural links developed in the Carpathian region. It also enhances the coordination of various activities in the field of international university relations, to the development of specific mechanisms for the transmission of information and knowledge, and to the exchange and support of contacts between member universities and interested third parties. The ACRU is also aimed at the promotion of social, educational and technological development among neighbouring countries, communities and regions<sup>7</sup>.

ACRU has involved the universities from Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Romania, Hungary and Serbia. The association's activity was very intense until 2013, after which it declined due to the emergence of opportunities for cooperation between universities in Ukraine or Serbia with universities in Slovakia, Romania, Hungary and Poland through the Erasmus Plus programme.

The Black Sea Universities Network (BSUN) is an organization established on the recommendation of the decision-making forum of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (APCEMN), developed at the Ordinary Session of 1997. The proposal to establish such a structure belonged to the late Academician Mircea Malița,<sup>8</sup> The network has the legal status of an international ad hoc organisation and has been established on the occasion of the 2nd Conference of the Black Sea Universities Rectors, held in Constanța between 9th and 12th of July 1998.

The aim of BSUN is to organise an Interuniversity Cooperation Framework for the Member States of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization in the field of university education, scientific research, university management and innovation. BSUN includes more than 120 member universities from the 12 member states of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization as Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, Ukraine and Serbia. Until now, BSUN has

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<sup>6</sup> [www.balticuniv.uu.se](http://www.balticuniv.uu.se)

<sup>7</sup> [www.acru.uvlf.sk](http://www.acru.uvlf.sk).

<sup>8</sup> Mircea Malița is born in Oradea (1927–2018), writer, diplomat, ambassador, institution builder, honorary member of the Club of Rome and founding president of the Black Sea University Foundation (FUMN).

been an important framework for initiating cooperation projects among universities for the organization of joint programs of education, scientific research and innovation, the organization of workshops, debates, conferences or summer schools, facilitating the mobility of teachers and students and the sharing of resources, teaching facilities, laboratories and data processing infrastructure between member universities.<sup>9</sup>

Although it did not experience the same decline in activity with the expansion of European educational programmes in Partner Countries, as compared ARCU, BSUN lost importance, with the emergence of European projects in which Partner Countries are also eligible members of this association. However, discussing from the perspective of the role of ARCU and BSUN in the smooth process of collaboration between universities located in the Member States of the EU's eastern border area, we can say that the two associations played the role of facilitating not only institutional contacts, but especially those personal.

If the three organisations – BUP, ACRU and BSUN – appeared in the decade following the fall of communist regimes in Europe and played an important role, especially during the accession of former communist states to the EU and later, until the launch of programmes of educational exchanges with partner countries, in the context of deepening the work within the Eastern Partnership, the Border University Network project was launched in 2013, which had two components. Alternatively, it was a project that appeared to be a complement to the associative structures on the Eastern border of the EU, in the Black Sea region and in the Carpathian region, this time in the central part of this border. On the other hand, the project tried associating universities in the border area – Polish-Lithuanian-Ukrainian-Belarusian and Russian.

The Border University Network project was initiated by the University of Białystok, which in October 2013 hosted the first meeting of the founding members: Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University, the Baranavicki State University, the A.S. Pushkin Brest State University, the Janka Kupala Grodno State University, the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, the Ternopil National Economic University, the Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, the Voronezh State University, and the Smolensk Branch of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration.<sup>10</sup>

A priority of university cooperation within the Border University Network in the social sphere is the initiation of cross-border cooperation programmes – supporting social and economic development and environmental protection in these areas – so that the inhabitants of the broadly understood borderland can benefit from their specific location. This way, students of the Faculty of Physics and Technology at the Janka Kupala Grodno State University hold internships at the Faculty of Physics of the University of Białystok, where, among others, they take classes in computer measurement techniques and perform simulations in the field of medical physics<sup>11</sup>.

With the launch of the Erasmus Plus Programme in 2014, this has become a real tool for strengthening cooperation within the Border University Network framework as its members.

When discussing the reasons why these Networks have become more difficult to operate, we must make a comparison with other situations. Generally, cross-border university networks. They appear to meet the needs of national and regional development

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<sup>9</sup> [www.bsun.org](http://www.bsun.org).

<sup>10</sup> Leonard Etel, Maciej Perkowski, and Łukasz Kierznowski, “The Border University Network as a Response to Academic Challenges in the Field of Internationalization,” *Eastern European Journal of Transnational Relations* 1, no. 1 (2017): 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.



strengthening the institutional capacity of affiliated entities by strengthening the capacities of affiliated institutions. But, after an enthusiastic start, in which there is hope of amplifying resources and capabilities, as well as access to various opportunities, over time it is found that the interest in these networks decreases, that actors are more concerned with gaining individual gains than common results, which give access to them depending on involvement and contribution<sup>12</sup>. Or such a process will not be unique in the case of cross-border university networks from Eastern EU Borders.

Secondly, our approach to *European Studies at the Eastern EU Border* will follow the entry of academia from the states on the Eastern border of the EU into the process of institutional and curricular Europeanisation, on the one hand, through institutional adequacy programmes with the academic environment in Western Europe, and on the other hand, by assuming some normative aspects,<sup>13</sup> having as aim the integration in the European Area of High Education. If in the case of universities in the new EU member states, the integration of the university environment was done through the conditioning mechanism in the case of universities in states located near the eastern border of the EU (especially Moldova and Ukraine, partly Belarus) the tool was the network<sup>14</sup>.

In fact, as in other parts of the world and at the EU's Eastern border, we are witnessing an unprecedented increase in the mobility of students, teachers and administrative staff. The reasons that promote and hasten the process of these massive mobilities: the need to deepen and widen the knowledge base of the economy; well-educated persons should be exposed to ideas, not confined to any national boundary; increasing student demand for foreign degrees; financial attraction of many universities to enrol foreign students; prestige that is sought by institutions to show that they play a global role; better communication and cheaper travel costs make people reach different places easily.<sup>15</sup>

Starting from this complex process of cross-border mobility, N.N. Varghese distinguishes several types of mobility flows: a) cross-border supply of the service where consumers remain within the country. E-learning distance-based education programmes are good examples of this type of cross-border education b) consumption abroad where the consumers (students) cross the border. This includes full-time study for a degree — part of the study at home, and the remaining part in a foreign country — and exchange and joint degree programs. c) the commercial presence of the provider in another country in the form of branch campuses or twinning and franchising arrangements between universities from the developed and developing world, but also among universities of the developed world as a whole. d) the presence of persons in another country to provide the service. The most visible form of this mode is the mobility of professors from one country

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<sup>12</sup> David V. Chapman, Amy Pekol, Elisabeth Wilson, "Cross-Border University Networks as a Development Strategy: Lessons from Three University Networks Focused on Emerging Pandemic Threats," *International Review of Education* 60 (2014): 613–637.

<sup>13</sup> Ian Manner, "Normative Power Europe: A Transdisciplinarity Approach to European Studies," in *The Sage Handbook for European Studies*, ed. Chris Rumford (Sage Publications, 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Sandra Lavenex, "A Governance Perspective on the European Neighbourhood Policy: Integration beyond Conditionality?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, no. 6 (2008): 938–955.

<sup>15</sup> Ben Wildavsky, *The Great Brain Race: How Global Universities are Reshaping the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

to another as employees of a foreign university, as part of an academic partnership, or to teach on a branch campus.<sup>16</sup>

Following these general findings, we concretise our approach with the fact that the academic environment at the Eastern border of the EU was involved immediately after the fall of the Iron Curtain in a multilateral cooperation process between EU higher education institutions and EU partner states in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics, through the TEMPUS Programme, launched in 1990. The Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies (TEMPUS, acronym) was the first programme to ensure a European interconnection of universities from the Atlantic to the Pacific<sup>17</sup>. With the association<sup>18</sup> and then the accession to the EU of the former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe, which became part of the Socrates-Erasmus mobility program and later Erasmus, the universities of the ex-Soviet states,<sup>19</sup> or Partner Countries<sup>20</sup>, become the main beneficiaries of the TEMPUS program<sup>21</sup>.

In itself, the TEMPUS programme aims at the institutional level: to develop projects that lead to the development, modernization and spread of modern educational programmes, upgrading teaching materials and methodological recommendations; strengthening the part of higher educational institutions in society, strengthening ties with the labour market, supporting innovation activities; creating and expanding professional networks, improvement of institution governance, including financial management, development of libraries, HR services and student service, exchange of best practices, etc.<sup>22</sup>

The TEMPUS Programme also proposed the implementation of structural measures for the modernisation of the higher education system at the national level, and the general development of the higher education system in order to converge European standards. Structural measures include reforming governance, increasing the autonomy of higher education institutions; the introduction of a quality assurance system; development of a qualification system<sup>23</sup>; development of regulatory support for reforms in higher education; development and expansion of the institutional, administrative and expert capacity to accelerate the reform of education considering implementation of the Bologna process (ex. modernization of curricula under European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS)); increasing public support for reforms, expansion of their supporters and

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<sup>16</sup> N.V. Varghese, "Globalization and Higher Education: Changing Trends in Cross-Border Education," *Analytical Reports in International Education* 5, no. 1 (December 2013): 12.

<sup>17</sup> Róisín McCabe, Philippe Ruffio, Piia Heinämäki, *TEMPUS@20, A Restrospective of the Tempus Programme over the Past Twenty Years, 1990–2010* (Bruxelles: European Union, 2011).

<sup>18</sup> The Programme Tempus I (1990–1994) was opened only to the 12 Member States of EU, at that date and to the countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

<sup>19</sup> In 1992, UE launched TACIS Programme for the ex soviet republics, where Tempus was to be used as a tool for TACIS in the area of higher education and vocational training. McCabe et al., 11.

<sup>20</sup> Starting with TEMPUS IV Program (2007–2013) the ex-soviet republics, as well as all the other partners of the EU Member States are designated as Partner Countries. McCabe et al., 17.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 12–21.

<sup>22</sup> Ioan Horga and Mircea Brie, "Cross-border Cooperation between Universities at External European Union Borders and its Contribution to European Neighbourhood Policy," in *Frontierele spațiului românesc în context European* [The borders of the Romanian space in a European context], ed. Sorin Șipoș et al. (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2008), 452.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

participants; promoting reforms by organising international, national and regional conferences and seminars<sup>24</sup>.

From the perspective of our study, it must be said that the Tempus Program also introduced new academic subject areas that had never existed here. For example, in Central and Eastern Europe, Tempus developed courses in European Studies, business studies, EU law, EU economics and foreign languages.<sup>25</sup>

After a period of institutional and curricular consolidation of universities in the new EU member states located on the eastern border of the EU, in the context of the process of integration into the European High Education Area, the Tempus Program receives new values through many partnerships that include universities on either side of the EU's Eastern border, contributing to the transfer of European values beyond this border. We can give many examples of universities located in Eastern Partnership countries that are very active.

For example, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (Ukraine) has built a strong European expertise through the 7 Tempus projects in which it has partner with universities in Germany, Spain, Italy, Slovenia, Austria, but also projects with universities in member countries of the EU situated on the eastern border of the EU (Poland<sup>26</sup> and Romania<sup>27</sup>).

Yanka Kupala State University of Grodno (Belarus) is another example of a university on the eastern border of the EU, for which the Tempus programme was an opportunity to raise the level of its educational and research expertise. Benefiting from 8 Tempus projects, it had the opportunity to implement not only the experience of some academics from Austria, Germany or the UK, but also to build solid bridges of cross-border cooperation with the University of Białystok (Poland).<sup>28</sup>

Until 2014, the states on the EU's eastern border also had the Erasmus Mundus program at their disposal for cooperation actions between universities near the border, but the level of these exchanges was very low.

With the launch in 2013 of the "Erasmus+" Action: *The Union Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport*<sup>29</sup>, universities in the states located on either side of the Eastern EU border are opening up important opportunities for collaboration, as Partner Countries are subject to all their obligations and perform all their duties under this Regulation concerning the Member States<sup>30</sup>. The Programme shall support cooperation with partner countries, in particular neighbouring countries, on actions and activities for

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<sup>24</sup> R. McCabe et al., 24–25.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>26</sup> Project Tempus-SMHES Informatics and Management: Bologna-Style Qualifications Frameworks (2012–2015), Uniwersytet Maria Curie-Skłodowskiej, Poland, accessed November 21, 2018, <http://erasmusplus.org.ua/en/projects-map/lvivska-oblast/767-ivan-franko-national-university-of-lviv.html>.

<sup>27</sup> Project Tempus: European Neighborhood Policy Law and Good Governance (EUNEG) 2012–2015, Master EUNEG – Coordinating institution University of Maribor (Maribor, Slovenia); Partners: Germany, Italy, Romania (UBB), Russia, Moldova (Comrat State University).

<sup>28</sup> Yanka Kupala State University of Grodno, „International Cooperation,” accessed November 12, 2020, <https://en.grsu.by/en/international-cooperation/programs-and-projects/item/533-finished-projects.html>.

<sup>29</sup> Regulation (EU) No. 1288/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of December 11th 2013, *Official Journal of the European Union*, L 347/50 of 12.20.2013.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., art. 24 (2).

the mobility of individuals for learning; cooperation for innovation and the exchange of best practices<sup>31</sup>; support for policy reform<sup>32</sup>; Jean Monnet activities.<sup>33</sup>

Within this volume of *Eurolimes*, one chapter will be dedicated to cross-border mobility within Erasmus +Action<sup>34</sup> and one to the Jean Monnet Activities<sup>35</sup> to promote teaching and research on European integration among university specialists, learners and citizens of universities close to the Eastern border of the EU, in particular by setting up Jean Monnet Chairs and other academic activities, as well as by providing aid for other knowledge-building activities at the level of higher education institutions. Also, a chapter on EU Studies Curriculum at the EU borders<sup>36</sup> will be published, in which will present the curricular developments common with those in the EU space, but also certain particular features.

### **The role of universities in transforming communities from border regions/CBC borders from proximity communities to communities in the process of integration**

The development of forms of inter-university cooperation at the EU's Eastern border is from this perspective, on the one hand, a measure of their importance in this transformative process, and on the other hand, it is also a way to see where the focus should be in these studies, in the future.

Analysing the evolution of the links between the universities located near the Eastern border of the EU, especially after Poland, the Baltic States, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania joined the EU, there are some directions of action from this perspective.

Poland has developed an extensive programme of development of joint degrees with the universities of Ukraine, where a major place is occupied by the universities located in the Cross Border Regions (CBRs). Thus, Bialystok University of Technology

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<sup>31</sup> Erasmus + Programme (Key Action 2: Higher Education – International Capacity Building): Quality Assurance System in Ukraine: Development on the Base of ENQA Standards and Guidelines (QUAERE) Contract between the Co-ordinator and the Co-Beneficiaries 2015–2017; coordinator Wrocław University of Science and Technology, Poland; partners Ivan Franko National University of Lviv/Ukraine and universities from Germany, Greece, Netherlands and, Lithuania, Holland.

<sup>32</sup> Erasmus +, Programme (Key Action 2 – Capacity building in the Field of Higher Education): *Rethinking Regional Studies: The Baltic-Black Sea Connection (BBSR)*, (2017–2020), coordinator: German independent agency for external evaluation and accreditation (ASIIN), Partners: Ivan Franko National University of Lviv/Ukraine, universities from Estonia, Sweden, Poland, Lithuania.

<sup>33</sup> Regulation (EU) No. 1288/2013, art. 6, 10, 12.

<sup>34</sup> Edina Mészáros, “Does Erasmus+ Mobility Involving Universities from the EU’s Eastern Border Play a Role in the Contouring of Cross-Border Academic Communities?” in “15 Years of *Eurolimes*. Studying and Researching the European Union at its Eastern Borders,” ed. Ioan Horga, Kozma Gabor, and Yaroslav Drozdovsky, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 30 (2021).

<sup>35</sup> Luminița Șoproni, “The Jean Monnet Projects Carried out in Countries at the Eastern Border of the European Union,” in “15 Years of *Eurolimes*. Studying and Researching the European Union at its Eastern Borders,” ed. Ioan Horga, Kozma Gabor, and Yaroslav Drozdovsky, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 30 (2021).

<sup>36</sup> Constantin-Vasile Țoca and Klára Czimre, “EU Studies Curriculum at the EU Borders,” in “15 Years of *Eurolimes*. Studying and Researching the European Union at its Eastern Borders,” ed. Ioan Horga, Kozma Gabor, and Yaroslav Drozdovsky, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 30 (2021).

has developed joint programmes with Lviv Polytechnic National University,<sup>37</sup> Poltava National Technical Yuri Kondratyuk University<sup>38</sup>.

The universities of Lublin are essential vectors in the development of joint degrees in the Ukrainian universities in the regions on the Eastern border of the EU. *Lublin University of Technology*<sup>39</sup> develops joint degrees in various technical fields with Ukrainian universities in the Ivano-Frankivsk,<sup>40</sup> Lviv,<sup>41</sup> and Volyn regions<sup>42</sup>. *Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin* has developed joint degrees in the field of Political Science, International Relations, Journalism and Social Communications,<sup>43</sup> in whose curricula are numerous European Studies courses with similar fields in universities Yury Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University; Ivan Franko National University of Lviv; Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University Ivano-Frankivsk. *John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin* offers BA programmes in European Studies and MA in European Law, but which is not in a joint system but, in the area of recruitment, students from the neighbouring regions of Ukraine are numerous.<sup>44</sup> In fact, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin has affirmed its role as a vector of promoting European values in the Eastern area of the EU border by initiating in 2014 a university consortium, called *The Eastern-European University Network*, which also includes 17 universities from Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine and in which its majority is formed by the institutions located in the border regions of Brest (Belarus), Volyn, Lviv, Zakarpattia, Chernivtsi (Ukraine).<sup>45</sup>

When talking about cross-border consortia, we must mention the consortium developed by the Romanian universities located near the Eastern border of the EU, as it is the case of the “Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava. This, with the National University “Yuriy Fedkovych” Chernivtsi, the Bukovinian State University of Medicine in Chernivtsi, founded in 2011 Bukovinian University Consortium,<sup>46</sup> oriented towards collaborative actions in the fields of teaching and research, student mobilities,<sup>47</sup> institutional and cultural collaboration actions.

An important chapter in the relationship between the universities in the vicinity of the EU's eastern border in the Member States (Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Romania are represented by the university support programmes for universities in the vicinity of the same eastern border in Moldova and Ukraine. Speakers of the Hungarian, Slovak, Polish and Romanian language benefit from it. For example, the universities of Debrecen and

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<sup>37</sup> <http://www.lp.edu.ua/en>

<sup>38</sup> <http://pntu.edu.ua/en/>

<sup>39</sup> Accessed June 02, 2019, <http://www.pollub.pl/pl/uczelnia/wspolpraca-miedzynarodowa/biuro-wspolpracy-z-zagranica-i-badan-naukowych/umowy-pl>.

<sup>40</sup> Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University Ivano-Frankivsk; Ivano-Frankivsk Oil and Gas University.

<sup>41</sup> *Lviv Polytechnic National University*; Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University; Lviv National University of Veterinary Medicine and Biotechnologies.

<sup>42</sup> Lutsk National Technical University.

<sup>43</sup> Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, accessed January 29, 2019, <https://www.umcs.pl/en>.

<sup>44</sup> Study in Lublin, [www.studyinlublin.eu/en/the-john-paul-ii-catholic-university-of-lublin/36](http://www.studyinlublin.eu/en/the-john-paul-ii-catholic-university-of-lublin/36).

<sup>45</sup> KUL, International Exchange Section, accessed January 29, 2021, [https://www.kul.pl/international-exchange-section,art\\_47320.html](https://www.kul.pl/international-exchange-section,art_47320.html).

<sup>46</sup> “Consortiul Universitar Bucovinean s-a reunit pentru a treia oară, la Suceava” [The Bucovina University Consortium met for the third time in Suceava], [www.news bucovina.ro/20](http://www.news bucovina.ro/20).

<sup>47</sup> One of the actions that resulted in beautiful results was the participation of students from the three universities in the Summer Schools “Ukrainian, Romanian Language, Culture and Civilization,” in Chernivtsi and Suceava.

Nyreghasza are active in supporting the universities of Ushorod, but especially of Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education<sup>48</sup>. Pavlo Safaraik University and the University of Presov from Slovakia are active in supporting the University of Ushorod, as there is also a Slovak minority in that area of Ukraine.

In addition to the joint degree programs, which are very relevant in the collaboration between Polish universities in the Polish-Ukrainian Cross-Border Regions, these universities carry out extensive local support programmes of Ukrainian universities in the common border region through joint research programs, organization of joint scientific and cultural events, assistance programs in university management.

Regarding the universities in Romania located in the Cross-Border Regions with Ukraine, we mentioned the role of the “Ștefan cel Mare” University in Suceava in collaboration with the universities in Chernivtsi (Ukraine). To this we must add the “Dunărea de Jos” University of Galați, which together with “I. I. Mechnikov” University of Odessa developed fruitful cooperation, which in 2020 materialised in the *Internationalization Program in higher education in Romania and Ukraine. Academic mobility*, funded by the Romanian government.<sup>49</sup>

A special place in the involvement of Romanian universities in the development of university education among the universities on the eastern border of the EU is represented by the involvement of the universities of Iași and Galați in supporting the study programmes of the Republic of Moldova. For example, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza University” of Iași (UAIC) has developed an extension in the border town of Bălți, within the “Aleco Russo” University, at the BA level<sup>50</sup> and especially at the MA level<sup>51</sup>. Completion of studies is done with a bachelor's exam and the award of a diploma by the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza University”.

“Dunărea de Jos” University has developed in the city of Cahul (Republic of Moldova) an extension structured in *Cross-border Faculty*, which is part of the University of Galați. Nine BA Programmes<sup>52</sup> and twelve MA Programmes<sup>53</sup> are developed by this faculty.

An important dimension of interuniversity cooperation at the EU's eastern border is represented by the mobility of students from Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus to neighbouring regions across the border. This aspect has been the subject of previous

<sup>48</sup> Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education from Beregovo was created in 1996, being supported University of Nyíregyháza (courses: Economics and Management), University of Debrecen (courses: Nursing, Medical Practice, Social Pedagogy. Ferenc Rákóczi II. Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute, accessed November 19, 2018, <http://kmf.uz.ua/en/>.

<sup>49</sup> “Colaborare academică între Universitatea “Dunărea de Jos” și Universitatea “I.I. Mechnikov” din Odesa, cu sprijinul financiar al Departamentului pentru Românii de Pretutindeni” [Academic collaboration between “Dunărea de Jos” University and University “I.I. Mechnikov” from Odessa, with the financial support of the Department for the Relation with Romanians Abroad], 25 November 2020, accessed January 30, 2021, [www.ugal.ro/anunturi/stiri-si-evenimente/8391](http://www.ugal.ro/anunturi/stiri-si-evenimente/8391).

<sup>50</sup> BA in Economics of trade, tourism and services and Technological physics ([www.uaic.ro/extensii](http://www.uaic.ro/extensii))

<sup>51</sup> MA in European Law, Tourism management; Physics applied in information and communication technologies.

<sup>52</sup> BA in International Relations and European Studies, International Affaires, and in technical fields (Facultatea transfrontalieră ([ugal.ro](http://ugal.ro))).

<sup>53</sup> MA in *Geopolitics and cultural interference in Southeast Europe; Euroregional International Affairs Administration; International Relations and Cross-Border Cooperation; Communication, Multiculturalism and Multilingualism; Inter-institutional communication* and in other technical fields ((Facultatea transfrontalieră ([ugal.ro](http://ugal.ro)))).

research, which has focused more on qualitative analysis, avoiding quantitative analysis due to difficult access to data. These studies are relevant because they highlight the phenomenon of Cross-Border High Education. Thus, a study published in 2019 presents the results of research on Ukrainian students studying in the Podkarpackie Province,<sup>54</sup> where in 2017, over 2,500 students studied, more than 8% of the total number of Ukrainian students studying in Poland (35,200<sup>55</sup>). This study shows the motivations that were the basis for deciding to study in Poland. A research questionnaire was carried out in 2015 and 2017 on a sample of 250 and 224 students respectively<sup>56</sup>. For Ukrainian students who choose to study in Poland, this is the opportunity to obtain a European-style diploma, which offers wide opportunities for employment in European labour markets and in the Schengen area<sup>57</sup> and the possibility to be involved in the international exchange programmes. Unfortunately, only 25% of those surveyed wanted to return to Ukraine,<sup>58</sup> although when choosing a university, they decided to go to a university in the border region,<sup>59</sup> as close to home as possible.

The second largest contingent of foreign students in Poland is Belarus. Thus, at the level of 2016, more than 5,000 Belarusian students were registered.<sup>60</sup> Less than in the case of Ukrainian students studying at a high rate in the universities near the border (Lublin, Rzeszów), in the case of those in Belarus they studied in Warsaw.

We find similar developments in the case of students from the Republic of Moldova, who choose to study in Romanian universities, aspects developed extensively by Edina Mészáros in the chapter *Does Erasmus + mobility involving universities from the EU's Eastern border play a role in the contouring of cross-border academic communities?* of this volume.

Looking at the overall dimension of interuniversity mobility at the EU's eastern border, we can see that international agreements and mobility schemes play a pivotal role in the formation of cross-border academic communities. The existence and success of cross-border academic communities is measured through the produced results, such as frequency and number of mobility, the number of jointly elaborated projects, organised events, research published in scientific journals etc. The analysis had showed that universities from the Eastern CBC area are very active in this regard, but haven't reached

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<sup>54</sup> In this region from South of Poland are: *University of Rzeszów, University of Information Technology and Management in Rzeszów, University of Law and Public Administration in Rzeszów, East European State University in Przemyśl, Higher School of Law and Administration in Przemyśl, State Higher School of Economics and Economics in Jarosław.*

<sup>55</sup> Piotr Długosz, "Social Aspects of Transboundary Education. Case Study of Ukrainian Students Studying in the Subcarpathian Region," in *Contemporary Socio-Economic Issues of Polish-Ukrainian Cross-border Cooperation*, ed. Leszek Buller, Hubert Kotarski, and Yuriy Pachkovskyy (Warsaw, 2017), 254.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>57</sup> Yuriy Pachkovskyy. "Ukrainian-Polish Educational Space of Higher Education: Challenges and Prospects for Cross-Border Cooperation," in *Contemporary Socio-Economic Issues of Polish-Ukrainian Cross-border Cooperation*, ed. Leszek Buller, Hubert Kotarski, and Yuriy Pachkovskyy (Warsaw, 2017), 282.

<sup>58</sup> Długosz, 259–267.

<sup>59</sup> But these universities have fields of study that ensure a great mobility on the Polish and European labor market: *Medical University in Lublin, University of Information Technology and Management in Rzeszów* (Computer Sciences), *Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin* (Business). See more in Pachkovskyy, 269–294.

<sup>60</sup> Pachkovskyy, 282–283.

their full potential yet. However, we are witnessing a rising trend and we are confident that the Erasmus + activities and financial assistance put forward under the 2021–2027 MFF, with the CBC programmes funded by ENI, will further contribute to the consolidation of cross-border academic communities at the EU's Eastern border.

### Conclusions

Although institutionalised academic cooperation programmes between universities on both sides of the EU's eastern border seem encouraging for the post-accession period of Central and Eastern European countries, judging as a whole, they have managed to achieve a certain level of de-bordering, as they are not at the potential that exists and at the level of the needs that the neighbouring states have. Simultaneously, developments in the field of security at the EU's eastern border have led in the last five years to a process of continuous “bordering,” i.e. everyday construction of borders among communities and groups, through ideology, discourses, political institutions, attitudes and agency.<sup>61</sup> Adding the taken measures to all EU borders in the context of the SARS-COV-19 pandemic, the re-bordering process at the Eastern EU border has become a reality. All these general evolutions at the border also affect the sphere of university cooperation. Below, we will review some obstacles that appear in EU and neighbourhood states relations.

First, we consider several political developments in neighbouring countries on the eastern border, either in the case of member or partner countries. For example, even though the contacts between the universities of Romania and that of the Republic of Moldova have been constantly dynamic, during the almost 15 years since Romania became a member of the EU, when the communist/socialist parties were in power in Moldova or in Romania, there were parties with declared national values, this fact also limited the contacts between the universities in these two countries. A similar pattern can be seen in the case of the border between Poland and Ukraine, if we analyse the period 2010–2014, which made some authors open the subject of the Polish-Ukrainian border as the defence of a fortress.<sup>62</sup>

Secondly, though in connection with the previous paragraph, intra-university relations have also been affected by idiosyncrasies towards the historical past, maintained in the collective mind and affirmed in domestic political discourse in situations of crisis or local and regional elections which in cross-border regions have a living existence. For example, the hardships between Hungary and Ukraine over the Hungarian minority in the Transcarpathian region have affected inter-university collaboration in the region. The same happened in the Bukovina region, where national exaltation on both sides of the border had more pronounced quotas among internal developments in Ukraine or maintained these fears of possible territorial claims of Romania as a tool to keep in place a reconfiguration of relations between the two countries. I remember, in March 2014, the anxiety that was maintained at the level of the population in the Chernivtsi region, in the context of the crisis in Eastern Ukraine over the danger of some claims. Or, this environment of uncertainty could not be favourable to delicate actions of interuniversity

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<sup>61</sup> James W. Scott, “Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe,” in “Neighbourhood Policy and the Construction of the European External Borders,” ed. F. Celata, R. Coletti, *GeoJournal Library* (Springer, Cham) 115 (2015): 27–44.

<sup>62</sup> Karolina S. Follis, *Building Fortress Europe. The Polish-Ukrainian Frontier* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).



collaboration. Such examples may continue in many parts of the EU's eastern border, but they are not the focus of our work.

Thirdly, in addition to the political and historical aspects that have created an unfavourable framework for continuous progress of interuniversity cooperation, certain aspects of competition between universities on the EU's eastern border for attracting students must also be discussed. Obviously, the universities in the Member States have several strengths that make them attractive to students from partner countries – a curricula better adapted to the European market, professors who came into contact earlier with Western academic methods and tools, opportunities to be part of Erasmus mobility, giving them the chance to study in the West, either for a new migration or to return to the new EU Member States where they have more employment opportunities or even to return to their countries of origin with a diploma awarded in EU space. Or, it has been found, year after year, that partner universities have lost entire cohorts of potential students, which has made them reluctant to open up to EU partners, especially those in the neighbourhood. The universities of Galați, Iași and Suceava have attracted thousands of students from the Republic of Moldova and partly from Ukraine every year. The same happened with the universities in North-Eastern Hungary (Debrecen, Miskolc), Eastern Slovakia (Košice, Prešov), Eastern Poland (Rzeszów or Lublin), which attracted thousands of students from Ukraine. Even though the departure from Belarus was difficult, thousands of potential students also left for Warsaw or Białystok, Poland or Lithuania.

Finally, without intending to exhaust the aspects that have stigmatised real cross-border interuniversity cooperation, we turn to the aspect of notoriety, especially in the area of the EU's eastern border, which was once the border between the USSR and the former satellite states. It is a type of mentality developed during the communist period, that the academic environment should not be given much notoriety because it becomes dangerous, if it interacts. This mentality was maintained by the political and administrative environment and it continued in the following decades, when the leaders are still generations formed in socialism. Simultaneously, it is no less true that the academic environment is not more open and incisive in showing its value, and one of these instruments is precisely the academic collaboration. This is observed by some authors who have focused on the impact of various actors<sup>63</sup> in cross-border cooperation in the above-mentioned region, and in particular on the Polish-Ukrainian border<sup>64</sup>.

But with all this pessimistic emphasis, the data we presented in this study show that universities on the eastern border of the EU are true complex collaboration champions<sup>65</sup> because collaborations between university staff increase in complexity and traverse time and space. The university serves both as a portal between dimensions of

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<sup>63</sup> Anna Polačková, Gabriel Székely, and Michal Cirner, "Empirical Research on Perceptions of Regional CBC Actors," in *Cross-Border Cooperation between Slovakia and Ukraine*, Volume IV: *Perceptions of Local and Regional Actors*, ed. Martin Lačný, Anna Polačková, Gabriel Székely, Michal Cirner (Prešov University Press, 2019), 133–273. The authors applied a questionnaire and collected data from November 2017 to January 2018 under the guidance of researchers from the Institute of Political Sciences, Faculty of Arts at the University of Prešov (Slovakia) in cooperation with Uzhhorod National University in Ukraine.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Komornicki and Andrzej Miszczuk, "Cross-Border Relations in the Polish-Ukrainian Borderland," in *The EU's New Borderland. Cross-Border Relations and Regional Development*, ed. Andrzej Jakubowski et al. (London: Routledge, 2017), 122–174.

<sup>65</sup> Natalia Veles, Margaret-Anne Carter, and Helen Boon, "Complex Collaboration Champions: University Third Space Professionals Working Together across Borders," *Perspectives: Policy and Practice in Higher Education* 23 issues 2-3 (2019): 75–85.

collaboration and as a vehicle for advancing cross-border collaboration<sup>66</sup>. Consequently, we can consider universities as one of the most important actors in transforming border communities.

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

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## The Jean Monnet Projects Carried Out in Countries at the Eastern Border of the European Union

*Luminița ȘOPRONI\**

**Abstract.** *This chapter analyses the Jean Monnet projects carried out at the eastern border of the European Union in the period 2000–2019, in both member countries and in partner countries. Such academic initiatives have demonstrated that the external border of the European Union is not only a line of political and administrative demarcation, but also a space for cooperation, knowledge and innovation. Considering the objectives pursued and the actions realised through the Jean Monnet programme, the programme represents an important tool that complements the EU's internal and external communication strategy, by facilitating the communication to the third countries of uniform and coherent messages related to the actions and policies of the EU.*

**Keywords:** *Jean Monnet projects, EU external border, communication, cooperation*

The Jean Monnet programme was introduced in European higher education in 1990, considering the need to develop the idea of Europe within the curricula of the universities. The programme is now part of the Erasmus+ European programme, which is a key instrument used to support “the educational, professional and personal development of people in education, training, youth and sport, in Europe and beyond, thereby contributing to sustainable growth, quality jobs and social cohesion, to driving innovation, and to strengthening European identity and active citizenship.”<sup>1</sup>

The Jean Monnet actions offer opportunities in the field of higher education and in other fields of education and training. The financed projects contribute to spreading knowledge about the European Union integration matters,<sup>2</sup> contributing to the development of education and research in the field of European integration, the study of the construction of the European Community and its institutional, legal, political, economic and social developments.

The Jean Monnet programme supports three main types of activities<sup>3</sup>:

1. teaching and research activities<sup>4</sup>, including *Jean Monnet Modules* (which may concentrate on one particular discipline in European studies or be multidisciplinary in

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<sup>1</sup> European Commission, “Erasmus+ Programme,” accessed August 12, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/programme-guide/part-a/objectives-and-important-features\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/programme-guide/part-a/objectives-and-important-features_en).

<sup>2</sup> European Commission, “Jean Monnet Actions,” accessed August 12, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/programme-guide/part-b/jean-monnet-actions\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/programme-guide/part-b/jean-monnet-actions_en).

<sup>3</sup> Starting from March 2021, the Jean Monnet programme has expanded its funding opportunities for schools, vocational education and training institutes, teacher training organisations, and promotion of debates and exchanges on EU subjects in secondary education institutions. But these new types of activities are not part of this analyse since the period considered for our research is 2000–2019.

<sup>4</sup> European Commission, “Jean Monnet Actions in the Field of Higher Education,” accessed August 10, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/programme-guide/part-b/jean-monnet-actions/jean-monnet-actions-field-higher-education\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/programme-guide/part-b/jean-monnet-actions/jean-monnet-actions-field-higher-education_en).

approach and call upon the academic input of several professors and experts; minimum of 40 teaching hours per academic year, for three years and 30 000 EUR maximum EU contribution); *Jean Monnet Chairs* (teaching posts with a specialization in European Union studies for university professors; minimum of 90 teaching hours per academic year, for three years and 50 000 EUR maximum EU contribution), *Centres of Excellence* (focal points of competence and knowledge on European Union subjects, which gather the expertise and competences of high-level experts to develop synergies between the various disciplines and resources in European studies; duration of three years and 100 000 EUR maximum EU contribution), and *Jean Monnet Permanent Courses*. The EU Studies framework given by the European Commission through Jean Monnet Action, includes every course in one of the nine existing fields<sup>5</sup>: EU Legal Studies, EU Political and Administrative Studies, EU Economic Studies, EU Historical Studies, EU Interdisciplinary Studies, EU Intercultural Dialogue Studies, EU Communication and Information Studies, EU and Comparative Regionalism Studies, and EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies.

2. policy debates with the academic world, through *Jean Monnet Networks*<sup>6</sup> (fostering the creation and development of consortia in European studies that ensure teachers' exchange of knowledge – collaborative working on specific subjects and on methodologies, co-teaching experiences, common activities; for a duration of three years and 300 000 EUR maximum EU contribution) and *Jean Monnet Projects* (representing unilateral proposals for one or two years and 60.000 EUR maximum EU contribution, formulated to support innovation and the spread of European Union content).

3. activities offering support to associations (*Associations of professors and researchers*) – include financial support for a duration of three years, for associations that have as explicit purpose to contribute to the study of the European integration process. Such associations should be interdisciplinary and open to all interested professors, teachers and researchers of the academic community specialised in European Union issues in their country or region.

All this proves that the Jean Monnet Action has been the driving force behind the introduction of courses addressing European integration, as the best way to promote the European dimension in higher education. Thus, after 2000, courses referring to Europe and its multiple dimensions (political, economic, social, security) become normal for any specialisation in European higher education<sup>7</sup>. In this context, the Jean Monnet programme was an important external factor in the development of university curricula, influencing the European studies by creating flexible, differentiated, transnational, multidisciplinary study paths in accordance with the evolution of the European Union<sup>8</sup>.

The aim of this chapter is to focus on the Jean Monnet projects carried out at the eastern border of the European Union in the period 2000–2019, in both member countries

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<sup>5</sup> Ioan Horga and Mariana Buda, "Analytical and Methodological Framework of Research in European and/or EU Studies Curriculum," *The Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies* 1, no. 1 (May 2012): 7.

<sup>6</sup> European Commission, "Jean Monnet Networks in other Fields of Education and Training," accessed August 12, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/programme-guide/part-b/jean-monnet-actions/jean-monnet-networks-other-fields-education-and-training\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/programme-guide/part-b/jean-monnet-actions/jean-monnet-networks-other-fields-education-and-training_en).

<sup>7</sup> Mariana Viorica Buda, *O incursiune în evoluția studiilor europene. Studii europene în România* [A foray into the evolution of European studies. European studies in Romania] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2017), 64.

<sup>8</sup> Buda, 236.

and in partner countries. Such academic initiatives have demonstrated that the external border of the European Union is not only a line of political and administrative demarcation but also a space for cooperation, knowledge and innovation. The specialists involved in the ENACTED project<sup>9</sup> have collected the data based on which this analysis could be performed.

The longest external land border of the EU – the eastern border – is a heterogeneous area that stretches over a length of about 5,600 kilometres,<sup>10</sup> between Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Russia and the eastern Member States.

**Figure 1.** Countries on Eastern EU border



**Source:** European Union and Economic Area (EU/EEA) countries and neighbouring countries, accessed May 23, 2021, [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/European-Union-and-Economic-Area-EU-EEA-countries-and-neighbouring-countries-EU\\_fig1\\_243969817](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/European-Union-and-Economic-Area-EU-EEA-countries-and-neighbouring-countries-EU_fig1_243969817).

Our analysis focuses on eight EU member states on the eastern border (Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia) and on four countries outside the Union on the eastern border (Belarus, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine), inventorying Jean Monnet projects by regions and types of activities.

<sup>9</sup> ENACTED (*European Union and its neighbourhood. Network for enhancing EU's actorness in the eastern borderlands*) – an Erasmus + project, which associates research, teaching, debate and dissemination activities in the area of European Studies, in the framework of a network of 12 partners (8 universities and 4 NGOs) from 6 countries (Romania, Hungary, Poland, Belarus, Republic of Moldova, Ukraine).

<sup>10</sup> Olaf Kamphuis, *The Eastern External Border of the EU. A Journey through the Borderlands of the EU and its Neighbours* (Master thesis Human Geography) (Radboud University Nijmegen, July 2011), 32, accessed July 28, 2021, [https://theses.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/123456789/2954/Kamphuis%2C\\_Olaf\\_1.pdf?sequence=1](https://theses.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/123456789/2954/Kamphuis%2C_Olaf_1.pdf?sequence=1).

### Jean Monnet projects conducted in the Member States on the eastern border of the European Union

For the period taken into consideration (2000–2019), in the eight European states on the eastern border of the EU, 617 Jean Monnet projects were initiated and carried out, in which 134 teachers were involved. Most projects were implemented by Poland (249) and Romania (151), while the countries with a very low involvement in such initiatives (less than 20 projects) were the Baltic States.

An interesting aspect to be pointed at is the correlation between the number of projects performed, the length of the external border<sup>11</sup> and the non-member neighbours of the states taken into consideration (see **Table 1**).

**Table 1.** Land boundaries and Jean Monnet projects

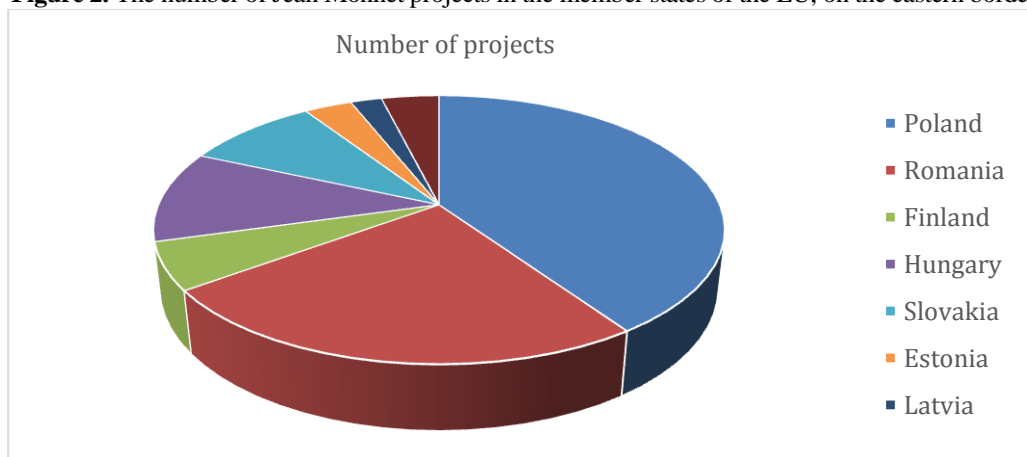
<b>Land boundaries in km</b>	<i>Russia</i>	<i>Belarus</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>Moldova</i>	<b>Total km</b>	<b>Number of JM projects</b>	<b>Number of JM projects in the regions near the EU external border</b>
<i>Finland</i>	1313				<b>1313</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>20</b>
<i>Estonia</i>	290				<b>290</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>21</b>
<i>Latvia</i>	292	171			<b>463</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>
<i>Lithuania</i>	227	680			<b>907</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>
<i>Poland</i>	432	605	428		<b>1465</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>22</b>
<i>Slovakia</i>			90		<b>90</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>2</b>
<i>Hungary</i>			103		<b>103</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>4</b>
<i>Romania</i>			538	450	<b>988</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>2554</b>	<b>1456</b>	<b>1159</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>5619</b>	<b>617</b>	<b>190</b>

**Source:** Data collected by members of the ENACTED project. Data about land boundaries are extracted from Kamphuis, 32.

Thus, Poland and Romania, in the case of which the EU border covers a large area (over 900 km), are well represented regarding the implementation of projects, both at the national level and in the case of projects carried out in the regions on the external border of the EU (Romania, 84 projects, and Poland 22 projects). Finland, on the other hand, although it has an equally long border, does not excel in Jean Monnet projects. However, it is worth specifying at the fact that the only neighbour of Finland is Russia, a country that openly disregards European values; therefore, it might be assumed that, despite the size of the EU's external border, Finland's placement next to Russia might explain its limited involvement in Jean Monnet projects. The small number of projects registered in the Baltic States are correlated both with the short length of the external border (barring Lithuania), but also with the “non-European” orientation of their neighbours (Russia and Belarus). All this proves that the Jean Monnet initiatives and actions of the EU Member States at the eastern border are, to some extent, determined by the length of the border and the political orientation of neighbouring governments.

<sup>11</sup> The data concerning the length of the eastern border of the EU for each state were found at Kamphuis, 32.



**Figure 2.** The number of Jean Monnet projects in the member states of the EU, on the eastern border

**Source:** Data collected by members of the ENACTED project

Another aspect we focused on was the centre-periphery distribution (Eastern border) of the projects carried out within the European states, analysed at the level of NUTS 2 type structures, except for the Baltic Countries, where each country is an eligible NUTS 2 type entity.

**Table 2.** Jean Monnet projects within the border regions in the EU member states

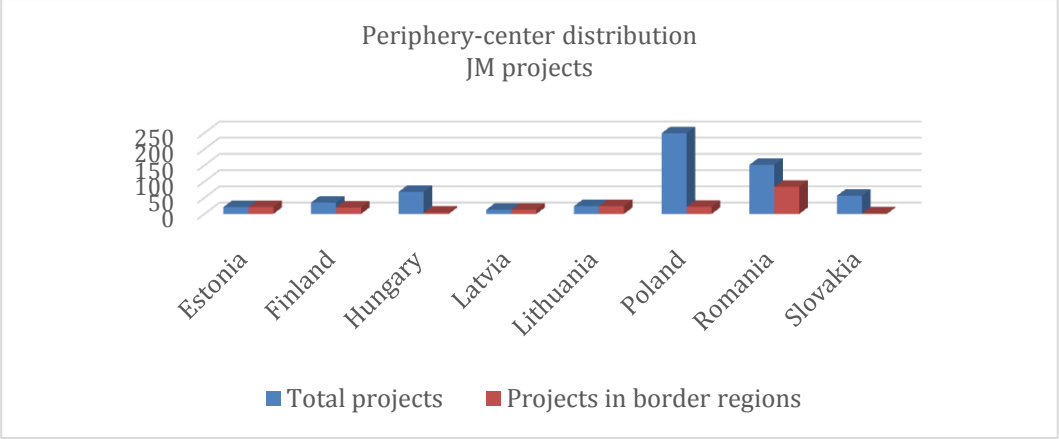
Country	Border region	Number of projects/ border region	Border projects/ country projects
Estonia	EEOO, Eesti	17	21/21 (100%)
	Tartu	4	
Finland	FI South Finland	16	20/35 (58%)
	FI North-East Finland	4	
Hungary	HU32, Northern Great Plain	4	4/68 (6%)
Latvia	LVOO	13	13/13 (100%)
Lithuania	LTOO	24	24/24 (100%)
Poland	PL34, Podlaskie	3	22/249 (8,8%)
	PL31, Lubelskie	18	
	PL32, Podkarpackie	1	
Romania	RO21, Nord-Est	38	84/151 (55,6%)
	RO11, Nord-Vest	46	
Slovakia	SK04, Východné Slovensko	2	2/56 (3,57%)

**Source:** Data collected by members of the ENACTED project

In this respect, in the case of Poland, there is a large imbalance between projects carried out at the national level and those implemented in the border regions, where in the three regions (*woivodships*) – Podlaskie, Lubelskie and Podkarpatie – there are only 22 projects, representing less than 10% of the total number of projects implemented at the national level (9.2%), of which more than 80% are concentrated at the universities in Lublin. Even though Hungary and Slovakia stretch along a relatively small part of the EU's eastern border, the same major cleavage between the centre and the eastern periphery can be observed since in the NUTS II regions, the number of Jean Monnet projects represents less than 10%,

compared to the rest of the country. Thus, the Východné Slovensko region (Slovakia) has only 2 Jean Monnet projects, while the Észak-Alföld region (Hungary) has 4 projects.

**Figure 3.** Periphery (Eastern border) – centre distribution of Jean Monnet projects in the EU countries



*Source:* Data collected by members of the ENACTED project

By contrast, the Jean Monnet Program is prominently present in the north-eastern and south-eastern regions of Finland, where local universities (Joensuu, Oulu, etc.) have carried out over 58% of the Jean Monnet projects allocated to this country. A similar case is represented by Romania, where the universities in the North-West of the country (Cluj-Napoca and Oradea) and at the North-East border regions (Iași and Suceava) managed 57.5% from the total of projects allocated to Romania, during time taken into consideration by this study.

In fact, following the theme of the projects submitted in the two countries, it is observed that especially Finland, but also Romania (the universities of Iași or Oradea) performs the richest activity of promoting the EU at the eastern border, not only through courses and research with a broad European theme, but especially through the specific theme related to the issue of EU borders.

The analysis of the distribution of projects by types of activities is summarised in **Table 3**, starting from the data collected by the researchers involved in the ENACTED project.

**Table 3.** Types of activities financed through Jean Monnet Action in the member states of the EU, on the eastern border

Country	Type of JM project (number of financed projects)	Country	Type of JM project (number of financed projects)
ESTONIA	Modules (11)	FINLAND	Modules (16)
	Chairs (3)		Chairs (10)
	Centres of Excellence (1)		Centres of Excellence (4)
	Information and research activities (3)		Permanent Courses (4)
	Networks (1)		Networks (1)
	Projects (1)		
	Association of professors and researchers (1)		
Total	21	Total	35

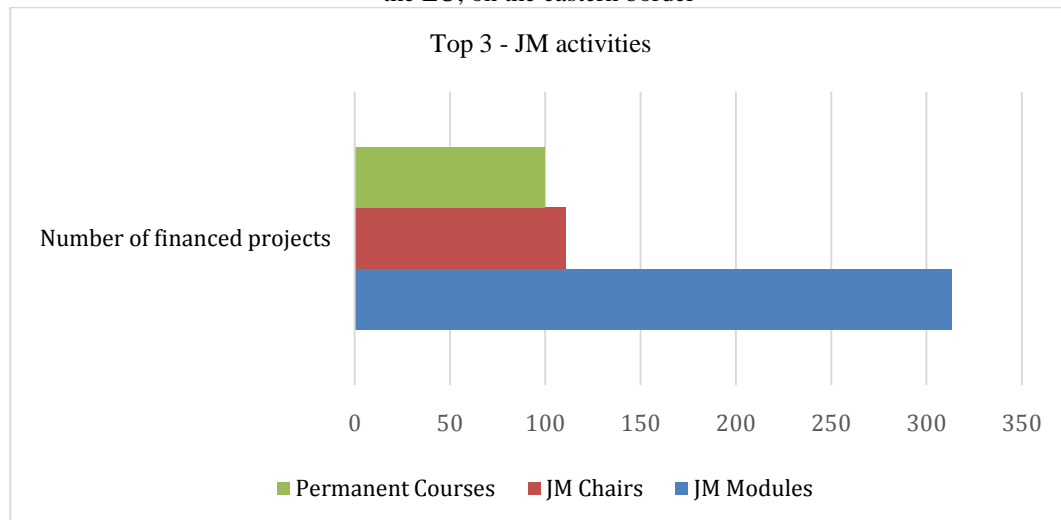
Country	Type of JM project (number of financed projects)	Country	Type of JM project (number of financed projects)
<b>HUNGARY</b>	Modules (27) Chairs (17) Centres of Excellence (5) Permanent Courses (13) Information and research activities (3) Networks (2) Associations of professors and researchers (1)	<b>LATVIA</b>	Modules (6) Chairs (2) Centres of Excellence (1) Permanent courses (1) Projects (1) Associations of professors and researchers (2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>LITHUANIA</b>	Modules (13) Chairs (5) Centres of Excellence (1) Permanent courses (4) Associations of professors and researchers (1)	<b>POLAND</b>	Module (115) Chairs (43) Centres of Excellence (10) Permanent courses (71) Information and research activities (4) Projects for Secondary school (4) Associations of professors and researchers (2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>249</b>
<b>ROMANIA</b>	Modules (91) Chairs (21) Centres of Excellence (6) Permanent courses (7) Information and research activities (12) Projects for Secondary School (8) Networks (3) Associations of professors and researchers (3)	<b>SLOVAKIA</b>	Modules (34) Chairs (10) Centres of Excellence (3) Information and research activities (2) Networks (1) Projects (4) Associations of professors and researchers (2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>

*Source: Data collected by members of the ENACTED project*

The *Jean Monnet Modules* (313), the *Jean Monnet Chairs* (111), and the *Permanent Courses* (100) are at the top of the projects financed and carried out by the European states located on the Eastern border, which confirms that the actions initiated by the Jean Monnet programme have a significant didactic dimension. However, we consider it worth mentioning here that the research dimension is also present in the abovementioned areas, resulting from the other types of actions carried out within these projects (international conferences, round tables, editing of scientific volumes). Additionally, the activities aimed at promoting events and disseminating the results ensure the achievement of an important part of the European public, inside and outside academia, as well as of citizens belonging to non-member states of the European Union. Thus, the Jean Monnet action is an important tool for promoting European values, which complements the EU's internal and external communication policy. This instrument is all the more important as the vectors of promotion are in this case the representatives of the academic environment that, through competence, prestige, professionalism and an adequate discourse, can give relevance and weight to the message transmitted. In this way, positive European messages (equally addressed to EU and non-EU citizens) can be disseminated, as they refer to the benefits of European citizenship, European identity and values, the European business environment and the opportunities it offers, Community

regulations, the common market, the European single currency, the benefits of free movement of persons, goods, capital and technology, cohesion and regional development policy, the functioning of the European institutions, European policies and programmes etc.

**Figure 4.** The distribution of Jean Monnet projects by types of activities in the member states of the EU, on the eastern border



**Source:** Data collected by members of the ENACTED project

Regarding the areas of study addressed in the Jean Monnet projects by the universities located in the regions on the EU's external border, the main areas covered are the following<sup>12</sup>:

1. *EU Legal studies* – Estonia (5), Finland (3), Latvia (3), Lithuania (8), Poland (3), Romania (8), Slovakia (1);
2. *EU Political and Administrative Studies* – Estonia (3), Finland (6), Hungary (1), Latvia (2), Lithuania (1), Poland (12), Romania (9);
3. *EU Economic Studies* – Finland (3), Latvia (2), Lithuania (9), Poland (1), Romania (15), Slovakia (1);
4. *EU Historical Studies* – Finland (1), Hungary (3), Latvia (1), Lithuania (1), Romania (5);
5. *EU Interdisciplinary Studies* – Estonia (5), Finland (10), Latvia (5), Lithuania (5), Poland (5), Romania (42).

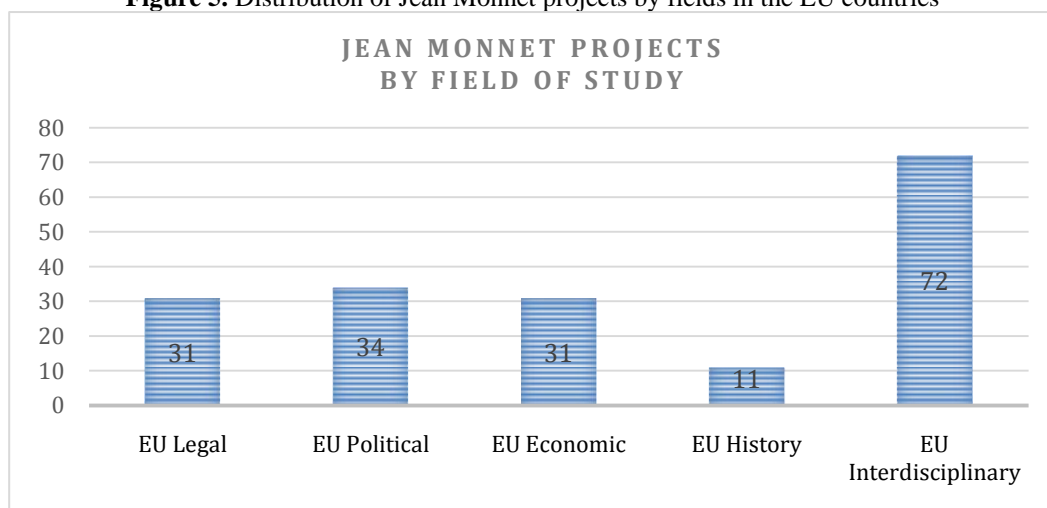
Notably the vast majority of projects (72) fall within the EU Interdisciplinary field. This area is addressed by most Member States (except Hungary and Slovenia) because it offers multiple perspectives for study and analysis, and allows teachers and specialists in different fields to use their skills. The interdisciplinary domains are

<sup>12</sup> The presentation is based on data collected as a result of activities carried out as part of the ENACTED project. Data regarding the other three domains refer exclusively to Romania and therefore have not been taken into account in this analysis (*EU Intercultural Dialogue Studies – Romania* (4); *EU and Comparative Regionalism Studies – Romania* (1); *EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies – Romania* (6); *EU Communication and Information Studies – none*).

complementary and yet necessary for the complex and comprehensive approach of European Studies. Furthermore, the Legal, Political and Economic fields are accessed in approximately equal proportions (about 30 projects per field), demonstrating the importance of these sectors in the construction and evolution of the European Union, at the same time demonstrating the interest of teachers and researchers in understanding and disseminating information relating to the legal, economic, political and administrative domain among students and the public. Information relating to the aforementioned domains is given considerable attention as part of Jean Monnet actions. We can therefore argue that these projects have played a key role in stimulating research in these areas, in disseminating information about the European Union to young European citizens and, and, last but not least, to the public.

Another explanation for this distribution of projects by field results from the fact that, during the first years of the Jean Monnet action, not all the nine alternative options for the field of study were available. Therefore, projects that did not relate to the legal, economic, or political fields were automatically included in the “interdisciplinary” area. Additionally, the academic specialisations and competencies of the project coordinators resulted in an orientation of research towards their area of interest and study.

**Figure 5.** Distribution of Jean Monnet projects by fields in the EU countries



*Source: Data collected by members of the ENACTED project*

However, regardless of the field addressed, Jean Monnet's actions and projects have greatly contributed, along with other European initiatives, to raising citizens' awareness and trust in European institutions, mechanisms and values, at the same time drawing and conveying a realistic and clear picture of the European Union and its role at the global level.

### **Jean Monnet projects in the states outside the eastern border of the European Union**

In what follows, the analysis of Jean Monnet's actions will focus the 4 countries outside the Union, on its eastern border: Belarus, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine. In this group of states, during the period of time investigated by us (2000–2019), 276 Jean Monnet projects were initiated and carried out, in which 48 academics were involved.

Regarding the distribution of projects by country (as the number of actions carried out), we identified two levels (with two states each), located at a great distance from each other: at the top level, we can identify Russia (134) and Ukraine (102), with a significant number of completed projects, and at the lower-level Moldavia (27) and Belarus (13), with a very low volume of initiatives. This significant difference between the two groups of countries results from two possible causes:

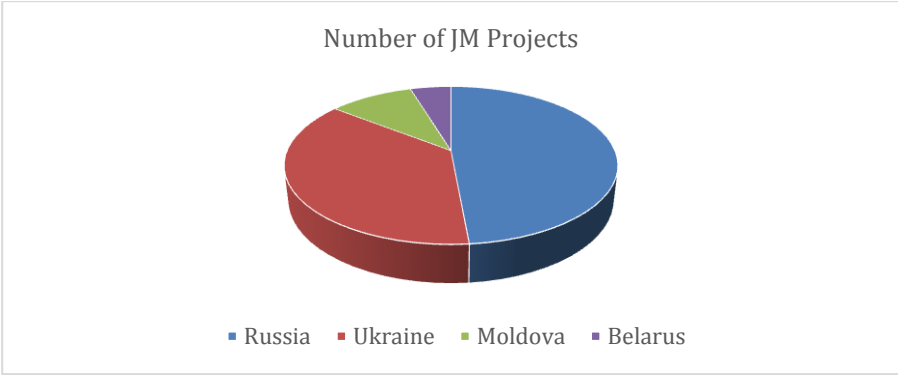
1. The size of the country and its border with the EU. Thus, one can discuss the cases of: Russia and Ukraine – large states, with borders of more than 1000 km, which have a significant number of projects; and the case of Moldavia – a small country with a border length of less than 500 km and few Jean Monnet projects;
2. The rather unfavourable orientation towards the EU and the pro-Russian administration: the case of Belarus – which, despite the significant length of the border (even longer than in the case of Ukraine), has the lowest number of European projects. Here we can add the fact that over half the length of the border is the border with the Baltic States (Latvia and Lithuania), which, in turn, have implemented a significantly small number of projects compared to other European states on the eastern border of the EU – therefore low interest for projects that promote the problems of the European Union can be observed.

**Table 4.** Land boundaries for non-UE countries and Jean Monnet projects

Country	Total km of land boundaries	Number of JM projects	Number of JM projects in the regions near the EU external border
Russia	2554	<b>134</b>	<b>22</b>
Ukraine	1159	<b>102</b>	<b>21</b>
Moldova	450	<b>27</b>	<b>27</b>
Belarus	1456	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Total</b>	5619	<b>276</b>	<b>83</b>

*Source:* Data collected by members of the ENACTED project. Data about land boundaries are extracted from Kamphuis, 32.

**Figure 6.** The number of Jean Monnet projects carried out within the non-EU states on the eastern border of the EU



*Source:* Data collected by members of the ENACTED project

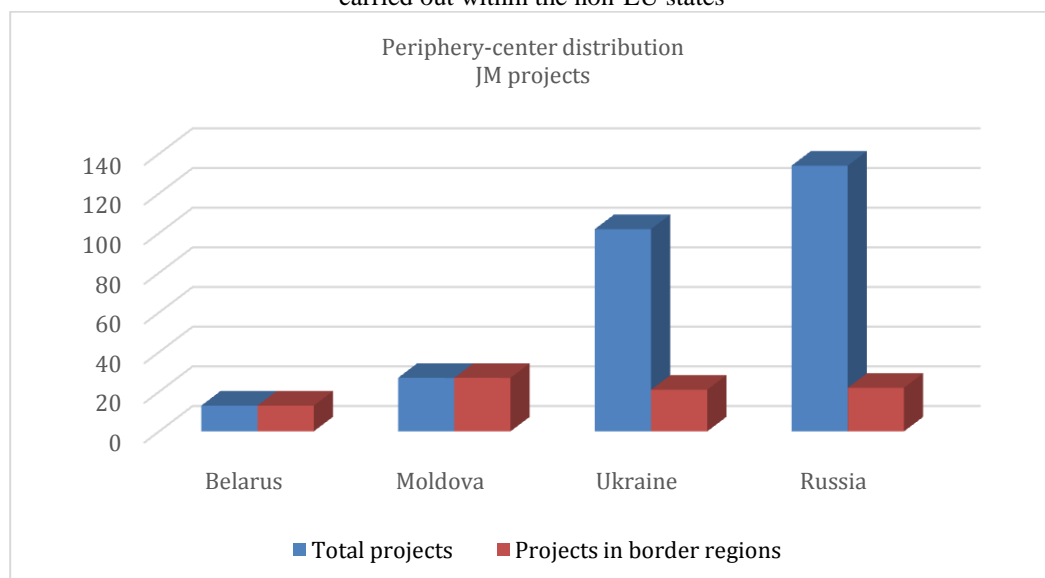
The centre-periphery distribution (eastern border of the EU) of projects carried out within the partner states on the eastern border of the EU is shown in **Table 5**. Here, the exceptions are Belarus and Moldova, where each border region, as an eligible entity NUTS 2, represents the contribution of the entire state.

**Table 5.** Jean Monnet projects within the border regions from non-EU countries

Country	Border region	Number of projects/ border region	Border projects/ country projects
Belarus	Minsk Oblast	13	13/13 (100%)
Moldova	Moldova	27	27/27 (100%)
Ukraine	Lviv Oblast	9	21/102 (20,6%)
	Volhynia Oblast	3	
	Odessa Oblast	6	
	Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast	1	
	Zakarpattie Oblast	1	
	Chernivtsi Oblast	1	
Russia	Leningrad Oblast	15	22/134 (16,4%)
	Karelia Republic	4	
	Pskov Oblast	3	

*Source:* Data collected by members of the ENACTED project

Based on the data analysed, we find a large imbalance in the case of Russia, where in the three regions (*oblast*) on the eastern border – Leningrad, Karelia and Psko – there are only 22 projects, i.e., about 16% of all projects in the country. And most regional projects (15 out of 22, representing 68% of the total) are concentrated at universities in the Leningrad region. Notably, with the presence of the two European Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence in Saint Petersburg (Leningrad Oblast) and Petrozavodsk (Karelia Republic), there is an important concentration of human resources and important know-how in EU issues at universities in North-western Russia, on the Russian-Finnish and Russian-Estonian borders.

**Figure 7.** The centre-periphery distribution (eastern border of the EU) of Jean Monnet projects carried out within the non-EU states

*Source:* Data collected by members of the ENACTED project

Many similarities with the situation of Monet projects in Russia can be observed in the case of Ukraine, especially from the perspective of the centre-western periphery of the country (see **Table 5** and **Figure 7**). In Ukraine, however, we find an increase in dynamism in the case of universities in the areas bordering the EU.

Thus, the share of Jean Monnet projects of higher education institutions on the border with the EU in relation to central Ukraine, but also to other regions (especially the Donetsk region) is only 20%. Here, however, one should emphasise the significant contribution of Lviv higher education institutions, which have managed almost half of the Jean Monnet projects on the EU border. Additionally, higher education institutions in Lviv (Lviv region) managed to win in 2019 with no less than 4 projects (1 chair and 3 Jean Monnet modules). In our opinion, this situation was generated, on the one hand, by the opening of the university environment in this city with western atmosphere and “breath,” and on the other hand, by the synergy created between the universities in the area and those in Lublin (Poland), which is the most active Polish university centre on the EU's eastern border in terms of European studies.

It should specify here that, in the general architecture of projects carried out in border regions, Moldavia has registered a significant number of projects (27), which proves the pro-European orientation of the university environment and expresses the socio-political peculiarities resulting from the special history of this country in relation to its neighbours (Romania and Russia).

**Table 6** shows the distribution of projects by type of activity.

**Table 6.** Types of activities financed through Jean Monnet Action in the non-EU states on the eastern border of the EU

Country	The type of JM project (number of financed projects)	Country	The type of JM project (number of financed projects)
<b>BELARUS</b>	Modules (8) Chairs (2) Centres of Excellence (1) Information and research activities (2)	<b>MOLDOVA</b>	Modules (9) Chairs (3) Centres of Excellence (1) Information and research activities (4) Projects (3) Associations of professors and researchers (7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>UKRAINE</b>	Modules (66) Chairs (16) Centres of Excellence (4) Information and research activities (6) Projects (4) Associations of professors and researchers (6)	<b>RUSSIA</b>	Modules (70) Chairs (15) Centres of Excellence (6) Information and research activities (31) Networks (3) Projects (6) Associations of professors and researchers (3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>134</b>

*Source: Data collected by members of the ENACTED project*

As in the case of European countries, the majority share in Jean Monnet projects is held by the *European Modules* (55%), which seek to integrate EU-related topics into university curricula and offer the opportunity to share facts and knowledge about the

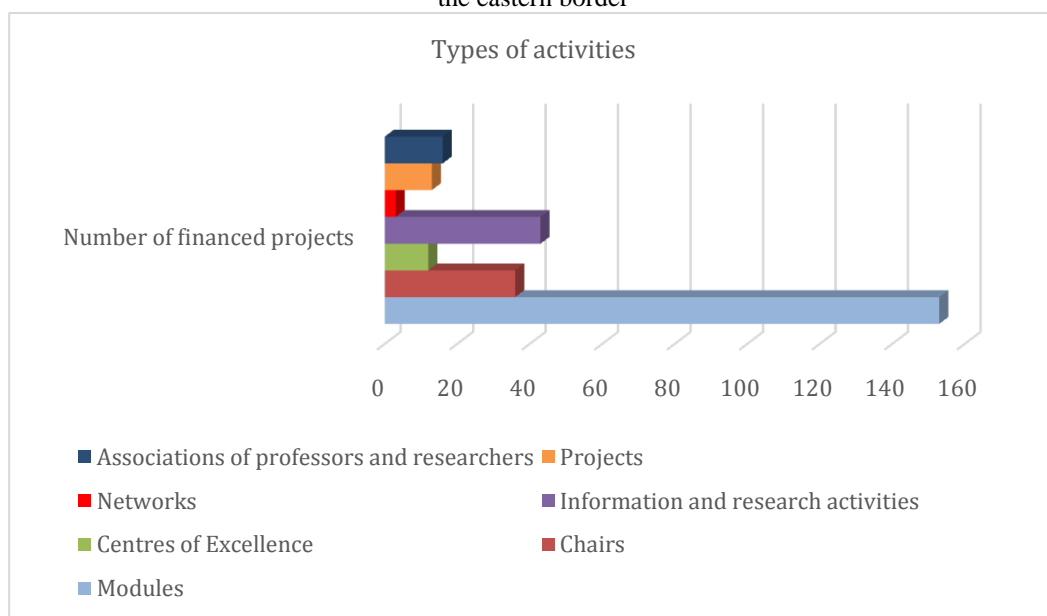


European Union for various audiences. Thus, we can say that the main objectives<sup>13</sup> that were pursued through these activities were largely achieved:

- promote research and first teaching experience for young researchers and scholars and practitioners on European Union issues;
- foster the publication and dissemination of the results of academic research;
- create interest in the EU and constitute the basis for future poles of European knowledge, particularly in Partner Countries;
- foster the introduction of a European Union angle into mainly non-EU related studies;
- deliver tailor-made courses on specific EU issues relevant for graduates in their professional life.

In the context we are analysing here (partner countries located on the EU's eastern border), the most important goal of the JM Modules was to arouse the interest of non-EU citizens in understanding the Union's functioning mechanisms, institutions, rules and policies and the creation of knowledge poles within the partner states. And the significant number of actions carried out in this field (modules), as well as the extent to which the indicators pursued in the projects have been achieved, are a proof for achieving the objective assumed by the European Commission.

**Figure 8.** The distribution of Jean Monnet projects by types of activities in the non-EU states, on the eastern border



**Source:** Data collected by members of the ENACTED project

What is specific and different within the group of partner countries we have focused on, compared to the eight European countries, is the fact that the activities of *Information and Research* and *Associations of professors and researchers* have a significant share in the Jean Monnet projects (together they represent 21,4% of the total).

<sup>13</sup> European Commission, “Erasmus+ Programme Guide. Jean Monnet Modules,” accessed July 26, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/programme-guide/part-b/three-key-actions/jean-monnet-activities/modules\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/programme-guide/part-b/three-key-actions/jean-monnet-activities/modules_en).

This demonstrates the importance given to the information and research component on issues and notions related to the European Union in the partner countries, the interest of academics in European issues and confirms that Jean Monnet's actions are an important tool for promoting European values. Moreover, given the fact that the professors and researchers involved in the interdisciplinary associations funded by the Jean Monnet action must be representative of the academic community in European Union studies at the regional, national, or supranational level, the existence of these academic groups creates the premises for training and developing poles of excellence in researching specific issues of the European Union in the partner states.

### Conclusions

Based on the analysis of the data collected in relation to the projects carried out by the states on the eastern border within the EU, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. The distribution of Jean Monnet projects within the Member States shall follow a random algorithm, determined by the spirit of initiative and the institutional and individual competences that are necessary to perform the actions financed by the European Commission. Simultaneously, however, looking at the areas and university centres that are beneficiaries of the projects, we find that there is also a “centralisation” of information, on institutional channels, by the national centres of power.

2. The uneven distribution is determined by the presence and availability of informed people, who can demonstrate skills in preparing projects. The fact that the 614 Jean Monnet projects involved only 134 teachers is a strong argument in this regard.

3. There is no constancy or even increase in the number of Jean Monnet projects in the case of universities on the EU's Eastern border in the Member States. Thus, in 2019, of the 17 projects funded for the 8 countries analysed, only 3 were carried out under NUTS 2 at the Eastern border, and those only in Estonia (i.e. 17.7% of the total projects, which means 3 times less than the average funding until 2018 (31.9%)). The causes of this situation appear to be the following:

- a. no projects were submitted or they did not meet the necessary score to be chosen (they were too weak);
- b. in the selection process, no aid is specifically considered for universities in the border area of the European Union, in to encourage initiatives in this area.

4. If we eliminate the countries fully eligible as NUTS 2 at the eastern border (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), with the 58 Jean Monnet projects they manage, the 5 EU member states (Finland, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania) benefit from only 132 Jean Monnet projects in the NUTS 2 regions of the EU's eastern border, which represents 23.8% of all projects at the national level (see **Table 3**). At first sight, this would be a positive aspect, but given the fact that Poland, Slovakia and Hungary have less than 10% of total projects, the situation is not encouraging, i.e., it could not reflect the presence of coherent policies built around the Jean Monnet Program.

Regarding the projects carried out by the EU partner countries on the eastern border, the following conclusions were reached:

1. In these countries, a major imbalance between can be noticed regarding the volume of projects carried out at the national level and those implemented in the regions bordering the European Union, where the percentage of Jean Monnet shares is up to 20% (except for Moldova and Belarus, where the countries represent NUTS 2-type entities). Their distribution is determined, as in the case of European countries, by the individual

and the institutional competencies formed over time within the universities implementing the projects. Simultaneously, there are points of concentration of Jean Monnet initiatives in traditional centres of academic power: in the Russia – Moscow region (with 62 projects out of the total projects carried out nationally, representing 46.3%) and in Ukraine – Kiev region (with 29 projects out of the national total, representing 28.4%).

2. Following the distribution of projects along the border, we found the existence of focal points, with an increased interest in performing Jean Monnet actions. These are the Leningrad area in Russia (common border with Finland and Estonia), Moldavia (which is generally a NUTS 2 region and has a common border with Romania) and the Lviv area in Ukraine (common border with Poland). These points can be considered the spearheads in promoting European values, as they benefit from the presence of (human) resources, know-how, skills and will to manage and convey the pro-European message to the public in their areas of influence.

**Table 7.** Focal points in the field of Jean Monnet projects in the partner states

	Number of projects	Share of the total number of projects implemented in the border regions of countries to which they belong
Leningrad (Russia)	15	68%
Moldavia (Moldova)	27	100%
Lviv (Ukraine)	9	42,9%

*Source:* Table made by processing the data collected within the ENACTED project

3. Regarding the areas and topics addressed by the Jean Monnet projects, we found that there are very few projects related to the issue of the EU's eastern border or cross-border cooperation. This leads us to the conclusion that there is a need, at the level of decision-makers managing the Jean Monnet programme within the European Commission, for a more precise orientation of the proposed projects and themes to topics dedicated to cross-border cooperation at EU borders, so as states would be encouraged to have initiatives in this direction.

The fundamental objective of the Jean Monnet programme is to represent *a vector of public diplomacy*<sup>14</sup> in relation to the third countries, promoting the values of the European Union and increasing the visibility of its actions. Public diplomacy is essential for the European Union, because it represents a fundamental instrument that can greatly help in formulating and implementing a global communication strategy, which might prove coherent and effective.

The fundamental objective can be achieved through the specific actions and objectives of the Jean Monnet programme, which aim to: “promote excellence in teaching and research in the field of European Union studies worldwide; to foster the dialogue between the academic world and society, including local and state level policy-makers, civil servants, civil society actors, representatives of the different levels of education and of the media; generate knowledge and insights in support of EU policy-making and strengthen the role of the EU within Europe and in a globalised world; reach out to a

<sup>14</sup> In its modern sense, *public diplomacy* refers to the act of influencing opinions and attitudes about the formation and execution of a country's foreign policy by engaging in communication with the audience from other countries. Thus, this domain is complementary to traditional diplomacy as it introduces new dimensions to international relations.

wider public and spread knowledge about the EU to the wider society (beyond academia and specialised audiences) bringing the EU closer to the public.”<sup>15</sup>

For the European Union, besides communicating to the European citizens to enhance their trust in the idea of the United Europe, it is also important to provide some information regarding the EU policies and actions beyond its borders, to non-member countries and to various international entities and organisations. The opinions and perceptions of the people and nations outside the EU have implications for the Union’s ability to promote its interests abroad and to function as a key-actor in the global economic and political landscape<sup>16</sup>.

Regarding the Jean Monnet Action, the general framework has been created and is working very well, the projects carried out have met their proposed objectives, so that:

- European studies are a solid component in the curricula of universities in the states on both sides of the EU's eastern external border;
- in academia, there are a significant number of teachers with recognised skills and abilities in the fields covered by European Studies, able to transmit correct, rigorous, relevant and scientifically based information to the younger generations and, in general, to the general European and non-European public;
- the activities of the Jean Monnet programme encourage cooperation between university centres on both sides of the border; in addition, they attract actors, business people or public policy makers to the activities and events organised, such as that it creates the premises for cooperation beyond the academic environment;
- the dissemination and promotion component of Jean Monnet projects plays a key role in creating a fair and relevant image of the European Union among European and non-European citizens, so that the Jean Monnet program can be considered a full-fledged instrument of European public diplomacy.

In this context, given the objectives pursued and the actions realised through the Jean Monnet programme, we can state that the programme represents an important tool that complements the EU's internal and external communication strategy, by facilitating the communication to the third countries of uniform and coherent messages related to the actions and policies of the EU.

However, the serious imbalances between the areas where these projects are carried out (national centres of influence versus areas on the EU's eastern border) and the low share of projects with cross-border cooperation issues are a shortcoming that need to be corrected in the future. Thus, the projects implemented in the areas referred to in this paper need to be not only continued, but also amplified, so as Jean Monnet's action may be perceived as an effective tool, aimed at supporting cross-border cooperation at the EU's eastern border and to create real European synergy across this border, where European norms and values will be constantly promoted, beyond the borders of the European Union.

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<sup>15</sup> European Commission, “Jean Monnet Actions in the Field of Higher Education.”

<sup>16</sup> Luminița Șoproni and Ioan Horga, “The EU’s Voice beyond its Borders: The European Union’s External Communication,” *CES Working Papers* VIII, Issue 3 (2016): 490–504.

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**Annexes**  
**Jean Monnet projects by countries/regions**  
*Source: Data collected by members of the ENACTED project*

**Jean Monnet projects conducted out in the Member States on the eastern border of the European Union**

No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Projects per region
1.	<b>Estonia</b>	EEOO, Eesti	Jean Monnet Chairs	1	17
			Associations of professors and researchers	1	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Jean Monnet Modules	10	
			Information and research activities	3	
			Jean Monnet Projects	1	
		Tartu	Jean Monnet Networks	1	4
			Jean Monnet Modules	1	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	2	
		<b>Total JM Projects</b>	<b>Jean Monnet Modules</b>	<b>11</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Chairs</b>	<b>3</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence</b>	<b>1</b>	
			<b>Information and research activities</b>	<b>3</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Networks</b>	<b>1</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Projects for Secondary Schools</b>	<b>1</b>	
			<b>Associations of professors and researchers</b>	<b>1</b>	
		<b>Total Estonia</b>		<b>21</b>	
2.	<b>Finland</b>	FI South Finland	Jean Monnet Modules	10	16
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	3	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	3	
		FI Helsinki-Uusimaa	Jean Monnet Modules	3	12
			Jean Monnet Network	1	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	4	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Permanent courses	3	
		FI North-East Finland	Jean Monnet Chairs	2	4
			Jean Monnet Modules	2	
		FI West Finland	Permanent course	1	3
			Jean Monnet Module	1	
			Jean Monnet Chair	1	
		<b>Total JM Projects</b>	<b>Jean Monnet Modules</b>	<b>16</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Chairs</b>	<b>10</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Center of Excellence</b>	<b>4</b>	
			<b>Permanent Course</b>	<b>4</b>	
			<b>JM Network</b>	<b>1</b>	

No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Projects per region
		<b>Total Finland</b>		<b>35</b>	
3.	<b>Hungary</b>	HU32, Northern Great Plain	Permanent Course	1	4
			Jean Monnet Modules	3	
		HU 10, Central Hungary	Jean Monnet Modules	21	47
			Jean Monnet Chairs	11	
			Jean Monnet Permanent Course	8	
			Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence	3	
			Associations of professors and researchers	1	
			JM Network	1	
			Information and research activities	2	
		HU21, Central Transdanubia	Permanent course	1	2
			Jean Monnet Chairs	1	
		Western Transdanubia	Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence	1	8
			Jean Monnet Permanent Course	3	
			Jean Monnet Chair	2	
			Multilateral research Group	1	
			Information and research activities	1	
		HU23, Southern Transdanubia	Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence	1	3
			Jean Monnet Chair	2	
		HU31, Northern Hungary	Jean Monnet Chair	1	4
			Jean Monnet Modules	3	
		<b>Total JM projects</b>	<b>Jean Monnet Modules</b>	<b>27</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Permanent Course</b>	<b>13</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Chairs</b>	<b>17</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence</b>	<b>5</b>	
			<b>Information and research activities</b>	<b>3</b>	
			<b>JM Network</b>	<b>2</b>	
			<b>Associations of professors and researchers</b>	<b>1</b>	
		<b>Total Hungary</b>		<b>68</b>	
4.	<b>Latvia</b>	LVOO	Jean Monnet Modules	6	13
			Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence	1	
			Chair Jean Monnet	2	
			Jean Monnet Support to Associations	1	
			Associations of professors and researchers	1	
			Permanent courses	1	
			Jean Monnet Projects	1	
		<b>Total Latvia</b>		<b>13</b>	
5.	<b>Lithuania</b>	LTOO	Jean Monnet Modules	13	24
			Jean Monnet Chairs	5	
			Associations of professors and researchers	1	

No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Projects per region
			Permanent courses	4	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
		<b>Total Lithuania</b>		<b>24</b>	
6.	<b>Poland</b>	PL11, Łódzkie	Jean Monnet Modules	13	25
			Jean Monnet Chair	6	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Permanent courses	5	
		PL41, Wielkopolskie	Jean Monnet Modules	3	14
			Permanent courses	4	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	5	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	2	
		PL 21, Małopolskie	Permanent courses	11	47
			Jean Monnet modules	27	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	8	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
		PL 12, Mazowieckie	Jean Monnet modules	22	59
			Permanent courses	22	
			Jean Monnet Projects	2	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	9	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	2	
			Associations for professors and researchers	1	
			Information and research activities	1	
		PL 51, Dolnośląskie	Information and research activities for learning	3	21
			Jean Monnet Modules	9	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	3	
			Permanent courses	5	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
		PL34, Podlaskie	Jean Monnet Modules	2	3
			Information and research activities for learning	1	
		PL31, Lubelskie	Permanent course	6	18
			Jean Monnet Modules	10	
			Jean Monnet Chair	2	
		PL42, Zachodniopomorskie	Permanent courses	9	23
			Jean Monnet Modules	10	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	3	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
		PL61, Kujawsko Pomorskie	Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	3
			Jean Monnet Chairs	1	
			Permanent course	1	
		PL52, Opolskie	Jean Monnet Modules	3	4



No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Projects per region
			Jean Monnet Chair	1	
		PL42, Lubuskie	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		PL63, Pomorskie	European Modules	5	17
			Jean Monnet Chair	4	
			Information and research activities	3	
			Jean Monnet Projects	2	
			Jean Monnet Support to Associations	1	
			Permanent courses	2	
		PL22, Śląskie	Jean Monnet Modules	7	12
			Permanent courses	5	
		PL32, Podkarpackie	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		PL62, Warmińsko-Mazurskie	Jean Monnet Chairs	1	5
			Jean Monnet Modules	2	
			Permanent courses	1	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
		<b>Total JM projects</b>	<b>Jean Monnet Modules</b>	<b>115</b>	
			<b>JM Permanent courses</b>	<b>71</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Chairs</b>	<b>43</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence</b>	<b>10</b>	
			<b>Information and research activities</b>	<b>4</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Projects for the Secondary School</b>	<b>4</b>	
			<b>Associations for professors and researchers</b>	<b>2</b>	
		<b>Total Poland</b>		<b>249</b>	
7.	<b>Romania</b>	RO21, Nord-Est	Information and research activities	4	38
			Jean Monnet Chairs	7	
			Jean Monnet European Modules	19	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Permanent courses	4	
			Jean Monnet Projects	2	
			Jean Monnet Networks	1	
		RO32, București-Ilfov	Jean Monnet Chairs	3	30
			Jean Monnet European Modules	20	
			Information and research activities	1	
			Permanent courses	1	
			Associations of professors and researchers	1	
			Multilateral Research Groups	1	
			Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence	2	
		RO42 Vest, Timișoara	Jean Monnet Support to Associations	1	19
			Jean Monnet Modules	8	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	2	

No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Projects per region
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Permanent course	2	
			Information and research activities	4	
			Jean Monnet Projects	1	
		RO11, Nord-Vest	Jean Monnet Support to Associations	1	46
			Jean Monnet Modules	29	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	6	
			Information and research activities	2	
			Jean Monnet Projects	5	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	2	
			Multilateral Research Groups	1	
		RO12, Centru	Jean Monnet Modules	7	11
			Jean Monnet Chairs	3	
			Information and research activities	1	
		RO22, Sud-Est	European modules	1	1
		RO31, Sud-Muntania	Jean Monnet Academic Module	4	4
		RO32, Ilfov	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		RO41, Sud-Vest Oltenia	Jean Monnet Modules	2	2
		<b>Total JM projects</b>	<b>Jean Monnet Modules</b>	<b>91</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Chairs</b>	<b>21</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence</b>	<b>6</b>	
			<b>JM Permanent courses</b>	<b>7</b>	
			<b>Information and research activities</b>	<b>12</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Projects whit Secondary School</b>	<b>8</b>	
			<b>JM Networks</b>	<b>3</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Support to Associations</b>	<b>3</b>	
		<b>Total Romania</b>		<b>151</b>	
8.	<b>Slovakia</b>	SK01, Bratislavský Kraj	Jean Monnet Support to Associations	1	29
			Jean Monnet Projects	2	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	7	
			Jean Monnet Modules	16	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Information and research activities	1	
			Association of professors and researchers	1	
		SK02, Západné Slovensko	Jean Monnet Modules	11	17
			Information and research activities	1	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	2	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Jean Monnet Networks	1	
			Jean Monnet Projects	1	
		SK03, Stredné Slovenko	Jean Monnet Projects	1	8

No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Projects per region
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Jean Monnet Modules	5	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	1	
		SK04, Východné Slovensko	Jean Monnet Modules	2	2
		<b>Total JM Projects</b>	<b>Jean Monnet Modules</b>	<b>34</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Chairs</b>	<b>10</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence</b>	<b>3</b>	
			<b>Information and research activities</b>	<b>2</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Networks</b>	<b>1</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Projects</b>	<b>4</b>	
			<b>JM Support for Association of professors and researchers</b>	<b>2</b>	
		<b>Total Slovakia</b>		<b>56</b>	
		<b>Total EUMS</b>		<b>586</b> (in 2018) <b>617</b> (in 2019)	
		<b>Total JM Projects</b>	<b>Jean Monnet Modules</b>	<b>312</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Permanent Course</b>	<b>100</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Chairs</b>	<b>111</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence</b>	<b>32</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Networks</b>	<b>8</b>	
			<b>Information and research activities</b>	<b>18</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Projects with Secondary School</b>	<b>11</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Support to Associations</b>	<b>11</b>	
	<b>Professors – academic coordinators</b>	Estonia – 8	19	<b>42%</b>	
		Finland – 15	20	<b>75%</b>	
		Hungary – 4	4	<b>100%</b>	
		Latvia – 9	13	<b>69%</b>	
		Lithuania – 17	24	<b>70%</b>	
		Poland – 18	21	<b>85%</b>	
		Romania – 61	84	<b>71%</b>	
		Slovakia – 2	2	<b>100 %</b>	
		<b>134 professors</b>	<b>187 projects</b>		

**Jean Monnet projects in the states outside the eastern border of the European Union (by regions)**

No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Total per region
1.	<b>Belarus</b>	Minsk Oblast	Jean Monnet Chairs	2	13
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Information and research activities	2	
			Jean Monnet Modules	8	
		<b>Total Belarus</b>		<b>13</b>	
2.	<b>Moldova</b>	Moldova	Information and research activities	4	27
			Jean Monnet Chairs	3	

No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Total per region
			Jean Monnet Modules	9	
			Jean Monnet Projects	3	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Jean Monnet Support to Associations	7	
		<b>Total Moldova</b>		<b>27</b>	
3.	<b>Ukraine</b>	City of Kyiv	Jean Monnet Modules	12	29
			Jean Monnet Chairs	9	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	2	
			Jean Monnet Support to Associations	4	
			Jean Monnet Projects	1	
			Information and research activities	1	
		Cherkasy Oblast	European Modules	1	1
		Lviv Oblast	Jean Monnet Support to Associations	2	9
			Jean Monnet Modules	5	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	1	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
		Donetsk Oblast	European Modules	5	15
			Information and research activities	4	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	2	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Jean Monnet Projects	3	
		Kharkiv Oblast	Jean Monnet Chairs	1	10
			Jean Monnet Modules	9	
		Kherson Oblast	European Modules	1	1
		Volhynia Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	2	3
			Jean Monnet Chairs	1	
		Dnipropetrovsk Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		Odessa Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	6	6
		Rivne Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	2	2
		Sumy Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	8	8
		Mykolaiyv Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	1	2
			Information and Research activity	1	
		Poltava Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		Zaporizhia Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	3	3
		Autonomous Republic of Crimea	European Modules	1	1
		Termopil Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	2	2
		Chernihiv Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	3	4
			Jean Monnet Chairs	1	

No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Total per region
		Zakarpattie Oblast-Uzhhorod	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		Chernivtsi Oblast	Jean Monnet Chairs	1	1
		Zhytomyr Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		<b>Total JM Projects</b>	<b>Jean Monnet Modules</b>	<b>66</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Chairs</b>	<b>16</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence</b>	<b>4</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Projects for Secondary School</b>	<b>4</b>	
			<b>Information and research activities</b>	<b>6</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Support to Associations</b>	<b>6</b>	
		<b>Total Ukraine</b>		<b>102</b>	
4.	<b>Russia</b>	Moscow Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	34	62
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	3	
			Information and research activities	13	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	8	
			Jean Monnet Support to Associations	3	
			Jean Monnet Networks	1	
		Rostov Oblast	Information and research activities	1	7
			Jean Monnet Chairs	2	
			Jean Monnet Modules	3	
			Jean Monnet Networks	1	
		Leningrad Oblast	Information and research activities	9	15
			Jean Monnet Modules	4	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	1	
		Astrakhan Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	4	4
		Chelyabinsk Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		Republic of Mariy El	Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	4
			Jean Monnet Modules	2	
			Jean Monnet Projects	1	
		Orenburg Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	1	2
			Jean Monnet Projects	1	
		Republic of Kabardino-Balkar	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		Kemerevo Oblast	Jean Monnet Chairs	2	2

No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Total per region
		Krasnodar Kraj	Jean Monnet Chairs	1	1
		Mordovia Republic	Information and research activities	1	1
		Nyzchny Novgorod Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	2	5
			Information and research activities	2	
			Jean Monnet Chairs	1	
		Mordovia Republic	European Modules	6	8
			Information and research activity	1	
			Jean Monnet Projects	1	
		Perm Oblast	Information and research activities	2	3
			Jean Monnet Modules	1	
		Karelia Republic	Information and research activities	1	4
			Jean Monnet Modules	2	
			Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence	1	
		Pskov Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	1	3
			Jean Monnet Projects	1	
			Information and research activities	1	
		Udmurt Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		Vladimir Oblast	Jean Monnet Modules	1	1
		Voronzh Oblast	Jean Monnet Projects	2	9
			Jean Monnet Modules	6	
			Jean Monnet Networks	1	
		<b>Total JM Projects</b>	<b>Jean Monnet Modules</b>	<b>70</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Chairs</b>	<b>15</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence</b>	<b>6</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Project for Secondary School</b>	<b>6</b>	
			<b>Information and research activities</b>	<b>31</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Support to Associations</b>	<b>3</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Networks</b>	<b>3</b>	
		<b>Total Russia</b>		<b>134</b>	
		<b>Total Partner countries</b>			
		<b>Total JM Projects</b>	<b>Jean Monnet Modules</b>	<b>153</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Chairs</b>	<b>36</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence</b>	<b>12</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Projects for Secondary School</b>	<b>13</b>	
			<b>Information and research activities</b>	<b>43</b>	

No.	Country	Region	Type of project	Number of projects	Total per region
			<b>Jean Monnet Support to Associations</b>	<b>16</b>	
			<b>Jean Monnet Networks</b>	<b>3</b>	
		<b>Total Partner Countries</b>		<b>276</b>	
	<b>Professors – academic coordinators</b>	Belarus – 9	<b>11</b>	81,8%	
		Moldova – 12	<b>24</b>	50 %	
		Ukraine – 15	<b>20</b>	80 %	
		Russia – 11	<b>18</b>	61,1%	
			<b>48 professors</b>	<b>73 projects</b>	





# Does Erasmus+ Mobility Involving Universities from the EU's Eastern Border Play a Role in the Contouring of Cross-Border Academic Communities?

*Edina Lilla MÉSZÁROS\**

**Abstract.** *The current research is aimed at evaluating the potential of student and academic mobility undertaken at universities from the CBC area (at the EU's Eastern border) in fostering the formation of cross-border academic communities. In order to reach the set objectives, following a brief presentation of the Erasmus+ mobility programme and its particularities for the countries from the Eastern Partnership, we have structured our research in five major directions, analysing the Erasmus+ mobility and of jointly developed projects between universities from the EU's Eastern border: firstly assessing the Romania-Republic of Moldova, then the Romania-Ukraine, the Poland-Ukraine, Poland-Belarus, and finally the Poland-Hungary-Slovakia-Ukraine nexus. As measurable outputs we took into consideration the existence of collaboration agreements, mobility schemes and the frequency of mobility, the number of jointly organized scientific events and commonly developed CBC projects.*

**Keywords:** *cross-border academic community, CBC, Eastern border, Erasmus+*

## 1. Introduction

Nowadays, mobility, the internationalization of education is mainly a development tool. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century we cannot really imagine a quality higher education without an international character, emphasizing on the importance of mobility within academia, and this aspect is becoming more and more salient in case of other education subsectors as well. Besides the well-known advantages of academic, staff and student mobility, involving the exchange of know-how, broadening the horizon and the enhancing of cross-border and cross-cultural communication and collaboration, it definitely has a financial aspect as well, that many times is being overlooked. Mobility does not only enlarge one's understanding of the surrounding world, deepening its knowledge in a specific or multiple fields, but it's also good for the economy, as incoming foreign students, staff and academics have also a positive contribution to the receiving country's GDP.

When talking about academic mobility, within the current study we shall use the definition provided by the **Council of Europe in its Recommendation no. r (95) 8 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on Academic Mobility** from 1995, which understands by it: "a period of study, teaching and/or research in a country other than a student's or academic staff member's country of residence (home country). This period is of limited duration, and it is envisaged that the student or staff member return to his or her home country upon completion of the designated period. The term "academic mobility" is not intended to cover migration from one country to another."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the Council

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<sup>1</sup> Council of Europe, "Recommendation no. r (95) 8 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on Academic Mobility," 1995, 2, accessed June 02, 2021, <https://rm.coe.int/16804e4d00>.

encourages the mobility of students and of academic staff, highlighting that studying, teaching or researching abroad provides an enriching experience to the person who undertakes it, and it increases not just individual competences, but also those of countries and institutions where know how is limited in a specific field of study. Mobility is expected to contribute to the fostering of valuable contacts between students and academic staff and to promoting mutual understanding.

Accordingly, the current research is aimed at assessing the potential of student and academic mobility undertaken at universities from the CBC area (at the EU's Eastern border) in fostering the formation of cross-border academic communities. By academic community we understand a "group of people in higher educational institutions who continuously engage in core intellectual activities such as teaching, learning and research [...]"<sup>2</sup> Namely, an academic community is formed of a group of professionals and students driven by the same goal, i.e. to generate knowledge through dialogue, reflection and collaborative work. Naturally, cross-border academic communities exceed national boundaries and are formed of academics/researchers from different countries. Cross-border academic communities are a living proof of the fact that knowledge transcends boundaries and cannot be confined by geographic, political or ideological demarcation lines. The successfulness of a cross-border academic community could be measured by the number of closed international cooperation agreements with fellow higher education institutions from abroad, the frequency of mobility involving students, academics and staff, the organization of common events in the forms of workshops, conferences, summer schools, roundtables, etc., jointly developed research, the results of which are published in local, national, international journals with a scientific impact and jointly developed cross-border projects.

### **Working methodology**

In order to get information on mobility between universities from the EU's Eastern border and jointly developed projects, we have sent out specific data collection grids to universities from the border region from the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, Poland and Belarus. The representatives of these universities were asked to fill in the following information in the grid: information about the European Studies training programs in the period 2014–2020 at Bachelor, Master, Postgraduate and PhD. level, CBC projects, Erasmus+ and other type of mobility schemes with universities from the border region (and in the ENACTED project area), dual Master programmes with partners from the CBC area. The data collection process has been very challenging, as some of the representatives of these universities have filled in all the required information, while others sent only some basic data, with missing information. In order to get as a holistic picture as possible about the undertaken mobility (especially in our field of study, International Relations and European Studies) between these universities, the jointly organised scientific events and the commonly elaborated projects related to regional policy and cross-border cooperation, we have consulted the official websites of these universities and of those institutions playing an active role in financing and implementing CBC projects. During this endeavour, we have encountered some difficulties, as many universities did not disclose any information about the actual number of incoming and outgoing students and academics, providing only a list of closed partnerships with foreign

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<sup>2</sup> R. F. Quadri, O. A. Sodiq, "Managing Intellectual Property in Digital Libraries: The Roles of Digital Librarians," in *Handbook of Research on Managing Intellectual Property in Digital Libraries*, ed. Adeyinka Tella and Tom Kwany (Hershey: IGI Global, 2018), 355.

universities. Data was also missing concerning the participation and the development of international projects on some occasions. On the other hand, some universities did not provide information in an international language on their website, only in their national language, which further hardened the data collection process. However, we argue, that even if the data is not complete, the gathered information enabled us to get an opinion on the role of mobility and of closed international agreements in the contouring of cross-border academic communities at the EU's Eastern border. Consequently, as our main hypothesis, we contend that the closure of international accords and the undertaking of mobility have contributed to the formation of some cross-border academic communities at the EU's Eastern border. As measurable outputs we took into consideration the existence of collaboration agreements, mobility schemes and the frequency of mobility, the number of jointly organized scientific events and developed CBC projects. In order to reach the set objectives, following a brief presentation of the Erasmus+ mobility programme and its particularities for the countries from the Eastern Partnership, we have structured our research in five major directions, analysing the Erasmus+ mobility and of jointly developed projects between universities from the EU's Eastern border: firstly assessing the Romania-Republic of Moldova, then the Romania-Ukraine, the Poland-Ukraine, Poland-Belarus, and finally the Poland-Hungary-Slovakia-Ukraine nexus.

## **2.1 What is Erasmus+ and what are the novelties concerning academic mobility in the 2021–2027 financing period?**

### *2.1.1 A brief history of the Erasmus Programme*

When discussing about mobility, there's hardly any student or academic in the European Community, and even beyond, who hasn't heard of the ambitious programme of the European Union, aimed at supporting education, training, youth and sport.<sup>3</sup> Although the history of the Erasmus programme goes back to 1987, the idea of students spending time, learning and gaining knowledge in another country is not a novel phenomenon. Already during the Middle Ages, rulers sent their male descendants to other royal, imperial courts, for study purposes, while the sons of wealthier citizens and nobles had the chance to cultivate their minds at famous medieval university centres, such as, Padua, Bologna, Paris, Oxford, Prague, Krakow and Vienna, etc.<sup>4</sup> English essayist, poet and dramatist, Joseph Addison<sup>5</sup> represents a prominent example of the liberalization ethos that captured the mindset of mainly the more privileged youth in Europe of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, considering that travel along with liberal education has a positive, mind broadening influence. The Treaty of Westphalia that put an end to the Thirty Years' War, enabling a safer travel across the old continent, prompted young nobles to venture into grand tours visiting several countries in Europe, many times travelling also for educational purposes.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> European Commission, "What is Erasmus," accessed May 23, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about_en).

<sup>4</sup> L. Szögi, ed., *Magyarországi Diákok a Középkori Egyetemeken* [Hungarian students at medieval universities] (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára és Levéltára és az MTA ELTE Egyetemtörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2019), 14.

<sup>5</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Joseph Addison," accessed May 10, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Joseph-Addison>.

<sup>6</sup> Europeana Foundation, "Erasmus and the Historical Roots of Studying Abroad," September 1<sup>st</sup> 2020, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://www.europeana.eu/en/blog/erasmus-and-the-historical-roots-of-studying-abroad>.

Even though, the programme was named after the famous Dutch philosopher, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, it is also a backronym, stemming from **Eu**Ropean **C**ommunity **A**ction **S**cheme for the **M**obility of **U**niversity **S**tudents.<sup>7</sup> The idea of exchange programmes, student, staff and academic mobility is closely interlinked with one of the main founding principles of the European Community, i.e. the freedom of movement. Besides the free movement of goods, services and capital, one of the most important features defining 'Europeanness' is definitely the right of every EU citizen to move freely between different member states, regardless if it's for work, tourism, health, residence, family related or for study purposes. The creation of Schengen and the elimination of bureaucratic barriers and border controls enabled free movement among the EC<sup>8</sup> citizens on a large scale, thus consolidating economic, social, technological, cultural and even interpersonal ties. The concerted effort to further educate young Europeans, familiarizing them with other educational milieus and training systems, could be considered as one of the main rationales behind the setting up of the Erasmus mobility programme. It was expected, that besides the various types of the aforementioned liaisons, the intercultural understanding, acceptance and knowledge stemming from these mobility programmes, will also contribute to the creation of "intensified forms of political unity and shared economic prosperity."<sup>9</sup>

Since its inception in 1987 as an exchange programme for higher education students, billions of Euros have been invested in such mobility programmes for the young generations in the EU. Already from the very first year of its initiation it has gained much attention, 3200 students from 11 EC countries (Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, France, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and United Kingdom) participating in the exchange scheme. Its constantly evolving nature coupled with a visionary approach and a steadily increasing budget, has transformed Erasmus into one of the most successful programmes of the EU, in the past three decades enabling more than 9 million people to study, train, volunteer or gain professional experience abroad.<sup>10</sup> Although launched separately in 1987 as an individual initiative, 1995 saw the inclusion of Erasmus into the framework of the Socrates education programme. Over the years, not just its themes and spectrum of activities, but also its area of inclusion got widened, covering teacher and staff mobility and international collaboration among universities besides the traditional student mobility, including regions outside the European Union as well.<sup>11</sup> The Socrates programme got finalized in 2006, being replaced by the EU 'Lifelong Learning Programme' (LLP) in 2007, in the period 1995–2006 enabling more than 1 million students to pursue learning and working activities in a foreign country. The continuously increasing budget under every MFF<sup>12</sup> is also a proof of the Communities' growing interest in supporting millions of young European citizens to participate in various mobility projects. If the Erasmus + programme was funded with 7 billion Euros in the 2007–2013

<sup>7</sup> European Solidarity Corps, "The Birthday of the Erasmus Programme," *YouthReporter*, 15.06.2019, accessed May 12, 2021, <https://www.youthreporter.eu/de/beitrag/the-birthday-of-the-erasmus-programme.15522/#.YOCd61QzbIV>.

<sup>8</sup> European Community.

<sup>9</sup> David Cairns et al., *Mobility, Education, Employability in the European Union. Inside Erasmus* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1–2.

<sup>10</sup> European Commission, "From Erasmus to Erasmus+: A Story of 30 Years," 26<sup>th</sup> January 2017, accessed May 9, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO\\_17\\_83](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO_17_83).

<sup>11</sup> European Solidarity Corps, "The Birthday of the Erasmus Programme."

<sup>12</sup> Multiannual Financial Framework.

budgetary period, under the 2014–2020 cycle it was awarded 14.6 billion Euros.<sup>13</sup> As it is highlighted in the basic treaties that the EU represents an area of freedom, security and justice, in 2017, Community leaders set an even more ambitious target, envisaging creating a **European Education Area** by 2025. This area is characterized by versatility, inclusion, where not just learning mobility is the norm, but also the ability to speak multiple languages besides the mother tongue, and activities of universities are not being hindered by the presence of borders or bureaucracy. The establishment of this education area is supposed to elevate Europe into the position of a continent of excellence in education and research, with the mutual and automatic recognition of school and higher education diplomas, where discrimination has no place.<sup>14</sup> Such an ambitious initiative is also sustained by appropriate financial support, the Commission allocating 26.2 billion Euros for the wide range of Erasmus+ activities in the 2021–2027 programming period in order to ‘enrich lives and open minds’.<sup>15</sup>

### *2.1.2 The renewed Erasmus+ scheme under the 2021–2027 programming period*

Not just the budget of the Erasmus+ programme got bigger, but also its line of actions grew more versatile, also supporting priorities and activities laid out in the European Education Area, Digital Education Action Plan and the European Skills Agenda. Furthermore, under the auspices of the new scheme, Erasmus+ is determined to support the European Pillar of Social Rights and to provide valuable assistance in developing the European dimension in sport, while implementing the EU Youth Strategy for 2019–2027.<sup>16</sup> The new Erasmus+ programme is designed on four main pillars, emphasizing on *social inclusion and diversity, digital and green transitions*, and on advocating for a *more active participation of youth in democratic life*. In comparison with the previous Erasmus under the 2014–2020 programming cycle, the current programme is even more ambitious, setting bolder goals, such as the notable expansion of support mobility for students in adult education, or the promotion of a more inclusive agenda. Namely, besides offering mobility and cooperation opportunities in higher education, vocational education and training, adult and school education (including early childhood education and care), youth and sport staff, the newly envisaged mobility scheme is highly committed to ensure equal opportunities for all regardless of sex or age or social/cultural background. It also seeks to improve access to the programme for people with fewer opportunities, such as those from remote areas, living with a disability, experiencing financial/educational difficulties, or those with a migrant background. Moreover, in addition to increasing the budget, range of

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<sup>13</sup> European Solidarity Corps, “The Birthday of the Erasmus Programme”; European Commission, “From Erasmus to Erasmus+: A Story of 30 Years”; European Parliamentary Research Service, “Erasmus+ 2014–2020 Budget (€14.7 m). Breakdown of the Education and Training Budget by Sector,” 5<sup>th</sup> of September 2019, accessed May 31, 2021, <https://epthinktank.eu/2019/09/05/erasmus-more-than-just-mobility-2/budget-per-sectors-01/>.

<sup>14</sup> European Commission, *Erasmus Annual Report 2019* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2020), 9, accessed June 2, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/statistics\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/statistics_en).

<sup>15</sup> European Commission, “Erasmus+ 2021–2027. Enriching Lives, Opening Minds through the EU Programme for Education, Training, Youth and Sport,” accessed June 15, 2021, <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/ff1edfdf-8bca-11eb-b85c-01aa75ed71a1>.

<sup>16</sup> European Parliament, “Erasmus+,” 10<sup>th</sup> of May 2021, accessed June 23, 2021, [https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/en/erasmus\\_18904\\_pk](https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/en/erasmus_18904_pk).

activities and the area of inclusion, far more attention is being paid to the qualitative impact of the actions carried out under the Erasmus+ umbrella.<sup>17</sup>

As regards to mobility projects, the main feature of the new program cycle is that instead of the previously applied *project-based approach* a new *strategic approach* and *planning* is put forward. In addition to individual development, student and academic mobility become tools for institution-wide strategy-making, in line with institutional development goals. In the 2021–2027 programming period, two types of applications are foreseen, clearly distinguishing between advanced and beginner applicants. In order to facilitate the access for first time applicants, the specialists behind the new Erasmus+ programme made the entire application process more transparent and more easily understandable. On the other hand, for the already experienced applicants a certificate-based type of application scheme was prepared. The so-called Erasmus accreditation allows a kind of automated application for already experienced institutions. In order to obtain the certificate, an Erasmus plan must be developed, in which the applicant presents the long-term development plans, goals, schedule, and planned activities.<sup>18</sup>

As mentioned earlier, *inclusion*, *virtual learning* and *green transition* are promoted as focus themes in Erasmus + within the new 2021–2027 programme cycle, bringing innovation to adult learning and to other Erasmus + sectors as well. Under the current programming cycle, it is possible to apply for short-term mobility projects lasting 6–12 months<sup>19</sup>, while organizations with long-term plans can apply for financial support from time to time through accreditation to implement their currently planned mobility projects. Furthermore, the palette of supported activities will be even more varied, enabling, the organization of preparatory visits, the reception of trainees or new applicants. The types of applications are tailor-made, structured in such a way to provide equal opportunities for everyone interested in participating in actions carried out under the Erasmus+ umbrella, from low-budget, easy-to-apply activities that involve 1-2 people to multi-year, complex, multi-stakeholder activities. In addition, a number of online platforms will provide assistance to applicants, such as eTwinning, the School Education Gateway or EPALe, which continue to support joining the Erasmus + programme. These online collaboration tools are of a great assistance for those who wish to gain international experience but are unable or unwilling to travel abroad. The new Erasmus+ scheme has a bigger outreach, making possible for everyone to find suitable opportunities in the programme, according to their own capacities, budget, expertise and experience.<sup>20</sup>

### 2.1.3. The difference between Erasmus programme and partner countries

When it comes to eligibility and level of participation in the Erasmus+ scheme, currently, countries are divided in two main categories, *programme countries* and *partner countries*. All the EU member states<sup>21</sup> are programme countries, together with non-EU

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.; European Parliament, “Erasmus+ 2021–2027 Enriching Lives.”

<sup>18</sup> Tempus Közalapítvány, “Fókuszban: Az Új Erasmus+ Program” [The New Erasmus+ Programme in Focus], *Pályázati Pávilon* [Tender Pavilion] (Autumn 2020): 6–10, accessed June 23, 2021, [tka.hu/docs/palyazatok/magazin\\_2020\\_osz\\_web2.pdf](https://tka.hu/docs/palyazatok/magazin_2020_osz_web2.pdf).

<sup>19</sup> This can be a kind of “entry level” for more inexperienced applicants.

<sup>20</sup> Tempus Közalapítvány, “Fókuszban: Az Új Erasmus+ Program,” 1–10.

<sup>21</sup> The UK was part of Erasmus+ until the end of the transition period. Later, it announced that it does not wish to participate in the Erasmus+ exchange scheme any more. Erasmus in the UK will be replaced by the Turing scheme.

countries, such as North Macedonia, Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Serbia and Turkey. There is an internal division in case of partner countries as well, splitting them into several regions based on their vicinity to the EU. Partner countries that are in the close neighbourhood of the Union are listed as regions situated on a spectrum ranging from 1 to 4. The Western Balkans (Region 1), the Eastern Partnership countries (our area under scrutiny, Region 2), the South-Mediterranean countries (Region 3) and Russia (Region 4) are the partner countries neighbouring the EU, while the other countries of the globe are split into other 10 regions.<sup>22</sup> The main difference between the two categories, namely the programme and the partner countries, is that while the countries from the first category are free to participate in every Erasmus+ action without any restrictions, those from the latter, are subject to some restrictions and special conditions, being able to take part only in some of the actions.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, the European Commission in its Erasmus+ Programme Guide from 2021 emphasizes that the participation in the Erasmus+ scheme by the partner countries is conditionality based. Namely, as in case of other fields of cooperation with third countries, if they want to be eligible and want to reap the benefits, partner countries must honour the criteria and must respect the EU's norms and values, enshrined in Article 2 of TFEU, such as "respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities."<sup>24</sup> Moreover, it is underlined in the guide, that eligibility and funding shall be allocated to various entities and organizations within the territory of their countries as recognized by international law. Namely, if a territory is not recognized *de jure* by the EU as a sovereign state, a full-fledged member of the international community, or if it does not recognize changes brought to the territory of a sovereign state through violent and/or military actions, it can have repercussions on these territories eligibility in participating in the Erasmus+ scheme. Crimea and Sevastopol (from Region 2 Eastern Partnership Countries) constitute a good example in this matter, as thanks to the EU's non-recognition policy towards their illegal annexation by Russia, Crimean entities<sup>25</sup> are not eligible to participate in the Erasmus+ scheme.<sup>26</sup> Besides Erasmus+, Crimean entities are not eligible to participate in EU programmes joined by Ukraine, such as Creative Europe and Horizon 2020 either. However, it must be highlighted that these restrictions apply only in case of

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Anthony Reuben and Tamara Kovacevic, "Turing Scheme: What is the Erasmus Replacement," *BBC News*, 12<sup>th</sup> March 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/education-47293927>.

<sup>22</sup> European Commission, "Erasmus+. Who can Take Part?" accessed June 23, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/who-can-take-part\\_en#:~:text=IndividualsPeople%20of%20all%20ages%20and%20backgrounds%20can%20find%20Erasmus%2B%20opportunities.&text=OrganisationsErasmus%2B%20has%20opportunities%20for,of%20public%20and%20private%20organisations.&text=Calls%20for%20tenders%20and%20proposalsSee,actions%20and%20where%20to%20apply](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about/who-can-take-part_en#:~:text=IndividualsPeople%20of%20all%20ages%20and%20backgrounds%20can%20find%20Erasmus%2B%20opportunities.&text=OrganisationsErasmus%2B%20has%20opportunities%20for,of%20public%20and%20private%20organisations.&text=Calls%20for%20tenders%20and%20proposalsSee,actions%20and%20where%20to%20apply).

<sup>23</sup> European Commission, "Erasmus+ Programme Guide," Version 3 (2021), 12<sup>th</sup> May 2021, 33–35, accessed May 30, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/resources/documents/erasmus-programme-guide-2021\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/resources/documents/erasmus-programme-guide-2021_en).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

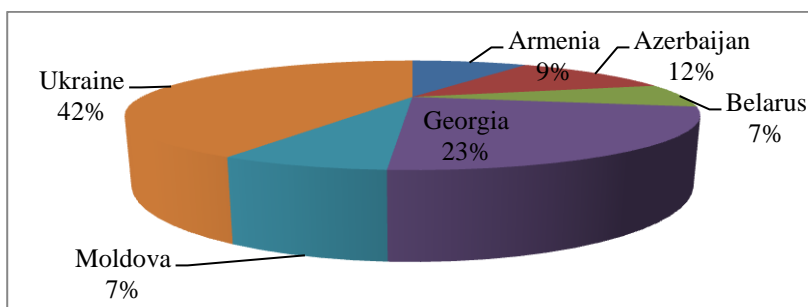
<sup>25</sup> This restriction is applicable to all schools, youth organizations and chambers of commerce from Crimea.

<sup>26</sup> European Commission, "Restrictions in Participation in Erasmus+ for Certain Partner Countries," EAC /C/3 December 2018, accessed May 30, 2021, <https://eurireland.ie/assets/uploads/2019/01/Ineligible-Partner-Countries.pdf>.

Crimean entities, not individuals, as Crimean students studying in an EU member state are still suitable to receive Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree scholarships.<sup>27</sup>

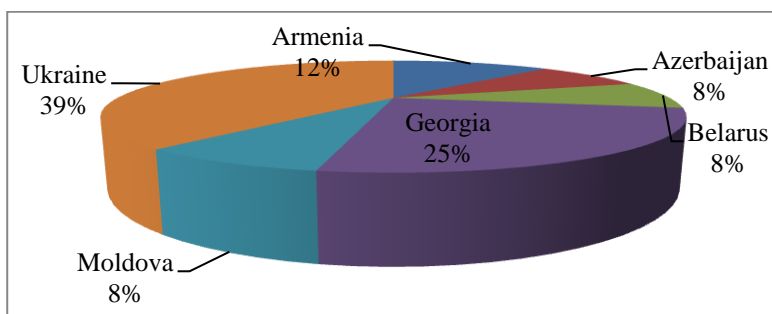
### 3. Quantifying Erasmus+ in the Eastern Partnership countries in the 2014–2020 programming period

As highlighted earlier, Erasmus+ benefited from a very generous allowance of 14.6 billion Euros in the 2014–2020 programming cycle, covering all of its line of activities. Due to their geographic proximity and strategic importance, Eastern Partnership countries have been put at the forefront of funding for mobility, receiving a considerable share of the funding available for partner countries. In the 2014–2017 period the sum provided for the EaP represented more than 15% of the whole budget destined for international mobility, facilitating the establishment of 1062 projects for bilateral partnerships that were meant to organise mobility for almost 17.000 students, researchers, and staff.<sup>28</sup>



**Chart 1.** Eastern Partnership – mobility per country 2014–2017<sup>29</sup>

According to chart 1 Ukraine and Georgia benefitted the most from the staff and student mobility scheme in the aforementioned period, Ukraine representing 42%, while Georgia 23% of the total mobility of 17.000 persons.



**Chart 2.** Funding 2015–2020 for EaP countries<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Mission of Ukraine to the European Union, “EU Non-Recognition Policy Towards Temporarily Occupied Crimea,” 15 April 2021, accessed June 12, 2021, <https://ukraine-eu.mfa.gov.ua/en/2633-relations/spivpracya-ukrayina-yes-u-sferi-zovnishnoyi-politiki-i-bezpeki/politika-neviznannya-yes-shchodo-timchasovo-okupovanoyi-ar-krim-ta-msevastopol>.

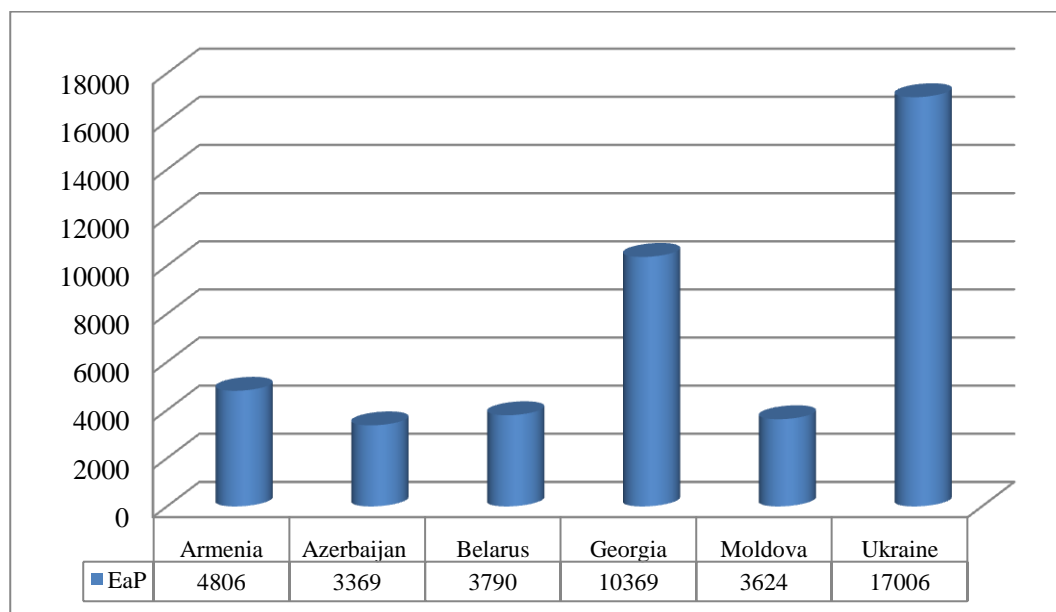
<sup>28</sup> European Commission, “EU-Eastern Partnership Cooperation through Erasmus+,” 2017, 1, accessed June 2, 2021, <https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/erasmus-plus/factsheets/regional/erasmusplus-regional-easternpartnership2017.pdf>.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.



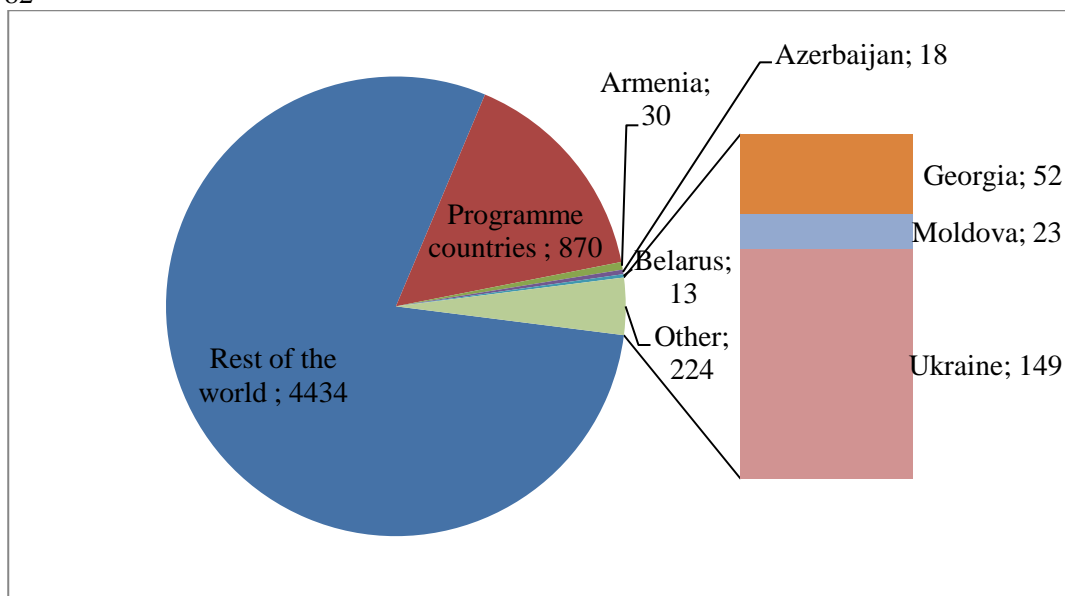
In the 2015–2020 period as well the financial assistance accorded to the EaP countries under Erasmus+ made up more than 15% of the entire international mobility budget, leading to the setting up of 3392 bilateral partnership projects, which enabled the mobility of more than 43.000 students, academics and staff. As highlighted in chart 2 and 3, Ukraine and Georgia are the incontestable champions, having the lion share, representing 39%, respectively 25% of the total number of mobilities of 17.006 students, academics and staff from Ukraine had the opportunity to participate in the Erasmus+ scheme along with 10.369 people from Georgia, 4805 from Armenia, 3790 from Belarus, 3625 from Moldova and 3369 from Azerbaijan.



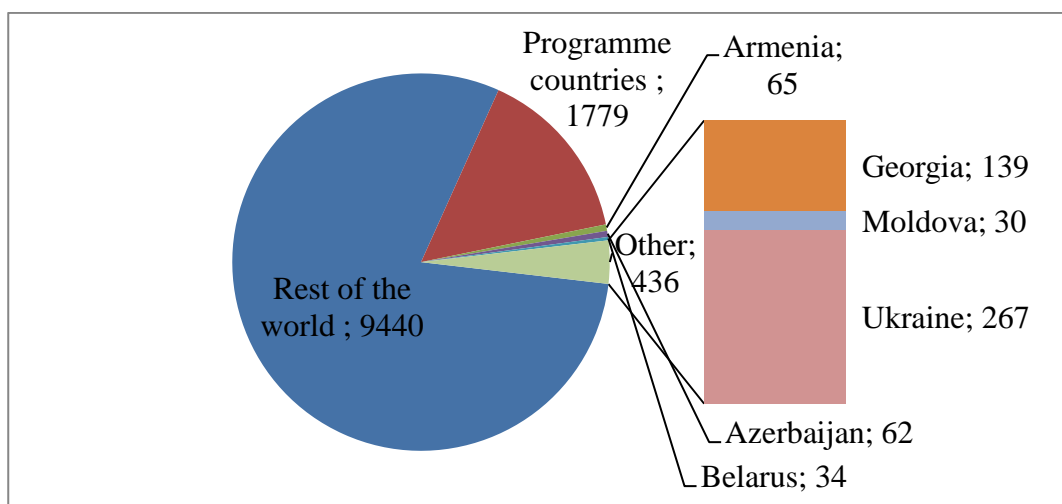
**Chart 3.** Eastern Partnership – mobility per country (2015–2020)

As regards to the Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degrees,<sup>31</sup> in the 2014–2017 period 14 institutions from the EaP countries got the chance to be included in 6 of the totally selected 108 Joint Master Degrees. Altogether, 285 Erasmus Mundus scholarships were awarded to Master students in the 2014–2017 period in the EaP countries, this number doubling in the 2015–2020 period, going up to 597 scholarships. Just as in case mobility, students from Ukraine and Georgia take delight in having been awarded the highest number of Erasmus Mundus Joint Master scholarships. From 2014 to 2017, more than half of the total number of these scholarships (149) was awarded to Master students from Ukraine. During the entire 2014–2020 programming period, students from the EaP countries won 597 scholarships under the Erasmus Mundus Joint Master scheme, Ukrainian students being awarded 267, while those from Georgia 139.

<sup>31</sup> Full-degree scholarships to Master students from around the world covering tuition, travel, and a living allowance. The programmes last from one to two years during which students are studying in at least two different European countries. Upon graduation, they are awarded a joint or double degree, or multiple degrees. European Commission, “EU-Eastern Partnership Cooperation through Erasmus+,” 2.



**Chart 4.** Erasmus Mundus scholarships awarded to Master students, 2014–2017 in the EaP



**Chart 5.** Erasmus Mundus scholarships awarded to Master students, 2014–2020 in the EaP

#### 4. The analysis of the Erasmus+ mobility and of jointly developed projects between universities from the EU's Eastern border

##### 4.1. An assessment of the Romania-Republic of Moldova nexus

University	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Dunărea de Jos University of Galați	-	0	-	-0/226.320	-0/60.640	16.940*	16.940
Danubius University	54.170	0/189.388	9.974	24.987	6977	16. 60*	<b>113.068</b>
George Enescu	16.234	8.510	11.950	18.280	6970	16.446*	78.390

University	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
National University of Arts, Iași							
Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași	74.047	58.865	19.989	14.980/ 183.880	8960/ 144.000	17.387	<b>194.228</b>
Ghe. Asachi Technical University of Iași	-	0/111.037	30.000/ 90.000	24.960/ 316.820	4980/ 164.000	16.963*	76.903
Iași University of Life Sciences	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grigore T. Popa University of Medicine and Pharmacy Iași	-	-		21.500/ 42.000 It was its only application	-	16.420*	37.920
Apollonia University of Iași	-	-		-	4987	16.387*	21.374
“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava	29.700	0/94.017	0/65.000	0/70.680	10.720	17.460	57.880
University of Oradea	57.640	11.451	19.970	14.996	4977	16.999*	<b>126.033</b>

\*Funded from Special Funds for the Republic of Moldova not from Region 2-ENI East

**Table 1.** Funding for Erasmus mobility between Romania and the Republic of Moldova for Romanian universities from the CBC region (2015–2020) in Euros<sup>32</sup>

The data provided by the Romanian National Agency for Community Programs in the Field of Vocational Education and Training enabled us to make an analysis of the evolution of funding of the **Erasmus+ KA-107** projects between the Romanian and Moldovan universities from the CBC area. The analysis included 9 universities from Romania’s Eastern border with the Republic of Moldova plus our home university, the University of Oradea (due to the fact that it’s also a university from the border region and the destination of many students and academics coming from the Republic of Moldova). Even though, the former programming cycle debuted in 2014, we could not find information on the official site of the Romanian National Agency for Community Programs in the Field of Vocational Education and Training concerning KA-107 mobility with countries from the Eastern Partnership in 2014. Data from 2014 revealed only the total amount of grant won by Romanian university centres for mobility schemes, without disclosing the name of partner countries where the mobility was going to take place.

<sup>32</sup> See Official Site of the Romanian National Agency for Community Programs in the Field of Vocational Education and Training, “Erasmus+ Selections Results,” 2015–2020, accessed May 15, 2021, <https://www.erasmusplus.ro/rezultate-selectie>.

Undoubtedly, if we look at the table, it highlights a growing trend, since 2015 more and more Romanian universities from the border region have been applying for Erasmus+ KA-107 mobility projects, enabling academics, staff and students from Romania to visit Moldovan universities and vice versa. A prominent higher-education centre with a long history from the Eastern border of Romania, the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași has won almost 200.000 Euros in the past 6 years only for mobility involving universities from the Republic of Moldova. With 113.068 Euros allocated, also the Danubius University can take pride in having a considerable amount of grant available for mobility with partner universities from Moldova. It is rather interesting, that after the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, our home university, the University of Oradea had the second biggest amount of funds available for KA-107 mobility with the Republic of Moldova, even though it is not a university situated at the Eastern border. However, the lack of geographic proximity is being mitigated by a genuine interest for collaboration on both sides, the University of Oradea fostering close scientific, educational and interpersonal relations with many university centres and academics from the Republic of Moldova. In terms of getting in the race for funding, the Grigore T. Popa University of Medicine and Pharmacy Iași and Apollonia University of Iași are among the newcomers, applying for funding for the Erasmus+ KA-107 for Moldova since 2018, while the Iași University of Life Sciences doesn't even have one application. On the other hand, if we watch more closely, the Dunărea de Jos University of Galați represents a very interesting case study in this matter, as since 2018 it has been constantly applying for funding without much success. In 2018, it applied for Erasmus+ KA-107 funding for 12 countries,<sup>33</sup> being awarded with just one grant for Morocco, worth 29.953 Euros, out of the total sum of 801.705 Euros, requested for the 12 applications. The vast majority of the mobility schemes for which it applied were rejected due to insufficient score or lack of funding.<sup>34</sup> The situation was similar in 2019 as well, being awarded only with 9 grants from the requested 26 countries. The applications for the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine were rejected due to accumulating insufficient score.<sup>35</sup> Finally, in 2020 the application was successful in case of Moldova, receiving a grant of 16.940 Euros for Erasmus+ KA-107 mobility and also the vast majority of its applications were approved, only 2 received 0 funding out of the total 31 countries.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, even though quite unsuccessful as regards to applying for the funding of mobility schemes at the beginning, the Dunărea de Jos University of Galați represents one of the few universities from Romania and implicitly from the Eastern border, which has opened extensions in the Republic of Moldova. The former Romanian president, Traian Băsescu actively supported the idea of Romanian universities opening subsidiaries in the Republic of Moldova. Since more than a decade, the Dunărea de Jos University of Galați has opened a subsidiary at the Bogdan

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<sup>33</sup> Including the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.

<sup>34</sup> Romanian National Agency for Community Programs in the Field of Vocational Education and Training, "Erasmus+ Selections Results," 2018, accessed June 1, 2021, [https://www.erasmusplus.ro/library/Superior/2018/Rezultate\\_selectie\\_KA107\\_2018.pdf](https://www.erasmusplus.ro/library/Superior/2018/Rezultate_selectie_KA107_2018.pdf).

<sup>35</sup> Romanian National Agency for Community Programs in the Field of Vocational Education and Training, "Erasmus+ Selections Results," 2019, accessed June 1, 2021, [https://www.erasmusplus.ro/library/Superior/2019/Rezultate\\_candidaturi\\_MobUnivK107\\_2019.pdf](https://www.erasmusplus.ro/library/Superior/2019/Rezultate_candidaturi_MobUnivK107_2019.pdf).

<sup>36</sup> Romanian National Agency for Community Programs in the Field of Vocational Education and Training, "Erasmus+ Selections Results," 2020, accessed June 2, 2021, [https://www.erasmusplus.ro/library/Superior/2020/Rezultate\\_selectie\\_KA107\\_2020.pdf](https://www.erasmusplus.ro/library/Superior/2020/Rezultate_selectie_KA107_2020.pdf).

Petriceicu Haşdeu University from Cahul.<sup>37</sup> This Cross-Border University functioning under the umbrella of the Dunărea de Jos University makes possible for students from Moldova to pursue their studies in several fields, from engineering sciences, social sciences (legal sciences, administrative sciences, communication sciences, political sciences, economics), to humanities (philology, history), sports science and physical education, from the comfort of their home, while having a degree obtained at a Romanian higher-education institution.<sup>38</sup>

Besides the Dunărea de Jos University of Galaţi, the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi<sup>39</sup> has also extensions<sup>40</sup> in the Republic of Moldova, at the Alecu Russo State University of Bălţi, and in Chişinău. Thanks to this extension, students from the Republic of Moldova can attend the classes of one of the most prestigious universities from Romania, having two specializations available at bachelor level (The economy of commerce, tourism and services; Technological physics) and three at Master level (Tourism management; Applied physics in information and communication technologies; European law) at the extension from Bălţi, and only one specialization at Master level at the extension from Chişinău (Physical therapy in sports traumatology).<sup>41</sup> As advantages of studying at the extension of the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University from the Alecu Russo State University of Bălţi are enumerated the following:<sup>42</sup>

- the possibility of studying at home and still getting a degree from a university in the EU;
- the international recognition of diplomas;
- high academic level didactic programs and contents with professors from the University of Iaşi;
- the possibility of finding a good job after graduation;
- monthly stipends of 65 Euros, paid in Romanian lei, at the official exchange rate.

Since the debut of the programme in 2010, two promotions to the ECTS specialization (out of 81 students admitted in 2011, a number of 69 students graduated and obtained a bachelor's degree in 2014, and out of 92 students admitted in 2012, a number of 68

<sup>37</sup> Edumanager, “Universitatea ‘Dunărea de Jos’ va redeschide extensia transfrontalieră de la Cahul” [The “Dunărea de Jos” University will reopen the cross-border extension from Cahul], 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2010, accessed June 2, 2021, <https://www.edumanager.ro/universitatea-dunarea-de-jos-va-redeschide-extensia-transfrontaliera-de-la-cahul/>.

<sup>38</sup> Dunărea de Jos University of Galaţi Official Site, accessed June 15, 2021, <https://www.transfrontaliera.ugal.ro/index.php/ro/>.

<sup>39</sup> “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University (UAIC) of Iaşi, based on Law 62/2002 on the establishment of branches and study programs in higher education institutions in neighbouring countries and the Protocol of collaboration between the Ministry of Education, Research, Youth and Sports of Romania and the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Moldova for the year 2010–2011, signed on April 27, 2010, between the governments of the two countries, reactivated and carried out teaching activities within the Extension at the State University “Alecu Russo” (USAR) in Bălţi, Republic of Moldova.

<sup>40</sup> Subsidiary or extension is a form of education through which graduates with a baccalaureate degree from high schools and colleges in the Republic of Moldova can attend the courses of a Romanian university in Bălţi and Chişinău.

<sup>41</sup> Universitatea “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iaşi [University “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” of Iaşi], “Extensiunile Bălţi şi Chişinău ale Universităţii “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iaşi [Bălţi and Chişinău extensions of the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iaşi], accessed June 23, 2021, <https://www.uaic.ro/studii/extensiunea-balti-a-universitatii-alexandru-ioan-cuza-din-iasi/>.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

students graduated with a bachelor's degree) have completed the extension courses, together with a promotion specialized in physical technology (duration of studies 4 years, enrolled in 2011 – 32 students, graduates with a bachelor's degree in 2015 – 17 students).<sup>43</sup>

In order to get information on **Erasmus+ mobility** between universities from the Republic of Moldova and Romanian universities from the CBC area, we have sent out specific data collection grids to universities from the Republic of Moldova. The representatives of these universities were asked to fill in the following information in the grid: information about the European Studies training programs in the project area in the period 2014–2020 at Bachelor, Master, Postgraduate and PhD. level, CBC projects, Erasmus+ mobility schemes with universities from the border region (and in the ENACTED project area), dual Master programmes with partners from the CBC area. The data provided by 10 universities from the Republic of Moldova reveals that the Moldova State University and the State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chişinău had the biggest number of teachers and students selected for Erasmus+ mobility, however, data were not received concerning incoming students and academics in case of State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă.” Out of the 10 studied Moldovan universities only 2 (Moldova State University and Institute of International Relations in Moldova) had carried out Erasmus+ mobility involving both students and academics in the field of International Relations (and implicitly European Studies). It is also noteworthy that the vast majority of the mobility in the field of International Relations (and implicitly) European Studies involved our home university, the University of Oradea, even though it's not situated at the Eastern border of Romania. As regards to fields such as, History, Humanities, Political Science, International Relations, Social Sciences and Law, besides the University of Oradea, students and professors from Moldovan universities had mainly participated in Erasmus+ mobility at the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi and at the Danubius University.

### 2.1. Moldova State University

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
<b>Romania</b>	<b>University of Oradea</b>	<b>International Relations</b>	2	4	3	
<b>Romania</b>	<b>University of Oradea</b>	<b>History</b>	1	2	2	1
<b>Romania</b>	<b>University of Oradea</b>	<b>Humanities</b>	1	1		
<b>Romania</b>	<b>Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi</b>	<b>Political Science</b>	2	2	2	
Romania	Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi	Mathematics and Informatics	1	1	1	
Romania	Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi	Geography	1	1	2	

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași	Social Sciences	1	1	1	1
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava	Geography	2	1	2	
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava	<b>Humanities-History</b>	1	1	1	1
<b>Romania</b>	<b>Danubius University</b>	<b>International relations</b>	1	1	1	
Romania	Danubius University	Law	2	1	2	
Romania	Danubius University	Communication	1	1	1	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4</b>

## 2.2. Technical University of Moldova

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	Gheorghe Asachi Technical University of Iași	Electrical Engineering	2	2	4	
Romania	Gheorghe Asachi Technical University of Iași	Computer Sciences	1	2	2	
Romania	Gheorghe Asachi Technical University of Iași	Mechanical Engineering	2	1	2	1
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava	Electrical Engineering	2	1	2	1
Romania	Gheorghe Asachi Technical University of Iași	Architecture			1	
Romania	University of Oradea	Textiles			1	
<b>Total</b>			<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>

## 2.3. State University of Medicine and Pharmacy “Nicolae Testemițanu”

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	Grigore T. Popa University of Medicine	Medicine	2	2	4	

	and Pharmacy Iași					
Romania	Apollonia University of Iași	Dentistry		1	2	
<b>Total</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	

#### 2.4. Academy of Economic Studies of Moldova

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași	Economy and Business	3	1	4	
	Universitatea “Ștefan cel Mare” din Suceava	Economy and Business			3	
<b>Total</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	

#### 2.5. Institute of International Relations of Moldova<sup>44</sup>

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
<b>Romania</b>	<b>University of Oradea</b>	<b>International Relations</b>	4	2	2	
<b>Total</b>			<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	

#### 2.6. Academy of Music, Theatre and Fine Arts

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	“George Enescu” National University of Arts	Arts	8	3	6	
<b>Total</b>			<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	

#### 2.7. “Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu” State University

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	Danubius University	Economics	3	1	4	
Romania	Danubius University	Law	1	1	1	
<b>Total</b>			<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	

<sup>44</sup> Since 2020 the Institute of International Relations of Moldova was absorbed by the Academy of Public Administration.



### 2.8. Taraclia State University

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	Danubius University	Economics	2	1	2	
<b>Total</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	

### 2.9. “Alec Russo” State University of Bălți

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași	Economics	2	1	2	
<b>Romania</b>	<b>“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași</b>	<b>Political Science</b>	2		1	
<b>Total</b>			<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	

### 2.10. State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chișinău

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Field	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming			
Romania	“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, Iași	Philology	3		Education	7	
Romania	“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, Iași	<b>History</b>	4		History	4	
Romania	“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, Iași	Art	7				
Romania	“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, Iași	Social Assistance	1		Social Assistance	2	
Romania	“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, Iași	Special psycho-pedagogy	1		Special psycho-pedagogy	2	
Romania	“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, Iași	Psychology	2		Informatics	2	

Country	Partner University	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Field	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming			
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University, of Suceava	Geography	1		Geography	2	
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University, of Suceava	<b>History</b>	1		Education	1	
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University, of Suceava	Psychology	7				
Romania	George Enescu National University of Arts	Art	9				
<b>Total</b>			<b>36</b>			<b>20</b>	

**Table 2.** Erasmus+ mobility between universities from the Republic of Moldova and Romanian universities from the CBC area since 2014

When assessing the number of jointly developed **CBC projects**, we came to the conclusion that between Romania and Moldova there are no common projects developed exclusively by border universities. For example, the State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chișinău had developed a research project entitled “Medieval Jewelry: Hotin Fortresses, Soroca, Suceava 2012–2015 involving the “Ștefan cel Mare” of Suceava, but that project was already finalized in 2015. On the other hand, we have identified various workshops and conferences organized jointly by the State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chișinău and Romanian university centres from the CBC area, such as:

- Interdisciplinarity and multicultural dialogue workshop: models of good practices in Romania and the Republic of Moldova. Promoting culture and education from the perspective of extending communication, coverage, tolerance in Romania and the Republic of Moldova organized with “Dunărea de Jos” University, Galați, Romania in 2017, respectively 2019;
- Student Symposium readings organized with the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, Iași in the period 2016–2019;
- History, culture and civilization in Southeast Europe conference jointly organized with the University Oradea, “Dunărea de Jos” University of Galați “Babeș-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca, University “Ovidius,” Constanța in 2014.

Concerning the possibility of obtaining a **Dual Master’s Degree**, the Technical University of Moldova has 7 master programs based on double diploma principles, all with universities from Romania: four with the “Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava, in the fields of Engineering – Computers and Information network, Informational

Technologies, Quality and Security of Food Products, and in the fields of Economy – Business Administration; one with Technical University of Iași “Gh. Asachi,” in the field of Engineering – Product Design and Development; 2 programs with Technical University of București, in the field of Engineering – Energy and Environment and Electroenergetics. The State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chișinău has a dual Master's programme “**Geopolitics and East-European social-cultural interference**,” in collaboration with the “Dunărea de Jos” Galați University, Romania.

#### 4.2. An assessment of the Romania-Ukraine nexus

University	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Dunărea de Jos University of Galați		-	0/278.000	-0/ 158.580	0/ 149.750	10.607*	10.607
Danubius University		-	10.000	14.997/ 198.480	4977	-	29.974
George Enescu National University of Arts, Iași	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași	50.288	49.355	19.922/ 65.000	14.985/ 92.255	8950/ 118.750	17.420	<b>160.920</b>
Gheorghe Asachi Technical University of Iași	-	0/34.684	20.000/ 97.000	14.997/ 122.890	6983/ 229.030	0/323.120	41.980
Iași University of Life Sciences	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grigore T. Popa University of Medicine and Pharmacy Iași	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Apollonia University of Iași	-	-	-	-	-	5.890*	5.890
“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava	-	6810/ 33.500	30.000/ 97.000	9.923/ 108.389	6980/ 127.000	19.910	<b>73.623</b>
University of Oradea	0/ 256.160	25.600	19.970	14.996	4977/ 127.768	17.430/ 150.296	<b>82.973</b>

\*Funded from Special Funds for Ukraine not from Region 2-ENI East

**Table 3.** Funding for Erasmus mobility between Romania and Ukraine for Romanian universities from the CBC region (2015–2020) in Euros<sup>45</sup>

Just as in case of mobility schemes with Moldova, the data disclosed by the Romanian National Agency for Community Programs in the Field of Vocational Education and Training were used in order to obtain information about the evolution of funding of the **Erasmus+ KA-107** projects between Romanian universities from the CBC region and universities from Ukraine. Just as in case of the Republic of Moldova, the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași is at the top of the list concerning the amount awarded for Erasmus+KA-107 mobility, while the University of Oradea is the second, the third place being occupied by the “Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava. By comparing the funds awarded for mobility for Ukraine and Moldova, the sums won by the latter were

<sup>45</sup> Romanian National Agency for Community Programs in the Field of Vocational Education and Training, “Erasmus+ Selections Results,” 2015–2020.

considerably bigger than those for Ukraine, more Romanian universities from the border region applying for funding for mobility involving partners from Moldova. The George Enescu National University of Arts, Iași, and the Grigore T. Popa University of Medicine and Pharmacy Iași constitute good examples in this case, applying for funding for Moldova, but not for Ukraine. As regards to the successfulness of applications, the “Dunărea de Jos” University of Galați had a similar trajectory as in case of the Republic of Moldova, in the 2017–2019 period applying without success, receiving grant 0 for Ukraine, due to insufficient score gathered following the application process. Also, our home university, the University of Oradea, received grant 0 out of the requested 256.160 Euros in 2015, but later it has managed to become one of the most successful applicants from among the universities from the border region applying for Erasmus+KA-107 with Ukraine.

In order to get information on Erasmus+ mobility between universities from Ukraine and the Romanian universities from the CBC area, the same grids were sent out to the representatives of the universities from Ukraine as to those from the Republic of Moldova.

Out of the 14 Ukrainian universities which provided us information by filling in the specific data collection grid,<sup>46</sup> only 7 have<sup>47</sup> reported carrying out Erasmus+ mobility with Romanian universities from the studied CBC area. The other 7 Ukrainian universities will be analysed in the upcoming lines, when assessing the Polish-Ukrainian nexus in terms of Erasmus+KA-107 mobility and CBC projects.

#### 4.1. Yuriy Fedkovych National University Chernivtsi

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
<b>Romania</b>	<b>University of Oradea</b>	<b>International Relations</b>	2	4	2	
Romania	University Alexandru Ioan Cuza Iași <sup>48</sup>	Economics	2	2	4	1
Romania	University Alexandru Ioan Cuza Iași	Mathematics and	1	1	2	

<sup>46</sup> Bukovinian Medical University of Chernivtsi, Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University, Lutsk National Technical University, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Technical University of Lviv, The Lviv National Stefan Gzhytskyj-University of Veterinary Medicine and Biotechnology, Danylo Halyckiy Lviv National Medical University (Ukraine), The National Forestry and Wood-Technology University of Ukraine, Lviv Commercial Academy, Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University in Drohobych, Uzhhorod National University, Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk Oil and Gas University, Ivano-Frankivsk National Medical University.

<sup>47</sup> Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Uzhhorod National University, Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk Oil and Gas University, Ivano-Frankivsk National Medical University, Yuriy Fedkovych National University Chernivtsi, Bukovinian Medical University of Chernivtsi.

<sup>48</sup> Education, Religion and Theology, History and Archaeology, Philosophy and Ethics, Languages, Social Behavioural Sciences, Journalism and Reporting, Business and Administration, Law, Biological and related sciences, Environment, Physical Sciences, Mathematics and Statistics, Information and Communication Technologies, Engineering, Sports, Travel, tourism and leisure. See Official Site of the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, “Erasmus+ Inter-Institutional Agreements with Partner Countries,” accessed June 19, 2021, <https://www.uaic.ro/en/international/erasmus-programme-with-partner-countries/acorduri-erasmus-cu-tarile-partenere-ka107/>.

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
		Informatics				
Romania	University Alexandru Ioan Cuza Iași	Biotechnology	1	1	2	
<b>Romania</b>	<b>University Alexandru Ioan Cuza Iași</b>	<b>Political Science</b>	2	1	2	1
Romania	Technical University of Iași	Computers Sciences	2	1	5	
<b>Romania</b>	<b>“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava*</b>	<b>Humanities – Ukrainian /Romanian Language (reciprocity-based exchange)</b>	5	5	8	8
<b>Romania</b>	<b>“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava</b>	<b>Humanities-History</b>	1	1	1	1
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava	Geography	1	1	1	
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava	Electrical Engineering	1	1	1	
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava	Mechanical Engineering	1	1	1	

#### 4.2. Bukovinian Medical University of Chernivtsi

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	Grigore T. Popa University of Medicine and Pharmacy Iași*	Medicine	2	5	3	

\* They did not come through Erasmus +, but through a bilateral program

#### 4.3. Ivan Franko National University of Lviv

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
<b>Romania</b>	<b>University of Oradea</b>	<b>International Relations</b>	1	1	1	

#### 4.4. Uzhhorod National University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
<b>Romania</b>	<b>University of Oradea</b>	<b>Political Science</b>				

#### 4.5. Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava	No information was provided or found on the site about the field only about the existence of the partnership				
Romania	“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași <sup>49</sup>	Education Religion and Theology History and Archaeology Philosophy and Ethics Languages Social Behavioural Sciences Journalism and Reporting Business and Administration Law Biological and related sciences Environment Physical Sciences Mathematics and Statistics Information and Communication Technologies Engineering Welfare Sports Travel, tourism and leisure				

<sup>49</sup> See also the official site of the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, “Erasmus+ Inter-Institutional Agreements with Partner Countries.”

#### 4.6. Ivano-Frankivsk Oil and Gas University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	“Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava	No information was provided about the field only about the existence of the partnership				

#### 4.7. Ivano-Frankivsk National Medical University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Romania	University of Oradea	Medicine				
Romania	University of Oradea	Nursing				

**Table 4.** Erasmus+ mobility between universities from Ukraine and Romanian universities from the CBC area since 2014

As we could see from **Table 4**, in the field of International Relations (and implicitly European Studies), the most of the mobility schemes under the auspices of Erasmus+ involving students and academics from Ukraine were carried out at the University of Oradea, and not at universities from the Eastern border. In fields such as Humanities, History, Political Science and Philosophy, the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași and the “Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava were the main destination of Ukrainian students and teachers. According to the data provided in the grid, the Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University had 8 Erasmus+ K-107 mobilities, 3 of which were carried out at universities from the CBC area, the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University and the “Ștefan cel Mare” University of Suceava, Romania, University of Rzeszów, Republic of Poland.

With respect to CBC projects, as in case of Romania and Moldova, we could not identify either CBC projects (in the field of IR, European Studies, Cross-border cooperation, Regional Studies) developed exclusively by Romanian-Ukrainian universities from the border region. However, the Romanian-Moldovan and the Romanian-Ukrainian nexus are very active as regards the organization of common scientific events. Our home university, the University of Oradea (mainly the International Relations and European Studies Department of the Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Communication Sciences) has organized several international conferences, summer schools and roundtables in the past decade, with the participation of students and professors from Moldovan and Ukrainian universities from the border region. As examples, we would like to add the following events:

- Jean Monnet Conference **EU as a Global Player: Security Challenges at the Beginning of the 21st Century**, organised by the Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations, University of Oradea, 14 October 2011, Oradea.

- Conference **European Union in Crisis**, organised by the Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Sciences of Communication, University of Oradea, 16–17 March 2012, Oradea.

- **Security Dimensions at the Eastern Border of the European Union**, organised by the Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Sciences of Communication, University of Oradea, 5–6 June, 2012, Oradea.

- Jean Monnet Conference **From Schumann Declaration to Lisbon Treaty: What Political Finality for the European Union**, organised by the Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Sciences of Communication, University of Oradea, 25–26 April, 2013, Oradea.

- Conference **European Security at the Eastern Neighbourhood**, organised by the Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Sciences of Communication, University of Oradea, 12–16 June 2013, Oradea.

- Conference **European Culture and Identity Paradiplomacy**, organised 23–24 May 2014, Oradea.

- Conference **Migration and European Integration of Minorities**, *Jean Monnet project n. 543008-LLP-1-2013-1-RO-AJM-MO with the title “Migration and European Integration of Minorities at the Eastern Border of the European Union”*, organised 6–9 November 2014, Oradea.

- Jean Monnet International Conference **Cultural diplomacy at the East and West Borders of the European Union**, organised by the Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Sciences of Communication, University of Oradea, 23–25 April 2015, Oradea.

- International conference **The Image of the Other in the European Intercultural Dialogue**, 28–30 May 2015, organised by the Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Sciences of Communication, University of Oradea.

- Jean Monnet **International Roundtable, Achievements, Contemporary Approaches and Perspectives in the Evaluation of Cross-border Cooperation**, June Oradea, 2017.

- International Conference, **Europe a Century after the End of the First World War (1918–2018)**, 10–12 October, Oradea, Romania.

- Jean Monnet International Conference **Regional Development at the Borders of the European Union**, 5–7 November, Oradea.

- International Workshop **Power and Borders in the New World Order**, 7–8th November 2019, Oradea.

- **Oradea International Meeting**, 30 November – 1<sup>st</sup> of December 2020, University of Oradea, Oradea.

On the other hand, we will see that the Ukrainian-Polish nexus is very strong at the chapter of mobility, registering not only a more significant amount of mobility between Polish and Ukrainian universities from the border region, but also more jointly developed CBC projects. Moreover, not just the Polish-Ukrainian nexus has potential in this field, but also the network involving Poland-Slovakia-Hungary-Ukraine. The Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University and the Yury Fedkovych Chernivtsi University, as universities situated in CBC area were part of the IANUS project (Inter



Academic Network Erasmus Mundus) II, coordinated by the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University (2013–2017). The project involved 20 university centres, 8 from the EU and 12 from the EaP. The **IANUS** project was an Erasmus Mundus mobility programme financed by the European Commission in the framework of the Erasmus Mundus programme, Action 2 – Partnerships with Third Country higher education institutions and scholarships for mobility, covering Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. IANUS was designed to assist students (Bachelor, Master and Doctoral level), post-doctoral researchers and academic staff in gaining valuable professional experience through short or long-term scholarships which enabled them to study/ work/ do research at one of the partner universities.<sup>50</sup>

### 4.3. An assessment of the Poland-Ukraine nexus

#### 5.1. Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin	Economics	2	1	4	
<b>Poland</b>	<b>The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin</b>	<b>Political Science</b>	1	1	2	1
Poland	The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin	Social Sciences	3	1	2	
Poland	Pope John Paul II State School of Higher Education in Biala Podlask	Vocational Educational	2	1	4	1

#### 5.2. Lutsk National Technical University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Lublin Technical University	Electrical Engineering	3	2	6	1
Poland	Lublin Technical University	Mechanical Engineering	2	2	4	1
Poland	Lublin Technical University	Computer Sciences	2	1	7	
Poland	Pope John Paul II State School of Higher Education in Biala Podlask	Computer Sciences	2	2	4	

<sup>50</sup> Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, “IANUS II,” accessed June 25, 2021, <http://ianus.uaic.ro/ianusII/partner-universities-2>.

### 5.3. Ivan Franko National University of Lviv

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
<b>Poland</b>	<b>Warsaw School of Economics</b>	<b>International Relations</b>	1	1	1	
Poland	Warsaw School of Economics	Economics	2	1	2	1
Poland	Warsaw University	Applied mathematics and informatics	1		1	1
Poland	Warsaw University	Economics	2	1	1	1
Poland	Rzeszów University (0 grant)	Economics	1	1	2	
Poland	Rzeszów University (0 grant)	Mathematics and Informatics			2	

### 5.4. Technical University of Lviv

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Lublin University of Technology	Electrical Engineering	4	4	12	
Poland	Lublin University of Technology	Mechanical Engineering	2	2	6	1
Poland	Lublin University of Technology	Applied Sciences	3	2	6	2
Poland	Rzeszów Technical University	Mechanical Engineering	3	2	3	
Poland	Rzeszów Technical University	Electrical Engineering	4	2	8	
Poland	Rzeszów Technical University	Computer Sciences	4	3	7	
Poland	Rzeszów Technical University	Applied Sciences	2	1	3	

### 5.5. The Lviv National Stefan Gzhytskyj-University of Veterinary Medicine and Biotechnology

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	University of Life Sciences in Lublin	Agricultural	6	4	14	
Poland	University of Life Sciences in Lublin	Veterinary Medicine	8	4	16	1
Poland	University of Life Sciences in Lublin	Biotechnology	4	2	8	3
Poland	Rzeszów University	Biotechnology	5	4	10	4

### 5.6. Danylo Halyckiy Lviv National Medical University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Medical University of Lublin	Medical	13	9	24	
Poland	Medical University of Lublin	Pharmacy	10	7	12	1
Poland	Medical University of Lublin	Dentistry	6	6	5	

### 5.7. The National Forestry and Wood-Technology University of Ukraine

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	University of Life Sciences in Lublin	Forestry	5	5	6	
Poland	University of Life Sciences in Lublin	Wood-Technology	4	2	4	
Poland	University of Life Sciences in Lublin	Biotechnology	2	2	4	1

### 5.8. Lviv Commercial Academy

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin	Economics	4	2	5	
Poland	University of Economic and Innovation in Lublin	Business	6	4	8	2
Poland	University of Economic and Innovation in Lublin	Trade	2	1	3	
Poland	Rzeszów University	Economics	2	2	4	1

### 5.9. Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University in Drohobych

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin	Education	3	1	3	
Poland	Rzeszów University	Mathematics	2	1	2	
Poland	Rzeszów University	Physics	1	1	2	
Poland	Rzeszów University	<b>History</b>	2	1	2	1

### 5.10. Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Rzeszów University	Economics	2	1	4	
Poland	Rzeszów University	<b>Social Sciences</b>	1	1	2	
Poland	Rzeszów University	Education	1	1	1	

### 5.11. Ivano-Frankivsk Oil and Gas University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Rzeszów Technical University	Mechanical Engineering	3	2	4	
Poland	Rzeszów Technical University	Electrical Engineering	2	1	3	
Poland	Lublin University of Technology	Electrical Engineering	3	1	5	1
Poland	Lublin University of Technology	Computer Sciences	2		4	
Poland	Lublin University of Technology	Applied Sciences	2	1	2	
Poland	School of Commerce in Przemyśl	Applied Sciences				

### 5.12. Ivano-Frankivsk National Medical University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Rzeszów University	Biotechnology	2	1	2	

### 5.13. Yuriy Fedkovych National University Chernivtsi

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin*	Law	3	1	8	
Poland	Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin*	Economics	4	1	6	
Poland	Maria Curie-Skłodowska university in Lublin*	Applied Mathematics and Informatics	2		3	

\* They did not come through Erasmus +, but through a bilateral program

**Table 5.** Erasmus+ mobility between universities from Ukraine and Poland from the CBC area since 2014

As **Table 5** shows, there is a very active relationship between Polish and Ukrainian universities from the border region in regard to Erasmus+ mobility. However, compared to the Romanian-Ukrainian nexus there is considerably less mobility in the field of International Relations and implicitly, European Studies. In the field of International Relations, we identify only one mobility, between the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv and the Warsaw School of Economics, while students and teachers from the Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University specialized in Political Science participated in a placement at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. Looking at the profile of placements, we've arrived to the conclusion that the vast majority of mobility between the Polish-Ukrainian universities from the CBC area is involving students and academics specialized in Economics, IT, Engineering and Applied Sciences, Social Sciences and Humanities being less representative. Driven by the desire to further enhanced cooperation with universities from the Eastern Neighbourhood, the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin participates in the so called **East European University Network** along with universities from Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine and Russia. The State Pedagogical University of Ivan Franko Drohobych, the Chernivtsi National University Yuriy Fedkovych, the East European National University of Lesi Ukrainki in Lutsk, the Uzhhorod National University, the Lviv National University Ivana Franki, Ukraine and the Lutsk National Technical University are the Ukrainian universities from the border regions which also participate in this initiative.<sup>51</sup>

**Table 6** reveals the funding for Polish Universities from the CBC area for Erasmus+ KA-107 mobility in the period 2015–2020. However, compared to the Romanian National Agency, the Polish Erasmus+ National Agency does not provide information concerning the individual countries where that mobility is taking place, or the amount of funding that was granted to that specific country, disclosing only the name of the region in which Erasmus+ partner countries are divided, the available funding for that region, and data concerning the total number of incoming and outgoing mobility in a year (for example from Poland to Region 2 Eastern Partnership Countries, and from EaP countries to Poland).<sup>52</sup>

Polish Universities from the CBC area	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin	84.855	208.380	142.205	187.010	356.070	-
Lublin University of Technology	43.020	736.470	435.605	430.955	428.915	356.975
Warsaw School of Economics	368.390	364.915	166.565	143.926	302.705	310.965
Warsaw University	0	355.185	311.820	217.475	128.115	120.315

<sup>51</sup> John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin Official Site, “East European University Network,” accessed June 11, 2021, <https://www.kul.pl/wschodnioeuropejska-siec-universytetow,17319.html>.

<sup>52</sup> See Polish Erasmus+ National Agency, “Informacja o wynikach oceny wniosków o mobilność z krajami partnerskimi (KA107-2018) złożonych w terminie do 1 lutego 2018 r. – aktualizacja [Information on the results of the evaluation of mobility applications with partner countries (KA107-2018) submitted by February 1, 2018 – update,” accessed July 15, 2021, [https://erasmusplus.org.pl/brepo/panel\\_repo\\_files/2021/04/04/wg8ndk/ka107-2018-info-o-wynikach-na-strone-www-aktualiza.pdf](https://erasmusplus.org.pl/brepo/panel_repo_files/2021/04/04/wg8ndk/ka107-2018-info-o-wynikach-na-strone-www-aktualiza.pdf).

Rzeszów University	0	25.540	59.980	87.180	47.360	99.870
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin	56.265	-	63.345	-	66.445	27.800

**Table 6.** Funding for Polish Universities from the CBC area for Erasmus+ KA-107 mobility (2015–2020) in Euros<sup>53</sup>

As highlighted before, the palette of jointly developed CBC projects by Polish-Ukrainian universities from the border region is richer than in case of the previously presented universities from the CBC area. The Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University opened an Information Centre of the European Union in 2008, which has been functional since, with the aim of:<sup>54</sup>

- spreading the information about the EU and its policies;
- providing information support of educational establishments, European clubs, social organizations, mass media and other institutions in holding events that help popularize the EU's decision-making and to contribute to the development of neighbourly relations between Ukraine and the EU;
- providing assistance in public participation in debates related to European issues. The Information Centre of the EU offers a wide range of works and materials of the EU official institutions, as well as brochures, magazines and other materials, concerning the EU operation.

Within the Department of International Economic Relations and Project Management (Faculty of International Relations, Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University) the department staff performs a cycle of state budget topics, in particular 'Euroregion 'Bug': background and strategic priorities for sustainable spatial development'; 'Euroregion 'Bug': market transformation in the framework of interregional integration'; 'Euroregion 'Bug': infrastructure improvement in the interregional integration condition'. Under these issues the socio-economic and resource-ecological conditions for sustainable spatial development of cross-border association are examined.

Concerning the development of CBC projects, the Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University was responsible for the implementation of the **ATHENA-Fostering Sustainable and Autonomous Higher Education Systems in the Eastern Neighbouring Area** project in the period 2012–2015 funded by the TEMPUS Programme. The project<sup>55</sup> was designed to contribute to the development and reform of higher education systems in partner countries, as well as to increase their quality and relevance and to increase their voluntary convergence with EU developments. ATHENA was aimed at contributing to the development, reform and modernisation of higher education systems in the Eastern Neighbouring partner countries Armenia, Moldova and Ukraine. It was designed to support structural reform processes and the development of

<sup>53</sup> Polish Erasmus+ National Agency, "Erasmus+ KA-107 Mobility 2015–2020," accessed June 15, 2021, <https://erasmusplus.org.pl/dokumenty#wyniki>.

<sup>54</sup> Official Site of the Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University, accessed July 10, 2021, <https://vnu.edu.ua/en>.

<sup>55</sup> Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University. International Relations Office, "TEMPUS Programme. ATHENA-Fostering Sustainable and Autonomous Higher Education Systems in the Eastern Neighbouring Area," accessed June 10, 2021, <https://inter-dep.vnu.edu.ua/about-project/>.

strategic frameworks at the national level. Moreover, it worked towards enhancing the quality and relevance of higher education systems in the targeted partner countries and to increase their voluntary adaptation to EU developments. There were altogether 22 partners in the project including coordinators, 6 from Ukraine (4 HEIs- Higher Education Institutions, NRC-National Resources Centre, Ministry), 5 from Moldova (3 HEIs, NRC, Ministry), 5 from Armenia (3 HEIs, NRC, Ministry), 2 HEIs from Portugal (Coimbra), 2 HEIs from Finland (Helsinki), 1 HEI from the Netherlands (Amsterdam). In the period of 2013–2015 was carried out the **PL-NTU Cross-border exchange of experience** project (with a budget of 263.455 Euros), as a result of the collaboration between the Lublin University of Technology and the National Technical University in Lutsk with the main objective of removing barriers and expanding cooperation in the exchange of information and experience in the field of science, education and organization. Among the specific objectives of the project, we find the following:<sup>56</sup>

- consolidation of cooperation as regards the development of a common and complementary educational offer of the first- and second-degree studies;
- promotion of the idea of cross-border projects and increasing the number of joint Polish – Ukrainian projects of scientific, cultural and educational nature;
- exchange of good practices and known how on project management.

The Lutsk National Technical University as the main beneficiary, together with a Polish university from the border region, the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, as the lead beneficiary were jointly implementing a project entitled **Friendly Borders PBU1/0433/16** in the period 2018–2021, with a total budget of 335.993 Euros. The necessity of developing such a project was motivated by the over crowdedness of the Polish-Ukrainian border, as this also represents the EU's external border. Driven by the desire to fluidize the border traffic between the two countries, the two universities have decided to carry out joint training activities for border guards' staff. Topics such as **interpersonal and social skills, Biofeedback** were among the subjects taught to officers from the Nadbużański Border Guards Unit in Chełm and Customs Chamber in Biała Podlaska in Poland, as well as the Border Guards Unit and Customs Chamber in Jagodin in Ukraine (including a total number of 250 participants). In addition, 60 persons from both universities benefitted from international postgraduate studies in security and crisis management, while conferences (Tomaszów Lub., Lutsk) and publications in the field of threats and challenges provided additional support to all the participants in the project.<sup>57</sup>

#### 4.4. An assessment of the Poland-Belarus nexus

In comparison with Ukraine, a greater mobility of Belarusian students and academics was registered at the Polish universities of Pope John Paul II State School of Higher, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin and the University of Białystok. However, from the data provided in the grid by the Belarusian border universities emerges that there was no mobility between the Brest and Grodno universities and Polish universities from the border region in the field of International Relations and European

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<sup>56</sup> Keep.eu, “PL-NTU Cross-border Exchange of Experience. Programme 2007–2013 Poland-Belarus-Ukraine ENPI CBC,” accessed June 9, 2021, <https://keep.eu/projects/15867/PL-NTU-Cross-border-exchang-EN/>.

<sup>57</sup> Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Poland-Belarus-Ukraine 2014–2020, “Cooperation of Universities Supporting the Development of Security and Crisis Management of the Lublin and Lutsk Transborder Regions,” 2021, accessed July 15, 2021, <https://www.pbu2020.eu/en/projects2020/201>.



Studies. Despite the lack of mobility in this field, the Polish-Belarusian nexus compensates by the development of joint CBC projects, such as:<sup>58</sup>

- **Preservation of Eliza Orzeszkowa's and Liudwik Zamenhof's historical and cultural heritage in Grodno and Białystok** (funded by Poland-Belarus-Ukraine 2014–2020); **Project partners:** Yanka Kupala State University of Grodno (Belarus)-project coordinator - University of Białystok (Poland). **Total budget:** 38130 euro; **Duration:** 12 months

- **(2020–2021). Overall objective of the project:** Promotion of local culture and history by the development of cross-border region through the design of a brand-new tourist product (the route “Orzeszkowa's life and work paths”) in Grodno, as well as the improvement of the already existing one (“Zamenhof's route in Białystok”) in Białystok;

- **Improvement of cross-border region attractiveness through the introduction of ethno-cultural resources into the tourist activities (a trip to the ethnic fairy-tale)** IPBU.01.02.00-58-089/10 funded by Poland-Belarus-Ukraine 2007–2013 with a budget of 1.270.306 Euros, running in the period 2012–2014, jointly developed by the University of Grodno as the lead partner, The Gudevichi State Museum of Literature and Local Lore (Belarus), State Institution of Education “Gymnasium No 1 of the name academic E. F. Karski” (Belarus), Suwałki Chamber of Agriculture and Tourism (Poland). The project focused on the issues in the Polish-Belarusian borderland linked to the problem of weak infrastructure of ethno-tourism, lack of qualifications and lack of information. These factors combined impede the tourism development of the border regions of Hrodna in Belarus and Suwałki in Poland. The activities were divided into marketing, educational and applied tourist activities, which envisioned, among others, the infrastructural re-organisation of an ethnographic museum in Hudzievičy, creation of 7 mobile ethnographic villages in Suwałki region, establishing of Ethno-cultural study sector at the university in Hrodna, educational trainings in Belarus and Poland as well as the publication of an encyclopaedic handbook of ethno-cultural tourism resources;

- **Bicycle route – Traces of Bug River Secrets IPBU.01.02.00-06-252/10** funded by Poland-Belarus-Ukraine ENPI CBC 2007–2013, with a budget of 304.908 Euros, active in the period 2012–2014, jointly developed by the State School of Higher Education of Pope John Paul II from Poland acting as the lead partner, and the Brest State University of Alexander Pushkin from Ukraine as the project partner. The project was aimed at enhancing exploitation of tourist potential in order to increase social and economic effects of cross-border area defines concrete activities that will be implemented during the project. The projects envisioned the marking of 400 km-length tracks in Poland and 200km in Belarus, creating of 78 various-size information boards located on a cross-border bicycle track as well as putting parking places, publication of multilingual tourist guidebook and map.<sup>59</sup>

- **Development of the cross-border economic cooperation of Białystok-Suwałki Subregion and Hrodna oblast in Belarus and also of Krosno-Przemysl Subregion and Zakarpattia oblast in Ukraine** a project jointly elaborated by the University of Grodno and Białostocka Fundacja Kształcenia Kadr (BFKK) from Poland in the period 2013–2015, funded by the Poland-Belarus-Ukraine ENPI CBC 2007–2013;

<sup>58</sup> Yanka Kupala State University of Grodno, “International cooperation,” accessed July 23, 2021, <https://en.grsu.by/en/international-cooperation/programs-and-projects.html>.

<sup>59</sup> Keep.eu, “Programme 2007–2013 Poland-Belarus-Ukraine ENPI CBC. Bicycle Route – Traces of Bug River Secrets,” accessed June 12, 2021, <https://keep.eu/projects/15910/Bicycle-route-Traces-of-Bug-EN/>.

• **Science and experience for business IPBU.01.01.00-18-151/10**, a common project of University of Grodno, of the Rzeszowska Agencja Rozwoju Regionalnego S.A. from Poland (as the lead partner), of the Lviv Regional Center for Investment and Development and of the Małopolski Instytut Gospodarczy. The project was running in the period 2012–2013, with a budget of 262.921 Euros. It was targeting to improve the conditions for business development and cooperation of SMEs from the three regions covered by the project, contributing to socio-economic development of Krosno-Przemyśl subregion in Poland, Lviv region in Ukraine and Hrodna region in Belarus. The project included a number of activities such as, study visits for institutions supporting SMEs for the purpose of experience exchange, 15 seminars for SMEs (5 in each region), creating a web portal with a cross-border database for cooperation of entrepreneurs, publishing a guidebook of entrepreneurial development, etc.<sup>60</sup>

### 7.1. A.S. Pushkin Brest State University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Pope John Paul II State School of Higher Education in Biała Podlask	Education	1	1	2	
Poland	Pope John Paul II State School of Higher Education in Biała Podlask	Social Work	1	1	1	1
Poland	Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin	Humanities	1	1	1	
Poland	Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin	Economics	1	1	2	
Total			4	4	6	1

### 7.2. Yanka Kupala State University of Grodno

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Poland	Pope John Paul II State School of Higher Education in Biała Podlask	Education	1	1	2	
Poland	University of Białystok	Economic	1	1	2	
Poland	University of Białystok	Social work	1	1	2	
Poland	Białystok University of Technology	Computers Sciences	2	1	3	
Total			5	4	9	

<sup>60</sup> Keep.eu, “Science and Experience for Business,” accessed June 17, 2021, <https://keep.eu/projects/15904/Science-and-experience-for--EN/>.

**Table 7.** Erasmus+ mobility between universities from Belarus and Poland from the CBC area since 2014

#### **4.5. An assessment of the Poland-Slovakia-Hungary-Ukraine nexus**

Mobility and CBC projects involving Ukrainian and Polish universities from the border region were analysed in the previous lines. In this subchapter we will try to assess the potential of the Poland-Slovakia-Hungary-Ukraine nexus (the role of universities from the CBC area) as regards mobility agreements and the development of joint cross-border projects. When putting under magnifying glass border universities from Ukraine, based on the provided data we have found out that they have a very active collaboration with Polish higher education centres. For example, the Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University has closed partnership agreements with 29 Polish universities and just 1 with a university from Slovakia, the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice and none with Hungary.<sup>61</sup> While the Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University has only one Partner University from Slovakia, the Uzhhorod National University from Ukraine takes pride in having closed more than 30 accords with universities from Slovakia, 24 from Poland and 8 from Hungary (including universities from the border regions, such as University of Debrecen, University of Miskolc and University of Szeged).<sup>62</sup> As highlighted in **Table 8**, based on the grid sent back by the Ukrainian universities from the border region, the University of Uzhhorod has one of the most active Erasmus+ mobility involving higher education centres from Slovakia and Hungary. In the field of International Relations and Humanities there was a mobility undertaken at the Prešov University, involving both students and academics, while in the field of Social Sciences the mobility took place at the Jan Šafárik University of Košice was. According to the information provided in the grid, there was no Erasmus+ mobility in the field of International Relations and European Studies between Ukrainian-Hungarian universities from the CBC area. The **Poland-Slovakia-Hungary-Ukraine** nexus is very active when it comes to the organization of workshops and conferences tackling subjects related the cross-border cooperation and regional policies. Within the list of such workshops and conferences we find:<sup>63</sup>

- **Cross-border cooperation at the time of crisis on neighbour's soil** – project 2015–2016 coordinated by the University of Warsaw, in partnership with Uzhhorod National University, Research Centre of Slovak Foreign Policy Association, Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences Republic, Geographical Institute of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, funded by Visegrád Found;

- **Trans-border Dialogues II.** Enhancing development of cross-border area between EU and Ukraine with regard to regional development, investment and developing of social capital in CBC region (Sharing experience between Slovakia-Ukraine-Germany-Hungary-Poland), funded by Research Centre of Slovak Foreign Policy Association and Fridrich Ebert Stiftung September 25, 2014 Prešov / Slovakia. Participants Uzhhorod National University, University of Rzeszów, Prešov University, University of Košice, University of Miskolc and, University of Nyíregyháza;

- **Regional policy in Ukraine in the context of integration and security of European space: exchange of reforms experiences conference.** 11. May 2016 Place:

<sup>61</sup> Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University Official Site, “Partner Universities,” accessed July 1, 2021, [inter-dep.vnu.edu.ua/partner-universities/](http://inter-dep.vnu.edu.ua/partner-universities/).

<sup>62</sup> Official Site of Uzhhorod National University, accessed July 9, 2021, <https://www.uzhnu.edu.ua/en/cat/irelations-partnersa>.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

Ukraine, Uzhhorod, National University, in cooperation with the University of Prešov, Research Centre of Slovak Foreign Policy Association, funded by the Norwegian Grants Fund;

- **Enhancing cooperation in the EU Eastern borderland. The EU Citizens Dialogues Initiative** (June 22, 2018, Prešov, funded by the Research Centre of Slovak Foreign Policy Association, participants from Uzhhorod and Prešov;

- International Research and Practical Conference, **Contemporary Socio-Economic Issues of Polish-Ukrainian Cross-border Cooperation** (15-17.11.2017), in partnership with the University of Rzeszow and Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (funded by CBC Program PL-UA BY 2014–2020);

- Joint Summer University with the topic Implementation of EU Standards into National legislation, Uzhhorod National University (Ukraine) and University of Szeged (Hungary) 24–28.07 2017<sup>64</sup>.

The **NESICA HUSKROUA/1702/6.1/0014, New Energy Solutions in Carpathian area**, project, even though it does not involve a partner university from Poland, it is suitable to be included in this chapter, as it covers higher education centres from the border region of four countries (Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine), funded by the ENI Cross-border Cooperation Programme 2014–2020 Its duration is of two years, starting with 01.05.2020 and ending in 30.04.2022, with the main objective of promoting energy efficiency and renewable energy sources through education and practical activities in communities in order to support the sustainable use of the environment in border regions of Ukraine, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia. As the outcome of the project are foreseen the following: improved regional situation of sustainable use of the environment in the cross-border area due to the effective and innovative energy solutions in communities provided as a result of cooperation with universities and professional institutions. Partners: Lead Applicant – State University “Uzhhorod National University,” Ukraine. Self-Government of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, Hungary, Ștefan cel Mare University of Suceava, Romania, NGO “European Initiatives Centre,” Ukraine, Technical University of Košice, Slovak Republic, University of Nyíregyháza, Hungary. Total budget: 994,236 of Euros.<sup>65</sup>

A similar cross-border project involving these four countries is the **GeoSES HUSKROUA/1702/8.1/0065** project, entitled **Extension of the operational “Space Emergency System” towards monitoring of dangerous natural and man-made geoproceses in the HU-SK-RO-UA cross-border region** implemented under the auspices of the Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine ENI Cross-border Cooperation Programme 2014–2020 funded by the EU in the period 01.12.2019 – 31.11.2021 with a budget of 844,294 Euros. The project targets the geomonitoring of natural and man-made processes in the cross-border territory with the aim of preventing of emergency situations by integrating advanced techniques in new, coordinated and innovative ways in order to improve our understanding of land deformation (landslides) on Tizsa River and its effect on the environment. The project will also reflect interaction of scientists and stakeholders as authorities/civil protection units will be informed about the project results, showing how the project influences on the risk management cycle. Among the project partner we find the “Uzhhorod National University”, Ukraine, Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in

<sup>64</sup> Official Site of the University of Szeged, accessed July 23, 2021, <http://www.juris.u-szeged.hu/download.php?docID=66979>.

<sup>65</sup> Uzhhorod National University, “International Projects,” accessed July 25, 2021, <https://www.uzhnu.edu.ua/en/cat/projects-nesicaa>.

Košice, Slovakia, Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania, Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Hungary, Self-government of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, Hungary.<sup>66</sup>

Within Poland-Hungary-Ukraine-Slovakia network, special attention should be paid to the Hungary-Ukraine nexus, due to the presence of more than 151.000 ethnic Hungarians in Ukraine's Transcarpathian region. This fact not only prompts the need to carry out teaching activities in Hungarian language in the region, but also to foster the closure of international partnerships concerning mobility with higher education centres from Hungary. The Hungarian government has been very keen on supporting Hungarian ethnic minorities living beyond the national borders to study in their mother tongue, from pre-school level to that of tertiary education. In order to achieve that, various financial incentives and scholarships programmes<sup>67</sup> were put at the disposal of pupils and students, enabling them to participate in mobility programmes and to receive scholarships for full time studying in Hungary. The Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education represents a good example in this regard, as it is a nationally recognized Ukrainian private higher education establishment, founded by the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association, enabling teaching and studying in Hungarian language. Currently, training is conducted at the full-time and extra-mural courses at the qualification levels of junior specialist, bachelor, master, as well as short-term, intensive and vocational courses in accordance with the Law of Ukraine "On Higher Education". Students can obtain a degree in the following fields: Junior specialists in Preschool Education, Social Work, Accounting and Taxation, Tourism and Applied Mathematics programmes provide training of junior specialists; Bachelor degree in: Preschool education, Primary education, Secondary education (History), Secondary education (Ukrainian language and literature), Secondary education (Hungarian language and literature), Secondary education (Language and Literature English), Biology, Geography, Chemistry, Mathematics, Accounting and taxation, Tourism; Master degree in: Secondary education (Mathematics), History and archaeology, Philology (Hungarian language and literature), Philology (Ukrainian language and literature), Biology. Of these, 1 course is accredited, while the accreditation of History and Archaeology, "Philology (Hungarian language and literature), Philology (Ukrainian language and literature), and Biology."<sup>68</sup>

It is rather interesting that the teaching of delegated degree courses is managed according to educational programmes developed on the basis of cooperation agreements between Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education and universities from Hungary, such as the Szent István University of Gödöllő (courses: Gardener-engineer, Agricultural Engineer), University of Nyíregyháza (courses: Economics and Management), Sárospatak Reformed Theological College (courses: Catechist – Priest's assistant), Károly Gáspár Reformed University (courses: Hungarian as a Foreign

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Such as those financed through the Bethlen Gábor Fund: Szülőföldön magyarul, Dr. Szász Pál Scholarship, Support for the organizations of the Hungarians living in the diaspora and the organizations providing education in the Hungarian language in the diaspora 2020, Transcarpathian social programs support 2020, "Implementation of Transylvanian Programs of National Importance, For Hungarian culture and education, etc. See: Bethlen Gábor ZRT., "Külhoni Támogatások" [Foreign Grants], accessed July 22, 2021, <https://bgazrt.hu/tamogatások/kulhoni-tamogatások/>.

<sup>68</sup> Official Site of Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education, accessed June 15, 2021, <https://kmf.uz.ua/en/introducing-the-institute/>.

Language, Mental Health Specialist), The University of Debrecen (courses: Nursing, Medical Practice, Social Pedagogy).

Students enrolled in the college have the right to choose the language in which they wish to pursue their studies, being able to choose between Ukrainian, Hungarian and English, moreover, all students get an extra opportunity to study the Ukrainian language (as well as other languages including English, German, Hungarian, etc.) at courses organized by the College free of charge. Based on the existent bilateral agreements, Ukrainian students wishing to learn Hungarian can participate in the summer academies of intensive study of the Hungarian language and culture organized by the University of Debrecen and the Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest).<sup>69</sup>

As regards international cooperation, the College has closed 72 accords with Ukrainian and foreign higher education centres. From Hungary it has closed partnerships with the following universities: The Szent István University of Gödöllő, Eötvös Loránd University, University of Debrecen (Hungary), University of Nyíregyháza, Sárospatak Reformed Theological College, St Athanasius Greek-Catholic Theological Institute, Corvinus University of Budapest. From Romania it has closed a cooperation agreement only with the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, in which teaching is conducted in Hungarian language. It has a partnership with Slovakian universities as well, such as the J. Selye University (where teaching is in Hungarian language) and the Prešov University. In the past 3 years, students and academics have been actively participating in Erasmus+ mobility programmes at the Eötvös Loránd University, University of Debrecen, University of Pécs (Hungary) J. Selye University (Komarno, Slovakia), Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra etc. Undertaking mobility at the Eötvös József College of Baja (Hungary), Kodolányi János University of Applied Sciences (Hungary) and at the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca (Romania) was possible though bilateral agreements, not though Erasmus+.

### 8.1. Uzhhorod National University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Slovakia	Jan Šafařík University of Košice	Mathematics	1	1	2	1
Slovakia	Jan Šafařík University of Košice	<b>Social Sciences</b>	1	1	2	
Slovakia	Jan Šafařík University of Košice	Education	1	1	1	
Slovakia	Jan Šafařík University of Košice	Physics	2	1	2	
Slovakia	Jan Šafařík University of Košice	Medicine	8	5	15	2
Slovakia	Košice Technical University	Economics	4	3	8	2
Slovakia	Košice Technical University	Mechanical Engineering	2	2	5	

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Slovakia	Košice Technical University	Electrical Engineering	3	1	4	1
Slovakia	Košice Technical University	Computer Sciences	4	2	5	
Slovakia	Prešov University	<b>Humanities</b>	5	4	8	3
Slovakia	Prešov University	<b>International Relations</b>	2	1	3	
Slovakia	Prešov University	Economics	3	1	4	1
Hungary	University of Debrecen	Agriculture				
Hungary	University of Debrecen	Economics				
Hungary	University of Miskolc	Mechanical Engineering	2		2	

## 8.2. Ivano-Frankivsk Oil and Gas University

Country	University Partner	Field	Teacher	Teacher	Student outgoing	Student Incoming
			Outgoing	Incoming		
Slovakia	Košice Technical University	Mechanical Engineering	2	1	2	1
Hungary	Miskolc University	Mechanical Engineering	1	1	2	1

**Table 8.** Erasmus+ mobility between universities along the Poland-Hungary-Slovakia-Ukraine nexus

Hungarian Universities from the CBC area	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
University of Miskolc	83.416	50.020	101.130	203.350	199.000	320.350
Debrecen University	94.075	143.945	177.570	105.930	205.640	181.115
University of Győr	105.540	61.867	0	43.173	10.700	76.734

**Table 9.** Funding for Hungarian Universities from the CBC area for Erasmus+ KA-107 mobility (2015–2020) in Euros<sup>70</sup>

## Conclusions

The present research targeted to evaluate the potential of closed international partnerships, student and academic mobility undertaken at universities from the CBC area (at the EU's Eastern border) in fostering the formation of cross-border academic communities. The paper was developed following five major working directions, examining the Erasmus+ mobility and commonly developed projects between universities from the EU's Eastern border, firstly assessing the Romania-Republic of Moldova, then

<sup>70</sup> Tempus Közalapítvány, “KA107 nemzetközi kreditmobilitás projektek 2015–2020” [KA107 international credit mobility projects], accessed June 25, 2021, <https://tka.hu/palyazatok/507/palyazati-eredmenyek>.

the Romania-Ukraine, the Poland-Ukraine, Poland-Belarus, and finally the Poland-Hungary-Slovakia-Ukraine nexus. As measurable outputs we took into consideration the existent collaboration agreements, mobility schemes and the frequency of mobility, the number of jointly organized scientific events and developed CBC projects. The brief inquiry into the background of the Erasmus+ programme enabled us to find out the great importance that is rendered to this programme by the European Union, as it is envisaged to enrich lives and open minds not only in the European Community, but also beyond. The amount of funding available for to the EaP countries from the Erasmus+ budget, attests their significance, the Eastern partnerships being considered as a priority region.

During the inquiry, the Romanian-Moldovan and the Romanian-Ukrainian nexus revealed a genuine interest of Romanian universities from the CBC area in developing connections with their counterparts from Moldova and Ukraine. The interest can be quantified by the amount of funding required and granted to Romanian universities from the border region for mobility with Ukraine and Moldova, which was bit more in case of the latter. The Alexandru Ioan Cuza of Iași, a prominent higher education centre from the Eastern CBC area takes pride in having won the biggest amount of grants for Erasmus+ mobility with both Moldova and Ukraine, while the University of Oradea was the second. Furthermore, as regards mobility in the field of International Relations and European Studies, the University of Oradea registered the highest amount of mobility with both universities from the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, while the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași and the Ștefan cel Mare University of Suceava were really active in undertaking mobility at universities from these two countries in the fields of Political Science, History and Humanities, Law, Economics, etc. The presence of academics and students at scientific events organized by the University of Oradea coupled with the undertaken exchange programmes, certify the existence of a cross-border academic community along the Oradea (University of Oradea)-Moldova (Moldova State University, Institute of International Relations of Moldova)-Ukraine (Yuriy Fedkovych National University Chernivtsi, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Uzhhorod National University) nexus. The opening of extensions in the Republic of Moldova by the Dunărea de Jos University of Galați and the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, together with the granted Erasmus+ funding, the undertaken mobility, and the possibility to obtain a Dual Master's are also a proof of the existence of cross-border academic communities between Romanian and Moldovan universities from the CBC area.

The Polish-Ukrainian nexus is weaker in the field of mobility (in International Relations and European<sup>71</sup>) than the previously analysed universities, but is more active as regards the development of joint CBC projects, accordingly we have found a more enhanced cooperation between the Lublin University of Technology and the National Technical University in Lutsk; the Lutsk National Technical University and the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin; the Lesya Ukrainka Volyn National University and the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin; the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, the Warsaw School of Economics and the Rzeszów University; the Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University with Rzeszów University; the Yuriy Fedkovych National University Chernivtsi with Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, these having the potential of turning into successful cross-border academic communities. The Polish-Belarusian nexus also registers scanty results when it comes to academic mobility in the field of International Relations, but has outstanding results in the elaboration of

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<sup>71</sup> But strong in other fields.



cross-border projects. The Yanka Kupala State University of Grodno (Belarus) together with the University of Białystok from Poland, as well as the State School of Higher Education of Pope John Paul II from Poland and the Brest State University of Alexander Pushkin from Belarus represent strongholds as regards the development of joint CBC projects. Undoubtedly, the analysis has revealed that the Poland-Ukraine-Slovakia-Hungary has a great potential in the organization of joint events and the development of common cross-border projects. On the other hand, the existence of ethnic minorities within this ‘quartet’ acts as an important pressuring force, further boosting the need to close international accords, to undertake mobility and to collaborate during the implementation of international projects.

Overall, we would like to conclude that based on the data provided in the grid and the information found on the official sites; we ascertain that indeed international agreements and mobility schemes play a pivotal role in the formation of cross-border academic communities. The existence and successfulness of cross-border academic communities is measured through the produced results, such as the frequency and number of mobility, the number of the jointly elaborated projects, organized events, research published in scientific journals etc. The analysis had shown that universities from the Eastern CBC area are very active in this regard, but haven’t reached their full potential yet. However, we are witnessing a rising trend and we are confident that the Erasmus+ activities and financial assistance put forward under the 2021–2017 MFF, together with the CBC programmes funded by ENI will further contribute to the consolidation of cross-border academic communities at the EU’s Eastern border.

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## EU Studies Curriculum at the EU Borders

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**Abstract.** *EU Studies represent an important field of interest at educational level, plenty of scholarly work dealing with analysing the importance, but at the same time the streamlining of this field of study. Through our methodological approach, we will study the impact of EU Studies on the eastern border of the European Union, our research sample targeting 6 European countries, of which 3 are EU members and 3 are non-EU members, and a total of 15 universities. The main research directions that we will examine in the target universities will refer to the disciplines with European themes that are found in the university study programs, focusing on the nine major fields agreed by the European Commission. The research methodology will focus on the method of content analysis of official, public, digital and non-digital documents, with which we will identify a series of indicators: number of European disciplines, EU Studies Curriculum, Study Programmes, courses addressing Border Studies, and based on them, we shall make a series of interpretations. The main objective of the research, is in the first phase to carry out an evaluation of the European-themed courses that are found at the level of the 15 target universities, so that we can visualize the degree of attention that universities pay, in order to offer solutions, examples of good practice, to develop the implementation of European courses in university study programs.*

**Keywords:** *EU studies curriculum, Eastern Europe, EU border studies*

European Studies<sup>1</sup> represent a very important segment within the process of the European education paying a special attention to this area, mainly through the European educational policies, specific instruments, study programs<sup>2</sup> and different projects that are

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<sup>1</sup> The place of *European Studies* within all social sciences and with predilection in the political science encounters dynamic debates with pros and cons with reference to the interdependence and interaction. From a different perspective, within the same debate, Ben Rosamond envisages the construction of “a tightly disciplined normal science of EU Studies (a kind of European Union Politics), as well as an interdisciplinary perspective, seen through “an openness that extends to more nuanced readings of Political Science/EU studies past as well as an openness to the full range of contemporary work. The entire array of debates concerning the place of *European Studies* bears multiple connotations. One of them refers to the development of the *European Studies* curricula.” Apud. Horga, I. “European and/or EU Studies Curriculum between Internal and External Drivers,” in “Current Problems in the Development of the European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” *Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies (ROJIRES)* 1, no. 1 (2012): 107–108.

<sup>2</sup> Julia González and Robert Wagenaar, *Reference Points for the Design and Delivery of Degrees Programmes in European Studies* (Tuning. Educational Structures in Europe) (Bilbao: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto, 2008), accessed June 21, 2021,

financed by the European Union promoting this educational dimension<sup>3</sup> comprising of all values of the universities<sup>4</sup> concerned to make them stand out but at the same time to particularize them at a European level and identifying the quality of each one of these.

Our research concerns the disciplines within the European Studies curricula taught at the partner universities participating in the ENACTED project: 6 European partner countries – three of them are Member States of the European Union (Romania, Hungary and Poland) and three are located at the external borders of the European Union eligible the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) (Ukraine, Republic of Moldavia and Belarus).

The target group of our research is represented by 15 universities in total from the above-named countries. In particular, there are universities situated at the neighbourhood borders, being not only border universities but also partner universities involved in the project:

1. Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, Romania (UAIC),
2. University of Oradea, Romania (UO),
3. Academy of Economic Studies of Moldova, Republic of Moldova (ASEM),
4. Moldova State University – Republic of Moldova (MSU),
5. State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chișinău, Republic of Moldova (SPIC),
6. Technical University of Moldova, Republic of Moldova (TUM),
7. Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine (YFCNU),
8. Uzhhorod National University, Ukraine (UNU),
9. University Ivan Franko National University of Lviv Country, Ukraine (UYFNUL),
10. Warsaw School of Economics, Poland (WSE),
11. Catholic University of Lublin, Poland (CUL),
12. University of Marie Curie Skłodowska in Lublin, Poland (UMCS)
13. Białystok University, Poland (BU)
14. Rzeszów University, Poland (RU)
15. University of Debrecen, Hungary (UD).

Based on the target group of universities, which are partners within the ENACTED project, as well as the universities of the countries where this project is implemented and customizing those border universities included in the implemented project, we will start our scientific approach by identifying those disciplines within the curricula of each targeted university, analysing the courses that are taught at various faculties and departments and also targeting European themed disciplines, at the level of various fields of study.

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[http://www.unideusto.org/tuningeu/images/stories/Publications/EUROPEAN\\_STUDIES\\_FOR\\_WEBSITE.pdf](http://www.unideusto.org/tuningeu/images/stories/Publications/EUROPEAN_STUDIES_FOR_WEBSITE.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> Angela K. Bourne and Michelle Cini, “Introduction: Defining Boundaries and Identifying Trends in European Union Studies,” in *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, ed. Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 1–18; Ian Manners, “European Studies,” *Journal of Contemporary Studies* 11, no. 1 (2003): 68–82; Andrei Marga, “Higher Education in the Next Century: Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj,” in *European Studies Today*, ed. Dan Grigorescu and Nicolae Păun (Cluj-Napoca: EFES, 1998), 79–101.

<sup>4</sup> Andrei Marga, “Values of the University,” in *UNESCO Forum on Higher Education in the Europe Region: Access, Values, Quality and Competitiveness*, ed. Jan Sadlak et al. (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro, 2009), 152–173.

From the methodology point of view, we used two research methods, namely: content analysis as well as the analysis of public, official and digital documents.

The main document which we used in order to collect our analysis units for the purpose of conducting our research was the curricula of the 15 universities present in our sample and, as secondary documents, we used a series of official public documents found on the official pages of the research units' sample.

From the perspective of the fields of study that can be found in our research, using the European study framework provided by the European Commission through the Jean Monet program, we used the nine existing domains<sup>5</sup>, agreed by the European Commission: EU Legal Studies, EU Political and Administrative Studies, EU Economic Studies, EU Historical Studies<sup>6</sup>, EU Interdisciplinary Studies,<sup>7</sup> EU Intercultural Dialogue Studies, EU Communication and Information Studies, EU and Comparative Regionalism Studies, EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies.

Taking in consideration that the project leader is the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University from Iași (UAIC), we will now mention the second project partner which is also a University from Romania, University of Oradea (UO).

“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași is one of the most important academic centres from the country and from the point of view of the curricula of the courses that have a European theme, following the research undertaken, we have identified the following relevant fields of study that are captured within the various faculties and departments of the university:

EU Political and Administrative Studies,  
EU Legal Studies,

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<sup>5</sup> Ioan Horga and Mariana Buda, “Analytical and Methodological Framework of Research in European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” in “Current Problems in the Development of the European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” *Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies (ROJIRES)* 1, no. 1(2012): 12; Cristina-Maria Dogot, “Traditional European and/or EU Studies Curriculum, in European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” in “Current Problems in the Development of the European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” *Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies (ROJIRES)* 1, no. 1(2012): 21; Mircea Brie, Dorin Dolghi, and Dana Pantea, “The New European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” in “Current Problems in the Development of the European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” *Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies (ROJIRES)* 1, no. 1(2012): 107.

<sup>6</sup> “Contemporary realities are shaped by the evolutions in time of the processes, phenomena, institutions etc. So, from this perspective History is not a limited domain but one which interferes with all possible scopes. Therefore, curricula written for EU Historical Studies programs granted a great importance to studies in history.” Alina Stoica and Barbu Ștefănescu, “European Historical Studies or EU Historical Studies,” in “Current Problems in the Development of the European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” *Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies (ROJIRES)* 1, no. 1 (2012): 53.

<sup>7</sup> “Nowadays, the interdisciplinarity is one the most important aspect of the curricula in every field of study. More interdisciplinary is a curriculum, more adapted is to the actual requirements of European Job Market. Could the EU Interdisciplinary Studies field be the orientation for a Core Curriculum in European Studies? Are the classical and traditional domains, like Law, History, Political Studies or Economical Studies old for an orientation in European Studies? Are those traditional European Studies non actual any more or non-relevant for an interdisciplinary approach?” Mariana Buda, “European and/or EU Interdisciplinary Studies – A New Curriculum,” in “Current Problems in the Development of the European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” *Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies (ROJIRES)* 1, no. 1 (2012): 85.

EU Economic Studies,<sup>8</sup>  
 EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies,  
 EU Historical Studies.

In addition to the 5 major domains identified in the official documents researched, here we have the other areas present as well, but to a much lesser extent. Therefore, at the level of Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, Romania, they covered all nine areas recognized at the European level.

From the perspective of the existing courses regarding the domain of the European Political and Administrative Studies and the EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies, there is a total of 27 courses<sup>9</sup>. But here we can easily discuss other important side fields, where different courses can be found in the field of political sciences and international relations or diplomacy, that are present mainly in the following study programs: Political studies / sciences, Social Sciences, International Relations and European Studies, International Relations and European Studies, / European Studies and the Eastern Neighbourhood of the EU.

Another representative field, European Legal Studies, is present at the level of European Law study programs, with a total of 14 courses. These courses are specific and oriented to this field as well as general courses that reach the European dimension, which are taught at this level of the field of study<sup>10</sup>.

Talking about this level, there are two main directions that can be mentioned in this field, namely Law and European Law. Here we can meet specialized courses, that are customized and adapted to the national, the European and the international requirements and norms.

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<sup>8</sup> “According to the quantitative analysis carried out on EU Economic Studies courses in universities scattered throughout twelve European countries in the academic year 2008/2009, this field holds the fourth position in point of number of courses. Almost 11% of the courses on European Studies belong to the field of EU Economic Studies. The following from the 12 countries assessed by us rank over the average: Lithuania (18.13%), Denmark (18.01%), Belgium (17.3%), Portugal (15.92%), Poland (15.36%), Spain (13.27%), Romania (12.3%), Slovakia (11.20%). Amongst the 12 countries, the following are under the average: France (8.3%), UK (9.40%), Germany (8.12%), Italy (7.41%).” Constantin-Vasile Țoca and Luminița Șoproni, “European/EU Economic Studies Curricula,” in “Current Problems in the Development of the European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” *Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies (ROJIRES)* 1, no. 1 (2012): 67.

<sup>9</sup> Introduction to European Studies, History of European integration and construction, Political Parties and Interest Groups in UE, European construction, Borders, Barriers and Protest Culture, Migration. European policies and practices, European security and the issue of national and ethnic minorities, European political institutions, European security and the issue of national and ethnic minorities, European political institutions, The common policies of the European Union, Introduction in European Studies, European Institutions and Policies, The European system of human rights, The common policies of the European Union.

<sup>10</sup> European Constitutional Law, European fiscality, European Construction and EU Policies, European Administrative Law, European public office Law, The European Convention for Human Rights. ECHR Case Law, Issues of Substantive Law of the EU, European Environmental Law, European Private International Law, European Criminal Law, European Business Law, Philosophy of European Law, Human Rights in the European Union, / European Union in the system of international relations Module 1: The EU as a global actor; Module 2: Enlarged Europe and Neighbourhood Policy, European social Law.



The EU Economic Studies is a field that is represented by 28 specific courses,<sup>11</sup> which can be found at the Economic and International Affairs and EU Studies (interdisciplinary) study programs.

Just as in the previous domains that we have studied, and within these economic study programs, we can also find other general courses that reflect on the topic of the European Union or even the field of law, here referring mainly to the dimension of Economic Law where customized disciplines can be found. Thus, according to the results of our study, it seems that in this field, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași offers, in addition to specific economics courses, a series of mixed courses that refer to the EU field, Law, Security or even the History of the European Union or European Policies, etc.

In conclusion, for the research undertaken at the level of the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași, Romania, the leader of the ENACTED project, we have 5 major fields of study, but, through the courses, we have identified, at the level of various study programs, that there can be found other fields within the specific ones. In addition, to the field of political sciences and international relation, we can mainly find courses that are specific to the EU issues. A particular case here is the EU Economic Studies, and within the two study programs at the University, no less than 18 courses out of a total of 27 EU-themed courses, have as a field of study one of the following subjects: EU History, Multilevel Governance, Minorities, Migration, Human Rights, Democracy, Actors, EU Institutions and Policies, EU External Security Policy, EU Law, the System of International Relations, EU Institutional Architecture, EU Decision-making, Geopolitics and Geostrategy, and last but not least, Diplomacy.

As we can see, the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași, Romania, offers through the study programs, that are carried out at the level of various departments and faculties, a broad picture of the studies of European topics that can be found at different levels, whether we are talking about a bachelor degree, a master degree or a doctorate program.

Going on the west side of the country, we can find another partner of the ENACTED project, which is the University of Oradea, a university situated close to the border with Hungary, an internal border of the European Union. Therefore, because of this aspect we can easily mention other forms of cross-border cooperation in several areas of interest.

Regarding the University of Oradea, we have a diversity of faculties and departments, where we can find, according to our research, a series of courses with different European themes. The faculties that we are talking about are the following: the

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<sup>11</sup> History of Europe and the creation of the EU (XX century), European economic integration, Theories on EU integration and the multi-level governance system in EU, European law, European policies and economic governance in the EU, Democracy in the European Union: actors and processes, Political vision and formation of European identities, European business environment, European Affairs Law, European financial markets, European Political Systems: A Comparative Approach, Common Foreign and Security Policy, Process of Public Policies in the European Countries, Geopolitics and diplomacy in contemporary Europe, Protection of human rights and of national minorities in Europe, European Social Law, European public financial law, Compared administrative systems of EU, European Civil Service Law, Governance and local development: European models and practices, European Union in the international relations system, The European Union: institutional architecture and decision-making process, The History of Europe in the XX century: Nationalism, minorities and integration, Europe after the Cold War: geopolitics and geostrategy, The foreign, security and defence policy of the European Union, European policies and economic governance in the EU, EU diplomacy in a multipolar world.

Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Communication Sciences, the Faculty of Constructions, Cadastre and Architecture, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Geography, Tourism and Sports, Faculty of Energy Engineering and Industrial Management, Faculty of Management and Technological Engineering, Faculty of Letters, Faculty of Economics and last but not least, Faculty of Socio-Human Sciences.

Within the University of Oradea, the most active faculty is the Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Communication Sciences, through the department of International Relations and European Studies, where we can find all the 9 fields of EU Studies. The fact that we just mentioned represents, mainly, the profile of the department and, the specific fields of study that are present within it: International Relations and European Studies, Security Studies, Communication and Public Relations, European Studies, Regional Development and Institutional Communication, EU Security and Evaluation of EU Public Policies and Programs.

Thus, at the level of the Department of International Relations and European Studies, there are no less than 60 courses,<sup>12</sup> which are taught on all of the fields mentioned above. These covers all of the 9 relevant areas of EU Studies.

A particular case, but with a positive aspect, is represented by the technical faculties that have introduced in their study program courses that have European themes for all the students from the various levels of studies, who, will actually become engineers.

In this case, we are talking about the Faculty of Constructions, Cadastre and Architecture and we have identified 3 courses: European Integration, EU Culture and Civilization and respectively, Integration and International Relations.

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<sup>12</sup> International and Regional Governance, Introduction in European Studies: European Idea, European Economy and International Affairs, European Construction, History of European Integration, Border Security and European Integration of the Minorities, Philosophy of European Unification, European Funds Management, European Security and the Issue of National and Ethnic Minorities, European Institutions and Policy Decision Making, International and Communitar Law, Comparative Studies about European Regional Development, Security Perspective on the Eastern Border of the EU, European Institutions and Policies, European Federalism, Intercultural dialogue at the EU border, the Communication of European Policies, European Minorities and Border Identities, Citizenship and European Identity, the History of Minorities in Europe, European Union Law and Border Law, EU Policies. EU Evaluation Systems and Methods, Communication Policies and Strategies in the EU, Political Leadership and organization development in the EU, Regions – actors in the EU. Evaluation of regional and cross-border cooperation programs and policies, Development of EU border regions, European policies and instruments for stimulating research, development and innovation, European Cultural Diplomacy, EU Interpretation and Institutional Communication, European Security Agenda, European Border Security, Schengen Security and Management, EU Justice and Home Affairs Policy, NATO and Euro-Atlantic Security, European Society and Multicultural Diversity, Demographic Vulnerabilities in Contemporary Europe, Research Methods in European Studies and International Relations, EU Foreign and Security Policy, International and European Comparative Politics, European Community Language, The European Union as an International Actor, European Unification Process, Intercultural Communication and European Identity, European Social Law, European Neighborhood Policy, Linguistic Diversity and European Identity, Social Network and the Democratic Deficit on EU, EU Policies. EU evaluation systems and methods, Key actors in EU: citizens, interest groups, political parties, Agenda setting, decision-making and the implementation of European policies and programs, Evaluation of EU sectorial policies, Audit elements and methods of economic evaluation of the European policies and programs, Technical language used in the evaluation of European policies and programs.

On the other hand, at the level of Faculty of Electrical Engineering and Informational Technology, respectively, the Faculty of Energy Engineering and Industrial Management, as well as the Faculty of Managerial and Technological Engineering, there are a series of European-themed courses as well. Here we can mention some examples, such as: European Law in Electric Engineering, European Economic Policies and European Integration.

The Faculty of Economics represents an important faculty that offers, through its study programs, a wide range of courses that aim to cover the field of EU Economic Studies<sup>13</sup>. Besides that, there are multiple courses that have international themes and through the international dimension, they reach out to the field of European Studies, which take place at the level of specializations like: Economics and International Business, Domestic and International Business Administration or European Economic Relations. Here, we can also mention different domains, such as International Economics, International Economic Transaction Management, International Economic Organizations and Institutional Negotiation and Contracting in International Trade.

Another faculty of the University of Oradea, where we can find domains in the field of EU Studies is the Faculty of Socio-Human Sciences. Here we have 3 specializations at the bachelor degree level<sup>14</sup> and 3 specializations at the master degree level,<sup>15</sup> where we can find the following European themed classes: Social Assistance in the European Union, EU economic policies in the field of human resources, Cultural diversity, European identity and the legitimacy of the EU, the process of EU unification and the construction of EU identity and last but not least, Intercultural dialogue and national minorities on the EU's Eastern border.

The Faculty of Geography, Tourism and Sport is also present through the disciplines of Geography of the Continents: Europe, Regional Geography of the Continents: Europe and European Planning and Territorial Policies.

Finally, the Faculty of Letters also has some domains regarding our research and here we can find disciplines like: European Faust-Spirit, European History and Literary Criticism and European Modernism.

As a short conclusion, at the University of Oradea, we have no less than 9 faculties where 4 out of these are technical but own disciplines from the EU Studies field. Here, the most important nucleus that remains and promotes the EU Studies proper curricula, is the Department of International Relations and European Studies, of course, through its programs. The department promotes the study of no less than 60 European areas of the EU Studies. The second area, as an importance of EU Economic Studies, which is mainly found at the Faculty of Economics, we have identified 12 courses with specific European topics, but also, with an international dimension that can include, as subchapters, studies of EU issues in the EU context.

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<sup>13</sup> European Economy, Economic and Geopolitical Diplomacy, International Tourism, European Business environment, European Business Environment, European Economy and Development Policies, European Union in the context of International Economic Relations, Economics of European Integration, International Economic Organizations and Institutions, Regionalism and multilateralism in International Trade, Foreign Trade and Customs Union in the EU, International Expeditions in the EU.

<sup>14</sup> Social Work, Human Resources and Sociology.

<sup>15</sup> Clinical Psychology, Psychological Counseling and Psychotherapy, Educational Psychology, School and Vocational Counseling and Integrated Education in Primary and Preschool Education.

Continuing our methodological approach, we will focus now on the Universities of the Republic of Moldova, where we have, as a target group, a number of 4 universities, all located in the country's capital city, Chişinău. These universities are: Academy of Economic Studies of Moldova (ASEM), Moldova State University (MSU), State Pedagogical University "Ion Creangă" from Chişinău (SPIC), Technical University of Moldova (TUM).

At the level of the Academy of Economic Studies of Moldova (ASEM), we will go with our research in two directions, namely, the bachelor degree level and the master degree level where we identified several study programs from various faculties where we can find a number of courses with a European theme.

Starting from ASEM's bachelor degrees, we have identified several study programs,<sup>16</sup> where we can count 7 courses that are relevant to our research: Economic Integration and EU Economy, Global Economy and European Integration, EU Economy, Economic Integration and EU Economy, European Business Law, EU Constitutional Law, EU Law, European Informational Integration.

However, there are also 2 particularities at the bachelor degree level, in the case of the courses that cover Global Economy and EU Integration and Economic Integration and EU Economy, which are taught at all faculties within ASEM, benefiting from these courses a number of 6234 students for the first option and 4949 students for the second course.

When it comes about the master degree level, we can count 6 study programs,<sup>17</sup> with a number of 9 courses, as it follows: Institutions and Policies of EU, EU Law, Project Management and European Programs, Regional Development and Structural Funds, EU Law for Agreements, EU Law for Agreements, European Economic Policies, EU Economy, EU Business Law, EU Social Law, EU Customs Law.

In the case of ASEM, we also have a higher level of studies, called postgraduate studies, through the following study programs: Professional Training Course, Module 1 and Module 2, where, for the European Cohesion and Spatial Planning course, we have identified a number of 27 students who could benefit from it, and, for the EU Innovative and Entrepreneurial Regions course, we have identified a number of 33 students, who could benefit from it.

At the Moldova State University (MSU), following the analysis of the bachelor degree and master degree level, we obtained the following results regarding the courses that are taught at this university:

- The bachelor's degree level is present through 3 programs of studies,<sup>18</sup> with the following disciplines: European Integration, EU Law, Current Issues of European Union (International Relations programs), Law of EU intuitions present at the program of Law Studies and European Economy and Economic Integration which is taught at the Program of Marketing and Logistic Studies;
- The master's degree level who has in its composition 3 study programs<sup>19</sup> with a total of 9 disciplines, as it follows: EU in International Relations System, Europeanization and EU Enlargement Conditionality, European Social

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<sup>16</sup> Global Economy and International Economic Relations, Information Technologies, Law, Informatics, Cybernetics, Information Technologies, Statistics and Economic Forecasts.

<sup>17</sup> Management of European Projects, International Transactions and Economic Diplomacy, Trade and Customs Activity, Law, Economic Law, Customs Law and Procedures.

<sup>18</sup> International Relations, Law, Marketing and Logistics.

<sup>19</sup> European Studies, Diplomatic Studies.

Strategies, European Multiculturalism in Conditions of Globalization, Theory and Practice of European Studies, Contemporary Transatlantic Relations, EU law and European integration, European Union business law, International and EU environment law.

The State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chişinău, Republic of Moldova (SPIC), represents another important university from the country, which is, of course, a subject to our scientific investigation. Here we could find a great diversity of fields and programs of study, where we can mention: arts, literature, history, geography, social sciences, education and last but not least, computer sciences.

At the level of these fields of study, for the bachelor`s cycle, 14 courses were identified with a theme that is aimed at the European Studies field, these being the following: Practices and Trends in European Contemporary Art, Practices and Trends in European Contemporary Art / Practices in European Art Education, History of European Civilization and Culture, Linguistic Policies in European Context, Romanian literature in European Context, Linguistic Policies in European Context/Linguistic concepts in European politics, The history of European integration / European civilization, The history of European integration, Linguistic Policies in European Context, Law in Social Assistance, European law, Educational Policies in European Context / Community Policies, Educational Policies in European Context, IT Policies in European Context.

When it comes about the master`s level, we could easily say that the same study programs are present but, some other specializations are appearing as well. 10 courses were identified, as it follows: Creative explorations in contemporary painting, Engraving techniques in contemporary graphics, Modern and Contemporary Art Movements and Syntheses, Contemporary Graphic Techniques, Directions and contemporary terms in literary science, European cultural tourism, Culture and civilization in a European context, The historical-cultural aspect of the family and European policies to support the family and the child, Cultural-artistic policies in European and national context, Paradigms of contemporary education, Pedagogical tolerance to the challenges of the contemporary world.

Considering the pedagogical aspect of the university, which is also emerging from the name of the higher education institution, we can identify some humanistic, social, cultural, arts, history, educational and linguistic dimensions where are predominant 25 courses that have a European theme. Besides that, it is important to mention that they have a multitude of fields of study at the level of bachelor`s degree<sup>20</sup> as well as at the master`s degree level<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Fine Arts and Technological Education, Technological Education, Painting, Graphics, Fine Arts, Interior design, Fashion-Design, Romanian Language and Literature, Russian and English Language and Literature, Romanian and English language and literature, History and the English language, History and geography, Civic education and history, English and French language and literature, English and Italian language and literature, English and German language and literature, Social work, Pedagogy in primary education and English language, Pedagogy in primary education and preschool pedagogy, Social pedagogy.

<sup>21</sup> Easel painting, Graphic design, Graphic design, Management in the arts, Artistic design of the interior, Artistic processing of materials, Artistic modeling of the costume, Pedagogy of Fine arts, History and literary theory, Historical heritage and cultural tourism, Didactics of French language and communication strategies, Didactics of English language and communication strategies, Didactics of German language and communication strategies, Social policies to support the family and the child, Education for university career, Pedagogy of emotional culture.

The fourth university that is included in our target group is the Technical University of Moldova (TUM) from the same country, which is a technical university but, following our research undertaken in the direction of EU Curricula Studies, we can conclude that it is one of the least active in introducing European-themes courses. Here, the main cause is, as we could see, the technical profile. This might represent a factor of the curricula not allowing to introduce a larger number of European-oriented disciplines therefore, the technical disciplines being needed to help the student acquire the necessary knowledge to be trained as true specialists in the technical field only.

Thus, at the Technical University of Moldova, we have identified the fewest course that can be found in the area of European topics, as it follows:

- At the level of undergraduate study cycle, we have 4 fields, programs of studies,<sup>22</sup> where there is only one course, this one being divided at the level of the 4 study programs, with a total number of 60 students;
- At the level of master studies, we identified 2 fields of studies,<sup>23</sup> where is present only a single course that has a European theme, called Sustainable Industrial Development in the context of European Integration, a course that has 45 students of the researched faculty.

According to the research that was conducted at the level of the four universities of the Republic of Moldova on EU Curricula Studies, we have a balance in terms of identified courses, somewhere between 15–20 courses where only the Technical University of Moldova has in its portfolio 3 courses that are aimed at this topic.

Another country represented by 3 large universities that are on the border with Romania, as well as with Poland, are:

- Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University,
- Uzhhorod National University,
- Ivan Franko National University of Lviv.

At the level of Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, we have represented, 3 faculties: Faculty of Economics, Faculty of History, Political Science and International Relations and, Faculty of Law. Here we can find the dimension of EU Curriculum Studies.

Of the three faculties mentioned above, the Faculty of Economics is the last represented in the field of European Studies, where, at the level of a single Program of Studies, there can be found 3 courses: International Economic Relations, European Integration European Economic Communications, all of these being present at the bachelor's degree level.

The Faculty of History, Political Science and International Relations is very well represented from the point of view of EU Curriculum Studies, therefore being the faculty that folds very well on the research undertaken.

As study programs, we have identified the following: International Relations, International Information and Political Science, which could be found at all levels: bachelor's degree, master's degree and doctoral school.

At the level of these 3 study programs, we have identified 20 courses with European themes: History of European Integration, Electoral Processes in the EU, Models of Local Self-Government in the EU countries, EU Political Processes and Institutions, Foreign Policy of the Visegrád Countries, EU Sectoral Policies, Ethnopolitical Processes

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<sup>22</sup> Technology and management in the food industry, Marketing and logistics, Business and administration, Accounting.

<sup>23</sup> Business Administration, Real Estate Business Economics.

of Modern Europe, Formation of Modern Media Systems in the EU countries, The Impact of Communication Technologies on the Activities of Political Actors, Foreign policy of the European Countries, United Europe and the Eurasian Project: Geopolitical Dimensions, The EU in the International Relations (all of these being found at the bachelor's degree level), Global and Regional Challenges to the European Integration, Euroscepticism in the EU Political Spectrum, Political Transformation Processes in Central and Eastern Europe, Eastern Europe in the Context of Global and Regional Challenges, EU Foreign Policy, EU Institutions (up to this point, the course are found at the master's degree level), and last but not least, 2 courses at the PhD level: European Integration and Disintegration Processes and Political Transformations in the CEE countries.

The Faculty of Law is present and conducts course in the EU Curriculum Studies at the 2<sup>nd</sup> program of study: Law and International Law.

The courses that have a European theme can be found at 2 levels of study, bachelor's degree – that contains 13 courses; and master's degree – that has 10 courses:

- At the bachelor's degree level, we can find the following 13 courses: History of International Law, Introduction to International Law, International law, Legal Systems of the World, International Private Law, International Commercial Arbitration, The EU Law, Diplomatic and Consular Law, International Protection of Human Rights, Procedure and Peculiarities of Appeal to the European Court of Human Rights, European Grant System, Structure of International Justice, Legal Status of Foreigners in the European Union;
- At the master's degree level, we can find the following courses: European Convention on Human Rights: Methodology of Interpretation and Usage, The Structure of the European Union, Citizenship in the European Law, European Commercial Law, International Investment Law, EU Institutional Structure, Negotiations in the International Law, European Transport Law, European Administrative Law, The EU Procedural Law.

The second Ukrainian university, Uzhhorod National University, is represented in our study by the Faculty of International Economic Relations, being the only faculty from where we have data on our study. As a program of studying, there are: International Economic Relations and International Relations. Here, disciplines regarding the European theme can be found at the bachelor's and master's degree level.

If we analyse the disciplines present at both of these study program levels, we have the following data:

- For the International Economic Relations we have identified the following disciplines: International Economic Relations, World finance, financial policy in Europe, Economic history, EU foreign trade regulation, calculations and payments in foreign trade of European countries, International Economic Relations, Fundamentals of Management and Marketing, International Trade, Foreign Economic Activity of Ukraine, The world economy, International investment activities, Regional Economy and Foreign Economic Relations of Ukraine, Economy of regions, Economy and foreign economic relations of Ukraine, all of these being found at the bachelor's degree level and, at the master's degree level we have the following: International Economic Relations, Trans nationalization of the world economy, World financial environment,

Fundamentals of Corporate Governance, Corporate Finance, Economics of international integration, EU regional policy, International Economic Security;

- For the International Relations program, we have the following disciplines: Country Studies, Religious Factor in International, International organizations, Democratic governance and a culture of peace, International investment policy, International Relations and World Politics, Sociology of International Relations, Foreign Policy Analysis, International Relations Theory, Economic diplomacy, and at the master's degree we can find the following ones: International marketing, Investment policy, information management and marketing, Political globalization, The political system of the European Union, International Economic Law.

And last but not least, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, a university located on the border with Poland, where we can find a larger and more diverse range of study programs that offer course with a European theme, at the level of bachelor's degree level as well as the master's degree level.

At the University level, for the students are offered a series of study programs,<sup>24</sup> namely 10, where we can identify at least 22 courses with a European theme.

In order to have an overview of the European-themed courses, we will present them according to the study programs, further reviewing the courses that we have identified at the undergraduate study level:

- For the International Relations, Public Communications and Regional Studies program we have the following courses: Introduction to the EU Law, European Union in international relations;
- For the International Law we have: Introduction to the EU Law, The EU environmental law, Legal basis for cooperation between Ukraine and the EU, EU transport law;
- For International Economic Relations we have: Introduction to the EU Law, EU transport law;
- For International Relations: European integration processes;
- European Integration: European security, Common EU policy areas;
- Diplomatic Service and International Organizations: European regional organizations, The EU institutional system;
- Foreign Policy and National Security: European security, European regional organizations;
- The European Union: History of European integration processes, Foreign Policy of the EU, Tourism industry in Europe, Geopolitical and geo-economic interests of the EU countries, National minorities in the EU countries;
- European Union Law: EU Corporate Law, EU trade law;
- Regional Studies: EU: structure, functions, mechanisms, Cross-border cooperation in Europe, Foreign Policy of Europe, Common Policies of the EU.

At the master's degree level, we have identified 8 programs of study,<sup>25</sup> which offer a total number of 40 courses, among the most diverse ones, covering a very wide

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<sup>24</sup> International Relations, Public Communications and Regional Studies, International Law, International Economic Relations, European Integration, Diplomatic Service and International Organizations, Foreign Policy and National Security, The European Union, Law of the European Union, European Union Law.



range of fields of the European Studies. According to the study programs, we have the following:

- European Regional and Local Governance: The EU sub-national dimension, Cross-border cooperation in Europe;
- Foreign Policy and National Security: International and European security;
- European Union: The EU Neighbourhood Policy, Institutional framework for Ukraine's interaction with the European Union, EU Policy in the sphere of Tourism (in English);
- Public International Law: Judicial protection in the EU, EU environmental law;
- International Management: European labour market;
- International Finance: EU fiscal policy, EU Regional Policy and Structural Funds;
- International Law and EU Law: EU Internal Market Law (in English), EU Labour Law (in English), / EU tax law (in English);
- Baltic-Black Sea Regional Studies" (in English), The EU and the Baltic-Black Sea Region.

An important European country, member of the European Union, is Poland, which lately has been paying more attention to the field of European Studies in its universities. There are, indeed, a number of authors who study the phenomenon of introduction and development of the European Studies after 1989<sup>26</sup>. Poland is present in our research with 5 universities, as it follows:

- University of Marie Curie Skłodowska in Lublin,
- Białystok University,
- Rzeszów University,
- Warsaw School of Economics,
- Catholic University of Lublin.

University of Marie Curie Skłodowska in Lublin, offers European-themed courses at 3 levels of study: bachelor's, master's and postgraduate studies.

From the point of view of study programs, at the bachelor's degree level we identify 10 study programs,<sup>27</sup> at the master's degree level, 5 study programs,<sup>28</sup> and in the case of the postgraduate study level we identify 7 study programs<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> European Regional and Local Governance, Foreign Policy and National Security, European Union, Public International Law, International Management, International Finance, International Law and EU Law, Baltic-Black Sea Regional Studies (in English).

<sup>26</sup> Zbigniew B. Rudnicki, "The Development of European Studies in Poland after 1989 – From Specialization to Institutionalisation," in *Jean Monnet Conference 2009 "20 Years of Support for European Integration Studies: From the Jean Monnet Action to the Jean Monnet Programme"* (Bruxelles, 2009), 5–15.

<sup>27</sup> Economics, Economics program in international business, Finance accounting program in financing and taxation of firms, Law, Law and administration, Internal security, National Security program: Internal Security Management, Political Science, International Relations and European Studies.

<sup>28</sup> Economics program: International Economics, Law and administration, International Relations, European Studies.

<sup>29</sup> Administracja samorządowa w państwach Unii Europejskiej (studies in Ukrainian) Self-government administration in EU countries, Administracja publiczna (Public Administration), Europejski Certyfikat Bankowca EFCB (European Foundation Certificate in Banking), Historia i wiedza o społeczeństwie (History and Government), Obywatel i przedsiębiorstwo na rynku wewnętrznym Unii Europejskiej (Citizen and company on the EU Internal Market, Prawo gospodarcze i handlowe (Economic and trade law), Zamówienia publiczne (Public Procurement).

At the level of undergraduate studies, for the 10 study programs, offered by the University of Marie Curie Skłodowska, there are 20 European-themed courses<sup>30</sup> that can be found in the educational offer of the above-mentioned university.

For the 5 master's degree programs that offer specific courses with a European theme, we have identified a number of 12 courses<sup>31</sup>.

In the case of the Postgraduate Studies level, where 7 study programs are present, we have identified the most diversified range of courses offered by various departments and faculties within the university, at this level being present a number of 31 courses with a European theme.

Next, we will review the 31 courses<sup>32</sup> offered by the 7 study programs of the university.

Just like the previous university, Białystok University in Poland, present in our course, offers a broad picture of the EU Curriculum Studies dimension, at the level of the 3 main steps of studies: bachelor's, master's and postgraduate studies.

The level of undergraduate studies is very well represented, according to the results of our research, therefore being able to mention 9 study programs,<sup>33</sup> of which, the most active ones are: International Relations, with 11 courses,<sup>34</sup> Eastern Studies, with 11

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<sup>30</sup> Economics of European Integration, Fundamentals of EU Law, Economic System of EU, EU Funds, Taxes in EU, Europejski system praw człowieka, Prawo Unii Europejskiej, Institutions and sources of Law in EU, Internal Security, European Funds and Project Management, Fugetees in Europe, EU Security Policy, European Integration, European Funds and Project Management in Ukrainian, Security and Defense Policy of the EU, Legal and Institutional System of EU, Poland in the EU, Migration Processes in Europe, Social Change in Europe, Culture in Europe.

<sup>31</sup> Competition Policy of EU, Economic Policy of EU, EU Funds, Structural funds and project financing system of EU, International Relations in Europe, Economic Law of European Union, EU Politics, Economic integration in Europe, Art of Europe, Religion in Europe, Modern identity of Europe – philosophical issues.

<sup>32</sup> Structure and organization of self government in chosen EU Member States, European Funds and project management, Administrative law in the European Union, European funds in public administration functioning, Monetary policy in European area, European Union studies, Genesis, development and strategy of the EU Internal Market, Law of the EU Internal Market, Law of the EU Internal Market, EU law and competition policy, Management in the EU Internal Market – introduction, Legal acts acceptance in the EU Internal Market, European Commission proceedings over EU Internal Market law infringement, Citizens and enterprise inclusion in management in the EU Internal Market, Information System of the EU Internal Market, Public procurement in the EU, Consumer protection in the EU, Transposition of the EU Internal Market law, EURES Network and other channels of information about the EU Internal Market, Employee on the EU Internal Market, Support for entrepreneurship in the EU Internal Market, Brand building in the EU Internal Market, Functioning of EU Internal Market for services, EU Internal Digital Market, EU Internal Market and third countries – fundamentals of relations and scope of actions, Citizens and companies from third countries on the EU Internal Market, Harmonization Office of the Internal Market, Challenges of EU Internal Market, Economic law of the European Union, Public procurement in the EU, Public procurement and EU financing.

<sup>33</sup> Management, International economics – international trade, Eco business, international relations, Eastern studies, Polish language studies, Administration, Security and law, European studies.

<sup>34</sup> Historical policy of selected European countries, Christian heritage of Europe, Recent Eastern History of Poland's Neighbors (Russia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine), European integration, foreign policy of the European countries, Civilization elections of Central and Eastern European countries, Societies of Central and Eastern European countries, Central and Eastern Europe in XX and XXI century, Muslims in Europe, Europe's multiculturalism in public discourse.

courses,<sup>35</sup> and the European Studies Program, with 17 courses<sup>36</sup>. In total, at this level of study, we have identified 47 courses. Thus, 39 courses, disciplines with a European Theme, that are concentrated in 3 study programs, and in the case of 6 of them, we have only 8 courses of this kind.

In the case of the master's degree level, at the level of the 8 study programs, there are 26 courses with a European theme. Compared to the bachelor's degree level, where at the level of 3 study programs, most of the European-themed courses were concentrated, at the master's level, the courses are distributed more evenly, highlighting several study programs, as the following:

- Economic and legal studies with 7 courses,<sup>37</sup>
- Administration with 5 courses,<sup>38</sup>
- International Relations with 3 courses,<sup>39</sup>
- History with 3 courses,<sup>40</sup>
- International economics with 2 courses,<sup>41</sup>
- Law with 3 courses,<sup>42</sup>
- Criminology with 1 course.<sup>43</sup>

And last but not least, the Postgraduate Studies, which is present with 9 study programs,<sup>44</sup> between them being present a balance of the courses, where there is a study

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<sup>35</sup> History of Eastern European Art, The history of the EU's eastern borderland culture, Region and tourist routes of the eastern border of the EU, Physical culture of Eastern European countries, An outline of the history of Eastern European art, EU economic cooperation with post-Soviet countries, EU economic cooperation with the countries of the Far East, The history of the EU's eastern borderland culture, Ethnic landscape of the EU's eastern border, Historical policy of Eastern European countries.

<sup>36</sup> Europe's social history, Location, role and place of new EU countries in Europe, National and ethnic minorities in Europe, European integration, EU and its Eastern neighbours, Finance and budget of the EU, Cohesion policy of the EU, Political systems of the European states, Preparation and management of European projects, Protection of human rights in the Council of Europe and the European Union, Europe's social policy, Civil servants in EU, EU lobbying, European business law, Doing Business in the EU Member States, Marketing of European cities and regions, The EU as an actor in international relations.

<sup>37</sup> The EU as an actor in international relations, public procurement in Poland and in the EU, Local and regional finances in the EU, Competition and consumer protection in Poland and in the EU, EU international law on obligations, Entrepreneurship law and company law in the EU, Tax aspects of doing business in the EU.

<sup>38</sup> EU law, Eastern European regimes, Structural funds and project financing system The European Union, The system of legal protection in the European Union.

<sup>39</sup> EU business law, EU Eastern Policy, Contemporary political and economic problems of the Baltic countries.

<sup>40</sup> Ethnic-religious structure of Central and Eastern Europe, Cultural heritage of Central and Eastern Europe, History of art of Central and Eastern Europe.

<sup>41</sup> Cooperation with Eastern European countries, Transformation of Eastern European countries.

<sup>42</sup> European judicial cooperation in civil matters European Union law, EU law, European criminal law.

<sup>43</sup> Protection of the European Union's financial interests.

<sup>44</sup> Customs, tax and logistics services for international trade in goods, Counseling and professional orientation, Managerial, Labor and social security law, public administration, Training of certified translators of English, International Cooperation of Local Government, Public procurement, Operation of the State Forests.

program with 4 courses Operation of the State Forests,<sup>45</sup> the study program Customs, tax and logistics services for international trade in good with 3 courses,<sup>46</sup> the study program Labour and social security law with 2 courses,<sup>47</sup> and at the level of the other 6 programs being at least one course that is European-themed. Therefore, there is a total of 6 courses, each one of them being oriented towards a study program<sup>48</sup>.

At Rzeszów University in Poland, dividing our research into the three levels of study, at the undergraduate level there are 9 study programs,<sup>49</sup> where, there are 33 courses focused on European topics.

At the undergraduate level among the 9 study programs, there are several programs that offer a significant number of courses, as it follows:

- Tourism and recreation (including historical and cultural tourism), where we have 6 courses: Tourist geography of Poland and Europe, History of Mediterranean Europe, Cities of Mediterranean Europe, Religion tourism of Mediterranean Europe, Culture of Mediterranean Europe, Memorial sites in Mediterranean Europe, Culinary tourism of Mediterranean countries;

- Administration with 10 courses: Institutions and sources of European Union law, religious law in Poland and the EU, The history of European political and legal thought, EU customs law, administrative proceedings in EU countries, Institutions of Central European Administrative Law, EU citizenship and national citizenship, Structural programs in the EU, EU consumer law, EU business law;

- Economics with 4 courses: Economics of European integration, Single European Market, Advice on EU fund allocation, EU regional policy;

- Sociology with 4 courses: Structure and tasks of public administration in Poland and the European Union, European funds, Poland in the EU, European integration;

- Internal security with 2 courses: Internal security of the European Union, Nationality problems in Europe.

For the master level, out of the 9 study programs,<sup>50</sup> there are a number of 35 courses, grouped on the present study programs, as it follows:

- History, with 8 courses: Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, Central and Eastern Europe in the modern and 19th century, Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe, Population of Central and Eastern European countries, Arts of Central and Eastern European countries, National and religious relations in Central and Eastern Europe, Economic and social changes in Central and Eastern Europe, Workshop of the historian of Central and Eastern Europe;

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<sup>45</sup> Legislative competences of the European Union bodies, Elements of hunting law (including EU directives on the management of wild game populations, Legal regulations regarding the use of plant protection products in the light of the requirements of EU law, Selected problems of forest law and environmental law of some non-EU countries.

<sup>46</sup> The European Union's trade and customs policy in the context of globalization and economic, EU custom law, Determinants of access to commodity markets of Eastern European countries.

<sup>47</sup> International and EU labor law, Social security and insurance in international and EU law.

<sup>48</sup> The labor market in Poland and the European Union – employment and labor market policies, EU project management, The EU legal and institutional system, Translation in the European Union, Fundamentals of European Union Law, Selected issues of EU law.

<sup>49</sup> Logistics in agricultural and food industry, Museology, Political science, Tourism and recreation (including historical and cultural tourism), Administration, Internal security, Economic, Finance and accounting, Social work, Sociology.

<sup>50</sup> History, Culture studies, Tourism and leisure, Administration, Political science, Economics, Finance and accounting, Law, Historic and cultural tourism.

- Administration with 3 courses: Local government systems in Europe, The system of legal protection in the EU, Administrative and judicial-administrative proceedings in the light of Polish and EU regulations;

- Economics: EU banking system, European integration processes, EU projects and programs;

- Law with 4 courses: EU law, Institutions of Central European Financial Law, Contemporary systems of European countries, EU customs law;

- Historic and cultural tourism with 11 courses, the most ones at this level of study: Contemporary systems of European countries, EU customs law, Maps and guides of the Baltic countries, Industrial tourism of the Baltic countries, Baltic states culture, History of knowing the Baltic countries, Biographical, literary and film tourism of the Baltic countries, History and culture of Sweden and Finland, History and culture of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, History and culture of Denmark;

- Tourism and leisure with 2 courses: Natural and cultural attractions of Europe, Cultural landscape of Poland and Europe.

Moving on to the last level of study, the Postgraduate Study, here we have 2 study programs,<sup>51</sup> with 2 courses: Administrative and court-administrative proceedings in the light of EU regulations and social security in EU and international law.

Another university from Poland, which is part of our research, the Catholic University of Lublin, is also present through the diversity of European-themed courses, which cover EU Curriculum Studies, as it follows:

- At the bachelor degree, we have identified 4 study domains: European Studies in English, Economics, International Relations and Management. The most active study domain here is represented by the European Studies in English program, which has a total of 33 courses<sup>52</sup> aimed at the European theme. Another study program, International Relations, has been identified with 4 courses<sup>53</sup> aimed at the European theme. The other 2 study programs, Economic has a course in Economic cooperation with Easter Europe and another one, called the use of European Union funds in the enterprise.

- At the master's degree, there are present 3 study programs: European Union Law, National Security and Economics with a total of 26 courses. The most active study program here is the European Union Law with 21 courses<sup>54</sup> focused on European issues.

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<sup>51</sup> Public administration, social security with elements of law.

<sup>52</sup> Current Developments in EU Integration, EU Resources on-line, Introduction to EU Law, The History of EU Integration, Ideas for Europe, Freedom of Internal Market, EU External Relations, Decision-making process of the EU, European Criminal Law, EU Eastern Policy, Legal and institutional conditions for EU citizenship, Status of the Third Country Nationals in the EU, European Immigration and Asylum Policy, EU Security Policy, European cultural policy, Juridical cooperation in civil matters in the EU, Schengen Cooperation, European Standards of freedom of religion, EU Regional Policy, Introduction to financial law of EU member states, EU customs law, EU Integrated Borders Management, Mutual recognition of qualifications in the EU, EU Agencies, EU Economic Institutions, Work for the EU institutions and entities, Application of EU law by national courts, Position of Poland in Europe, EU Funds, Common Agricultural and Fisheries Policy, Enlargement Policy of the EU, Social rights in Europe, Institutional Law in the European Union.

<sup>53</sup> European Integration, Internal security of US and EU, Eastern Europe Security, Economic relations EU-ISA.

<sup>54</sup> European Union Law, European Union Substantive Law, Europe Today, European Business law, European Union as a political project, Social Policy in the European Union, The Protection of Human Rights in Europe, Budget and currency EU Law, European Private Law, European migration law, Legal aspects of cross-border cooperation in the EU, Monitoring of the exercise of

The National Security study program has 4 courses: European Union and Euro Atlantic security, Disintegration processes in Europe, The European Union as a global actor, European Integration and Security. And last but not least, the Economics study program has just one course focused on the European theme: European Currency Union.

- At the Postgraduate Study level, we have just one study program: Management and Finance in Public Administration. Here we have identified 2 courses: Role of public administration in European funds management, Acquisition of European funds.

The last university in our research, Warsaw School of Economics in Poland, has in its portfolio a series of European-themed courses, which are part of the EU Curriculum Studies, these being represented at the undergraduate and master's level.

From the study program point of view, we have the following:

- The bachelor degree level has identified 6 study programs: Global Business, Finance and Governance, International Economics, European economic integration against global challenges, International Business Management, Global Development and Governance;

- The master degree level has identified 6 programs as well: Global Business, Finance and Governance, European Integration, Global Development and Governance, International Economics, Management.

Particularizing for the level of undergraduate study, here we have identified 14 courses with a European theme, in the 6 specializations that we have identified. The most active study programs they propose are: Global Business, Finance and Governance and International Economics with a total of 10 courses,<sup>55</sup> these three offering common courses to their students. Taxes in the EU Countries, Corporate and Governmental Lobbying in the EU, Tax policy of the EU, Polish firms on the UE Internal Market (in Polish and English), Internal Market of the EU, EU Budget. In addition to the International Economics study program, there are 3 additional taught courses<sup>56</sup>.

In the case of the master's degree level, in the 6 study programs, we have identified 20 courses, the main study program being the one who offers the most European themed courses: International Economics, with a total of 10 taught courses<sup>57</sup>. When it comes about Global Business, Finance and Governance and Management, there are some common courses as well.

fundamental rights in the EU, European Union as a political project, European Union Substantive law, The Law on Religion in Member States in the EU, The European Structural Funds, European competition law, Public Procurement Law in selected European countries, European Criminal Law, European intellectual property Law, EU tax law.

<sup>55</sup> European Integration in Polish and English, Poland in the European Union (e-learning), Poland in the European Union, Polen in der Europäischen Union.

<sup>56</sup> European economy (in Polish and English), Marketing Law in the European Union, Fiscal policy of the EU.

<sup>57</sup> Structural funds of the European Union, Globalization and regionalization in international relations, Competitiveness of Regions (in Polish and English, Innovation in Regional and Local Economy, Lobbying and interest groups in the European Union, Interest representation and public policy in the European Union, Economic relations of the European Union with under-developed countries, Competition and development strategies of Polish firms in the EU market, World Trade Organization and the European Union, European Union as a subject of international relations, External relations of the European Union, Competitiveness of Regions, Political challenge for the European integration process, Brexit and the European integration, Labor market in Poland and in the European Union.

At the University of Debrecen there are 14 Faculties of which 11 have courses directly related to Europe or the European Union in their contents. The European Union courses have two types. On the one hand there are general issues about European Union (history, structure, policies), and on the other hand there are major-specific fields addressed focusing on the profiles of the faculties. The courses which have European relevancies are always specific, focusing on the specific training. Thus, they cover a wide range of subject areas including geography, history, linguistics, ethnography, literature or philosophy. In this sense the European perspective provides a framework for the understanding of the past, present and future.

There are only three Faculties at the University of Debrecen where no courses are offered specifically focusing on European aspects: the Faculty of Music, Faculty of Pharmacy and Faculty of Dentistry. Looking at the number of courses, the Faculty of Humanities have the highest number of courses (51<sup>58</sup>) followed by the Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences and Environmental Management (31<sup>59</sup>) on the second and the Faculty of Law (29<sup>60</sup>) on the third place. These three faculties are responsible for

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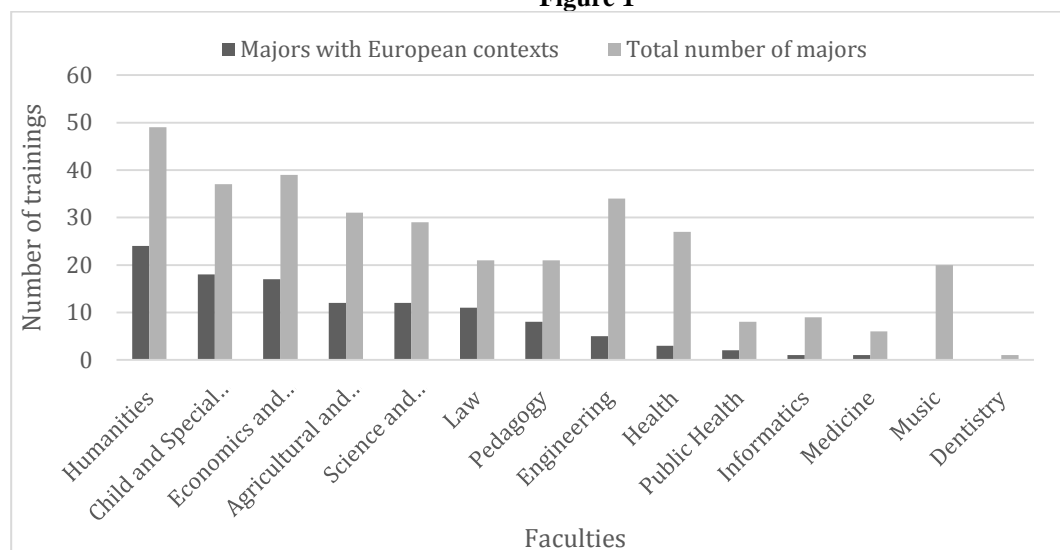
<sup>58</sup> The social and cultural history of the concept of Europe, Central and Eastern European History 1. (Middle and Early Modern Age), Central and Eastern European History 2nd (19th and 20th Centuries), Socio-geography of the states of Central and Eastern Europe, Ethnicity, national, linguistic identities in Central Europe, The technical language of the EU, Hungarian literature and culture in a European context, Religions and churches in Europe, Multilingualism in Europe, Dutch language literature in a European context, History of Germany in European context, European society and culture in the European context, European studies, Adult education in the European Union, Shapes of the novel in European literature, Old Hungarian literature and Europe, The beginnings of education and European classics, European Studies – Euroharmonisation, European integration in the XX–XXI. Century, Economic integration theories (European integration and the EU institutional system), Democracy and the market in Eastern Europe, The written culture of Mediterranean Europe I, Arts in Mediterranean Europe I, The written culture of Mediterranean Europe II, Arts in Mediterranean Europe II, Basics of the European Union, Interculturality 4: German-Jewish culture in a Central European context, History of European and Hungarian ethnography, European ethnology, Application and tendering systems in Hungarian and European museums, Russian culture in a European context, European social policies I and II, Environmental problems, European development strategies, alternative movements, European social policies, European Sociological Research in Youth I and II, International Relations in Early Modern and Modern Europe, European educational integration processes.

<sup>59</sup> Knowledge of economics I. (macro- and microeconomics, EU knowledge, agricultural economics) – 4 courses in different programs, EU knowledge in horticulture, Legal and EU knowledge, EU crop production, Protected natural areas of Hungary and Europe, Knowledge of the European Union I and II, Regional peculiarities of human resources in the EU and Hungary, Spatial development and environmental management in the European Union, Quality assurance in the EU, EU agricultural policy, Economic and political geography of Europe, The law of the European Union and the harmonization of Hungarian law, Regional peculiarities of human resources in the EU and Hungary, The European and Hungarian regional development and local government institutional systems, Euroregional and interregional cooperation I and II, Quality assurance in the EU, Spatial development and environmental management in the European Union I and II.

<sup>60</sup> Harmonisation of laws in the European Union, EU Competition Law, European Consumer Protection Law, European Criminal Law, International and European Intellectual Property Law, European and International Contract Law, European Company Law, European Labour and Social Law, Case-law of the European Court of Justice, Insurance law in the European Union, European law aspects of our civil procedure law, European law aspects of labor law and social law, European law aspects of criminal law and criminal procedure, Consumer law is a European law aspect, The legal system of the European Union, Proceedings of the European Court of Justice, Preparation for

providing approximately half (51.8%) of the courses in the field of Europe related topics. Altogether 212 Europe or European Union courses are offered for the students in the 11 Faculties available on the bachelor, master as well as the specialised trainings and the further education in higher education majors.

**Figure 1**



**Source:** own work, based on data calculated on the basis of the curricula of the Faculties at the University of Debrecen for the academic year 2019–2020

Before we will list the representative faculties that offer a diverse range of European-themed courses, as follows: Faculty of Child and Special Needs Education 23 courses,<sup>61</sup> Faculty of Economics and Business 22 courses,<sup>62</sup> Faculty of Science and Technology 21 courses.<sup>63</sup>

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the final exam: The legal system of the European Union, Preparation for the final exam: Proceedings of the European Courts, Introduction to European Union law, European law, European law final exam preparation, Non-litigation and European civil proceedings, Introduction to modern European private law, Preparation for the final exam: European and international environmental law, European Union health law, Data protection, equal opportunities, basic knowledge of domestic and European law.

<sup>61</sup> The social dimension of the European Union, Europe studies, Roma in film. Documentaries on Hungarian, European and Carpathian Basin Gypsies (film analysis), Introduction to the situation of Roma in Europe, The legal situation of minorities in Europe and Hungary, European educational integration processes (European studies) 11 courses, Gerontology in national and European strategies, Game culture and European leisure cultures, EU social policy.

<sup>62</sup> Community policies of the European Union, Areas with special legal status in the EU and Europe, EU knowledge (8 courses at different study programs), Knowledge of the European Union, Company law in the European Union, The EU internal market, Europe studies, European rural policy, local governments in development, EU and regional policy, EU and world economy, EU agricultural and environmental policy, EU and world economy, EU and control.

<sup>63</sup> Knowledge of the European Union 8 courses, The natural geography of Europe 2 courses, The social geography of Europe 2 courses, Theory and practice of European and Hungarian regional development, Social geography of continents outside Europe, Landscape protection in Europe,

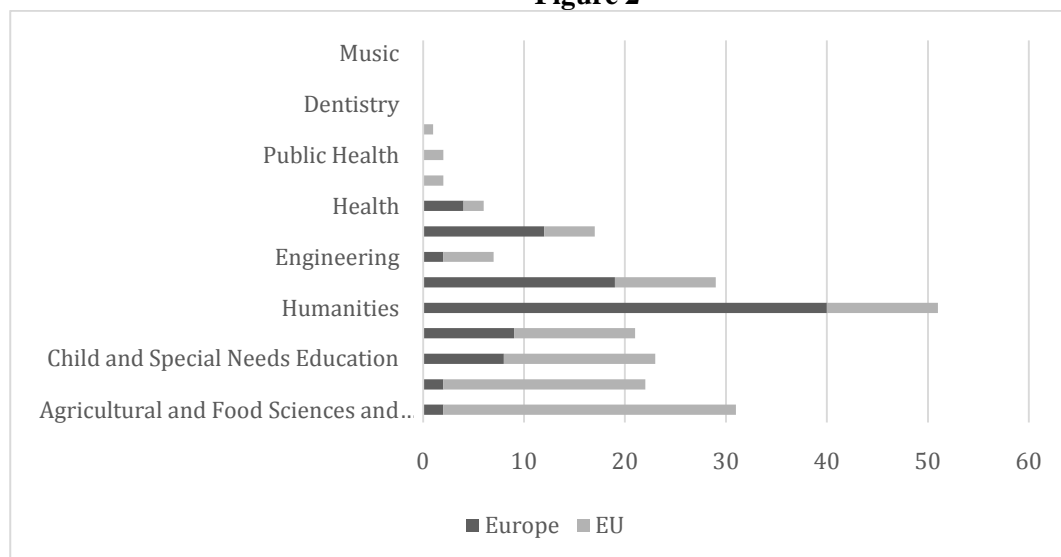


Courses related to Europe or the European Union can be found in the curricula of 114 majors or trainings where the Faculty of Humanities (24), the Faculty of Child and Special Needs Education (18) and the Faculty of Economics and Business (17) are responsible for hosting approximately half (51.8%) of the trainings. Approximately one third of the majors at the University of Debrecen have curricula with European or European Union contents (**Figure 1**).

The highest representation can be observed in the case of the Faculty of Law where 11 trainings out of the current 21 trainings offer courses focusing on Europe or the European Union. The low representation of the trainings providing courses in the above subject area in the Faculty of Engineering (approx. 15%) is surprising and definitely needs to be improved – regarding the European relevance of the trainings offered by the faculty.

There are great differences between the faculties and the trainings with regard to the focus of the courses related to Europe or the European Union. There are Faculties where the courses dealing with European aspects include only areas which are explicitly related to the European Union, these are the Faculty of Medicine, Faculty of Public Health and the Faculty of Informatics. It can be explained by the fact that the total number of EU studies related courses is relatively low in these three Faculties. It is also an interesting to mention here that these Faculties belong to the group of Faculties with relatively (and absolutely) the lowest number of trainings. Thus, it may be concluded in this respect that those faculties where the number of the trainings offering European or EU curricula courses is the lowest focus only on the European Union aspect, that is it is a question of marketing and management issues. (**Figure 2**)

**Figure 2**



*Source: own work, based on data calculated on the basis of the curricula of the Faculties at the University of Debrecen for the academic year 2019–2020*

The number of courses explicitly dealing with the European Union exceeds the number of courses focusing on certain aspects of Europe as a continent in the case of five

faculties: Faculty of Economics and Business, Faculty of Child and Special Needs Education, Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences and Environmental Management, Faculty of Engineering and Faculty of Science and Technology. The trainings in these Faculties – and the faculties in general – can be considered as progressive and practical – that is accessing comprehensive knowledge about the operation of the European Union and the systematic acquaintance with the EU policies in these Faculties requires its comprehensive study.

The number of courses focusing on certain aspects of Europe as a continent exceeds the number of courses explicitly dealing with the European Union in the case of three faculties: Faculty of Law, Faculty of Humanities and Faculty of Health. In the case of the Faculty of Health there is a low number of courses in both areas in general, while in the other two Faculties there is a more specific explanation. Both the Faculty of Humanities and the Faculty of Law offer trainings which rely on the historical background and have strong links in a European context.

Besides the above, looking at the trainings belonging to the undivided teacher training in the pedagogical majors, there is also a relatively high number of courses related to Europe and less specifically to the European Union.

Based on the above, it may be concluded that the courses related to Europe mostly focus on a specific area in compliance with the given training of the faculties. Nevertheless, there is a general tendency of providing courses entitled EU studies in every Faculty. This allows for creating a geographical setting for all trainings allowing the students to have access basic as well as specific information about the European Union. For instance, the *History and structure of the European Union* is a compulsory course for all bachelor students in the Faculty of Science and Technology as part of the comprehensive curriculum. The Faculty of Humanities provides *EU technical language* courses primarily for the students majoring in languages. The EU related courses in the Faculty of Law ensure knowledge in the various fields of legislation, such as competition, consumer protection, labour, social and criminal law.

The number of students at the University of Debrecen was 25 964 in the academic year 2019/2020 with the highest number of students studying in the Faculty of Economics and Business (4 075) and Faculty of Medicine (3 434), Faculty of Engineering (2 734), Faculty of Humanities (2 592) and Faculty of Science and Technology (2 407). These five Faculties constituted more than 60% of the total number of students at the university of Debrecen (not calculating with 1 128 PhD students).

## Conclusions

After quantifying all the data of our research, undertaken at the level of 15 universities, on the eastern border of the European Union, 8 of them being located in EU countries and 7 of them being universities in Eastern Partnership countries, we obtained the results of our study centralized in **Table 1**.

University	No of disciplines	EU Studies Curriculum	Field/ Programme of studies
Universitatea Alexandru Ioan Cuza Iași – RO	69	9	20
Universitatea din Oradea – RO	90	9	11
Academy of Economic Studies of Moldova – MLD	17	4	9
Moldova State University – MLD	15	4	6
Technical University of Moldova – MLD	3	2	6

State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chişinău – MLD	25	5	63
Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University – Ukraine	46	5	6
Uzhhorod National University – Ukraine	37	5	2
Ivan Franko National University of Lviv – Ukraine	38	6	18
University of Marie Curie Skłodowska in Lublin – Poland	63	7	22
Białystok University – Poland	89	9	26
Rzeszów University – Poland	70	9	20
Catholic University of Lublin – Poland	61	6	8
Warsaw School of Economics – Poland	34	6	11
University of Debrecen – Hungary	215	9	114

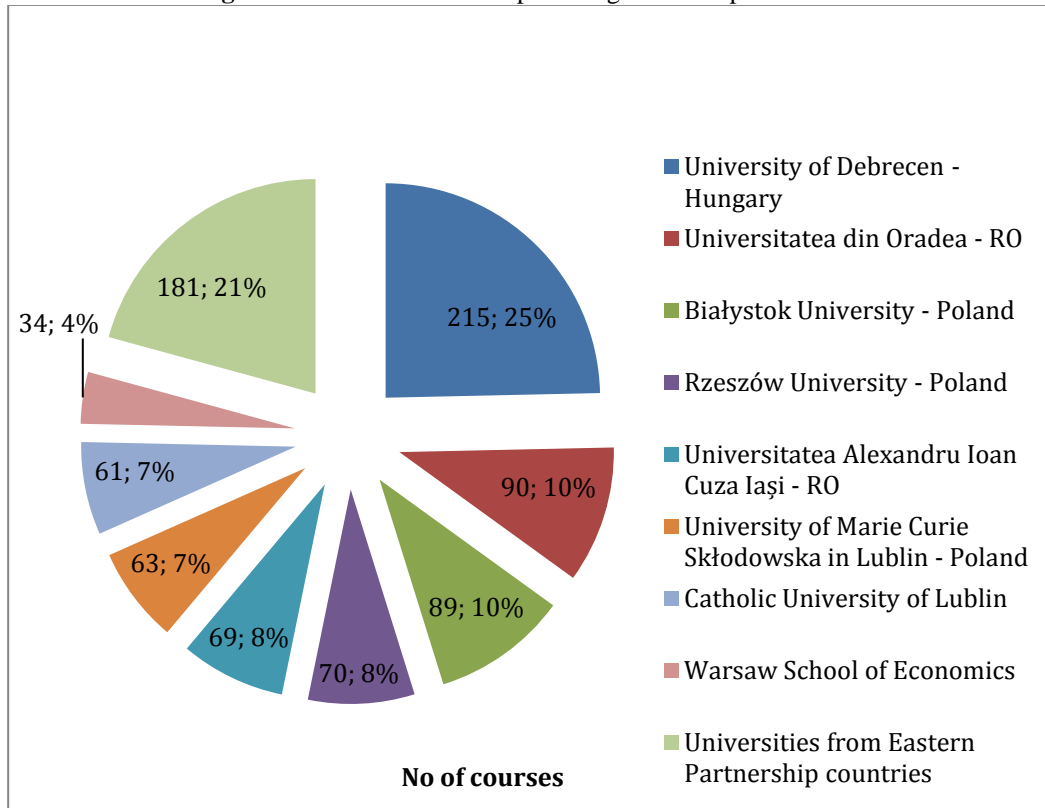
According to the results of our research, we identified a total of 872 courses with a European theme at the level of 15 researched universities, with an average of 58 courses per university.

Below the average of 58 courses are all 8 universities, which are part of the Eastern Partnership countries, 4 universities from the Republic of Moldova and 3 universities from Ukraine, plus Warsaw School of Economics in Poland with 34 courses. Here we can highlight the economic field of this university which is oriented towards the economic, financial field.

The university who stood out, occupying the first place according to the number of courses offered to the students, was the University of Debrecen, from Hungary, with a total of 215 courses, namely 24.65% of the total identified courses that are taught at this university. On the second place, from the point of view of this ranking is the University of Oradea, from Romania, with a total of 90 courses, which represent 10.3% of the total courses identified. Last but not least, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> place we have the Białystok University from Poland, with a total of 89 courses taught, representing 10.20% of the total courses that are present at this university.

What is interesting is that 3 universities located on the first 3 positions in terms of European-themed courses taught, are universities in the European Union member states: Hungary, Romania and Poland. Also, if we are summing the percentages of these three, we get 45.15% representing the total of the courses taught at these universities. At the same time, these 3 cover all 9 areas within the EU Curriculum Studies.

According to **Figure 3**. Number of courses/percentages of European-themed courses, the 8 universities, from the 3 members states of the European Union – Poland, Hungary and Romania, they are summing a total of 691 of European-themed courses out of a total of 872 identified courses in the 15 universities that we researched. These figures represent a percentage of 79% of the courses that are taught at the universities that are located within the European Union member states. The remaining percentage of 21% is represented by the 181 courses that are taught at the universities within the Eastern Partnership.

**Figure 3.** Number of courses/percentages of European-themed courses

Following the conclusions, we will try to customize now, each country, at the level of each university included in our research.

We will start with the Universities of Republic of Moldova: Academy of Economic Studies of Moldova, Republic of Moldova (ASEM), Moldova State University – Republic of Moldova (MSU), State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chișinău, Republic of Moldova (SPIC), Technical University of Moldova, Republic of Moldova (TUM), universities that are part of an Eastern Partnership member country.

According to the results of our research, for the 4 universities in the Republic of Moldova, we have identified the European dimension of the courses in various study programs, with a minimum of 3 courses found at the Technical University of Moldova and a maximum of 25 courses at the State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chișinău, taking an average of 17.5 courses at the level of higher education institutions that we studied.

According to the average of courses calculated by us, at the level of our research, 58 courses, the universities of the Republic of Moldova are below this average, with 17.5 courses. With 25 courses, the State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chișinău can be located on the first place from this point of view that we just mentioned.

At State Pedagogical University “Ion Creangă” from Chișinău, we have the most active presence of EU Curriculum Studies, where we identified a number of 25 courses, 63 programs of studies and a number of over 300 students. The peculiarity of the large number of study programs, which demonstrates the inclusive diversity of specializations, has highlighted small groups of students for each program, between 4–10 students.

At ASEM over 3300 students participate in European-themed courses, and a particular case is the Global Economy and European Integration course which is taught at the level of all faculties where 6234 students are benefiting from it, respectively, the Economic Integration and EU Economy course, where we could count 4949 present students. In this case, here we could find the largest number of students that are benefiting from the EU Curriculum Studies. Moving on to a larger researched dimension, that of the numbers of European-themed courses, ASEM is an institution situated on the second place, counting 17 courses.

Moldova State University is a university that can be tagged as an average in the case of our research, having a number of 17 courses, the average being 17.5 courses at the level of the 4 universities. A total of 450 students are benefiting from them. In the case of the Technical University of Moldova, it is much below this average that we just mentioned, more precisely 3 courses are present in the different study programs, and as a number of students, we only have a total of 105.

Following the results of the research obtained from Ukraine, having a total of 3 universities as a subject to our investigation, we could identify a number of 121 courses which correspond to 6 domains of the European Curriculum Studies and only 26 study domains. The universities from Ukraine that were under our investigation, have an average of 30.3 courses, the best situated in terms of place out of the 3 universities from Ukraine. The 121 courses out of the 872, represent a percentage of 13.87%. The best represented university, among the 3 that can be found in our sample, is Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University of Ukraine with a total of 46 courses addressing the European issues.

Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University of Ukraine, in the case of EU Curriculum Studies, has 3 faculties and 6 study domains, which offers the students, 46 courses with specific European topics, oriented towards economic studies, law, history, political science and international relations.

There is a balance between the Faculty of History, Political Science and International Relations, this meaning 20 courses at the level of 3 fields of study, and the Faculty of Law, with 23 courses at the level of 2 fields of study. In the case of the third faculty, the Faculty of Economics, it is the least represented, with only 3 courses being present.

The Uzhhorod National University, is present in our study through a faculty, that only has 2 study programs – International Economics Relations and International Relations; where 37 subjects are taught in the direction of the European Curriculum Studies.

Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, from Ukraine, is well represented when it comes about the European themed study programs, having 38 courses present at the level of 18 study programs, representing a diversity in this direction, therefore, incorporating 5 domains of the EU Curriculum Studies.

Next, we will move on to the other 3 countries, respectively, 8 universities from Romania, Hungary and Poland, that are part of our target group.

We will start with Romania, where we studied 2 universities: the University of Oradea, respectively the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași. Both of these universities have 159 courses out of a total of 872 that we identified, therefore representing 18.23% of the total courses, each university being above the average. University of Oradea incorporates a total of 90 courses, being on the 2<sup>nd</sup> place after the University of Debrecen from Hungary.

The University of Oradea is the best represented university from Romania that we included in the research, with a total of 90 courses out of a total of 9 faculties, where we identified courses with European themes. In the case of the History, International Relations, Political Science and Communication Sciences faculty, we could find, no less than 60 courses, which represent two thirds of the total number of courses taught. And within the above-mentioned faculty most of the courses are found within the Department of International Relations and European Studies, at the level of the 3 bachelor's degree programs and 4 master's degree study programs.

What is interesting and gratifying is the fact that, there are 4 faculties with a technical profile: Engineering and construction, where we can find courses with a European theme, which shows the interest of these fields for the EU Curriculum Studies.

Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași is present with 69 courses, which means that it is above the average of the 52 courses of our research per university. These courses can be found at the level of 20 study programs.

The most important domains where we can find European themed courses are:

- EU Political and Administrative Studies and EU International Relations and Diplomacy Studies, with 27 courses;
- EU Legal Studies with 14 courses;<sup>64</sup>
- EU Economic Studies with 26 courses.

Poland, a representative country of Europe in many ways, through the 5 universities that were subjects to our research, provides a clear picture of the orientation of these higher education institutions that are teaching European-themed courses in various study programs.

The 5 universities in Poland, within our research, have a total of 317 courses, 4 of these universities being above the average of 58 European-themed courses. The only university that is not fulfilling this indicator is Warsaw School of Economics, because here are taught only 34 courses.

At the level of Poland, the 317 courses taught, represent 36.35% of the total courses identified at the level of the 15 target universities in our study.

The University of Marie Curie Skłodowska in Lublin, at the level of universities from Poland, ranks as the 3<sup>rd</sup> in terms of number of courses, incorporating 7 areas of EU Curriculum Studies, which are taught in the case of 22 study programs.

What is interesting in this case compared to the other universities that we have studied, here, the distribution has a completely different connotation, namely, most European-themed courses can be found at the Postgraduate level, counting 31 courses in 7

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<sup>64</sup> “The European Studies field cannot be conceived without the EU Legal Studies component. Right from the beginning of the analysis I presented as relevant the high share (30,05%) of the EU Legal Studies in the curricula of European studies developed at the level of the 12 European states that made the object of the research; According to a quantitative analysis (see the annex) carried out on European Study courses taught in universities from within twelve European countries in the academic year 2008/2009, this field holds the first position with 30.05 % of the courses total. Italy (54%) and Belgium (32%) rank above the average of the twelve assessed countries. Below the average we have found: Denmark (15.52%), Lithuania (17.67%), Portugal (17.71%), Poland (17.83%), Spain (20.86%), France (25.49%), Romania (26.96%), UK (27.78%), Slovakia (28.21%) and Germany (29.71%).” Adrian-Claudiu Popoviciu, “European/EU Legal Studies,” in “Current Problems in the Development of the European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” *Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies (ROJIRES)* 1, no. 1 (2012): 35.

study programs, the bachelor's degree having 20 courses in 10 study programs and the master's degree having 12 courses in 5 study programs.

Białystok University in Poland is the main university in Poland, that can be found under our investigation, which offers the most courses, a total of 89 courses, covering all 9 areas of EU Curriculum Studies, which can be found in the 26 present study programs.

Compared to the University of Marie Curie Skłodowska in Lublin, the distribution of courses at the three levels of study, at Białystok University, count more than 50% of the courses, 47, more precisely. These are taught at the undergraduate level, and, as a particularity, 39 courses can be found at the level of the following study programs: Eastern Studies, International Relations, European Studies, and in the case of 6 of them, we have only 8 courses of this kind.

Of the remaining 42 courses, the distribution is as it follows:

- There are 9 master's degree study programs, counting 26 courses;
- And there are 9 postgraduate study programs, counting 16 courses.

Rzeszów University in Poland, with its 70 courses, is an important Polish university, which in our study, ranks as the 2<sup>nd</sup> one in Poland, being also above the average of 58 courses that we have in our research. The courses taught at this university cover all 9 areas of EU Curriculum Studies, which can be found in 20 study programs.

The ratio of the 70 courses to the three levels of study shows us a balance for the bachelor level, where we have 33 courses in 9 study programs. On the other hand, in the case of master's degree program, we have 35 courses that are also found in 9 study programs. In the case of Postgraduate studies, there are only 2 courses in 2 study programs.

Catholic University of Lublin is a well-represented university in terms of EU Curriculum Studies, in Poland. As a university on the eastern border of the EU, it has a total of 61 courses that can be found in the case of 3 levels of study, these being above average. The European Studies in English study program, has 31 courses that stand out in the case of the bachelor's degree level. At the master's degree level, the European Union Law study program, stand out with a total of 21 courses based on European topics, which means that, at the level of this university, the two study programs gather a total of 52 courses out of a total of 61. In percentages, this counts as 85% of the total courses with European subjects that are taught and offered by the two study programs, one of these being in English.

Warsaw School of Economics, with 34 identified courses, is the university that ranks last among the Polish universities, in terms of number of courses. Besides that, it is the only Polish university that is below the average of the 58 courses in our research.

The bachelor's degree level has 6 study programs that counts 14 courses, the most active study programs, that offer courses with a European theme being: Global Business, Finance and Governance; International Economics. All these programs offer common courses for their students.

At the master's degree level we have identified 5 study programs with 20 courses, 50% of these being at the level of International Economics study program.

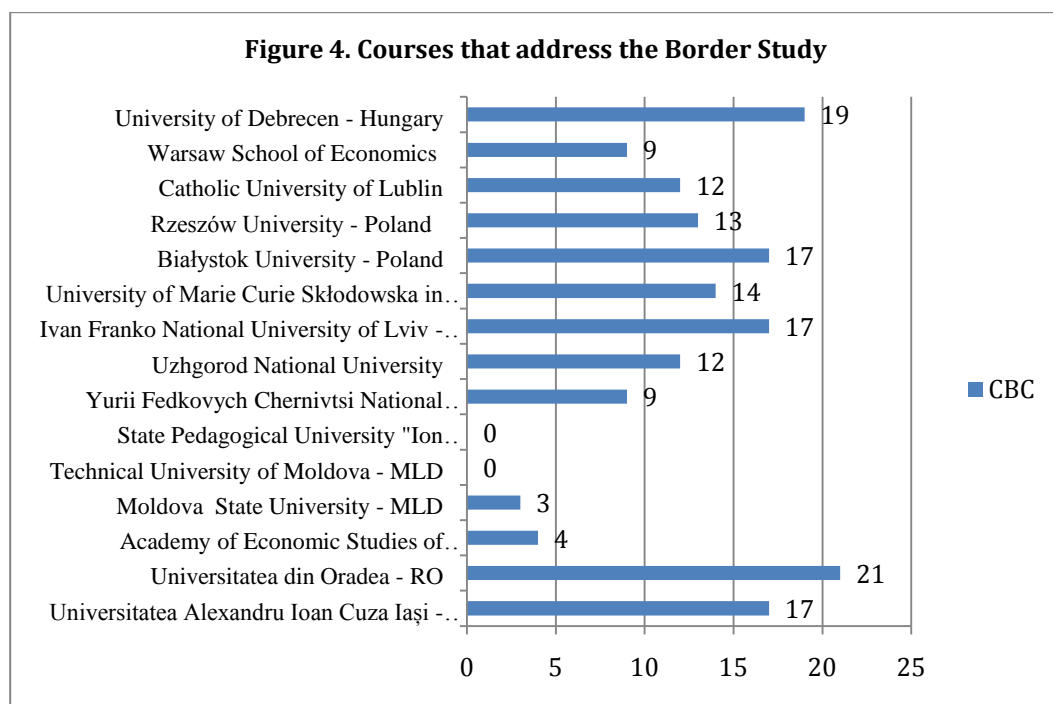
In our analysis we took into account another indicator, namely, those courses that are directly related to the border. Here we could identify courses in the following fields: Cross-Border Cooperation, European Cross-Border Funds, Migration, Regional

Development, Regionalism, Border Studies, European Policies<sup>65</sup>: Foreign Security Policy, Regional Policy, etc.

At the University of Debrecen, a relatively high presence of courses focusing on Europe or on the European Union can be found with the involvement of almost 80% of the faculties and one-third of the trainings. In most cases the courses deal with issues related to the history, structure, and policies of the European Union providing comprehensive knowledge for the university students on all levels of training.

Following the research, we have identified a total of 167 courses, which address the topic of border studies **Figure 4**, this representing the fact that these courses occupy a percentage of 19% of the total of 872 courses that have a European theme at its base. These numbers apply to the 15 universities in the 5 countries that are located on the eastern border of the European Union.

The average number of the courses with the theme of the borders studies is the following: 9 courses/university. The university with the most courses, according to the chart, on this topic of borders, is the University of Oradea with 21 courses, followed in the ranking by the University of Debrecen with 19 courses, and on the third place are the universities “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” from Iași, Romania, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine, and Białystok University, Poland, each with a number of 17 courses.



*Source:* Own elaboration

According to the average of 9 courses on border studies per university, there are 2 universities, the Warsaw School of Economic from Poland and Yuriy Fedkovych

<sup>65</sup> Eric Remacle, “Teaching European Politics, Politics and Polity in the New Century. Lessons from the Experience of Institute d’Etudes Européenes, Université Libre de Bruxelles,” *Political Sciences and EU Related Studies*, ed. Kazimierz Sobokta (Łódź: European Institute, 2000), 130–140.



Chernivtsi National University from Ukraine, which have 9 courses. All the universities from the Republic of Moldova are below this average.

Out of the total of 166 courses with a theme oriented towards the study of the border, no less than 122 are found at the 8 universities in Romania, Hungary and Poland, which represent a percentage of 73% out of the total. On the opposite pole, the 7 universities from Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova, offers only 45 of such courses, representing a percentage of 27% of the total of these types of courses.

As we can see, the EU Curriculum Studies dimension is present at the European level, both in the universities within the European Union member states, as well as in the Eastern Partnership countries. Here it is paid a little bit more attention but, in the end, there have been and will be cleavages, controversies and convergence in the domain of European Studies.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Wolfgang Wessels, "Cleavages, Controversies and Convergence in European Union Studies," in *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, ed. Michelle Cini & Angela K. Bourne (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 233–246.

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## European Studies in Ukraine: Major Trends and Patterns

*Roman KALYTCHAK\**

**Abstract.** *Ukrainian scholarship on the European Union has undergone substantial changes over the last decades and requires a thorough examination of its different aspects. Based on the analysis of dissertation production on the EU-related topics, the purpose of this study is to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how the field of European studies advanced in Ukraine, expanded in response to domestic needs or external events and evolved in terms of its key topics and dominant disciplines.*

**Key words:** *European Studies, Sociology of Knowledge, Dissertations, Ukraine, European Union*

### Introduction

Three decades of Ukraine's independence are also the three decades of constant and incessant search for its *modus vivendi* with the European Union (EU). The cooperation between the two partners has significantly broadened and Ukraine is steadily becoming closer to the EU, although their views on the very nature and final goal of bilateral relations consistently and drastically diverge. Whereas the EU tenaciously approaches its Eastern European neighbour from a non-membership perspective, Ukraine persists in its aspirations to join the EU in the future.

The last three decades is also the period when Ukrainian scholarship on the EU emerged out of the unique mix of various factors. If the EU was a matter of only a few specialists at the beginning of Ukraine's independence, today there is a fairly large cohort of scholars working on this subject. However, because of the linguistic barriers and conspicuously missing interactions with international academic community, the understanding of the state of the European studies in Ukraine is still rather fragmented and incomplete for an external observer. The unawareness of the vision of Ukrainian researchers on many EU-related issues beyond their own linguistic borders impoverishes a broader global academic perspective on European integration, especially when it comes to a country located in Europe, but outside the EU.

The field of European studies in Ukraine is worthy of scholarly attention. There is already an extensive scholarship on the state of European studies in different national realities which is predominantly focused on the EU members<sup>1</sup> or on some larger countries,

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<sup>1</sup> Helen Wallace, "Studying Contemporary Europe," *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 2, no. 1 (2000): 95–113; Michael L. Smith, "Creating a New Space: UK European Studies Programmes at the Crossroads," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 11, no. 1 (2003): 21–34; Dawid Friedrich and Patrizia Nanz, "German Political Science and the European Union," *Journal of European Public Policy* 12, no. 1 (2005): 200–212; Bastien Irondelle, "French Political Science and European Integration: The State of the Art," *French Politics* 4, no. 2 (2006): 188–208; Michelle Cini, "The 'State of the Art in EU Studies: From Politics to Interdisciplinarity (and Back Again?)," *Politics* 26, no. 1 (2006): 38–46; Ioan Horga, "European and/or EU Studies Curriculum

like the United States<sup>2</sup> or China<sup>3</sup> disregarding a significant number of cases from other countries. Therefore, a study of the academic output of Ukrainian scholars will be a valuable additional contribution aimed at offering a more comprehensive understanding of the global knowledge production on the EU.

This article is not intended to be an exhaustive account of the field, but rather seeks to serve as a reference for further follow up studies. To better capture the dynamics of European studies in Ukraine, a quantitative longitudinal approach was used. It is particularly useful when it comes to the analysis of large and diverse academic communities in the long period of time. In the case of Ukraine, five disciplines were selected, whose contribution to varying degrees is noticeable in the study of the EU: Economics, History, Law, Political Science, Public Administration.

The most challenging undertaking was to identify a proper indicator which would allow to thoroughly study the development of EU scholarship in Ukraine since its independence. The lack of reliable search engines and databases makes it impossible to obtain comprehensive information on published articles on EU issues. Preference was given to doctoral dissertations. This is not an ideal choice, but the only available measurable indicator which allows to systematically collect data from different disciplines.

A dataset of 746 dissertations (both Kandydatska and Doktorska) from five disciplines was compiled based on the information available at the National Repository of Academic Texts and Vernadsky National library of Ukraine. It included doctoral theses which explicitly addressed EU-related research questions, therefore both title and summary were examined. The time-span covered was 2000–2019. While analysing the chronological distribution, the lag of several years between the beginning and defence of a dissertation should be acknowledged and taken into account. It was also decided to group data into quadrennial periods to neutralize the impact of various bureaucratic hurdles which often account for some fluctuations in dissertation production in Ukraine.

Based on the analysis of the original dataset of doctoral theses, the purpose of this study is to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how the field of European studies developed in Ukraine. The first part delineates the evolution of dissertation production and maps its geographical distribution, the second examines tendencies within and across disciplines and the third identifies broad thematic preferences of doctoral projects focused on the EU-related topics. The concluding section briefly summarizes the findings of the study.

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<sup>2</sup> John TS Keeler, “Mapping EU Studies: The Evolution from Boutique to Boom Field 1960–2001,” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 43, no. 3 (2005): 551–582; David M. Andrews, “The Rise and Fall of EU Studies in the USA,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 19, no. 5 (2012): 755–775; Andrew T. Wolff, “European Security: The Missing Piece of European Studies Curriculum in the United States,” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 25, no. 2 (2017): 243–257.

<sup>3</sup> Weiqing Song, “European Studies in China and its Chinese Characteristics,” *European Political Science* 11, no. 3 (2012): 351–362; Dai Bingran, “European Studies in China,” *Asia-Pacific Journal of EU Studies* 18, no. 2 (2020): 7–20.

### I. Tracing temporal and spatial trajectories

Defences of doctoral theses on the EU-related topics were rather irregular in 1990s and only 16 dissertations were identified. This slow start was a consequence of a number of factors, most importantly the formation of research infrastructure in the independent Ukraine, the general state of EU-focused scholarship in the country, the development of the EU itself, the limited bilateral ties and scarce domestic interest within Ukraine<sup>4</sup>.



**Figure 1.** The growth of dissertations on EU-related topics in 2000–2019

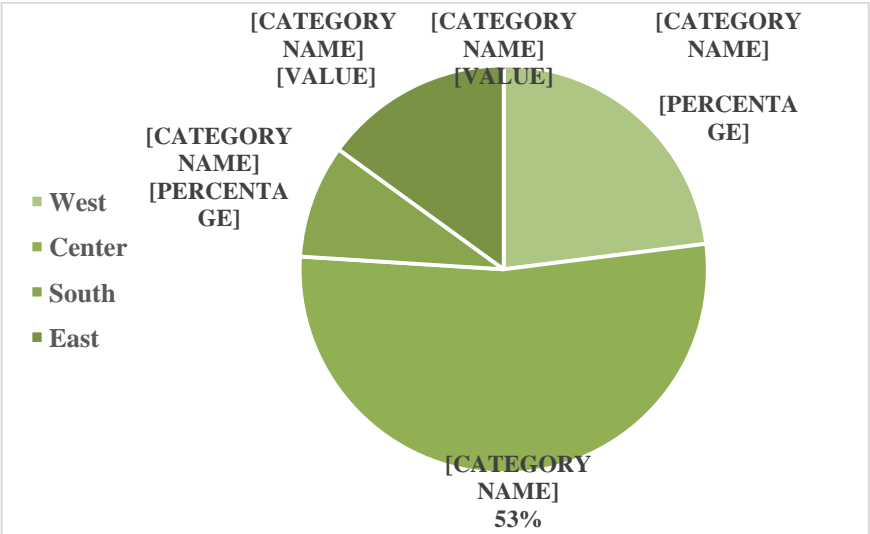
**Source:** own elaboration based on National Repository of Academic Texts, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://nrat.ukrintei.ua/> and Vernadsky National library of Ukraine, accessed May 10, 2021, <http://www.nbuv.gov.ua>

**Figure 1** shows there has been a sustainable and continuous increase of defences of doctoral theses on EU-related topics in Ukraine in the 21st century. While the period between 2000–2011 is characterized by extensive, more pronounced growth, there are indications of stabilization in dissertation production in 2012–2019. The temporal dynamics are an interplay of multiple factors which will be also detailed in the following parts. We will just briefly outline some of them.

The sharp increase in the beginning of the 2000s is particularly impressive when compared with the situation in the 1990s. The number of defences in the period of 2000–2011 was on average 25 theses per year. Several factors contributed to these results. On the one hand, Ukrainian authorities clearly articulated the aspirations to EU membership. This commitment was continuously reaffirmed, became a constant element in the domestic agenda and served as a trigger for increased research attention on the EU. On the other hand, if the EU was initially seen a common market or integration initiative of Western European countries, the EU enlargement or substantial institutional changes within the EU itself only reinforced the academic interest among doctoral students. Increased scholarly expertise on the EU and the completion of academic infrastructure were also conducive to the growth of dissertation production.

<sup>4</sup> Roman Kalytchak, “The state of Research on European Integration in Ukraine,” in *Poland in the European Union: Adjustment and Modernisation. Lessons for Ukraine* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2012), 249–262.

Years of 2012–2019 is a time of consolidation when EU-related topics became a routine part of the research agenda of doctoral studies. The choice of research questions changed and became more specific, restricted and narrower while comparing with the previous period when the focus was more on general and broader issues. The number of defences was on average 50 theses per year, but the pace of growth levelled up. The new generations of doctoral students grew out of the efforts, errors and accomplishments of Ukrainian scholars over the two previous decades. Ukrainian scholarship on the EU expanded and became more diverse thus providing a more favourable environment for working on doctoral projects. Closer ties with the EU in the view of conclusion and implementation of the Association Agreement helped to maintain a constant interest in the EU-related matters because of their direct implications in different areas within the country.



**Figure 2.** Distribution of dissertations on EU-focused topics among Ukrainian macro-regions

*Source:* own elaboration based on: National Repository of Academic Texts, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://nrat.ukrintei.ua/> and Vernadsky National library of Ukraine, accessed May 10, 2021, <http://www.nbuv.gov.ua>

Ukraine has been often portrayed as a country with regionally different attitudes towards the EU. Therefore, the analysis of geographical distribution of dissertation production would allow us to better comprehend the intellectual structure of European studies. Traditionally, Ukraine has been divided into four macro-regions for sociological research: West, Centre, East and South which will be used in this study. Relocated universities from the temporarily occupied territories are still included in the macro-regions of their primary affiliation. It should also be noted that only the institutional affiliation of doctoral students was taken into account. This will better reflect the situation within Ukraine and avoid confusions because a dissertation can be prepared in one institution and defended in another.

**Figure 2** shows that the distribution of doctoral theses throughout Ukraine is markedly uneven. There is a clear and visible dominance of the Centre, primarily due to the preeminent role of the nation’s capital. For example, Kyiv-based doctoral students produced 100% of all the dissertations on EU-related topics in the year of 2000. This can

be explained by stronger institutional setting or greater availability of resources in Kyiv. But the gradual reduction of the proportion of doctoral projects completed in the nation's capital became a general trend and its share reached 41% in the period of 2016–2019. These variations should not be understood as a declining research interest among Kyiv-based doctoral students. They meant an incremental growth of dissertation production on EU-related topics in other parts of the country due to the development and strengthening of proper regional research expertise.

If we exclude Kyiv-based doctoral students, the proportion of the Centre will dramatically shrink and will feature the lowest share in dissertation production within the country – only 5%. It is apparently the consequence of limited expertise and previous absence of interest.

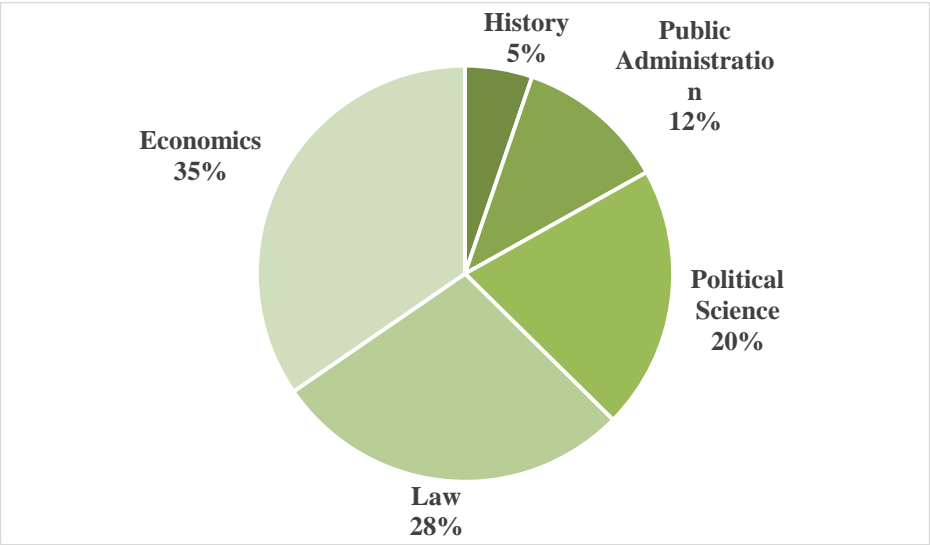
The West confidently holds the second place where around quarter of all dissertations were prepared (23%) and what is practically equal to the combined number of doctoral projects from the East – 15% and the South – 9%. However, the existing differences among regions on supporting closer ties with the EU have never been a decisive factor in geographical distribution as the bigger number of dissertations should have been concentrated in the West rather than in Kyiv and the central regions should have outnumbered the East or the South.

Influence of several factors can be identified here. First of all, the proximity of the border with the EU, the higher level of interaction of western regions with the EU and a stronger regional demand in the expertise on the EU have been important triggers. An extensive academic infrastructure with a significant number of small and medium classical universities in the West coupled with closer and broader ties with higher education institutions from neighbouring EU member states potentially created more propitious conditions for carrying out research on the EU. In contrast, lower numbers in the East and the South indicate that physical distance and limited contacts with the EU or lack of interest among the majority of local audience led to a slower incorporation of the EU-related topics in the research agenda of doctoral students. The academic infrastructure with a greater concentration of technical higher education institutions could have also played a part in lower dissertation production.

Kyiv remains and will probably remain the leading academic centre with a larger proportion of doctoral projects on the EU-related topics, but an on-going geographical deconcentration in dissertation production has been enhancing the research potential of European studies in Ukraine.

## **II. Exploring disciplinary diversity**

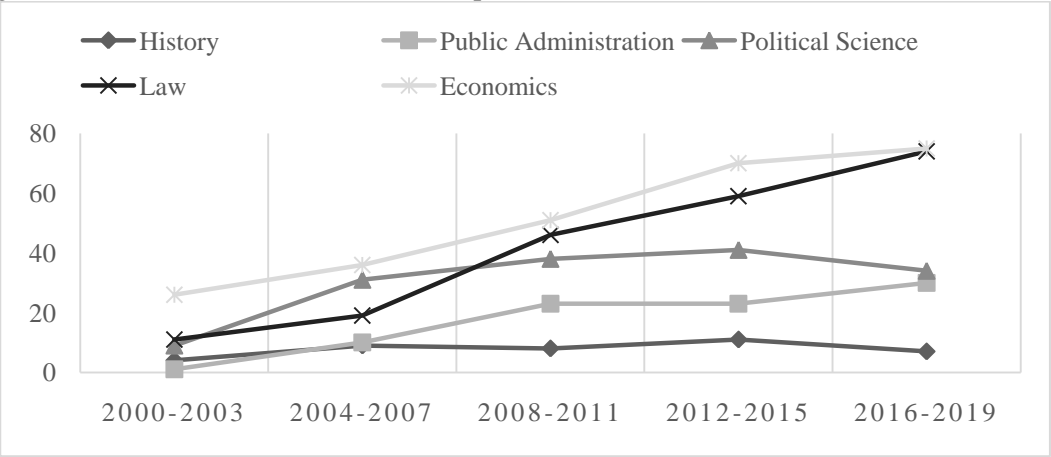
Disciplinary affiliation is one of the defining characteristics that has influenced and will be influencing the knowledge production on the EU in Ukraine. The reason is that there are already strict prerequisites in place at the doctoral level, as well as enrolment in disciplinary doctoral programs, affiliation with disciplinary institutions or publication in disciplinary academic journals. It should also be stressed that many disciplines in Ukraine are primarily the product of national academic traditions, bureaucratic requirements and the (post-)soviet legacy. Some of them like Political Science or Public Administration were institutionalized just after the independence, others required a total transformation. This shaped the particular disciplinary structure of dissertation production which has been heavily regulated and rigorously standardized by the Ministry of education and science.



**Figure 3.** Disciplinary distribution of dissertations on EU-focused topics

*Source:* own elaboration based on: National Repository of Academic Texts, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://nrat.ukrintei.ua/> and Vernadsky National library of Ukraine, accessed May 10, 2021, <http://www.nbuv.gov.ua>

The analysis of aggregated data (from the timeframe of the research) visualized in the **Figure 3** indicates that European studies in Ukraine are characterized by disciplinary diversity. Three key disciplinary areas account together for more than 80% of all defended dissertation: the largest number of doctoral degrees was awarded in Economics (35%), followed by Law (28%) and Political Science (20%). Public Administration, and especially History, have a lower percentage – respectively 12% and 5%. This distribution reflects capacities, opportunities and constraints of individual disciplines rather than a general situation of Ukrainian scholarship.



**Figure 4.** Disciplinary time trends of dissertations on EU-focused topics

*Source:* own elaboration based on: National Repository of Academic Texts, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://nrat.ukrintei.ua/> and Vernadsky National library of Ukraine, accessed May 10, 2021, <http://www.nbuv.gov.ua>



**Figure 4** displays time trends across all five disciplines and offers a better understanding from a comparative perspective. It reveals that each discipline followed a different path of growth and contributed differently to the overall output of doctoral research. Economics and Law stand out among the five disciplines and account for the major contribution to the dissertation production in the period of 2016–2019, meanwhile three other disciplines struggle to increase a number of doctoral projects on EU-related topics. This was primarily due to complex institutional settings of respective disciplines and response to external events.

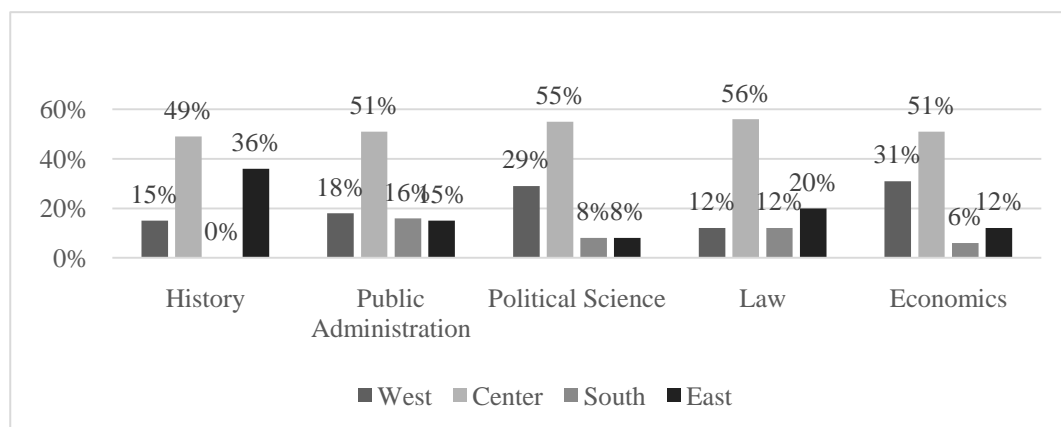
The growth of dissertations on EU-related topics in the field of Economics has been steady and consistent for 20 years, has always been ahead of other disciplines and accounts for one third of all defended doctoral theses. It was largely influenced by the fact that the EU has been frequently treated in Ukraine as an economic union. Trade, common policies, monetary union and other similar themes swiftly attracted attention of many doctoral students. This interest was reinforced by the increasing importance of the EU for Ukraine as a trade partner. The jump in the number in dissertation production in the period of 2012–2019 coincided and was the response to the preparation and establishment of the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area which has been reshaping the breadth of bilateral trade ties and resulted in many other economic implications. The strong disciplinary infrastructure of the field has also played a significant role in the prominence of economic issues within EU-related topics. It should be stressed that Economics in Ukraine underwent a restructuring rather than creation from scratch and can rely on a solid network of academic institutions. For example, the sheer number of all defended dissertations in Economics is almost 10 times higher than in Political Science.

Doctoral projects in Law studies gradually increased in the number and particularly grew at higher rate in the period of 2012–2019, when almost two thirds of all dissertations were defended. These dynamics are mainly a reaction to the need to understand the EU as a legal order due to the changing nature of bilateral relations as the rapprochement with the EU raised a huge number of substantive legal issues for Ukraine. It should be emphasized that the interest among doctoral students in EU-related topics has grown significantly not only because of the Association Agreement which requires to harmonize the large part of the national legislation, but also because of the important internal developments within the EU brought by many legal novelties, including the Treaty of Lisbon. As in the case of Economics, Law studies in Ukraine are based on stable institutional foundations and considerable expertise, which created favourable conditions for doctoral studies.

The input of Political Science has been contradictory and inconsistent. This was the second discipline in terms of the number of defences in 2004–2007 and manifested a strong potential for growth. The figures from earlier 2000s were rather significant and promising for a relatively young discipline in Ukraine. A retrospective look at research directions of doctoral projects demonstrates a very high variety of EU-related topics and one would expect Political Science to become if not disciplinary mainstream, at least one of the crucial areas of inquiry for doctoral students. But the situation has changed and Political Science – if not in decline, then at least there is a visible stagnation. The number of doctoral theses constitutes a relatively lower percentage than one would anticipate and tends to decrease. It appears that the crucial reason has been a fragmented and weaker institutional setting of the discipline coupled with a reduced interest in the EU as an international actor among doctoral students.

Dissertation production on EU-related topics in Public Administration began the latest of all disciplines, principally due to the fact that it is one of the youngest academic fields in the country. The analysis of research questions addressed by doctoral students demonstrates that the major emphasis has been put on the need to study the implications of various aspects of EU governance for Ukraine. Therefore, the number of defences has been relatively steady because doctoral projects tended to focus on issues relevant for Ukraine and aimed at understanding how different segments of national public administration respond, manage, adjust and adapt to the challenges of rapprochement with the EU.

The number of dissertations in History has been consistently low. It seems that a relatively short period of the bilateral relations, scarce expertise and lack of access to archival data limited research interest in EU-related topics among doctoral students in this field.



**Figure 5.** Disciplinary distribution of dissertations on EU-focused topics among Ukrainian macro-regions

**Source:** own elaboration based on: National Repository of Academic Texts, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://nrat.ukrintei.ua/> and Vernadsky National library of Ukraine, accessed May 10, 2021, <http://www.nbuv.gov.ua>

**Figure 5** demonstrates the geography of disciplinary distribution between the four macro-regions in Ukraine. There is a clear predominance of the central region or de-facto of Kyiv which accounts for about half of dissertations in all five disciplines. These data confirm the trend examined in the previous part. At the same time, the chart displays a more multifaceted disciplinary distribution among other three regions.

Characterized by the smallest number of doctoral theses, the more visible disparity exists in History, where there are virtually no defences in the South and meanwhile there is a significantly high percentage of doctoral projects in the East. This explains by the leading position of the Donetsk National University with strong expertise in the field of European studies where a sizable number of dissertations were defended. Many of them focused in particular on various aspects of the accession of CEE countries.

The lowest regional fluctuation of dissertation production is in the field of Public Administration. The institutional infrastructure was a crucial reason for the relatively uniform geographical distribution throughout Ukraine. The former National Academy for Public Administration under the President of Ukraine which had the highest number of doctoral theses was comprised of four campuses outside of Kyiv: Dnipro, Kharkiv, Lviv and Odessa. Its decentralized structure ensured the relatively even number of defences in

the West, the South and the East. A common feature for regional campuses was that particular attention was paid to research questions related to local and regional administration.

In the case of Political Science, it is worth noting regional differences are due to both research preferences and institutional setting of the discipline. High performance of the West reflects the strong level of scholar interest and expertise in numerous universities, primarily at Ivan Franko National University of Lviv and Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University. There is a noticeable thematic variety of chosen topics, but it should be noted that particular emphasis was placed on the EU Enlargement and CEE development in the context of the EU. In contrast to the West, there has been less research interest in other two macro-regions because only a handful of universities were actively engaged in doctoral studies on EU-related topics. There is also a low topical diversity: dissertations written in the South tended to focus on the EU's external relations while doctoral students based in the East mainly addressed topics related to the EU impact on individual countries.

The geographical distribution is remarkably different in the field of Law where there is a fairly significant percentage of doctoral theses in the East and the South. The location of specialized law universities with extensive expertise in Kharkiv and Odessa largely accounts for high numbers in dissertation production in the respective macro-regions. On the other hand, it is difficult to single out any regional specificity in terms of thematic preferences. Research topics of doctoral projects are diverse and examine issues that have relevance for the entire nation.

The data in the field of Economics present an unexpected picture of the geography of dissertation production, and would require an additional follow-up analysis. It appears that the institutional setting of the discipline played a minor role and a visible regional disparity is rather due to research preferences of doctoral students or could be a response to external events. A high percentage of the West could be partially explained by the large number of doctoral projects focused on cross-border cooperation and regional policy because of more closer interactions of this macro-region with the EU, especially after the enlargement. Historically, there were fewer ties with the East or the South, which could have been resulted in a lower interest among doctoral students in the EU-related topics.

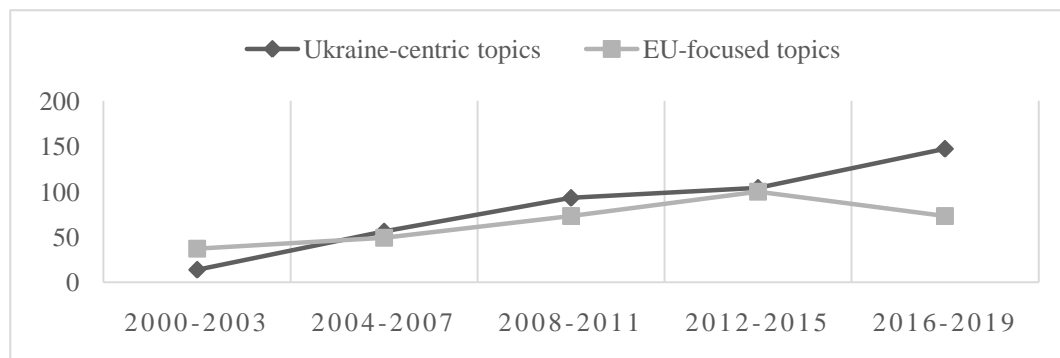
The output of doctoral students in the EU-related topics cannot be attributed unambiguously to one specific discipline and is characterized by disciplinary diversity. An uneven disciplinary distribution of dissertation production among regions is mainly a result of the combination of institutional infrastructure and level of scholar expertise, and only to some extent of regional thematic preferences or level of interest.

### **III. Identifying thematic preferences**

The choice of a topic for doctoral project is typically a complex process involving diverse factors varying on a case-by-case basis which makes it difficult to comprehensively measure thematic variety across all five disciplines. There are a number of cross-cutting issues of interest that could be identified across various disciplines, especially in the case of sensitive subjects such as environmental protection, migration, cross-border cooperation or decentralization, but questions addressed in doctoral theses are remarkably diverse.

For the sake of manageability, it was decided to classify dissertations in two fairly broad categories to identify key thematic trends and understand better how European studies are structured in Ukraine. The first group includes dissertations primarily focused

on implications of the EU for Ukraine (Ukraine-centric topics). The second category comprises of doctoral projects which exclusively address EU-related topics (EU-focused topics).



**Figure 6.** Time trends of dissertations on Ukraine-centric and EU-focused topics

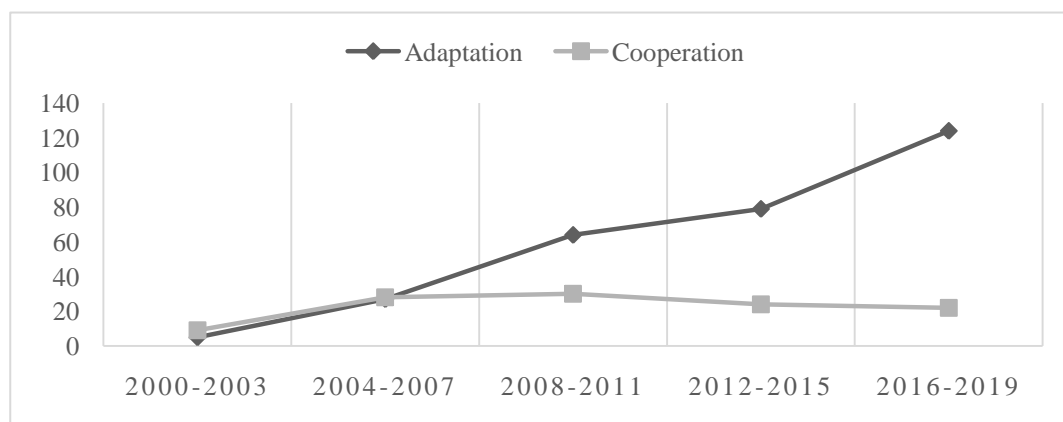
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**Figure 6** shows that in the early 2000s, the priority was given to the topics with exclusive focus on the EU. The first doctoral theses often favoured broadly formulated research questions aimed at discovering and understanding integration processes in Western Europe in an effort to meet primary demand coming from both academia and state, incorporate EU-related topics in research agenda and create the foundations for further development of their own expertise.

Already in the mid-2000s, the shift started in favour of increasing predominance of Ukraine-centric topics and gradually outpacing EU-focused issues. This is primarily the result of both officially articulated EU membership aspirations and rising concerns of the EU's geographic expansion and its potential consequences for Ukraine. Nevertheless, dissertations in both categories were growing almost at the same pace for the entire decade because many doctoral students kept opting for studying European integration per se. This was then the period 2016–2019 when the two lines drastically started to diverge, with a pronounced focus on Ukrainian-centric research questions and noticeable reduction of dissertations addressing EU-focused subjects. This tendency is likely to persist in the future.

The downward trend in the case of exclusively EU-focused topics does not indicate so much disinterest in the development of the European Union, but rather should be seen as a sign of a stronger national orientation when doctoral students choose topics of their research projects prioritizing issues relevant for Ukraine. To better understand these dynamics, it would be helpful to examine both categories separately.

For this purpose, dissertations with a focus on Ukraine could be divided into two main strands: adaptation versus cooperation. The first group includes dissertations studying whether, how and to what extent the EU informs, influences or conditions the internal development of Ukraine. The second group primarily deals with various aspects of the bilateral cooperation.



**Figure 7.** Time trends of dissertations dealing with cooperation and adaptation

**Source:** own elaboration based on: National Repository of Academic Texts, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://nrat.ukrintei.ua/> and Vernadsky National library of Ukraine, accessed May 10, 2021, <http://www.nbuv.gov.ua>

**Figure 7** provides a dynamic picture of these trends connected with Ukraine and demonstrates that there was a slight emphasis on cooperation with the EU in the early 2000s. This is logical given the predominance of the intergovernmental contacts and high politics, low-level potential of the EU itself and its limited presence on the international arena, and scarce intensity of relations with Ukraine in general. This was a short-term increase and the topics focused on adaptation gradually prevailed over the issues of cooperation. The latter did not disappear and secured a stable niche in the research agenda of doctoral students. The number of dissertations studying different aspects of the bilateral interaction between Ukraine and the EU is relatively unfluctuating, with a particularly higher portion in the field of International Relations.

Topics focused on adaptation had become mainstream by the mid-/end 2000s and have been constantly growing with a peak in 2016–2019. Ukrainian doctoral students have been prioritizing research questions relevant to domestic needs, internal challenges and societal expectations. The overview of the titles of doctoral projects reveals a large use of key words like adaptation, adjustment, approximation, Europeanization, harmonization, impact, influence, implementation, modernization, optimization and so on. This tendency mainly reflects the increasing desire and demand for studying and better understanding a more noticeable, complex and ambiguous role of the EU within Ukraine itself.

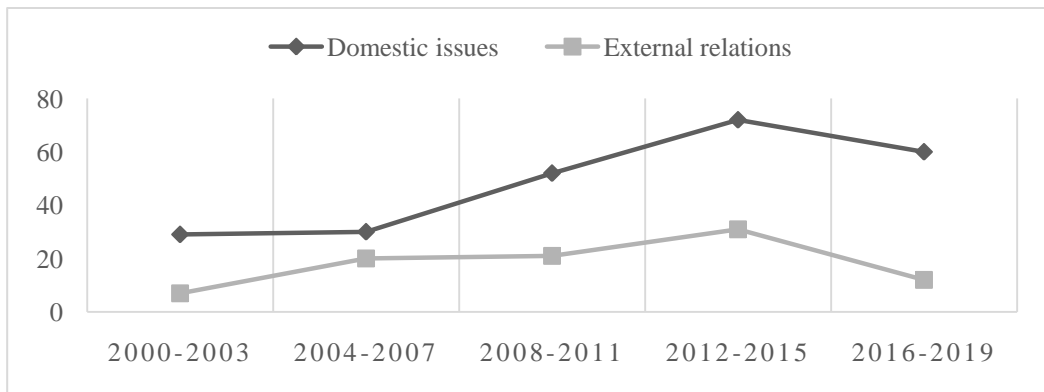
As a result, numerous doctoral students from different disciplinary fields became interested in the EU precisely because of its relevance for internal state-building efforts and its impact on domestic processes, not to mention the opportunity to focus on diverse real-world issues which often go beyond traditional concerns of previous doctoral projects and the possibility to access and collect necessary data.

The negotiation and conclusion of the Association Agreement served as a trigger for a sharp increase in the number of dissertations because a large-scale adaptation was anticipated in different areas of economy, law or public administration. This trend redefines research priorities and reflects the prominence of issues which are deemed important for the internal development of Ukraine. This was also a response to societal and political demands for offering some kind of guidelines for action to solve possible challenges related to the implementation of the Association Agreement.

The question of the potential Ukraine's membership in the EU should be considered separately. It is challenging to assess properly how and to what extent aspirations to join the EU have been the driving force in choosing research questions dealing with adaptation. There could be a certain temptation to justify and legitimize "the European choice" or slip into advocacy for supporting reforms intended for bringing Ukraine closer to the EU. The review of selected dissertations reveals that the question of membership is rarely clearly articulated and is used in a formalistic way. Major emphasis is predominantly put on the European integration of Ukraine. This is a very fluid and all-encompassing phrase which implies various ways and different stages of rapprochement with the EU where the membership is rather seen as a final, but distant goal.

In the case of doctoral projects which address the EU-focused topics, it would be suitable to aggregate them into two main categories: domestic issues and external relations. This would provide an outline of how the EU has been perceived from a Ukrainian perspective.

It should be noted that there has been a clear preference in the period of 2000–2019 among doctoral students for researching issues internal to the EU (73% of dissertations), while paying less attention to the international dimension the EU (27% of dissertations). These figures reveal a rather unexpected pattern for a country that remains outside the EU and not even considered a potential candidate for accession. This also may be at odds with research priorities with other third countries, where preference would be given to foreign policy issues.



**Figure 8.** Time trends of dissertations dealing with domestic issues and external relations

**Source:** own elaboration based on: National Repository of Academic Texts, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://nrat.ukrintei.ua/> and Vernadsky National library of Ukraine, accessed May 10, 2021, <http://www.nbuv.gov.ua>.

**Figure 8** shows that domestic issues have been continuously dominating the research agenda in the category of the EU-focused topics. It confirms disciplinary trends that the EU was primarily treated as a polity, legal order or common market, not as an international actor. A substantial rise of doctoral theses between 2008–2015 focusing on concerns internal to the EU may offer a partial explanation for this trend. This is to a large extent related to the development of the EU itself which has been steadily growing more influential, more complex and more complicated and offer more research questions to study. Many doctoral students became interested in political, institutional, economic or legal implications of many crucial events that took place in the beginning of XXI like the introduction of Euro or the European debt crisis, the failure of Constitution for Europe or the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. In the recent years, the number of doctoral

projects on domestic issues has started decreasing as a consequence that many matters like for example EU's agricultural or environmental regulations became directly relevant for Ukraine itself. This shift is also closely related to the inclination of many doctoral students to study real-world problems through the lens of their implications for their own country.

It could be said that in this category the EU is approached from the perspective of both a direct neighbour and an organization which Ukraine is aspiring to join. On the one hand, the changing domestic situation of the EU required more academic attention because it could potentially impact neighbouring countries, including Ukraine. This is due in particular to the fact that the EU incorporated the countries with which Ukraine traditionally maintain close relations and now should deal in many areas not with national governments, but with the EU itself. On the other hand, the internal aspects have been extensively researched to improve the understanding of the functioning of the EU in the light of the ambitions of Ukraine to ensure further rapprochement with this organization. As a result, many doctoral projects are very policy focused, especially in the field of Law, Economics and Public Administration, and numerous many of them even included a range of recommendations for Ukrainian public institutions to initiate steps to align with the EU norms or policies.

The limited coverage of EU's international dimension echoes with the trends of doctoral projects dealing with Ukraine-centric topics where foreign policy issues have seen less general interest too. **Figure 8** indicates the EU's engagement with the rest of the world has not been not a priority for Ukrainian doctoral students. Addressed topics are principally related to EU trade policy, legal aspects of its external relations or interactions with neighbouring countries. The peak in 2012–2015 is predominantly the result of expectations from the EU to become a stronger international actor after it was assumed that the treaty of Lisbon's provisions should increase its capabilities in different sectors of external relations. A sharp decline in 2016–2019 seems to be the result of the interplay of various factors. The main attention on the EU's relevance for Ukraine downgraded other topics, including external relations, particularly in the fields of Law and Economics. It confirms the general trend that the EU has been mostly seen as a market or legal order. It also appears the EU lost its international relevance and appeal in the eyes of younger generation of Ukrainian scholars because of its ambivalent response to the Russian aggression and its lack of significant military potential. A relative stagnation in the field of Political Science had its negative impact on the interest in EU's international dimension as well.

## Conclusions

The examination of various aspects of dissertation production suggests that the development of European studies in Ukraine is considerably marked and shaped by its domestic context. The varying level of research interest in the EU among doctoral students is not only the result of a purely academic endeavour, but is heavily conditioned by institutional settings and regulations, disciplinary preferences and pressures or societal needs and expectations.

A constant growth of doctoral theses on EU-related topics is one of the signs that European studies in Ukraine made substantial progress over the last decades and became a recurring subject in academic discussions. Disciplinary diversity has been simultaneously consolidating and fragmenting the intellectual infrastructure of Ukrainian scholarship on the EU. A gradual geographical deconcentration in dissertation production has been contributing to the formation of the polycentric structure of European studies in Ukraine,

making them relevant for the entire country and ensuring their better sustainability. Topics of doctoral projects have been becoming more diversified and extended to those areas which would be difficult to imagine to be concerned with the EU 15-20 years ago.

Developments in bilateral relations and their direct implications for Ukraine generated greater demand for more knowledge on the EU-related topics. However, this led to a strong shift in emphasis of research objectives in doctoral theses towards more Ukraine-centric approach, repositioned the EU in the research agenda according to internal preferences and resulted in the domestication of the EU in national academic discourse.

A quantitative analysis of dissertation production provided valuable insights into the contribution of several generations of doctoral students in the development of European studies in Ukraine. Future follow-up studies will have to examine whether a numerical growth is matched by the quality improvement of research through focusing on accomplishments within individual disciplines.

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## II. PERSPECTIVE OF THE BORDERS DURING THE PANDEMIC CRISIS

**Dionysios TSIRIGOTIS** (Piraeus) ◀▶ *Borders and Security in the Time of Pandemic*

**István Krisztián SIMON** (Debrecen), **Constantin-Vasile ȚOCA** (Oradea), **Klára CZIMRE** (Debrecen) ◀▶ *Impact of Covid-19 Pandemic on Cross-Border Cooperations: Focusing on Local Products and Values*

**Cristina Maria DOGOT** (Oradea) ◀▶ *Research in the Field of Humanities and Social Sciences during the Pandemic. Limits and Incentives, Boundaries and Freedoms*

**Emilia-Nicoleta ȘCHIOP** (Cluj-Napoca) ◀▶ *Religion during the Pandemic*

**Yaroslav DROZDOVSKY** (Ushhorod) ◀▶ *Innovation and Human Capital in a Knowledge Economy*

**Marcela ȘLUSARCIUC** (Suceava), **Volodymyr TOKAR** (Kyiv) ◀▶ *Potential Impact of Cross-Border Cooperation on the Regional Development: Case Study Romania-Ukraine Border*



## Borders and Security in the Time of Pandemic

*Dionysios TSIRIGOTIS\**

**Abstract.** *What do territory and territoriality mean and how are they evaluated in the Covid-19 pandemic era? What are the main schools of thought in IR theory regarding the issues of territoriality and sovereignty, especially about “the function of states in a debordering world?” What does Covid pandemic bring to the interchangeable link between state borders and security? This study deals with the aforementioned questions, trying to understand and explain the multiple gradations of the notion of territoriality in the covid 19 pandemic era. It is the interchangeable link between borders and security and the undisputable function of the former as the most effective mean of inhibiting covid 19 that brings back the debate of the significance of territory “at all times and in all geographical contexts.” Accordingly, the spread of the covid pandemic worldwide, like natural disasters and economic austerity, poses an existential threat to people’s survival, contradicting with the globalization literature of a borderless and deterritorialized world. In this manner I will discuss the trivial issue of borderless/rebordering world as a logical conclusion of the asymmetric effects of the covid pandemic on all aspects of state structure.*

**Keyword:** *borders, territoriality, security, sovereignty, pandemic*

### Introduction

With the Director-General of the World Health Organization, Tontos Antanoms Gebresesos, warning that “the pandemic caused by the new coronavirus will not be the last nor the worst,” the world economy in deep recession and the national governments in a state of flux, testing its political effectiveness and social responsiveness, the question that arises for analysts of international politics is if and to what extent the pandemic threat, that is crystallizing on a global level, will lead to the strengthening of cross-border barriers by returning to the rebordering world. This question is connected with the essence of human existence which, from the beginning of its appearance, is organized in collective entities who are constantly contending for survival-security.

At the heart of this matter is the states’ undisputable (according to the UN charter) right of absolute sovereignty as depicted on the Achilles’ Shield, defending countries’ national security and national interest. According to this interpretation, the notion of borders is not only clarified and defined “over time” but it is strengthened and consolidated in the territoriality norm. So, the question of “sacralizing boundaries linked to the nation” or relocations of territory by force are not only null and void, according to international law, but also confirm that “transfers of territory are now legitimate only by consent”.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Buzan, *An Introduction to the English School of International Relations: The Societal Approach* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), 141.

However, in the postmodernity era,<sup>2</sup> when the notion of globalization triumphs and transnational actors seems to take the lead from states, there is few speculations on and consideration of the states' role as principal agents in the international system. More precisely, the globalization literature assertively questions state sovereignty and territoriality and these two primary institutions are implemented as necessary fiction. It is in this treatise that we confront the question of what territoriality can mean to us, how it is connected with the borders and security and what options it provides for states in the covid 19 pandemic era. We hasten to declare at the outset that the globalization of the covid pandemic and the subsequent results in economic, political, social and health state structure lead to the revival of the rebordering world as the main instrument to deter and limit it.

This supposition rests on the following research questions and highlights the core problematic of our analysis.

What do territory and territoriality mean and how are they evaluated in the covid 19 pandemic era?

What are the main schools of thought in IR theory talking about the issues of territoriality and sovereignty, especially about "the function of states in a debordering world?"

What does covid pandemic bring to the interchangeable link between state borders and security?

### **Definition and explanation of basic terms**

Seeking to understand the dialectical relationship between borders-security, we have to start from the spatio-temporal demarcation process that took place in Western Europe after the Middle Ages. A brief look at the notion of territory and the institution of territoriality is called for.

Territory is the foundational background for the birth, maintenance and viable operation of the nation-state as a political form of collective entities' organization. It is a determining variable for state existence. A valuable asset for state survival, status and wellbeing of the nation. Overall territory serves two main ends:<sup>3</sup>

a) Creates spatial arrangements for the political units by defining their territorial and geographical space.

b) Provides an important component for the formation and maintenance of group (national) identity.

Consequently, the recognition of territory as fundamental element of state existence calls for its institutionalization in the principle of territoriality as a "basic rule of co-existence."<sup>4</sup> It was a historical process that took place in the Middle Ages as a logical

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<sup>2</sup> The distinctive features of postmodernism that spread through the whole field of social sciences inquiry – cultural, political, economical – are heterogeneity, fragmentation, indeterminacy and "distrust of all universal or 'totalizing' discourses." David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 16. Also see, John Gerard Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations," *International Organization* 47, no. 1 (Winter 1993): 144–145; Perry Anderson, *The Origins of Postmodernity* (London and New York: Verso, 1998); Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 1984), 14–17.

<sup>3</sup> Harvey Starr and Thomas G. Dale, "The Nature of Borders and International Conflict: Revisiting Hypotheses on Territory," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (March 2005): 125.

<sup>4</sup> Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 34–37; Mark W. Zacher "The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the use of Force," *International Organization* 55, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 216.

conclusion of the triumph of particularism over universalism. Since then, the collective entities in Feudal Europe have started to organize themselves, not in terms of kinship, clan, and tribe, but in terms of territorial associations.

This was the beginning of the territorialisation process when collective entities “identified in terms of space they occupied with their settlements or in terms of control exercised by their ruler.”<sup>5</sup> The development of spatio-temporal demarcation marked the passage from the medieval to the modern international system and becomes manifest in the construction of the territorial state with exclusive internal sovereignty over its domain and external sovereignty within the International System. “In these early centuries of the Westphalian (System)<sup>6</sup> order, territory was the main factor that determined the security and wealth of states, and thus the protection and acquisition of territory were prime motivations of foreign policy.”<sup>7</sup>

Starting from “Max Weber’s analysis of the historical development of the state” to “Michael Mann’s study of the changing dynamics of power” and Giddens description of state as a “bordered power-container,” we can realize territory “as terrain, a political-strategic relation.” Moreover, Sack’s explanation of territory as the “area or place delimited and controlled through territoriality,” in conjunction with Gottmann’s work *The Significance of Territory* (1973), verify the existential truth and matter of territories “existing at a variety of spatial scales and in a variety of historical periods.”<sup>8</sup>

In sum, territoriality can be defined as a “classification of group membership by area,” or as an attempt of a collective entity “to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area.”<sup>9</sup> One can apply the term in a narrow or broader perspective. The latter, which is a macro-historical view of spatio-temporal geographic-cultural demarcation, supported by anthropologists and geographers, has two dimensions: “delimitation of boundaries and behaviour within those boundaries.”<sup>10</sup> The former, which is used by political scientists, sociologists and international relations analysts, is more narrowly defined, according to discrete spatially demarcated political rule, and encloses three dimensions – national identity, stake and regime. Concerning the first, the demarcation of national identity results from “territorial attachment and detachment” and “identification with a particular territory.”<sup>11</sup> Secondly, throughout history, land is crystallized as the most valuable tangible stake in states’ disputes in order to upgrade their status within the international system. “Tangible territorial stakes include varying degrees of control over land and sea, as well as

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<sup>5</sup> Harald Kleinschmidt, *The Nemesis of Power: A History of International Relations Theories* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 49.

<sup>6</sup> For the birth and establishment of the Westphalia System, as well as for its core principles see, Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society. A Comparative, Historical Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 1992): 182–197.

<sup>7</sup> Zacher, 217.

<sup>8</sup> Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 22.

<sup>9</sup> Robert David Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 19, 21, quoted in Hein Goemans, “Bounded Communities: Territoriality, Territorial Attachment, and Conflict,” in *Territoriality and Conflict in an era of Globalization*, ed. Miles Kahler and Barbara Walter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 29.

<sup>10</sup> Miles Kahler, “Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization,” in *Territoriality and Conflict in an era of Globalization*, ed. Miles Kahler and Barbara Walter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

over the resources and populations that are part of those spatial claims.”<sup>12</sup> Lastly, territoriality “is constituted by the norms, institutions, and practices associated with territorial governance,” forming a territorial regime.<sup>13</sup>

Accordingly, the spread of the covid pandemic worldwide, like natural disasters and economic austerity, pose an existential threat to people’s survival, exposes the uneven distribution of power among states, regarding the fact of “the uneven capacity to act and react for some while opportunities abound for profiteering by others<sup>14</sup>),” and brings back the debate of the rebordering world.

“The COVID-19 pandemic has reminded us of the significance of borders. While much attention has been paid to debates surrounding Donald Trump’s campaign promise to build an ‘impenetrable, physical, tall, powerful, beautiful southern border wall,’<sup>15</sup> the current crisis reveals that governments seeking to restrict mobility rely only partly (and increasingly rarely) on brick and mortar.”<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, as the former US President, John Biden, mentioned in his inaugural address “many of the biggest threats we face respect no borders or walls, and must be met with collective action.” The asymmetrical existential threats such as “pandemics and other biological risks, the escalating climate crisis, cyber and digital threats, international economic disruptions, protracted humanitarian crises, violent extremism and terrorism, and the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction” need a multilateral cooperation to address.<sup>17</sup> It is the perennial state interest for survival determined by the ontological notion of security, leading to alternatives state strategies to contain and deter external threats. A typical example is the strategy of co-shifting borders – “a strategy that strives... to ‘push the border out’ as far away from the actual territorial border as possible.”<sup>18</sup>

In the same manner Ayelet Shachar remarks that “one of the most remarkable developments of recent years is that the border itself has become a moving barrier, an unmoored legal construct. The fixed black lines in world atlases do not always coincide with bordering functions that may potentially take place anywhere in the world. The border has broken free of the map; it may extend well beyond the edge of a territory or well into its interior. The unmooring of state power from any fixed geographical marker has created a new paradigm: the shifting border.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Anthony Loewenstein, *Disaster Capitalism* (London, New York: Verso, 2017); Devanathan Parthasarathy, “Inequality, Uncertainty, and Vulnerability: Rethinking Governance from a Disaster Justice Perspective,” *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space* 1, no. 3 (October 2018): 422–442; Klaus Dodds et al., “The COVID-19 Pandemic: Territorial, Political and Governance Dimensions of the Crisis,” *Territory, Politics, Governance* 8, no. 3 (June 2020): 290.

<sup>15</sup> “Transcript of Donald Trump’s Immigration Speech,” *The New York Times*, Sept. 1, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/02/us/politics/transcript-trump-immigration-speech.html>.

<sup>16</sup> Ayelet Shachar, “Borders in the time of COVID-19,” *Ethics and International Affairs* (Blog of Ethics and International Affairs), accessed July 5, 2021, <https://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org/2020/borders-in-the-time-of-covid-19/>.

<sup>17</sup> Joe Biden, *Interim National Security Strategic Guidance*, The White House, March 2021, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/NSC-1v2.pdf>.

<sup>18</sup> Shachar.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.



Before we are going deeper to investigate the interchangeable linkage between territory and security, we have to analyse the notion of security as an ontological-intersubjective issue.

A voluminous debate has taken place among political scientists regarding the dimensions and meaning (ontological, factual or perceptual) of security in international affairs. From its “insufficiently explicated” to “an essentially contest concept”, the need for a “single definition which corresponds to reality” is needed.<sup>20</sup>

With the expansion of the field of security studies and the multitude of analysis for the policies of the Great Powers, in combination with the technological development (weapons-communications), the planetary events and the consequent academic discussions for the institutionalization of the subject lead to the absence of consensus on security concept. On one hand there is ambiguity as to the explanatory potential of studies due to the ambiguity of the concept and on the other hand it is characterized as an ‘essentially contest concept’.<sup>21</sup> Which means that it is an overrated term to the extent that it cannot exist a “single definition which corresponds to reality ‘out there’ across time.”<sup>22</sup> Starting from the first debate, which flourished during the Cold War, focusing on the object of reference (the state) and the type of threats (war), the so-called traditional (state-centred) approach to the “study of the threat, use and control of military force,”<sup>23</sup> we were led in the deepening and widening of the object in the post-Cold War period.

Meanwhile the “wideners” added economic, social, political and environmental threats to military threats and “deeper” additional modules of analysis that could be referenced outside the state.<sup>24</sup> Comparing Walt’s definition with Buzan’s, who stated that security is “the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identities and functional integrity against the forces of change,”<sup>25</sup> we are highlighting the shift of thought and the expansion of the field of security.

The second debate relates to the epistemological approach, which deals with the definition of security, as well as with the principles and guidelines on how to acquire the relevant knowledge. Along these lines, the “traditionalist” has focused on the objective material security threats studied from a positivist / rational point of view. However, “deeper broadbanders” starting from the fact that security is a political process whose meaning can be transformed over time, making it questionable.

Finally, the notion of national security is crystalized by Wolfers’ as “the absence of threats to acquired values.”<sup>26</sup> Given the ambiguity of this definition, the concept of national security can be re-worded in terms of its content and described as a state of

<sup>20</sup> Robert Unwin, “Examining the Analytical Challenges Posed by IS to Security Theory,” *E-International Relations*, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/06/21/examining-the-analytical-challenges-posed-by-is-to-security-theory/>.

<sup>21</sup> Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: National Security Problem in International Relations* (Harlow: Pearson, 1991).

<sup>22</sup> Karin M. Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 32.

<sup>23</sup> Stephen M. Walt, “The Renaissance of Security Studies,” *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (June 1991): 212.

<sup>24</sup> Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Victor Mauer, *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>25</sup> Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear*..., 432.

<sup>26</sup> Arnold Wolfers, “National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol,” *Political Science Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (December 1952): 481–502.

minimizing-limiting, to the greatest extent possible, the damage to the national interests of a state. Thus, the content of the conceptual definition of national security is two-fold, encompassing the concept of threat to international politics and its realization against the national interests of third countries.

### **International theory and territoriality issue: a theoretical framework**

In order to understand and explain the dialectical relationship between territory—security and the subsequent theoretical debate between borderless and rebordering world,<sup>27</sup> we rely heavily on the mainstream traditions of International Theory.<sup>28</sup> Grounded on M. Wight's theoretical concept of the three traditions (Realism, Rationalism and Revolutionism)<sup>29</sup> we can liken the current theoretical debate around territoriality and state sovereignty to a pendulum, where at both ends of the swing are the anarchic international system and the world civil society.<sup>30</sup> In the middle there is the concept of international society that focuses on international institutions as a causal mechanism of international order formation and operation.<sup>31</sup> As a result, the key issue here is the international political discourse focusing on the ontological security of individuals within and beyond the state. On one axis, the state is the main institution, which gains and maintains ontological security. On the other axis, another set of theories – different in terms of tier and value –

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<sup>27</sup> Bastian Sendhardt, "Border Types and Bordering Processes: A Theoretical Approach to the EU/Polish-Ukrainian Border as a Multi-dimensional Phenomenon," in *Borders and Border Regions in Europe*, ed. Arnaud Lechevalier and Jan Wielgohs (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2013): 21–43; Joan Vicente Rufi et al., "Editorial: Peripheral Borders, soft and hard Re-Bordering in Europe," *Belgeo* 2 (2020), accessed December 17, 2020, <http://journals.openedition.org/belgeo/37391>, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/belgeo.37391>; Marie Sandberg, "Borderless Worlds for Whom? Ethics, Moralities and Mobilities," *Space and Polity* 25, no. 1 (March 2021): 144–148.

<sup>28</sup> For the discourse of a borderless and deterritorialized world see indicatively Kenichi Ohmae, *The Borderless World* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990); Tharailath Kosh Oommen, "Contested Boundaries and Emerging Pluralism," *Sociological Bulletin*, 44, no. 2 (September 1995): 141–158; John C. Welcman, *Rethinking Borders* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); John Helliwell, *How much do National Borders Matter?* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1998); Joachim Blatter, "Debordering the World of States: Toward a Multi-Level System in Europe and a Multipolarity System in North America. Insights from Border Regions," *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 2 (June 2001): 175–209; Michael J. Shapiro and Hayward R. Alker, eds., *Challenging Boundaries: Global Flows, Territorial Identities* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minneapolis Press, 1996); David Newman and Anssi Paasi, "Fences and Neighbours in the Postmodern World: Boundary Narratives in Political Geography," *Progress in Human Geography* 22, no. 2 (June 1998): 186–207; David Newman, "The Lines that Continue to Separate Us: Borders in our 'Borderless' World," *Progress in Human Geography* 30, no. 2 (April 2006): 2.

<sup>29</sup> Martin Wight, *International Theory: The Three Traditions*, ed. Gabriel Wight and Brian Porter (Leicester & London: Leicester University Press, 1991).

<sup>30</sup> John Keane, "Global Civil Society?" in *Global Civil Society*, ed. Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 23–47.

<sup>31</sup> C.A.W. Manning, *The Nature of International Society* (London: LSE/Macmillan, 1962); Alan James, "International Society," *British Journal of International Studies* 4, no. 2 (July 1978), 91–106; Martin Shaw, "Global Society and Global Responsibility: The Theoretical, Historical and Political Limits of 'International Society'," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 21, no. 3 (December 1992), 421–34. For a comparative theoretical discussion between the concepts of international and world society see Barry Buzan, *From International to World Society: English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 10–15, 27–30.

supports the transformation of the logic of anarchy via the social-political and economic homogenization on a global scale.

### **The theoretical framework of the territoriality issue**

Starting with the concept of international system that Wight and Bull analysed and explained thoroughly,<sup>32</sup> we acknowledge the centrality of states as the principal actors in the anarchic International System. This hermeneutical approach of the discourse on anarchy<sup>33</sup> is fitting with Hobbes/Machiavelli/Realism's analysis of power politics among states.<sup>34</sup> Realists describe the politics among nations-states as a "competitive realm"<sup>35</sup> with ontological primacy belonging to states and their interaction. Thus, they presuppose states are rational actors, operating under the self-help principle in order to ensure their survival and promote their national interests. Besides making comprehensive efforts in internal balancing, states search for external balancing factors in order to make appropriate grand strategies that preserve and promote their national interests.<sup>36</sup> Cooperation among states is possible to be achieved through institutions if they are made so as to serve common objectives, particularly in low politics issues.<sup>37</sup>

A more comprehensive and methodical analysis of interstate level is accomplished by rationalism that "could be interpreted as 'a via media between [...] realism and revolutionism'".<sup>38</sup> However, it has focused attention on international institutions as a system of checks and balances on state actions and reactions. It has crystallized in the concept of international society presented by Hedley Bull and "looks instead at a common sense of international community" expressed by the English School of IR theory.<sup>39</sup> International society 'exists when a group of states, conscious of certain mutual interests and values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with each other, and share in the working of

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<sup>32</sup> Bull.

<sup>33</sup> Brian C. Schmidt, *The Political Discourse of Anarchy: A Disciplinary History of International Relations* (Albany: State University of New York, 1998).

<sup>34</sup> Buzan, *An Introduction to the English School of International Relations*.

<sup>35</sup> See Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 1979), 127.

<sup>36</sup> See indicatively, Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*; Jack Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Joseph M. Grieco, "Realist International Theory and the Study of World Politics," in *New Thinking in International Relations Theory*, ed. Michael W. Doyle and John G. Ikenberry (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), 163–201; John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," *International Security* 15, no. 1 (Summer 1990): 5–56; John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/95): 5–49; Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Robert Gilpin, "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism," in *Realism and its Critics*, ed. Robert O. Keohane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

<sup>37</sup> See Joseph M. Grieco, *Cooperation among Nations: Europe, America, and Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990); Joseph M. Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation..."; Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (January 1978): 167–214.

<sup>38</sup> Ian Manners, "The Missing Tradition of the ES: Adding Nietzschean Relativism and World Imagination to Extranational Studies," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 32, no. 2 (June 2003): 248.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

common institutions'.<sup>40</sup> More broadly, as Andrew Linklater notes, "States are not condemned to compete for power and security; indeed, they form a society that preserves a remarkably high level of order in the context of anarchy (understood not as chaos but as the absence of government)."<sup>41</sup>

By the same token, institutions operate as constraining principles within the anarchic International System through its upgrading to a collective security system. This mechanism is expressed in the UN charter, particularly in chapter seven. Furthermore, the sizable effect of states competition for world markets<sup>42</sup> and the independent variable of international trade "increasingly trumps territory as a source of national power,"<sup>43</sup> confirming that "for some kinds of transactions, borders may have practically no meaning."<sup>44</sup>

An additional problematic that is related with the notion of international society is the globalization strand of liberalist thought,<sup>45</sup> which claims that the increasing interconnectivity of actors on local, regional and global level mutates the traditional notion of borders and elevates the human capital over national power.

The diminishing value of state capacity materializes in a series of globalists' contentions about a "borderless" world<sup>46</sup> or the gradual devaluation of states' borders in terms of economic,<sup>47</sup> political<sup>48</sup> and social-cultural<sup>49</sup> significance, even of useless state borders due to the fact that "for some kinds of transactions, borders may have practically no meaning."<sup>50</sup>

By extending the syllogism of the globalization strand to its logical conclusion, which are the notions of 'supra-territoriality' and "globality that transcends the sovereign states system and establishes transnational forces, communities and ideals,"<sup>51</sup> we meet the cosmopolitanism in revolutionist thought. Cosmopolitanism tries to overcome the 'romance of the nation-state' by seeing "the world as a great society of humankind and argues against the presumption that groups of individuals, such as states, have moral

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Andrew Linklater, "The English School Conception of International Society: Reflections on Western and non-Western Perspectives," *Ritsumeikan Annual Review of International Studies* 9 (2010): 2.

<sup>42</sup> John Stopford and Susan Strange, *Rival States, Rival Firms: Competition for World Markets Shares* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>43</sup> Richard N. Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).

<sup>44</sup> Beth A. Simmons, "Rules over Real Estate: Trade, Territorial Conflict, and International Borders as Institution," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 6 (December 2005): 823–48.

<sup>45</sup> Andrew Moravcsik, "Liberal International Relations Theory: A Scientific Assessment," in *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*, ed. Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), 159–204; Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Liberal International Relations Theory and International Economic Law," *American University International Law Review* 10, no. 2 (1995): 717–743.

<sup>46</sup> Ohmae.

<sup>47</sup> Richard O'Brien, *Global Financial Integration: The end of Geography* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1992).

<sup>48</sup> Blatter.

<sup>49</sup> Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

<sup>50</sup> O'Brien; Simmons, 826.

<sup>51</sup> John Williams, "Pluralism, Solidarism and the Emergence of World Society in English School Theory," *International Relations* 19, no. 1 (March 2005): 21.

priority over the individuals who compose them.”<sup>52</sup> In Wight’s argument, cosmopolitanism as a typical strand of revolutionism is embedded in the idea of a world civil society to describe the theoretical trend that “moved beyond geopolitics to a condition in which all communities can co-exist amicably without the threat or use of force.”<sup>53</sup> Revolutionism embraces “forms of universalist cosmopolitanism,” i.e., communism, liberalism, giving primacy to the “non-state aspects of the system,” in a way that raises a transnational ontological scheme<sup>54</sup>. In this manner, “humanity as a whole constitute”<sup>55</sup> a discrete agent within the international system with institutionalized moral-political obligations and rights.<sup>56</sup> Hence, revolutionism tries to overcome the foundational background of the international system, i.e., the notion of state heterogeneity and the anarchic organizational principle, using individuals both as constitutional aspects and driving force of the establishment of world society. The end goal is the formation of a world society or a “great society of humankind.”<sup>57</sup> However, the assimilation of intra-state and interstate is accomplished through hegemonic, transnational or proselytism practices, so as to eliminate the international heterogeneity.

### **The question of borders’ validity in the Covid Pandemic era**

In the face of all the theoretical controversies that we have developed in the above narrative, we now turn to a core question of our treatise:

How to represent the ambiguous reading of the framework of the postmodern covid pandemic era, regarding the necessary permeability of national borders and a stateless world on one hand and the more restrictive management of the borders control system as well as the ubiquity of territorial rule as a foundational background of Modern International system and the core instrument to halt the covid pandemic on the other.

Before going deeper in delving into the validity of state borders in combination with the theoretical strands of IR, we should first determine and analyse the theoretical notion of it (state borders). The conventional wisdom connects the creation of borders with internal and external issues of state establishment as a primary institution of socio-political life. The former ones are associated with the notion of order and justice on the domestic (intrastate) level. The latter are linked to the issue of national security and the struggle for power on the interstate level. As Newman and Paasi stress:

“Westphalian-style territorial borders, are constructed and reconstructed in the search for control and power.”<sup>58</sup>

Also Spruyt<sup>59</sup> pointed out that: “[b]orders enabled sovereigns to specify limits to their authority and also precisely specify who their subjects were.”<sup>60</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Mark Hoffman, “States Cosmopolitanism and Normative International Theory,” *Paradigms* 2, no. 1 (June 1988): 67.

<sup>53</sup> Linklater, 2.

<sup>54</sup> As Buzan describes it “does not rest on an ontology of states but, given the transnational element, neither it rests entirely on one of individuals.” Barry Buzan, *An Introduction to the English School of International Relations*, 13.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>56</sup> Peter A. Furia, “Global Citizenship, Anyone? Cosmopolitanism, Privilege and Public Opinion,” *Global Society* 19, no. 4 (2005): 338.

<sup>57</sup> Buzan, *An Introduction to the English School of International Relations*, 118.

<sup>58</sup> Williams, 30.

<sup>59</sup> Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 155.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in Goemans, 30.

Borders do not only demarcate state sovereignty but also confirm the essential rule of interstate relations –international anarchy – by determining here from there, inside from outside. Borders demonstrate the core objects of states' foreign policy, competing for control and power.

Moreover, from an anthropological perspective, “borders are... meaning-making and meaning-carrying entities, parts of the cultural landscape.”<sup>60</sup> As George Simmel mentioned, “border is not a spatial fact with a sociological impact, but a sociological fact that shapes spatially.”<sup>61</sup>

“In fact, in a global context of fear and uncertainty, borders may generate a (perhaps false) sense of protection, stability and most importantly legitimacy for struggling governments. After all, borders are the ultimate symbol of state power.”<sup>61</sup>

Having provided an overview of borders' definition and function, we now turn to the issue of borders' instrumentalization under the auspices of the mainstream thought wave of International Theory. The realist criticism is concerned with the notion of borders and territory in a dualistic reading, as a principal means of survival, but also employed to the end of obtaining a higher power ranking.

“Borders are territorial divisions—the object of zero-sum state competition for power, prestige, lebensraum, or an imagined historical identity.”<sup>62</sup>

The key word here is “defensible borders,” as the armour of the state against its external threats.<sup>63</sup> “If leaders could draw mutually defensible borders, the probability of international disputes and war should be significantly reduced.”<sup>64</sup>

Based on rational military strategic considerations, states attempt to construct defensible borders in order to realize its territorial jurisdiction and ethnic identity as well as to coordinate their expectations due to its sensitivity to “the unexpected consequence of new institutional arrangements.”<sup>65</sup>

Sketched under rational political and strategic considerations “territorial borders, are constructed and reconstructed in the search for control and power.”<sup>66</sup> This is a logical consequence of the primary goal of states' grand strategy to attain security for itself by detecting, assessing and controlling “security threats before they reach the border and after they have crossed.”<sup>67</sup>

The second notion of territory, namely as a basic means of state status and role upgrade, is verified by the historical sequences of Great Powers' foundation as empires or

<sup>61</sup> Jaume Castan Pinos and Steven M. Radil, “The Covid-19 Pandemic has Shattered the myth of a Borderless Europe,” *LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) blog*, 12 Jun 2020, accessed April 11, 2021, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2020/06/12/the-covid-19-pandemic-has-shattered-the-myth-of-a-borderless-europe/>.

<sup>62</sup> Simmons, 824.

<sup>63</sup> Louise I. Shelley, “Border Issues: Transnational Crime and Terrorism,” in *Borders and Security Governance. Managing Borders in a Globalised World*, ed. Marina Caparini and Otwin Marenin (Reihe: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), 2006), 233.

<sup>64</sup> David B. Carter and Hein E. Goemans, “The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict,” *International Organization* 65, no. 02 (April 2011): 280.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>66</sup> Williams, 30.

<sup>67</sup> Otwin Marenin, “Democratic Oversight and Border Management: Principles, Complexity and Agency Interests,” in *Borders and Security Governance. Managing Borders in a Globalised World*, ed. Marina Caparini and Otwin Marenin (Reihe: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), 2006), 10.

peripheral hegemonies. As J. Mearsheimer stresses, the size of a state's population and wealth are the latent power and a precondition for a state's power ranking.<sup>68</sup>

In marked contrast to realism's assumption, rationalism offers a normative function for state borders as a pre-suppositional institutional element for the maintaining of the international order. "International borders not only provide physical security and resources but also order national and transnational economic and social life."<sup>69</sup>

In this respect, state borders have a dual core function, depending on which of the two opposing perspectives one adopts – inside or outside the state milieu. Inside the state milieu, "borders are 'designed to specify the basic structure of property rights and control of the state [in this context, *between* states]'.<sup>70</sup> Outside of state structure, borders are delineated to "minimize uncertainty and transaction cost"<sup>71</sup> so as to promote practice of free trade in conjunction with the decrease of contentious territorial, identity or national disputes and the rise of national wellbeing. This means that the notion of territoriality and national borders is a fundamental rule of international law, which reflects states' practice throughout history, something that is replicated in a series of international treaties. If we must refer briefly to these treaties, we should mention:

"The UN Charter of 1945, as noted, affirmed states' obligation not to use force to alter states' boundaries. [...]"

The 1960 UN Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples made clear that it was existing colonies, and not ethnic groups, that were eligible for independence. [...]"

In 1970 the UN General Assembly approved a comparable normative statement in the Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States. There is clearly no ambiguity as to whether these major UN declarations supported respect for the territorial integrity of juridical states and existing colonies [...]"

Several decades afterwards, however, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) adopted strong and well-publicized stands in favour of the sanctity of existing state boundaries. The 1963 OAU Charter contains a strong article in support of territorial integrity (Article 3), [...]"

In 1975 the CSCE reiterated the same principle in the Helsinki Final Act:

"Frontiers can [only] be changed, in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreement". [...]"

At the end of the Cold War, the 1990 Charter of Paris for a New Europe reiterated exactly the same principle, as have all subsequent conferences concerning international boundaries, including the 1995 Dayton peace treaty that settled the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. [...]"

In the 1990s, both the European Union (EU) and NATO proclaimed that all new members must have accords with contiguous states as to their borders. [...]"<sup>72</sup>

Implicitly, the globalization literature contains the assumption of a "borderless" world or the "eclipse of the state."<sup>73</sup> Globalists argue "that we live in a world in which

<sup>68</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 60–67.

<sup>69</sup> Simmons, 827.

<sup>70</sup> Douglass C. North, *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York: Norton, 1981); Simmons, 827.

<sup>71</sup> Carter and Goemans, 283.

<sup>72</sup> Zacher, 221–222.

territory matters less and human capital matters more to national power.” It also entreats us to believe that markets elude national boundaries; some commentators even suggest that our world is increasingly “borderless”.<sup>74</sup> This assumption takes the form of state *re-territorialisation*. The point here, therefore, is “rescaling processes through which new, multiscale hierarchies of state institutional organization, political authority and regulatory conflict are being generated.”<sup>75</sup> As a result, the notion of borders is no longer understood as a foundational background of state formation, but “as multidimensional semiotic and political-economic practices through which state power is articulated and contested at a range of geographical scales and in a range of institutional sites.”<sup>76</sup> It is worth noting that since its conception, the idea of a world without borders has been a central point of reference in various utopian traditions. Suffice it to recall the study of E.H. Carr analysing the utopian approach to international politics. While the very concept of utopia, “refers to that which has no borders, beginning with the imagination itself”. The power of utopianism is based on the ability to demonstrate the tension that exists between borderlessness, movement and place. In the post-Cold War period this tension continues in current debates about movement-based social processes, in particular international migration, open borders, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism.

On the other side of the spectrum, the most provocative and less paradigmatic perspective of revolutionism uses its cosmopolitanism strand to deconstruct the conventional wisdom of “fixed, unproblematic and inconsequential property of statehood.”<sup>77</sup> The end product is not a new territorial formation but a world society, without spatial, national, political, secular, social and economic demarcations.

The restructuring of the international system under the auspices of cosmopolitanism “entails the complete dissolution of entrenched political geographies.”<sup>78</sup> Human beings will create new forms of socio-political organization through ideological configurations inherited from the revolutionist dogma as they are reflected by the sovereign political ideology of each historical era. However, the major obstacle is how revolutionism escapes international heterogeneity by using simultaneously the doctrinal uniformity and opinionated imperialism.<sup>79</sup>

### **The Interconnectedness between borders and security**

The development of states practices in historical perspective proved that the hypothesis of a borderless world was invalid. Even though the end of the cold war and the new world order open the gates of globalization as a buzzword to describe the notion of borderless and deterritorialized world, borders and territory continue to matter in a whole range of registers. Typical examples are cross-border conflicts in various forms and extent, such as differences between cross-border populations (Kurds, Pashtuns, Bosniaks of

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<sup>73</sup> Peter B. Evans, “The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in an era of Globalization,” *World Politics* 50, no. 1, Fiftieth Anniversary Special Issue (October 1997), 62–87.

<sup>74</sup> Simmons, 826.

<sup>75</sup> Neil Brenner, “Urban Governance and the Production of new State Spaces in Western Europe, 1960–2000,” in *The Disoriented State. Shifts in Governmentality, Territoriality and Governance*, ed. Bas Arts, Arnoud Legendijk and Henk van Houtum (Dordrecht; [London?]: Springer, 2009), 42.

<sup>76</sup> Newman and Paasi, 186–207; Markus Perkmann and Ngai Ling Sum, eds., *Globalization, Regionalization and Cross-Border Regions* (London: Palgrave, 2002). All in Brenner, 42.

<sup>77</sup> Brenner, 42.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>79</sup> Buzan, *From International to World Society...*, 34.



Sandzak, Magyars, Albanians), symbolic conflicts associated with separatist movements (Kosovo), the conflicts over the distribution of resources (Sudan, Eastern Mediterranean, South China Sea, Nile), and the frozen border conflicts (Moldova-Transnistria, Russia-Estonia, Peru-Chile).<sup>80</sup>

Suffice it to recall the cases of the successor states that emerged from the collapse of the existing socialist regimes in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Respectively, in areas of the Balkans (Kosovo), the Caucasus (Chechnya), East Africa (Ethiopia-Eritrea), “self-determination movements, such as the campaign for an independent Kurdistan, the independence of East Timor, the long-running disputes in Western Sahara, Tibet, East Turkistan, and many other areas show that numerous groups seek control of territory occupied by a state”<sup>81</sup> and ethnic conflicts demonstrate the persistence of these issues. For example, the fragmentation of Somalia into de facto but unrecognized states, the independence of South Sudan and the ongoing border tensions, the Arab-Israeli conflict, “the territorial dimensions of the ‘war on terror,’ environmental disasters, resource ownership, migration, and climate change, especially in terms of the melting sea ice in the Arctic and the need to delimit maritime boundaries.”<sup>82</sup>

In addition, the international land borders are close to 252,000 kilometres today, of which 26,000 kilometres were created from 1991 onwards.

Moreover, the utopia of a borderless world confirms E.H. Carr assumption of the “utopian” stage of the political sciences as investigators tend to devalue reality (existing facts) “to ignore what was and what it is in contemplation of what should be”<sup>83</sup> or to disregard the causality thesis. It is this strand of thought of political liberalism, the theory of functionalism that took place in Western Europe after the end of WWII. The essential need for security and the German issue drove West European countries to cooperate under the auspices of USA geopolitical-geostrategic interest to contain USSR in the perimeter of Eurasia. The functional spill-over effect from low to high politics, with the establishment of Eurozone in tandem with German reunification, followed the widening and deepening of EU, and the internalization of the three liberal freedoms as a result of European integration, led to the “idea that borders have become obsolete.”<sup>84</sup>

“Since the end of the Cold War, Europe has been the geographical centre of the idea of a borderless world. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, economic integration, the apparent abolition of internal borders through the Schengen Agreement, and the continued enlargement of the EU (at least until Brexit) have all contributed to the perception that borders were part of Europe’s past, not its future.”<sup>85</sup>

However, a number of events, such as the refugee crisis, Brexit, the resurgence of nationalist movements across Europe, and the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic with the ensuing border measures, have shown that border functions have remained strong and are still centrally governed by nation states. In particular, the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic led to a massive return of the nation state. The nation-state remains the primary reference framework for citizens to voice their demands for protection or in which they negotiate the risks that society as a whole or the individual must take. Without ignoring

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<sup>80</sup> See, Joan Vicente Rufi et al., 3.

<sup>81</sup> Elden, 2.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> J.D.B. Miller, “E. H. Carr: The Realist’s Realist,” *The National Interest*, no. 25 (1991): 65–71, accessed July 8, 2021, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42894766>, especially p. 65

<sup>84</sup> Pinos and Radil.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

the reality of the global risk society, which has been highlighted once again by the covid pandemic, the risk management of international organizations, including the EU, must be based primarily on national and local structures. Detection of infection chains, for example, works much less effectively in cross-border contexts. National governments around the world have taken extensive measures to control the spread of the disease, from decisions to close shops, restaurants and schools to a complete closure of public life.<sup>86</sup>

Conversely, the EU member states produced an unprecedented set of measures at the onset of Covid-19 pandemic which reduced the “prospects for cooperation and mutual support among states.”<sup>87</sup> It would immediately predict the national self-help and “us first” mentality that characterizes the global management of Covid-19 and its consequences. Twenty-five years after the implementation of the Schengen agreement in Western Europe, a re-bordering process could be observed. The political response of the EU member states to the Covid-19 pandemic crystalized in “a swift rebordering” relying on a strategy “of tightening borders as a core tactic to fight the virus.”<sup>88</sup> In the middle of March 2020, borders in the Schengen area were closed, border controls introduced, and the freedom of movement restricted. Invisible borders again marked their presence in public space and became the focus of attention of policymakers, the media and ordinary citizens. In this background, they demonstrated the power of states that use borders as tools to protect their territory from the spreading of the virus.

“During the Covid-19 pandemic crisis, the majority of Schengen states have partially or totally sealed their land, sea and air borders with the outside world, including to their Schengen/EU partners. [...] In parallel, external EU borders have also become impermeable following restrictions to non-EU nationals.”<sup>89</sup>

As the pandemic spread, EU countries not only closed their borders and organized national health strategies to manage the pandemic, but also lifted many existing regulations such as competition law, fiscal discipline and free movement across national borders.<sup>90</sup>

“In Europe, the crisis is a fundamental challenge to the principles of the EU – notably solidarity, policy coordination, and free movement across national borders.”<sup>91</sup> In particular, the temporal reintroduction of national border controls within the Schengen area may jeopardise the European project. According to Nicolas Schmit, Jobs and Social Rights Commissioner, the closure of borders such as that between Germany and Luxembourg was “just a reflex, which doesn’t add anything to health security (New York Times, 17 April 2020).”<sup>92</sup>

The security dilemma and the uncertainty about the future have led states to rely on the principle of self-help, leaving Italy, Europe's most troubled country, to find itself

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<sup>86</sup> Matthias Eckardt, Kalle Kappner, and Nikolaus Wolf, “Covid-19 across European Regions: the role of Border Controls,” *CAGE Online Working Paper Series* 507 (2020).

<sup>87</sup> Rajesh Basrur and Frederick Kliem, “Covid-19 and International Cooperation: IR Paradigms at Odds,” *SN Social Sciences* 1, no. 7 (November 2020). 1007/s43545-020-00006-4.

<sup>88</sup> Castan Pinos and Radil.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Basrur and Kliem.

<sup>91</sup> Claudia Biancotti et al., “The case for a Coordinated COVID-19 Response: No Country is an Island,” VoxEU.org, March 2020, accessed April 12, 2021, <https://voxeu.org/article/case-coordinated-covid-19-response-no-country-island>.

<sup>92</sup> Eckardt, Kappner, and Wolf.

helpless for weeks after the spirit of the EU single market was violated by the decision to ban exports of pharmaceutical equipment.<sup>93</sup>

The treatment of the pandemic by the EU Member States, through the activation of the symbolic function of the borders, demonstrates its role and function as the most effective means of safeguarding national interests. Apart from the fact that they define and divide the interior from the exterior of a community, they are related to the security of a state and the subjective interpretation that the respective national government forges. Typically, many leaders have used the “war metaphors” as a “widespread strategy in public speech”<sup>94</sup> to explain the challenges facing states in fighting a very unusual and tiny enemy, such as a virus.

Beginning with President Emmanuel Macron address to his Nation, who “repeated “*Nous sommes en guerre*” (“We are at war”) six times and was soon followed by British Prime Minister Boris Johnson and by US President Donald Trump, who presented themselves as wartime leaders.” Followed by the Italian Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte “remembered all the Italians who were fighting in the trenches of the hospitals” and “the leader of the right opposition party, Matteo Salvini, who on the 12th of March, [...] claimed: “During wartime, war measures must be adopted.”

Concluding with the declaration of Domenico Arcuri, the Special Commissioner for the COVID-19 Emergency, on the 22nd of March: We are at war, we have to find the weapons” and Mario Draghi (former president of the European Central Bank) who on 25 March affirmed that “we face a war against coronavirus and must mobilize accordingly.”<sup>95</sup>

At a time when an emergency pandemic threatens daily life, the external borders have (re) assigned the function of promoting a sense of protection from external threats, even when the virus has already been well introduced in Europe. In another perspective and to varying degrees depending on the country in question, the closure of the external borders has been seen as a “normal” extension of national lock-in measures, which are very strict in some Member States, prohibiting movement within the country and even from home.

The re-emergence of the state, as a sovereign and a primary agent to handle the spread and effects of covid 19 is confirmed by a series of measures, most notably the closure of borders to limit the spread of the coronation, as well as the expanded role of national governments in financing health services and national health systems. While some government measures can undoubtedly combat Covid-19 short-term insecurity, Covid-19 not only affects a state's mortality but has far-reaching implications for human development and verifies the uncertainty feature which will continue to promote cross-border insecurity for years to come.

Even powerful individual states such as the US, the UK and Australia cannot be safe from the various effects of the pandemic until all people around the world are free from its effects, given the prolonged potential for future outbreaks and of innate

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<sup>93</sup> Elisabeth Braw, “The EU is Abandoning Italy in its hour of Need,” *Foreign Policy*, 14 March 2020, accessed May 8, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/03/14/coronavirus-eu-abandoning-italy-china-aid/>; “Germany bans Export of Medical Protection gear due to Coronavirus,” *Reuters*, March 4, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/health-coronavirus-germany-exports/germany-bans-export-of-medicalprotection-gear-due-to-coronavirus-idUSL8N2AX3D9>; Basrur and Kliem.

<sup>94</sup> Francesca Panzeri, Simona Di Paola, and Filippo Domaneschi, “Does the COVID-19 war Metaphor Influence Reasoning?” *PLoS ONE* 16, no. 4 (April 2021): e0250651. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0250651>.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

confidence in the globalized world. By focusing an international human response more closely on the World Health Organization's (WHO) concept of global health, the whole spectrum of people will have adequately addressed Covid-19 with safety.

Consistent with Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) response that “the COVID-19 crisis has a strong territorial dimension with significant policy implications for managing its consequences.”<sup>96</sup>

The covid pandemic takes on a strong territorial dimension, as all national governments are called upon to manage the asymmetric impact of it on their health, economic, social and fiscal sectors, both domestically and regionally. The asymmetric results in health and socio-economic level were initially reflected in large urban areas. For example:

“In the People’s Republic of China (hereafter ‘China’), 83% of confirmed cases were concentrated in Hubei province. In Italy, the country’s north was hardest hit, and one of the wealthiest regions in Europe, Lombardy, registered the highest number of cases (47% as of November) (Italian Government Covid-19 Data Platform, 2020). In France, the regions of Île-de-France and Grand Est were the most affected with 34% and 15% of national cases respectively (French Government Covid-19 Data Platform, 2002). In the United States, New York had the largest share of federal cases (14.6%), followed by Texas (8%). In Canada, the provinces of Quebec and Ontario accounted for respectively 61% and 31% of total cases as of November (Canadian Government Covid-19 Data Platform, 2020[8]). In Chile, Metropolitan Santiago accounted for 70% of cases as of November (Chile Ministry of Health, 2020). In Brazil, Sao Paulo registered 25% of cases as of November (Brazilian Government Covid-19 Data Platform, 2020). In India, the State of Maharashtra registered 21% of confirmed cases and in Russia, Moscow represented 24% of total cases as of November.”<sup>97</sup>

The high mortality rate and wide range of covid 19 on a global scale have led to its territorial stalemate through the formulation of diversified national policies and strong intergovernmental coordination to manage the resulting economic, social, health and fiscal crises. From a public health point of view, many countries adopt different territorial approaches, for example on mask policies or lock downs. National governments “are responsible for critical aspects of health care, from primary care to secondary care, including hospital management, [...] for welfare services and social transfers [...] and for ensuring the continuity of public services in a crisis context, adapting these as necessary, and protecting their own staff.”<sup>98</sup>

Similarly, national governments are managing the educational system, “the closing and reopening of schools,” emergency services and police, so as “to ensure control, security and rescue.”<sup>99</sup>

At the socio-economic level, governments provide massive budget support to protect businesses, households and vulnerable populations. They have spent more than \$ 12 trillion worldwide since March 2020. Many countries and the EU have reallocated public funding to crisis priorities, supporting healthcare, SMEs, vulnerable populations and crisis-hit areas. In addition, more than two-thirds of OECD countries have introduced

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<sup>96</sup> OECD, “The Territorial Impact of COVID-19: Managing the Crisis across Levels of Government,” June 16, 2020, accessed July 16, 2021, <https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/the-territorial-impact-of-covid-19-managing-the-crisis-across-levels-of-government-d3e314e1/#bibliod1e5202>.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

measures of backing subnational funding – in terms of expenditure and revenue – and have relaxed fiscal rules. Many governments have announced large investment recovery packages – already much larger than those approved in 2008 – focusing on public investment. These investment recovery packages prioritize three areas: strengthening health systems, digitization and accelerating the transition to a carbon-neutral economy.<sup>100</sup>

### Conclusion

In retrospect we can see that the core question is whether the notion of state borders/territoriality is obsolete in the postmodern covid 19 pandemic era or are the primary means to deal with external threats. As confirmed via empirical analysis and under the auspices of future uncertainty of the covid 19 global challenge, the return to the nation-state is viewed as the safest shelter for human societies.

The global health crisis confirms the strengthening of the nation-state in contrast to the neoliberal logic of weakening state sovereignty and upgrading the position-role of transnational actors (international institutions-organizations, individuals, interest groups, multinationals NGOs, etc.). Undoubtedly, the concept of globalization of the increasing intensity, extent and speed of interconnection of the local with the regional and planetary level, is at the centre of the discussion, either as an accelerator or as a therapist of the problem. As Henry Farrell (Professor of Political Science and International Relations at George Washington University) and Abraham Newman (Professor at the distinguished Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Policy at the same university) explain:

“Not only has globalization allowed for the rapid spread of contagious disease but it has fostered deep interdependence between firms and nations that makes them more vulnerable to unexpected shocks.”<sup>101</sup>

Conversely, the Governor of the Bank of Greece, John Stournaras, in his annual report, emphasizes the need for international interdisciplinary cooperation to deal with the pandemic: “The international dimension puts on the table the absolute need for international cooperation and coordination in the scientific-epidemiological field mainly, but also in the fiscal-monetary.”<sup>102</sup>

Nevertheless, nation-states have been and continue to be central actors in the international system and the safest refuge for people to survive. As the American political scientist Steven Walt points out:

“Every few years, scholars and analysts estimate that the role of states in world affairs is becoming less and less important and other actors or social forces (i.e., NGOs, multinational companies, international terrorism, world markets, etc.) undermine state sovereignty and push the state to the basket of history. But when new dangers arise, people turn to national governments for protection before anything else.”<sup>103</sup>

Hence the coronavirus pandemic has again demonstrated that the idea of a borderless Europe and de-territorialisation is not resilient to crisis. Territorial borders are still perceived by national states as providing security and in a risk situation they are used

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman, “Will the Coronavirus end Globalization as we Know It? The Pandemic is Exposing Market Vulnerabilities no one Knew Existed,” *Foreign Affairs* (March, 2020): 26–31.

<sup>102</sup> Bank of Greece, accessed June 7, 2021, bankofgreece.gr.

<sup>103</sup> James Crabtree et al., “The Future of the State. Ten Leading Global Thinkers on Government after the Pandemic,” *Foreign Policy*, May 16, 2020, accessed June 20, 2021, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/16/future-government-powers-coronavirus-pandemic/>.

as a control mechanism to protect national interests. As Martin Klatt claims, the state “has returned as single actor, replacing practices of cross-border multi-level governance. Measures were taken from a state centred perspective, regarding the state as a bordered container.”<sup>104</sup> It can be argued that these top-down decisions “are fuelling the narrative that foreign people and foreign goods are a source of danger and vulnerability”<sup>105</sup> and thus construct the social boundaries of the ‘others’ as a threat.

In this view, territorial borders are much more than lines in the sand. They are the foundational background for state existence and operation, both as a vehicle of society’s wellbeing as well as the shield against external threats. Apart from “living in a ‘borderless’ world, we live for the most part in a *well-bordered world*—one in which humans have accepted the boundaries of state jurisdiction and sovereignty and have gone on to trade, invest, travel, and communicate across well-established political jurisdiction.”<sup>106</sup> Thus, to consolidate stability within the international system and to keep international order, so that the former remains operable, one precondition has to be met: the worldwide recognition of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. In other words, “governments have accepted as settled the first-order question of who is formally sovereign over what geographical space.”<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Martin Klatt, “What has Happened to our Cross-Border Regions? Corona, Unfamiliarity and Transnational Borderlander Activism in the Danish-German Border Region,” *Borders in Perspective* 4 (June 2020): 43–47, <https://doi.org/10.25353/ubtr-xxxx-b825-a20b>. doi:10.25353/ubtr-xxxx-b825-a20b; Elzbieta Opiłowska, “The Covid-19 Crisis: The end of a Borderless Europe?” *European Societies* 23 (sup1) (February 2021): S597.

<sup>105</sup> Edward Alden, “The World Needs to Reopen Borders before it’s too Late,” *Foreign Policy*, April 25, 2021, 1–7, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/08/25/reopen-borders-now/>; Opiłowska.

<sup>106</sup> Simmons, 843.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid. That means that state territoriality – internal & external sovereignty is a presuppositional condition both for the establishment of the international system and international order.

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## Impact of Covid-19 Pandemic on Cross-Border Cooperations: Focusing on Local Products and Values

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**Abstract.** *The COVID-19 pandemic has several effects not only on our daily routine but also on world economics, politics and the environment too. The long term-effects of the pandemic are unpredictable yet. Preferences of online shopping were predictable and obvious. To avoid crowded shopping centres many people chose the advantages of online shopping. The new situation changed the buying behaviours and the selling behaviours too. The relations between the countries have also been re-evaluated, thus cross-border co-operation has changed. The present study discusses how the pandemic changed the situation of local production and its distribution especially in the field of cross-border co-operations. The authors briefly describe the impacts of COVID-19 on local values, which is coherently linked to local products and local foods.*

**Keywords:** *local food, local products, local values, COVID-19, pandemic, online shopping, cross-border co-operations*

### Introduction

2020 was a different year from the previous years. The COVID-19 pandemic has radically changed the global economy, politics, society and most probably it is going to have unpredictable long-term impacts too. Even before the pandemic changes could be observed in the shopping behaviours mostly caused by the widespread use of the internet and smart devices. Moreover, the needs of the society also changed. The COVID-19 epidemic entered this development process resulting in changes affecting the natural development processes in many cases. It caused an economic crisis in several sectors of the global as well as the local economy. General supply difficulties have emerged, many people lost their jobs and many businesses had to suspend or close down. The local values, products, foods and cross-border co-operations also sense the effects of the epidemic. The impacts of the COVID-19 on cross-border co-operations mean challenges which need to be tackled for the sustainability of cross-border relations on various levels including the activities related to the production and distribution of local values, products and foods.

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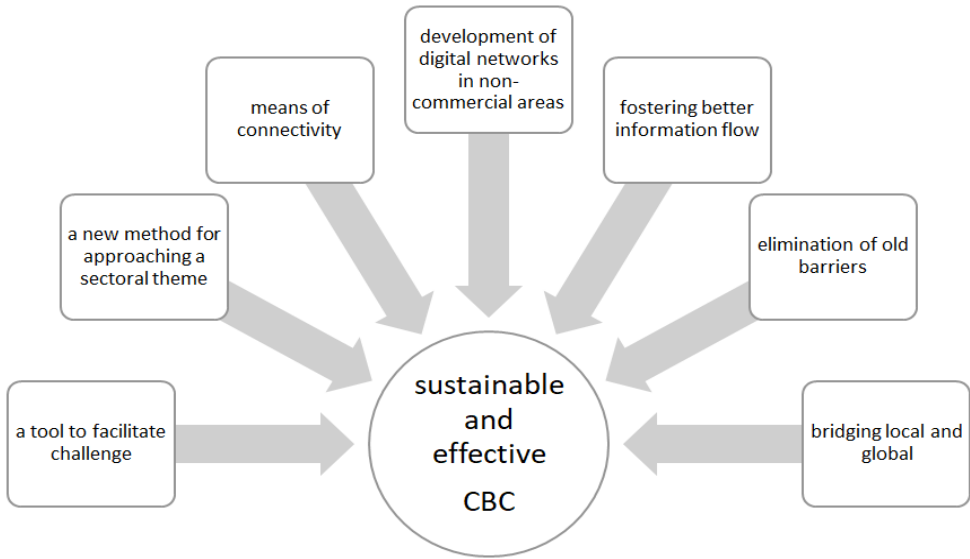
**Cross-border co-operations**

Cross-border co-operations have several aspects which directly affect the distribution of goods in border regions, including the human, social and economic factors. Cross-border co-operations are dual-faced in this respect, since they do not only generate and intensify the distribution of goods, but it works vice versa and the people living along the state borders promote cross-border co-operations. As all generally accepted definitions agree there are certain unifying and inhibiting factors which may promote or hinder cooperation between border regions in neighbouring countries. (Table 1)

**Table 1.** Possible unifying and inhibiting factors in cross-border co-operations

Unifying factors	Inhibiting factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• geographical location</li><li>• climate</li><li>• common history</li><li>• common cultural roots</li><li>• economic development</li><li>• economic structure</li><li>• trade</li><li>• language competency</li><li>• common goals and strategies</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• differing administrative systems and responsibilities</li><li>• different taxation systems</li><li>• different juridical and executive methods</li><li>• inadequate cross-border markets and supplies</li><li>• different methods in spatial planning and regional development</li><li>• differing measures in environmental protection and waste management</li><li>• different currencies</li><li>• lack of language competency</li></ul>

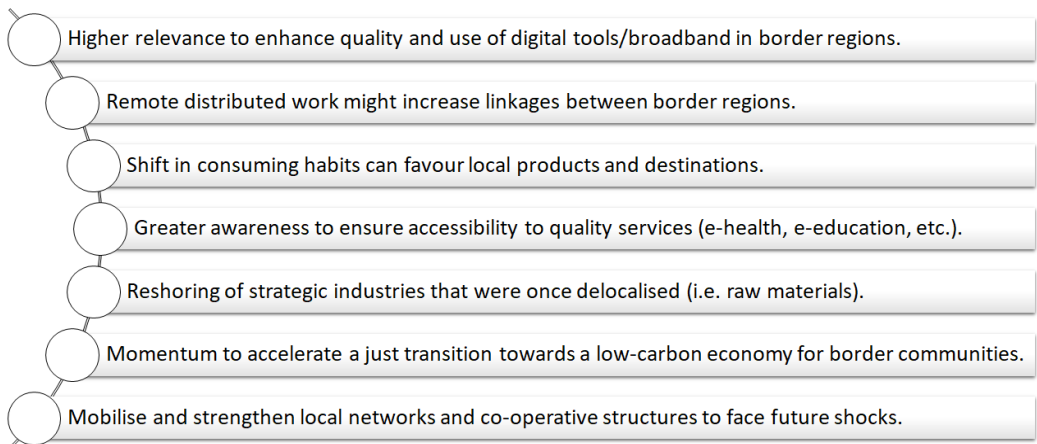
The pandemic further nuanced the intensity and sustainability of cross-border co-operations especially from the aspect of joint production and commercial activities across state borders. It became clear that there is an ever-increasing need for the expansion of digital inclusion, and it must be ensured that every level benefit from digital transformation in all fields. This was in favour of keeping down the negative impacts of social distancing. Thus, an increasingly important role of new technologies can be observed in the case of cross-border cooperation throughout Europe, including daily administration, management and a great variety of activities on the Internet, different digital platforms and using e-commerce. (Figure 1)



**Figure 1.** Role of digitalisation in (future) cross-border co-operations

However, only those who are equipped with necessary infrastructure and skills can benefit from the advantages of technological tools – requiring and also resulting in good connectivity. Cross-border co-operations and building new partnerships are more important than ever meaning in this case the creation of digital cross-border partnerships taking advantage of connectivity, digital skills, e-governments, entrepreneurship, and job creation.

The OECD Report entitled “Policy implications of coronavirus crisis for rural development” published in 2020 collected the positive impacts of COVID-19 and the resulting restrictions. Border regions and cross-border co-operations may actually take advantage of the situation if the stakeholders act locally and create a “cross-border local environment” for their products. (Figure 2)



**Figure 2.** What can border regions gain from COVID-19 and the resulting restrictions? (Based on “Policy implications of coronavirus crisis for rural development” OECD Report, 2020)

### Local foods and products

The definition of local foods and products is necessary to understand their role in the local and global economy. There are many definitions of local foods and products depending on several factors, by continent, but even within countries. For example, in the USA we can find definitions from 25 miles (approximately 40 km) up to 350 miles (approximately 563 km) and “a locally or regionally produced agricultural food product” may travel less than 400 miles (644 km) from its origin, or from the State in which it is produced. In Canada fruits and vegetables cannot be called “local” if the distance between the place where they are grown and where they are sold exceeds 50 km.<sup>1</sup> In Hungary the definitions place of origin defined as usually less than 50 km. In my opinion “local food” and “local product” should not be limited and linked to administrative borders. In some Hungarian definitions one may encounter a sense of local identity, like according to Tibor Gonda,<sup>2</sup> a local product is nothing else but:

- job means of creation and retention,
- the means of preservation and rebirth of traditions,
- the means of creation and maintenance of a liveable countryside,
- and a means of colouring and personalizing the tourist offer.

This definition highlights the most important element about the local products: they are more about the social environment than the place of origin. For example, a product made in a particular ethnographic area should be considered as a local product in the entire area covered by the group, regardless of administrative boundaries (including even state borders). Therefore, when talking about local products it does not matter whether the product is created on the Hungarian side or on the Slovakian side of the Palóc territory. The above definition can be regarded as unique also because it goes beyond the local product's “product” role. However, there are currently just a few cross-border co-operation projects which focus primarily on local products or local foods.

### Arguments in favour of local products in relation to the pandemic

Consuming local products in a pandemic situation has advantages. With the exception of the farmers' markets, the purchasing channels are mostly less crowded than the supermarkets and shopping malls. If we avoid crowded places, we are already doing a lot to avoid getting sick. The digitization of local production started before the COVID-19 pandemic which actually accelerated this process even more. Thanks to the Internet, local farmers are able to establish and maintain contact with the customers. Choosing local products has many clear advantages (being obvious not just during pandemic times). Of course, most hypermarkets have online platforms and webshops too, but using it could keep the local farmers in competition. Maybe the biggest advantage can be detected in its role in the economy and self-sufficiency of an area. We experienced how much the countries and individual regions were left alone in the situation caused by COVID-19. For each country, local products provide a solid basis, both in economic and political terms. If a country or region is able to support its own population with products, then it means they

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<sup>1</sup> Renée Johnson, Randy Alison Aussenberg, and Tadlock Cowan, “The Role of Local Food Systems in U.S. Farm Policy,” (CRS Report for Congress. Prepared for Members and Committees of Congress), *Congressional Research Service* 7-5700, R42155 (2013): 3–5, accessed October 01, 2021, <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/R42155.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> Tibor Gonda, “A helyi termék reneszánsza” [The renaissance of local products], in *A kultúra turizmusa a turizmus kultúrája* [The tourism of culture is the culture of tourism], ed. Aubert Antal, Gyuricza László, and Huszti Zsolt (Pécs: IDResearch Kft., PUBLIKON, 2012).



are less vulnerable and they are less dependent on external influences and impacts. Although global businesses have now become indispensable for the economy and the supply of the population by now, usually they are much more dependent on global effects. It means that the role of local products in the economies and policies is very important for self-sufficiency and rural development. These statements hold true among normal circumstances and even more in a global emergency, like the pandemic situation.

As mentioned above, local products should not be aligned with the line of a given administrative boundary (including national borders) only if there are differences between areas that justify it. Border settlements could not co-operate with each other due to the locked borders of the countries. As a result, cross-border co-operation on local products and values, which is just emerging and evolving, has suffered and been severely disrupted. Consequently, after 2020 and 2021 important development is not likely to be expected on cross-border co-operations aimed at the promotion of local values, products and foods.

### **Digital transformation**

The past few years or even decades were focused on digital development. Internet access actually made everything global. If you have a good idea or a good product you can easily reach anyone, even from the far corner of the world. Of course, it affects local production too. It provides an opportunity for the local producers. The Internet may generate extra turnover and income for the local producers. It might be a provocative question that if local products are available in the whole world, then should we still consider them as local products? Production still takes place locally, but distribution becomes a global matter. One may suppose that in the future customers are going to have a bit more important role in the supply chain in choosing “local” and in the following periods it depends on the customers what can be called local foods and products. To put it plain, if you are a purchaser and buy products online from the local farmer (who is farming in your local area), then you obviously consume local food. Nevertheless, if you buy products online from a farmer who is farming in other part of the country (which could be considered local for the people living there), then you do not consume local food... One of the most important criteria for local production, according to research-based international literature, is *local* distribution. Limiting consumption on online platforms is cumbersome and it definitely does not benefit any of the producers. Talking about local foods with long delivery miles, one of the biggest advantages of it is lost: freshness. Fresh food is not only healthier but also tastier. Another problem in this process is transportation and short supply chain completion with other partners. Local products and foods usually mean less pollution but shipping it even across continents; this advantage is lost. If the producer adds a (logistic) partner to the supply chain, then the producer has to make a compromise since a logistics company also wants to benefit from the completed business. It means that the producer has to make changes to the price of the product. If the product is more expensive (because of the delivery costs) the customers might decide to choose other products from other producers, but if the price is not changed (due to the delivery costs) the producer loses the delivery value. Of course, online shopping has already changed a lot in relation to local foods and products. The present study discusses only a somewhat extreme opportunity, because it is not too common – at least in Hungary – that local farmers produce mostly for global markets. Online shopping is a possibility for the conscious consumers as well. It is not obvious for the distribution of local products to completely lose its role with the digitalisation of distribution. The development of digital transformation certainly has a great impact on local products, and online sales platforms

are also expected to play an increasing role in the related processes. The development of digitalisation and online appearance in local production is slowly becoming the basis of competitiveness. In cross-border co-operations focusing their activities on local production digital transformation is a key factor. In a situation like the COVID-19 pandemic, the main contact platform is definitely the Internet for all contacts.

### **Online shopping**

Before the COVID-19 pandemic, online shopping showed a continuous increasing trend with the proliferation of the Internet and smart devices. One of the consequences of dealing with the epidemiological situation was a restriction on shops. This provided a great basis for the further expansion of online shopping. When doing business through webshops you can easily avoid not only the crowd but also the virus. In Hungary (mentioned as an example), we can also see that online commercial activities have played a significant role in the effects of the virus compared to the trends of previous years with an increase of 21% in the first quarter of 2020, while in the second quarter of 2020 the growth was 47% higher than the value for the same period in 2019.<sup>3</sup> From the beginning of the pandemic both globally and in terms of Hungary the number of searches on the topic of “online shopping” more than doubled. The viral situation has also changed the interests of sellers and pushed them towards digitalisation by changing customer habits.<sup>4</sup> The rise of online shopping has forced local producers into changes too. On the farms and in small shops it is easy to avoid the crowds but for the customers it is not too comfortable to visit the workshops and farms of various local producers as well as their shops for shopping all products you need even if talking about “local” products. This is even more so if you work in a home-office, when the shops do not cross your way to home, or there is no opportunity to visit them during the lunch break. With online shopping the customers could save time and travel expenses too, which is a very important aspect. The country borders were closed to customers on both sides. It meant that the easiest (and almost the only) way for buying products was online shopping. In cross-border co-operations it becomes necessary for the producers to operate a webshop in order not to lose customers.

### **Local values**

Tourism suffered the most as a result of the pandemic and the consequent restrictions. Local values (such as nature, local culture, gastronomy, etc.) constitute one of the chief cornerstones of local as well as national economies. Local values are surely responsible for the evolution of the main destinations for tourism. The long-term impacts of pandemics are hardly predictable – based on the latest virus outbreaks – because there have been no pandemic situations of any kind in recent decades. Usually, the abovementioned local values are connected to service staff or/and facilities built on it. As a result of the decline in the possibilities offered by tourism, a significant decrease in revenue is also expected, even the salaries for the employees are at stake. During the first round of the pandemic the tourism related businesses were mostly able to handle the

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<sup>3</sup> “rekordbővülést hozott a koronavírus az e-kereskedelemben” [the coronavirus has brought record in e-commerce], *gki digital.hu*, 02 september 2020, accessed october 10, 2021, [https://gkidigital.hu/2020/09/02/koronavirus\\_e-kereskedelem\\_oki\\_2020/](https://gkidigital.hu/2020/09/02/koronavirus_e-kereskedelem_oki_2020/).

<sup>4</sup> Eerzsébet Németh, Szabolcs László Gergely, and Benedek Mikes, “Elemzés. A turizmus helyzete - a járvány előtt és alatt” [Analysis. The situation of tourism before and after the pandemic] (Állami Számvevőszék [State Audit Office], 2021), accessed October 05, 2021, [https://www.asz.hu/storage/files/files/elemezsek/2021/turizmus\\_jarvany20210325.pdf?ctid=1307](https://www.asz.hu/storage/files/files/elemezsek/2021/turizmus_jarvany20210325.pdf?ctid=1307).

situation. However, due to the protracted epidemics and the restrictions introduced, many of them had to close down or hire workers. From March 2020 international tourism almost totally stopped because of the pandemic. The indicators of domestic tourism were better than in previous years, however, as Hungary's revenue from tourism was almost completely closed to foreign tourists, therefore it fell significantly and out of expectations. With the end of the epidemic, tourism is expected to become one of the driving forces of the economy again (according to previous crisis situations including the 2008 global economic crisis).<sup>5</sup> It is a question of how much time it needs to recover after the shock. Local values are usually also important actors from the aspect of cross-border co-operations. In the pandemic, co-operations in this sector were almost impossible. As a result, stagnation can be observed in the possibility of these collaborations and the year 2020 was meant mainly for joint planning without more practical or face-to-face events organised. Vaccinations and their impacts are promising, but this year is not yet expected to lead to a full recovery (with restrictions that have been in effect for almost half a year).

### **Immediate and short-term impacts of COVID-19 on local foods and products**

Understanding the first year of the pandemic can be demonstrated in terms of local products. In the initial phase of the pandemic, countries reacted in different ways since they had no experience of this kind. The first almost immediate reaction was that most countries closed their borders. This led to an immediate shopping wave, often resulting in a shortage of several products. This shock mainly affected the hypermarkets, because they suffered from the huge influx of buyers and the constant shortage of stocks. As it has been already mentioned above, the pandemic had and still has multi-layered impacts on local food and products. One of these was that the pandemic instantly changed the purchase behaviours.<sup>6</sup> Demand for fresh, locally produced products began to grow, especially for groceries and vegetables. This may have meant extra demand for local farmers.

As a result of the border closures, cross-border co-operations felt the effects of the epidemic almost immediately and co-operation on local products slowed down and stopped. The primary goal of countries has become to supply their own populations. In the case of local food, this was an expected step, but in the case of other local products, it actually could mean a loss of income for the producer as its market shrank in many cases. This decline has been somewhat offset by the extraordinary rise in online shopping, but many producers, especially the ones located near state borders, have often suffered greatly due to ignoring online platforms.

### **Long term impacts of COVID-19 on local foods and products**

Long term impacts are hardly predictable yet, because (as of October 2021) we are still under the pressure of the pandemic. It has been already experienced that the pandemic accelerated the ongoing digitalisation of local products. It was a natural development process and was already expected, although the pandemic just made it faster to happen. The biggest changes can be seen and measured in the attitudes towards local products and foods. Everybody experienced how vulnerable the global economic system is. Foundation and investment in local products and foods are everyone's interest, because it provides such a stable economic, social and emergency basis which is by all means

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Jagdish N. Sheth, "Borderless Media: Rethinking International Marketing," *Journal of International Marketing* 28, no. 1 (2020).

negligible. It is questionable, however, whether in the future the individual countries will strive for an even higher level of independence or will see opportunity and strength in cross-border co-operations as well. In Central Europe currently we can still experience the strengthening of nation states. Though, we can also see examples for strong co-operations like in the form of the Visegrád Group. Although, the Visegrád Group is more about political integration, but joint economic and cultural aspirations can also be observed between the member states.

### Conclusion

The COVID-19 pandemic affected cross-border co-operations, local production and the shopping habits too. It strongly intensified the effects of online shopping and digitalisation, and as a result they became widely used at all levels. Borders were closed, which meant less economic and trade connections between the countries, therefore local producers with cross-border customers felt the effect of the pandemic instantly. Tourism and leisure businesses based on local values (like the others) also immediately felt the hardships caused by the pandemic. The long-term impacts are hardly predictable yet (and we are still under the pressure of the coronavirus pandemic). In the future the online platforms is expected to change the local production and sales patterns and relationship systems. This process had already begun before the pandemic, it just further amplified the process. Nevertheless, the online sale of local products has positive as well as negative effects. On the one hand, it is expected to create popularity and larger market for the local products; while on the other hand, it blurs the boundaries and makes it harder to tell what is local and what is not, and thus local products get into the circulation of global markets.

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## An Overview of Romania's Pandemic Measures and their Effect upon Travel across the Romanian-Hungarian Border

Enya-Andrea TĂMAȘ\*

**Abstract.** *The coronavirus broke out in Europe in January 2020, throughout February and March, the number of pandemic-related measures increasing significantly. The crisis leads to the introduction of unprecedented restrictions across Member States, and the variety of national responses intensified with the evolution of the pandemic. In terms of internal measures, the most common choice was the introduction of a lockdown, while external measures generally included travel and entry restrictions and the reintroduction of border checks. Restrictions and bans on travel have an especially important meaning in the Schengen Area, the 'borderless' part of Europe. The article aims at making a radiography of government measures introduced in the fight against the pandemic in the European Union, with a special focus on Romania the effects of the restrictive measures on cross-border travel behaviour and patterns across the Romanian-Hungarian border. To achieve this, an online survey was conducted to analyse to what extent restrictive measures targeting travel affected cross-border travel towards Hungary. Both Romania and Hungary have followed the EU trend in their measures, and it seems that these, more or less, had an impact only on the frequency of travels across their shared border. Other aspects, such as changes in border-crossing process and citizen's acceptance of their domestic restrictions are also analysed here.*

**Keywords.** *Pandemic measures; travel restrictions; entry ban; Covid-19; Romanian-Hungarian border*

### Introduction

About two months after the first case of an atypical viral pneumonia was reported in the Chinese city of Wuhan, the WHO declared the novel coronavirus a global pandemic on 11 March 2020.<sup>1</sup> Even before declaring it as such, countries globally had begun to issue measures to limit or significantly slow the spread of the virus, closing borders, suspending international travel, placing restrictions on travellers arriving from Covid-19 hotspots. Officially, the virus broke out in Europe on 25 January<sup>2</sup>, and throughout February and March, the number of pandemic-related measures increased significantly, the crisis leading to the introduction of unprecedented measures across Member States (MS).

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<sup>1</sup> World Health Organization (WHO), "Opening Remarks by WHO Director-General at a Media Briefing on COVID-19," 11 March 2020, accessed July 29, 2021, <https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-Covid-19-11-march-2020>.

<sup>2</sup> Eric Maurice et al., "Covid-19: European Responses, a Complete Picture," *Policy Paper* (Robert Schuman Foundation, May 12, 2020), accessed July 27, 2021, <https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/doc/actualites/Covid19-26032020-en.pdf>.

The EU's internal border regions were one of the most gravely affected zones of Europe. Constituting almost half (40%) of the EU's territory, giving home to 30% of its population,<sup>3</sup> these regions were severely affected both economically and socially by the pandemic. After decades of gradually opening up borders, the Covid-19 crisis has "affected border regions in a way that had never been experienced since the establishment of the Single Market in 1992."<sup>4</sup> As most Member States decided to close their borders, we saw citizens and workers not being able to reach their workplaces and loved ones, leaving them in a very difficult and vulnerable position. In the blink of an eye, years of cooperation across borders was disrupted. The pace with which measures were issued during this period was unprecedented, its manner largely uncoordinated.

The article aims at making a radiography of government measures introduced in the fight against the pandemic in the European Union, with a special focus on Romania their effects on cross-border travel behaviour and patterns across the Romanian-Hungarian border. To achieve this, an online survey was conducted to analyse to what extent restrictive measures targeting travel affected cross-border travel towards Hungary. The motivation behind the choice on this particular border lies in the fact that this is the only Romanian border shared with a Schengen country, therefore having a very special status – both within and outside the 'borderless' Europe.

### *Methodology*

The present article contains three main parts, therefore multiple research approaches and methods have been used. The main research topic the article investigates addresses the measures taken by the government of Romania during the coronavirus pandemic. For this, the first part of the article aims to give an EU-wide context through exploring the nature of measures taken by other MS and the European institutions. Together with the second part which, as said, focuses on Romania during the pandemic, a descriptive approach has been adopted, relying mainly on the use of secondary data. The third part is more hybrid, as it combines both descriptive and an exploratory approach since new, primary data has been introduced. For all of these, both quantitative and qualitative data have been used.

All descriptive parts of the article rely on the analysis of existing data. Among the qualitative resources, one can observe the heavy reliance on national and EU legislation and governing acts, but relevant scholarly work has also been consulted. For the exploratory part the research data was collected through an online survey, made in Google Forms, distributed on social media platforms. The questionnaire had 5 parts: the introductory part contained questions about the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics, and was followed by 3 identical parts containing the same questions, but which referred to different time periods: before March 2020; between March 2020 – March 2021; after March 2021. The logic behind this partition was that, most restrictive

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<sup>3</sup> European Commission, "Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. Boosting Growth and Cohesion in the EU Border Regions," COM(2017) 534 final, Brussels, 20 September, 2017, accessed July 29, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/en/information/publications/communications/2017/boosting-growth-and-cohesion-in-eu-](https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/information/publications/communications/2017/boosting-growth-and-cohesion-in-eu-).

<sup>4</sup> European Committee of the Regions, "Public Consultations on the Future of Cross-Border Cooperation," (Report), 26 April, 2021, 33, accessed July 29, 2021, [https://portal.cor.europa.eu/egtc/about/Documents/Report\\_on\\_the\\_Consultations-Future\\_of\\_CBC.pdf](https://portal.cor.europa.eu/egtc/about/Documents/Report_on_the_Consultations-Future_of_CBC.pdf).



measures and travel bans were adopted during March. The time period between March 2020 – March 2021 can be regarded as the ‘core’ of the pandemic, in which the most restrictive measures have been in place. Although a total relaxation didn’t come with March 2021, the general availability of the vaccines saw the increase in the number of people exempt from bans and restrictions. Therefore, from March 2021 a return to normality can be observed to some extent. The questionnaire was distributed in July 2021 on social media platforms, 51 respondents answering our questions.

### ***Responses to Covid-19 pandemic in the European Union***

Bonardi et. al distinguish between two approaches taken by states in the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic: a. the ‘herd-immunity approach’, according to which the viral dissemination through the population is a necessity to achieve collective immunity, relied solely on containment public policy measures; b. the ‘lockdown approach’ meant that “most of a country’s population had to stay at home to stop the virus dissemination” to avoid over-crowding of hospital facilities and prevent the deaths of people. While some countries initially chose to follow the first approach, with the rapid evolution of the health crisis, within a few weeks most governments opted for the lockdown strategy.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, the choice of the majority in Europe was to try and stop the pandemic, through containment measures. By March, most EU MS have responded to the pandemic with national lockdowns, the reintroduction of border controls and restrictions to cross-border mobility, both intra- and extra-EU. The resulting picture was, and to a measure still is, a web of dynamic, multi-layered measures. The imposed restrictions reveal a large amount of differentiation, both in terms of their scope and their implementation.

### ***Member State responses***

Besides domestic restrictions, MS responses to the Covid-19 pandemic have led to an unprecedented closure of both internal and external EU borders, implemented in a unilateral, ad hoc and uncoordinated way. The variety of responses intensified with the evolution of the pandemic, some states lifting, others reiterating or exacerbating the temporary restrictions and controls, thus further amplifying the EU-wide fragmentation.

Although border controls and travel restrictions went hand in hand, it is essential to differentiate between the two instruments. According to Thym, border controls imply that people may only cross internal Schengen borders at official border crossing points, and nowhere else. Border controls erect a physical control infrastructure but they do not imply travel restrictions. On the other hand, travel restrictions or bans correspond to an almost complete border closure, except for some categories.<sup>6</sup>

The legal basis for the introduction of such measures is twofold. First of all, travel bans are covered by Art. 27 and Art. 29 of Directive 2004/38/EC, which state that “Member States may restrict the freedom of movement and residence of Union citizens and their family members, irrespective of nationality, on grounds of public policy, public security or public health” (Art. 27 – para. 1, Directive 2004/38), and that the “only diseases justifying measures restricting freedom of movement shall be the diseases with

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<sup>5</sup> Jean-Philippe Bonardi et al., “Fast and Local: How Lockdown Policies Affect the Spread and Severity of Covid-19,” *Covid Economics* 23, no. 23 (28 May, 2020): 326, accessed July 15, 2021, <http://unassumingeconomist.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/fast-and-local.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel Thym, “Travel Bans in Europe: A Legal Appraisal (Part I),” *EU Immigration and Asylum Law and Policy* (blog), 18 March, 2020, accessed July 15, 2021, <https://eumigrationlawblog.eu/travel-bans-in-europe-a-legal-appraisal-part-i/>.

epidemic potential” (Art. 29 – para. 1, Directive 2004/38). These measures, however, must respect the principle of proportionality (Art. 27, para. 2, Directive 2004/38). It is beyond doubt that the coronavirus qualifies as a ‘disease with epidemic potential’ and may justify, therefore, travel restrictions under Article 29 of the Directive.

The Schengen Area is anchored in a common set of rules enshrined in the Schengen Borders Code (SBC). Three provisions of the SBC refer to the introduction of temporary border controls at internal borders:

- Article 25 specifies that “Where, in the area without internal border control, there is a serious threat to public policy or internal security in a Member State, that Member State may exceptionally reintroduce border control at all or specific parts of its internal borders for a limited period of up to 30 days or for the foreseeable duration of the serious threat if its duration exceeds 30 days. The scope and duration of the temporary reintroduction of border control at internal borders shall not exceed what is strictly necessary to respond to the serious threat.” (Art. 25, para. 1, SBC). “Border control at internal borders shall only be reintroduced as a last resort” (Art. 25, para. 2, SBC).

- According to Art. 28, “Where a serious threat to public policy or internal security in a Member State requires immediate action to be taken, the Member State concerned may, on an exceptional basis, immediately reintroduce border control at internal borders, for a limited period of up to ten days” (Art. 28, para. 1, SBC).

- Article 29 refers to “exceptional circumstances where the overall functioning of the area without internal border control is put at risk as a result of persistent serious deficiencies relating to external border control” and therefore is not relevant to this case.

While Art. 25 sets a general framework for the reintroduction of border controls in the case of foreseeable events, Art. 28 refers to those cases in which immediate action needs to be taken. No matter under which provision it is invoked, all restrictive measures should comply with the principle of proportionality. Proportionality, alas, is a subjective matter. According to Peyrony et. al “the proportionality of border controls and restrictions with regard to the pandemic situation in the CB regions was not always respected”, for example, in cases with very strict controls and restrictions but an extremely low percentage of incidences (as was in the case of Poland, Hungary, Denmark).<sup>7</sup>

Although neither refer directly to public health justifications, the actual and imminent risks connected to the rapid spread of the Coronavirus provide solid substance and justification for the measures taken by mostly all MS. According to Thym, in the initial stages, most MS used Article 28 as the legal basis to justify internal border controls. Subsequently, nearly all MS have started to use Article 25 as the justification of their measures.<sup>8</sup> Austria was the first state to notify the Commission on reintroducing controls on its border with Italy (March 11), and subsequently on all its borders. Austria was shortly followed by other members, such as Hungary, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Poland, Lithuania, Germany, and by the end of March almost all internal borders were covered.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Jean Peyrony, Jean Rubio and Raffaele Viaggi, *The Effects of COVID-19 Induced Border Closures on Cross-Border Regions* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2021), 67, accessed July 17, 2021, <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/46250564-669a-11eb-aeb5-01aa75ed71a1>.

<sup>8</sup> Thym, Part I.

<sup>9</sup> European Commission, “Member States’ Notifications of the Temporary Reintroduction of Border Control at Internal Borders Pursuant to Article 25 and 28 et seq. of the Schengen Borders Code,”

### ***March–May 2020: ‘border closure process’***

Dubbed as the ‘border closure process’, the March of 2020 has undone in the span of a month what was previously achieved through decades of gradual opening up. Most of the authorities which set up border controls and closed off crossing points took the decision very quickly and unilaterally, without assessing the future consequences of these measures, which caused longer journeys and increased traffic congestion at borders.

During the first phase of the pandemic response, MS had begun to issue measures to limit international mobility in an effort to slow the spread of the virus. Travel restrictions were the most common measure taken as a first response, most countries banning the entry of people coming from, transiting through or having been to Covid hotspots. Travel restrictions were soon accompanied by complete or partial closure of many points of entry as most border regions saw the number of border crossing points drastically reduced to make it easier to control the number of travellers attempting to enter.

By April, a large variety of measures was observed across the EU internal borders, but travel restrictions, controls and border closures applied along most of them. Mostly in Central and Eastern European countries, a mandatory self-isolation or institutionalized quarantine applied to those who entered.

As it became clear that emergency measures were likely to remain in place for longer than expected, some governments introduced exceptions to minimize the economic and social impacts. Usually, exemptions were adopted targeting the movement of nationals, their family members, diplomats and staff of international organizations, and cross-border workers.<sup>10</sup> Regarding the latter category, on 30 March in a Communication the Commission urged MS to allow and facilitate the mobility of cross-border workers and seasonal workers, who “live in one country but work in another” and “exercise critical occupations for which unhindered movement across borders is essential.”<sup>11</sup> As the pandemic progressed, new categories were included in the list of exceptions.

### ***June – September: ‘phased reopening’***

Throughout the second phase of the pandemic response, governments entered a ‘phased reopening’, both internally and externally. In May, the Commission published a guideline on ‘a phased and coordinated approach for restoring freedom of movement and lifting internal border controls’, in which it invited the MS to “engage in a process of reopening unrestricted cross-border movement within the Union.”<sup>12</sup>

While in the following period travel restrictions remained in place, most of the time their composition changed, shifting from a ban-based approach to more of a health-related approach. Health requirements, such as mandatory quarantines and self-isolation,

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accessed July 29, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/schengen/reintroduction-border-control\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/schengen/reintroduction-border-control_en).

<sup>10</sup> Meghan Benton et al., *COVID-19 and the State of Global Mobility in 2020* (International Organization for Migration, 2021), 1, accessed July 17, 2021, <https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/covid-19-and-the-state-of-global.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> European Commission, “Guidelines Concerning the Exercise of the Free Movement of Workers during Covid-19 Outbreak,” 2020/C 102/03, *Official Journal of the European Union*, 30 March, 2020, accessed July 18, 2021, [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020XC0330\(03\)&from=GA](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020XC0330(03)&from=GA).

<sup>12</sup> European Commission, “Communication from the Commission. Towards a Phased and Coordinated Approach for Restoring Freedom of Movement and Lifting Internal Border Controls — COVID-19,” 2020/C 169/03, 15 May, 2020, 1, accessed July 18, 2021, [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020XC0515\(05\)&from=EN](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020XC0515(05)&from=EN).

medical certificates, or negative test results overtook most of the travel restrictions as the most commonly implemented type of measure. As the understanding of the virus and its transmission developed, the composition of health requirements shifted as well. While in the first period mandatory quarantines were the most common intervention, later certificate requirements became increasingly common, surpassing the other measures. Besides opening entry points, governments also expanded exemptions to travel measures, thus allowing more travellers to enter. Important to mention, though, is the fact that while the EU has opened up internally, it remained closed to most travellers from abroad.<sup>13</sup>

### ***October–December: responses to new outbreaks and virus mutations***

Amid warnings of a resurgence of the virus, most governments started to reintroduce curfews, institute lockdowns, and reinstate travel and entry criteria. As states built up their capacities in the previous months, health requirements became a viable alternative to bans and closures. Therefore, while most travel restrictions remained in place, health requirements became the most prevalent measures, entry being conditioned on complying with public health requirements. Still, some countries decided on the reintroduction of strict national lockdowns as the risks posed by new variants of concern<sup>14</sup> started to intensify.<sup>15</sup> To this date there are four variants of concern of the virus: the alpha, beta, gamma and delta,<sup>16</sup> the latter becoming the dominant one in much of the European region<sup>17</sup>.

### ***The EU response***

Per the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, the EU has supporting competences in the field of public health<sup>18</sup>, therefore any action taken by the Union is intended only to complement national policies, while its “ability to act depends to a large extent on the Member States and their willingness to work together.”<sup>19</sup>

The EU institutions’ mobilisation started around the beginning of March with the allocation on millions of euros to research and the support of businesses, but as health is not a Community competence, the Commission was not equipped to take over the management of the pandemic response. Still, it attempted to come up with at least a

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<sup>13</sup> Benton et al., 15–19.

<sup>14</sup> World Health Organization (WHO), *Tracking SARS-CoV-2 Variants*, accessed July 27, 2021, <https://www.who.int/en/activities/tracking-SARS-CoV-2-variants/>.

<sup>15</sup> Benton et al., 20–22.

<sup>16</sup> Laurel Wamsley, “The Lambda Variant: What you Should Know and why Experts say not to Panic,” *NPR*, 22 July 2021, <https://www.npr.org/sections/coronavirus-live-updates/2021/07/22/1019293200/the-lambda-variant-coronavirus-what-you-should-know?t=1627213572562>.

<sup>17</sup> World Health Organization (WHO), “SARS-CoV-2 Delta Variant now Dominant in much of European Region; Efforts must be Reinforced to Prevent Transmission, Warns WHO Regional Office for Europe and ECDC,” (Press Release, 23 July, 2021), accessed July 25, 2021, <https://www.euro.who.int/en/media-centre/sections/press-releases/2021/sars-cov-2-delta-variant-now-dominant-in-much-of-european-region-efforts-must-be-reinforced-to-prevent-transmission,-warns-who-regional-office-for-europe-and-ecdc>.

<sup>18</sup> European Union, Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Part Three: Union Policies and Internal Actions, Title XIV: Public Health, Art. 168, *Official Journal of the European Union*, 21 October, 2012, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=EN>.

<sup>19</sup> Maurice et al., 1.

coordinated, if not, unified response by issuing several nonbinding guidelines which were meant to offer a framework for coordination for MS. Soon after receiving the first notifications pursuant to Arts. 28 and 25 of the SBC, the Commission acknowledged that, if done correctly, the reintroduction of border controls could play a key role in containing the crisis. Therefore, on 16 March, the Commission published its *Guideline for border management measures* in which it lets the MS know that they might reintroduce temporary border controls at the internal borders in line with the SBC ((2020) 1753). On the next day, the 27 leaders, during a meeting via videoconference approved the closure of the EU's external borders for an initial period of 30 days.<sup>20</sup> The following guideline regarded frontier and seasonal workers (2020/C 102/03), while the next basically summarized all the previous ones ((2020) 2050). In its following guideline, the Commission put forward a 'phased approach' offering a 3-step 'joint European roadmap' towards the 'restoring of freedom of movement and lifting of internal border controls' (2020/ C169/03). In September 2020, the European Commission proposed a colour-coding scheme for European countries based on their infection rates and other health indicators, which was also nonbinding as countries could partake in it on a voluntary basis.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the will of the European institutions, the situation resulted in purely national decisions, the MS acting in a dispersed and uncoordinated manner, sometimes to the detriment of each other. Some authors argue that European action has left an impression of unease<sup>22</sup> and has been questioned for its failure to scrutinize the legality and proportionality of national restrictive measures from the perspective of EU law,<sup>23</sup> which raise questions about the added value of EU in times of crisis<sup>24</sup>.

### ***Mapping the pandemic related measures taken by Romania***

During the second half of March, in Romania, as elsewhere, comprehensive containment measures were taken. Most hotels, restaurants, and retail entities were closed, culture, sport and leisure activities were suspended, schools were closed and mass events prohibited. The borders with most neighbouring countries were closed, followed by internal mobility restrictions and curfews. Since then, most of these restrictions have been lifted.

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<sup>20</sup> Peyrony et al., 9–19.

<sup>21</sup> Bernd Riegert, "Coronavirus: What the EU's new Traffic Light System Means," *Deutsche Welle*, 14 October 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/coronavirus-what-the-eus-new-traffic-light-system-means/a-55265476>.

<sup>22</sup> Nicolas-Jean Brehon, "The European Union and the Coronavirus," *European Issues* No. 553, 7 April, 2020, accessed July 18, 2021, <https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/european-issues/0553-the-european-union-and-the-coronavirus>.

<sup>23</sup> Sergio Carrera, Ngo Chun Luk, *Love thy Neighbour? Coronavirus Politics and Their Impact on EU Freedoms and rule of law in the Schengen Area* (Brussels: CEPS, 2020), accessed July 18, 2021, <https://www.ceps.eu/ceps-publications/love-thy-neighbour/>.

<sup>24</sup> Sandra Mantu, "EU Citizenship, Free Movement, and Covid-19 in Romania," *Frontiers in Human Dynamics* 2, 2020, accessed July 18, 2021, <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fhumd.2020.594987/full>, DOI=10.3389/fhumd.2020.594987.

### *January–February 2020 – early preventive measures, first cases*

In early January, the Romanian government announced several preventive measures, and started an extensive communication campaign.<sup>25</sup> In February, the first regulation regarding quarantine was issued, and a 14-day mandatory quarantine was imposed for people returning from the Hubei Province and twelve localities in Italy,<sup>26</sup> along with a 14-day self-isolation period at home for people returning from other provinces in China and other localities from the Lombardy and Veneto regions in Italy.<sup>27</sup> On February 26, the first case of infection with the new coronavirus was confirmed in Romania.<sup>28</sup>

### *March–May 2020 – state of emergency*

With the beginning of March came a ban on all indoor or outdoor gatherings,<sup>29</sup> the suspension of courses with the closure of all schools, and the suspension of all commercial flights, bus rides and rail transport to and from countries being in yellow and red zones. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of March, in the context of the evolution of the epidemiological situation determined by the spread of Covid-19, the President of Romania signed the decree establishing a state of emergency for 30 days.<sup>30</sup> At this point there were 139 cases of Covid infections. During the state of emergency, 12 Military Ordinances were issued containing domestic measures meant to prevent the spread of Covid-19 as well as regarding travel and entry restrictions. Commercial flights to and from most EU countries were suspended; the entry through border crossing points of third country foreigners was

<sup>25</sup> Ministerul Sănătății [Ministry of Health], “Comitetul interministerial pentru monitorizarea și managementul potențialelor infecții cu noul coronavirus” [Interministerial Committee for monitoring and management of potential new coronavirus infections], 26 January 2020, accessed July 19, 2021, <http://www.ms.ro/2020/01/26/comitetul-interministerial-pentru-monitorizarea-si-managementul-potențialelor-infecțiilor-cu-noul-coronavirus/>.

<sup>26</sup> Ministerul Sănătății [Ministry of Health], “Măsuri suplimentare pentru limitarea și prevenirea posibilelor îmbolnăviri cu Coronavirus” [Additional measures to limit and prevent possible Coronavirus disease], 23 February 2020, accessed July 19, 2021, <http://www.ms.ro/2020/02/23/masuri-suplimentare-pentru-limitarea-si-prevenirea-posibilelor-imbolnaviri-cu-coronavirus/>.

<sup>27</sup> Ministerul Sănătății [Ministry of Health], “Continuarea măsurilor de prevenire și limitare a eventualelor îmbolnăviri cu noul coronavirus” [Continue measures to prevent and limit possible coronavirus disease], 25 February 2020, accessed July 19, 2021, <http://www.ms.ro/2020/02/25/continuarea-masurilor-de-prevenire-si-limitare-a-eventualelor-imbolnaviri-cu-noul-coronavirus/>.

<sup>28</sup> Loredana Ficiu, “Detalii despre primul român diagnosticat cu noul coronavirus. Are 20 de ani și locuiește în comuna Prigoria” [Details about the first Romanian diagnosed with the new coronavirus. He is 20 years old and lives in the commune of Prigoria], *Mediafax*, 27 February, 2020, <https://www.mediafax.ro/coronavirus/detalii-despre-primul-roman-diagnosticat-cu-noul-coronavirus-are-20-de-ani-si-lucra-la-restaurantul-italianului-care-a-vizitat-recent-tara-noastra-18897127>.

<sup>29</sup> Ministerul Sănătății [Ministry of Health], *Buletin informativ* 08 March 2020, h. 12:00, accessed July 19, 2021, <http://www.ms.ro/2020/03/08/buletin-informativ-08-03-2020-ora-1200/>.

<sup>30</sup> Președintele României [The President of Romania], “Decret semnat de Președintele României, domnul Klaus Iohannis, privind instituirea stării de urgență pe teritoriul României” [Decree signed by President of Romania, Mr. Klaus Iohannis, on the establishment of a state of emergency on the territory of Romania], 16 March 2020, accessed July 25, 2021, <https://www.presidency.ro/ro/media/decret-semnat-de-presedintele-romaniei-domnul-klaus-iohannis-privind-instituirea-starii-de-urgenta-pe-teritoriul-romaniei>.

prohibited (except if they transited through specially organized corridors, in line with the Commission guidelines); movement outside one's residence was restricted, first only during the night, and then during days as well; and home isolation or institutional quarantine was introduced for all persons entering Romania.

In line with the EU guidelines on frontier and seasonal workers, exceptions regarding cross-border mobility were introduced for certain categories, later the authorities deciding to allow the transport of seasonal workers from Romania to other states via charter. Consequently, hundreds of people amassed in the parking lots of Romanian airports without any respect for health measures, waiting to be flown to Western Europe for seasonal work.<sup>31</sup> In light of this, the next Military Ordinance introduced the obligation to obtain the approval of the Romanian authorities for the transport of seasonal workers, but failed to detail the procedure itself. By the rest of the Military Ordinances mainly gradual easing measures were introduced. The following table summarizes the main provisions of each Military Ordinance:

<b>Table 1. Military Ordinances issued during the pandemic</b>
<b>Military Ordinance no. 1</b>
Military Ordinance no. 1 decreed the closure of restaurants, hotels, cafes and pubs, the suspension of all cultural, scientific, artistic, religious, sporting, entertainment, and personal care activities, and allowed only the organization of events in open spaces with less than 100 participants. According to the ordinance, starting with March 18, all flights to and from Spain were suspended for a period of 14 days. Moreover, the suspension of flights to and from Italy was extended for another period of 14 days, starting with March 23, 2020.
<b>Military Ordinance no. 2</b>
The second Military Ordinance introduced restrictions on the movement of persons, prohibiting the movement of persons during the night, except in certain justified cases. All shopping centres were closed, too. Starting with this ordinance, it was forbidden for foreign citizens to enter Romania, except through the specially organized transit corridors, exceptions being made for other residents, family members, and others.
<b>Military Ordinance no. 3</b>
On March 24, the third Military Ordinance was issued. Meanwhile, two days earlier the first 3 deaths in Romania due to the virus were confirmed. This instituted a national lockdown, calling in the military to support police and Gendarmerie personnel in enforcing the new restrictions. Movement outside the home or household was prohibited, with some exceptions (work, buying food or medicine etc.), while people over the age of 65 were allowed to leave their homes only between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. Starting with 25 March, for all persons entering Romania the measures of quarantine or self-isolation were introduced. Moreover, all flights to and from France and Germany were suspended for a period of 14 days.
<b>Military Ordinance no. 4</b>
A fourth Military Ordinance has been issued on 29 March, further strengthening previously imposed fines and restrictions.
<b>Military Ordinance no. 5</b>
The Fifth Military Ordinance was issued on 30 March, extending bans on flights and international travel. According to this, the suspension of flights to and from Spain was extended for a period of 14 days, starting with March 31, and to and from starting with April 6.
<b>Military Ordinance no. 6</b>

<sup>31</sup> "Sute de români se înghesuie pe aeroportul din Cluj ca să plece în Germania. S-a deschis dosar penal" [Hundreds of Romanians crowd the airport in Cluj to go to Germany. A criminal case has been opened], *Știrile ProTV*, 09 April, 2020, <https://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/social/sute-de-romani-se-inghesuie-in-cluj-ca-sa-plece-in-germania-fara-distantare-sociala.html>.

On the same day, the Sixth Military Ordinance placed Suceava, along with eight adjacent communes, under total quarantine due to a massive breakout.
Military Ordinance no. 7
The seventh Military Ordinance was issued on the 4 <sup>th</sup> of April, further extending the national lockdown period, and imposing a second local quarantine on the town of Țândărei. It also suspended all flights to and from Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Turkey and Iran for a period of 14 days, and extended the suspension on flights to and from Germany and France for another two weeks. It was also stipulated for the first time that charter flights that transport seasonal workers from Romania to other states is allowed, with the approval of the competent authorities of the destination country. International road transport of persons is suspended by regular and occasional services to and from Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Turkey throughout the state of emergency.
Military Ordinance no. 8
On April 9, the Eighth Military Ordinance came into effect, reinforcing previously adopted measures, including the suspension of flights to and from Spain for another 14 days, and the closure of border crossing points.
Military Ordinance no. 9
The Ninth Military Ordinance of 16 <sup>th</sup> of April reinforced the suspension of all flights to and from Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, United States of America, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Turkey, Iran, Italy, France and Germany with two weeks each, and introduced some relaxations on the Romanian-Bulgarian border for the cross-border workers.
Military Ordinance no. 10
On 27 April, the tenth Military Ordinance came into effect which reinforced the safety provisions and restrictions on the movement of the elderly population.
Military Ordinance no. 11
On 11 May, the Eleventh Military Ordinance lifted the Țândărei quarantine and reinforced the suspension on flights to and from Spain for two days.
Military Ordinance no. 12
The last Military Ordinance lifted the Suceava quarantine.

### ***June–October 2020: state of alert, relaxations***

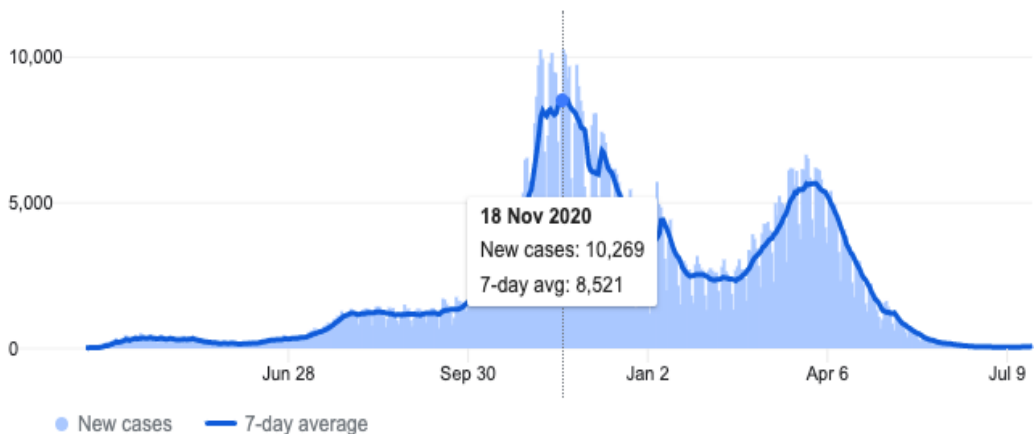
On May 15 the state of emergency was replaced by a state of alert, maintained to this day by re-issuing a decision on this matter every 30 days, with new restrictive or easing measures being introduced each time. For a period, most safety measures not only remained in place but new ones were introduced: shops and restaurants remained closed, public gatherings were banned, the obligation to wear a protective mask in all public indoor spaces was introduced, quarantine/self-isolation became obligatory for all persons (with some exceptions), the suspension on flights, road and railway transport to most countries was prolonged, schools remained closed, and although movement within a locality was allowed, outside of it became prohibited (Decision 24/18.05.2020). Two weeks later, at the end of May some restrictions on public gatherings and inter-locality movement were lifted, several types of businesses could open and international transport also started to some extent (Decision 26/28.05.2020). In terms of travel, in July the criterion on the basis of which the exemption from quarantine/isolation measures apply to those who enter changed – the cumulative incidence rate of new cases/100000 inhabitants in the last 14 days had to be less or equal to that registered in Romania in the same period. From that moment on the National Institute for Public Health updates weekly the list of EU/EEA states (Decision 33/02.07.2020). At the end of July came some much needed level of decentralisation regarding decisions on public health measures as counties were allowed to decide on some aspects regarding internal restrictions (Gov. Decision



553/15.07.2020). Therefore, from August the picture was much more dynamic, as different measures were implemented across the regions based on their incidence rates. At the end of the month some all-encompassing rules were put forward by the Government regarding safety measures during the electoral campaigns (Gov. Decision of 27.08.2020), and for the first half of autumn only minor details changed (regarding the number of persons allowed to participate at certain events, or the capacity level to which businesses could allow citizens to enter, the types of gatherings, and so on).

### ***November–December 2020: second wave***

With November, as the incidence rates started to rise, so did the number of reintroduced restrictions. At the beginning of the month came the obligation to wear a protective mask, both inside and outside, on the whole territory of Romania, indifferent of the infection rates. At the same time, mobility outside one's residence was prohibited during night time, and most indoor activities were banned (Gov. Decision 935/07.11.2020), and teaching activities moved, once again, to the online sphere (Decision 53/08.11.2020). Sadly, it seems that these measures were taken too late. The highest number of new cases/day was reached on 18 November, with more than 10.000 persons being tested positive for in one day.



**Figure 1.** Romania's Covid infection curve<sup>32</sup>

### **January – June 2021: third wave, new variants**

The last weeks of 2020 saw no change from the point of view of public health measures, and the 2021 Government Decisions prolonged most of them for the next period. Two weeks later, the first mention regarding vaccinated persons coming to Romania appeared, according to which those who come to Romania and more than 10 days passed since they have been vaccinated with two doses are exempt from the measures of quarantine/isolation (Decision 4/18.01.2020).

As up to this point schools were closed and teaching activities took place exclusively online, and with the incidence rates slowly decreasing, the authorities felt the

<sup>32</sup> Ensheng Dong, Hongru Du, and Lauren Gardner, “An Interactive Web-Based Dashboard to Track COVID-19 in Real Time,” *Lancet Infectious Diseases* 20, no. 5, accessed July 29, 2021, doi: 10.1016/S1473-3099(20)30120-1. JHU CSSE COVID-19 Data: <https://github.com/CSSEGISandData/COVID-19>.

need to coordinate the opening of schools. Alas, a uniform approach would not have been wise and efficient, as infection rates differed greatly across the regions of the country. Therefore, in February a new methodology and criteria system was put forward, which established 3 scenarios:

- a. In the 'green scenario' the cumulative incidence rate for the last 14 days in the locality is less than or equal to 1/1000, in which case the physical presence of all students is allowed.
- b. In the 'yellow scenario' the incidence rate is between 1/1000 and 3/1000, therefore only the following categories can attend schools: all pre-schoolers and preliminary education students, students of terminal classes in secondary ed. and high school.
- c. In the 'red scenario' no one can attend schools as the incidence rate is above 3/1000 (Decision 5/03.02.2021).

With the vaccination campaign well under way by this point, immunity became a criterion for exception from the measure of quarantine/isolation. Therefore, those persons entering the country who have been fully, and those who have been infected in the last 90 days were added to the exemptions (Decision 7/04.02.2021). All the other persons could enter only by presenting a negative Covid test, taken with maximum 72 hours before arriving at the border (Decision 6/04.02.2021), and for a period of time even they had to enter a 10-day long quarantine/isolation (Decision 9/11/02.2021). With spring came yet another wave, the incidence rates started rising again. As a reaction, the time interval during which people could go outside of their residence was also correlated with local incidence rates:

- a. If the incidence rate was between 4/1000 and 7,5/1000 inhabitants, a 20:00 curfew was set on Friday, Saturday and Sunday;
- b. If the incidence rate was higher than 7,5/1000, a 18:00 curfew was set on every day and businesses had to close at 20:00.

In the following period, most restrictive measures remained in place, with only small regional variations. A general 22:00 curfew was upheld, controversially, though, on Easter day free movement was allowed between 20:00 – 02:00 to be able to attend religious ceremonies (Decision 22/08.04.2021). In April, the government approved the provision of assistance to Ukraine (Decision 23/22.04.2021) and India (Decision 24/27.04.2021) in line with their request through the EU Civil Protection Mechanism.

At the end of May came good news – starting with June several restrictions and prohibitions will be lifted on the organization of cultural, artistic and entertainment activities, weddings and other private gatherings, trainings and workshops, conferences, sport competitions, the functioning of fitness studios, indoor restaurants, clubs, bars and pubs, and more. The participation to most of these activities required either a vaccination certificate, a negative test or proof of infection in the last 90 days. Moreover, after more than a year, the elimination of travel restrictions for third country foreigners were eliminated (Decision 32/27.05.2021) and some exceptions were formulated for those traveling to Romania because of the EURO 2020 championship (Decision 38/09.06.2021).

Since July quarantine measures for those arriving in Romania are based on the cumulative incidence rate/1000 inhabitants for the last 14 days. In accordance with these rates, states are categorized into green (less than 1,5), yellow (between 1,5 and 3) and red zones (above 3), those coming from the latter two zones having to enter quarantine for 14 days. Besides the usual exceptions, those who have been vaccinated, who present a

negative test or have been infected in the last 90 are exempt from quarantine obligations (Decision 43/01.07/2021).

At the time of writing, the news is that with August 1 more relaxing measures are coming – 75000 persons will be able to participate at outdoor cultural, artistic and entertainment activities, 400 persons at weddings and other public gatherings, and more persons than before at sport events, trainings and workshops and conferences. Participation, as by now usual, is based on criteria of immunity (Decision 50/26.07.2021), which at the time of writing (one week before these new measures apply) is not so great in Romania. On 27 July, 4.810.721<sup>33</sup> persons have received all the recommended doses of the vaccine, representing only a 24,8% rate of vaccination.<sup>34</sup> In the EU context, this grants Romania the penultimate position in terms of vaccination<sup>35</sup>. Although in early 2021, optimism has grown among the Romanian population about a potential return to normality as several vaccines have been approved, and with thousands of citizens registering on the vaccination platform when the administration of the first dose became available, it seems that Romania's Covid-19 vaccination campaign has been only mildly successful. Despite the fact that it has been supported by a comprehensive and coherent communication strategy, it seems that it wasn't enough to mobilise the population.

### ***Cross-border mobility at the Romanian-Hungarian border***

The 448 km long Romanian-Hungarian border is an internal border in the context of the EU, but an external one from the point of view of the Schengen Area. In this relation, the traditional role of the border has been partially eliminated, but the country still cannot be considered part of a 'Europe without borders'. This transitional state of the border regime lends a special situation to cross-border relations, at all levels. As an external Schengen border, border controls have already been in place before the pandemic situation. Romania is an EU Member State, therefore Romanian citizens enjoy the right of free movement under Union law and undergo only a minimum check in order to identify them for security purposes (Art. 8, para. 2, SBC). This consists of a rapid verification of either their identity card or passport at specifically designed corridors for EU citizens.<sup>36</sup> During the pandemic, the border crossing process was quite often modified by the ever-changing measures detailed above. Before June 2020 there was no mention of Hungary on the list of states with high epidemiological risks, and even after that Hungary remained among the green zone countries for a long time.

<sup>33</sup> Hannah Ritchie et al., "Coronavirus Pandemic (COVID-19)," *OurWorldInData.org*, accessed July 26, 2021, <https://ourworldindata.org/coronavirus>.

<sup>34</sup> The current population of Romania is 19.100.577 as of Tuesday, July 27, 2021, based on Worldometer elaboration of the latest United Nations data. Worldometer, "Romania Population (Live)," accessed July 27, 2021, <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/romania-population/>.

<sup>35</sup> Conor Stewart, "COVID-19 Vaccination rate in European Countries as of July 2021," *Statista*, 27 July, 2021, accessed July 27, 2021, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1196071/Covid-19-vaccination-rate-in-europe-by-country/>.

<sup>36</sup> Poliția de frontieră [Border Police], Condiții generale de călătorie în statele membre ale Uniunii Europene, Spațiului Schengen și Spațiului Economic European [General travel conditions in the Member States of the European Union, the Schengen Area and the European Economic Area], accessed July 27, 2021. <https://www.politiadefrontiera.ro/ro/main/pg-conditii-generale-de-calatorie-in-statele-membre-ale-uniunii-europene-spatiului-schengen-si-spatiului-economic-european-161.html>.

Similarly to Romania, the number of newly infected cases started to rise in autumn, and by November Hungary became a yellow zone country from Romania's point of view for about 6 months (between 02.11.2020–08.01.2021 and 11.02.2021–27.05.2021). For more context on why Hungarian nationals were subject to quarantine measures for so long, the country's 'infection curve' graphic gives a general idea:



**Figure 2.** Hungary's Covid infection curve<sup>37</sup>

Since June 2021 Hungary can be found continuously on the green zone list, therefore at the moment of writing no restrictions or quarantine measures apply to Hungarian nationals and the border crossing procedure resumed its 'natural' course.

### *A look at Hungary during the pandemic*

The first case of Covid appeared in Hungary on 4 March<sup>38</sup> and due to the gradual increase in infection numbers, a state of emergency was declared on March 11<sup>39</sup>. As in most countries of the world, measures restricting the daily lives of people have been introduced, schools were closed, businesses had to stop operating, lockdowns were imposed.

Entry restrictions were initially targeted towards countries with large numbers of cases. First, restrictions began to emerge on air traffic from Northern Italy and then from China, Iran, South Korea, and later Israel. No entry was allowed from these countries, except for Hungarian citizens who were required to undergo 14 days of self-isolation upon return. Checks have been reinstated at the Slovenian and Austrian borders as well.<sup>40</sup> On 17 March the Hungarian government barred entry for all foreign citizens, from this

<sup>37</sup> Dong, Du, and Gardner.

<sup>38</sup> Kovács Zoltán, "Hungary Closes Schools, Bans Entry from Israel over Coronavirus," *Index*, 13 March, 2020, [https://index.hu/english/2020/03/13/hungary\\_coronavirus\\_viktor\\_orban\\_announcement/](https://index.hu/english/2020/03/13/hungary_coronavirus_viktor_orban_announcement/).

<sup>39</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], "Megjelent és hatályba lépett a veszélyhelyzetet kihirdető kormányrendelet" [A government decree declaring the state of emergency has been published and entered into force], 11 March, 2020, accessed July 27, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/megjelent-es-hatalyba-lepett-veszelyhelyzetet-kihirdeto-kormanyrendelet>.

<sup>40</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], "Rendkívüli kormányintézkedések: határellenőrzés, beutazási tilalom, hatósági házi karantén" [Emergency government measures: border control, entry ban, official house quarantine], 12 March, 2020, accessed July 27, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/rendkivuli-kormanyintezkedesek-hatarellenorzes-beutazasi-tilalom-hatosagi-hazi-karanten>.

point forward only Hungarian citizens could enter the country<sup>41</sup>, and soon all headlines reported how thousands, among them many Romanians, remained stranded in Austria. Important to note is that at this point there were a total 50 cases of infection on the whole territory of Hungary.<sup>42</sup> Later some crossing points were opened for cross-border workers on the Austrian and Slovakian borders, and gradually for general passenger traffic on the other borders. On 21 May, according to the Hungarian government's communiqué, the 11<sup>th</sup> border crossing point was opened on the Romanian-Hungarian border.<sup>43</sup> Hungary abolished all border checks at their part of internal Schengen borders, Austria, Slovakia, and Slovenia during May and June, and eased travel across the Serbian, Croatian, Romanian and Ukrainian borders, as persons coming from these countries no longer had to enter quarantine. On 13 July, Hungary adopted the 'green, yellow, red zones' system. According to this, persons who enter Hungary from a yellow or red country will receive a quarantine order and a red card, which they are obliged to affix to the entrance of their residence. After entering quarantine if they want to be released earlier, they must submit an application to be tested. If they come from a country with a yellow rating, they can be released from quarantine if the first test is negative, but they are also required to take the second test. If they come from a red zone, they can only be released from quarantine after the second test. There are two options for exemption from quarantine:

- a. They have to present two negative PCR tests from 5 days prior to entry into Hungary, taken with time differences of at least 48 hours; or
- b. They have to prove by a document that they have already suffered from Covid in the last six months.<sup>44</sup>

Due to the evolution of the pandemic situation, the Hungarian government has decided to return from September 2020 to the border protection rules applied during the first wave of the pandemic.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, temporary border controls were reintroduced at all internal borders,<sup>46</sup> with some exceptions, once again, at the Austrian, Slovakian

<sup>41</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], "Életbe lépett a külföldiek beutazási tilalma" [A ban on the entry of foreigners has come into force], 17 March 2020, accessed July 27, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/elebbe-lepett-kulfoldiek-beutazasi-tilalma>.

<sup>42</sup> "Hungary lets Romanian and Bulgarian Citizens Stuck in Austria Transit: Minister," *Reuters*, 17 March 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-hungary-transit-idUSKBN2142N1>.

<sup>43</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], "Sziijártó: újabb átkelő nyílt meg a magyar-román határon" [Sziijártó: another crossing opened on the Hungarian-Romanian border], 21 May 2020, accessed July 27, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/szijjarto-ujabb-atkelo-nyilt-meg-magyar-roman-hataron>.

<sup>44</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], "Infografikán az országba való belépés és a hatósági házi karantén alól való mentesítés feltételei" [Conditions for entry into the country and exemption from official home quarantine in infographics], 31 July 2020, accessed July 28, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/infografikan-az-orszagba-valo-belepes-es-hatosagi-hazi-karanten-alol-valo-mentesites>.

<sup>45</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], "Kormányinfó: visszatérnek az első hullám idején alkalmazott határvédelmi szabályok" [Government information: The government has decided on austerity measures], 28 August 2020, accessed July 28, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/kormanyinfo-visszaternek-az-elso-hullam-idejen-alkalmazott-hatarvedelmi-szabalyok>.

<sup>46</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], "A teljes belső határon visszaállítja a kormány a határellenőrzést szeptember elsejétől" [At all internal borders, the government will reintroduce border controls from 1 September], 30 August 2020, accessed July 28,

borders. Although border closures were prolonged from 1 October, some easing measures were introduced for the citizens of V4 countries<sup>47</sup>. On 15 October, Hungarians could enter Romania without the obligation to quarantine, as based on the decision of the Romanian authorities, Hungary was no longer included among high-risk countries.<sup>48</sup> Schengen border controls have been continuously prolonged for many months to come, and more stringent measures have been imposed as Hungary entered another national lockdown. Its exit strategy started as early as 26 December, when Hungary started the vaccination process<sup>49</sup>. In February a national consultation process was started, where citizens were asked about restarting and relaxing measures but due to the worsening pandemic situation new restrictions had to be imposed in March<sup>50</sup>. Still, the Hungarian vaccination campaign is quite outstanding in European comparison. When the number of vaccinated people reached new highs, new relaxing measures were taken and introduced, although for participation to most activities required a vaccination certificate. Nonetheless, it seems that such measures motivated the Hungarian population to a great extent, as at the time of writing 5.405.781 persons have been vaccinated with all doses, representing a 55,% rate of immunity.<sup>51</sup> Starting with April, Hungary started to conclude agreements on the recognition of vaccination certificates with countries such as Albania, Bahrain, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, North Macedonia, Georgia, Morocco, Croatia, the Republic of Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Turkey which eases travel for Hungarian nationals to these countries significantly<sup>52</sup>. Romania was also included on the list from 31 May,<sup>53</sup> but it cannot be found on following lists. From July 24, Hungary

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2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/teljes-belso-hataron-visszaallitja-kormany-hatarellenorzest-szeptember-elsejetol>.

<sup>47</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], “Operatív törzs: újrászabályozták a V4-ekre vonatkozó beutazási könnyítéseket” [Entry facilitations for V4s have been re-regulated], 5 October 2020, accessed July 28, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/operativ-torzs-ujraszabalyoztak-v4-ekre-vonatkozo-beutazasi-konnyiteseket>.

<sup>48</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], “Operatív törzs: csütörtöktől karanténkötelezettség nélkül lehet Romániába utazni” [From Thursday you can travel to Romania without quarantine], 15 October 2020, accessed July 28, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/operativ-torzs-csutortoktol-karantenkoteleztseg-nelkul-lehet-romaniaba-utazni>.

<sup>49</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], “Országos tisztifőorvos: december 27-én kezdődik az egészségügyi dolgozók oltása” [Chief Medical Officer: Vaccination of health workers will begin on December 27<sup>th</sup>], 23 December 2020, accessed July 28, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/orszagos-tisztifoorvos-december-27-en-kezdodik-az-egeszsegugyi-dolgozok-oltasa>.

<sup>50</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], “Kormányinfó: szigorításokról döntött a kormány” [Government info: Border protection rules applied during the first wave return], 04 March 2021, accessed July 28, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/kormanyinfo-szigoritasokrol-dontott-kormany>.

<sup>51</sup> Ritchie et al.

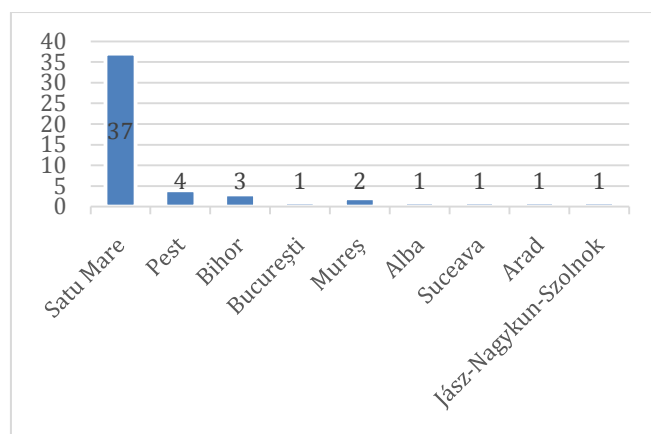
<sup>52</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], “Védettségi igazolványok elfogadása – 2021.06.09” [Acceptance of protection certificates - 09.06.2021], 10 June 2021, accessed July 28, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/vedettsegi-igazolvanyok-elfogadasa-20210609>.

<sup>53</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], “Védettségi igazolványok elfogadása – 2021.05.30” [Acceptance of protection certificates - 30.05.2021], 31

restored normal crossing procedures at its internal Schengen borders, lifting all border controls.<sup>54</sup> At the time of writing, the EU Digital Covid Certificate eases travel between all EU MS, as the holder “should in principle be exempted from free movement restrictions: Member States should refrain from imposing additional travel restrictions on the holders of an EU Digital COVID Certificate, unless they are necessary and proportionate to safeguard public health.”<sup>55</sup>

### *The impact of restrictions on travel across the Romanian-Hungarian border*

As different countries imposed different levels of travel restrictions, cross-border mobility was by no question hindered. Travel behaviours, therefore, were significantly influenced by such measures. Generally, in the midst of a pandemic people perceive a higher risk for all types of traveling, restrictive measures further highlighting these insecurities. Globally, a large decline was observed in mobility due to fear from Covid and national orders and restrictions (Warren and Skillman, 2020). Nevertheless, people have various travel needs, be that work, shopping, or familial reasons.



**Figure 3.** Territorial representation of respondents

The objective of this part of the article is to outline and analyse the impact of border-related measures on cross-border mobility across the Romanian-Hungarian border. To successfully lead this assignment, an online survey was conducted in July 2021.

Out of the total 51 respondents 46 are from Romania (90%) and only 5 from Hungary (10%). As **Figure 3** shows, most of the respondents are from Satu

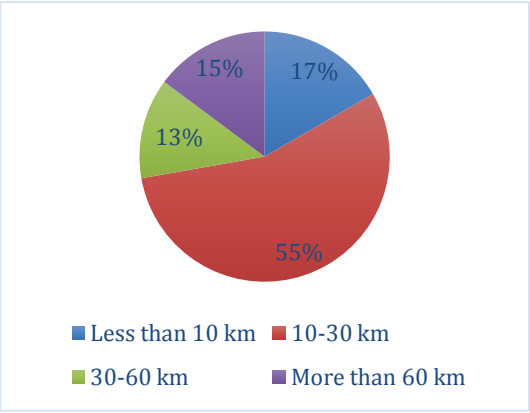
Mare County, and to no surprise, 55% of them live within 10–30 km from the Romanian-Hungarian border.

Moreover, 76% of our respondents live in urban areas, 41% being between the ages of 25–40, 39% between 40–65, 18% between 14–25, and 2% over the age of 65.

May 2021, accessed July 28, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/vedettsegi-igazolvanyok-elfogadasa-20210530>.

<sup>54</sup> Magyarország Belügyminisztériuma [Minister of the Interior of Hungary], “Magyarország schengeni belső határain ma hajnalban megszűnt a határellenőrzés” [Border control at Hungary's internal Schengen borders was lifted at dawn today], 23 June 2021, accessed July 28, 2021, <https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/magyarorszag-schengeni-belso-hatarain-ma-hajnalban-megszunt-hatarellenorzes>.

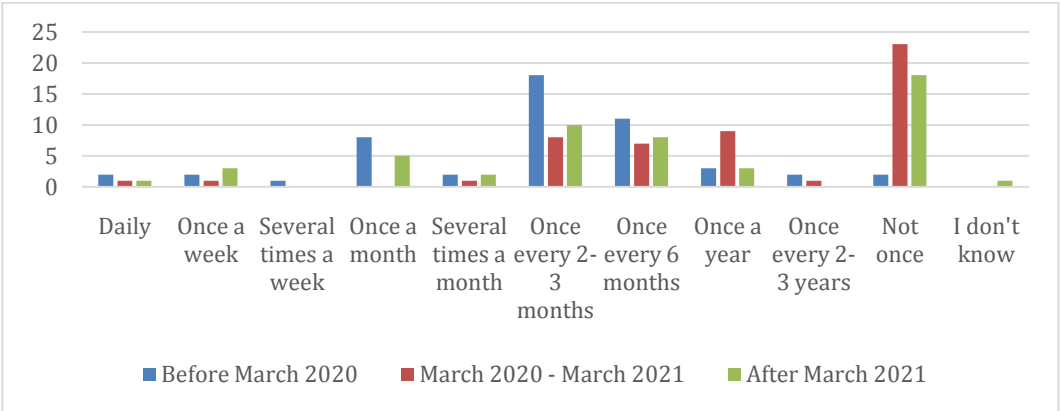
<sup>55</sup> European Commission, “EU Digital COVID Certificate,” accessed July 29, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/info/live-work-travel-eu/coronavirus-response/safe-covid-19-vaccines-europeans/eu-digital-covid-certificate\\_en#how-will-it-help-free-movement](https://ec.europa.eu/info/live-work-travel-eu/coronavirus-response/safe-covid-19-vaccines-europeans/eu-digital-covid-certificate_en#how-will-it-help-free-movement).



**Figure 4.** Distance from residence and RO-HU border

regain its former intensity, but as one can see, cross-border travel to and from Hungary still doesn't look the same as before. Most of the respondents still haven't been across the border since March, but to some extent, the level of mobility across this border started to rise.

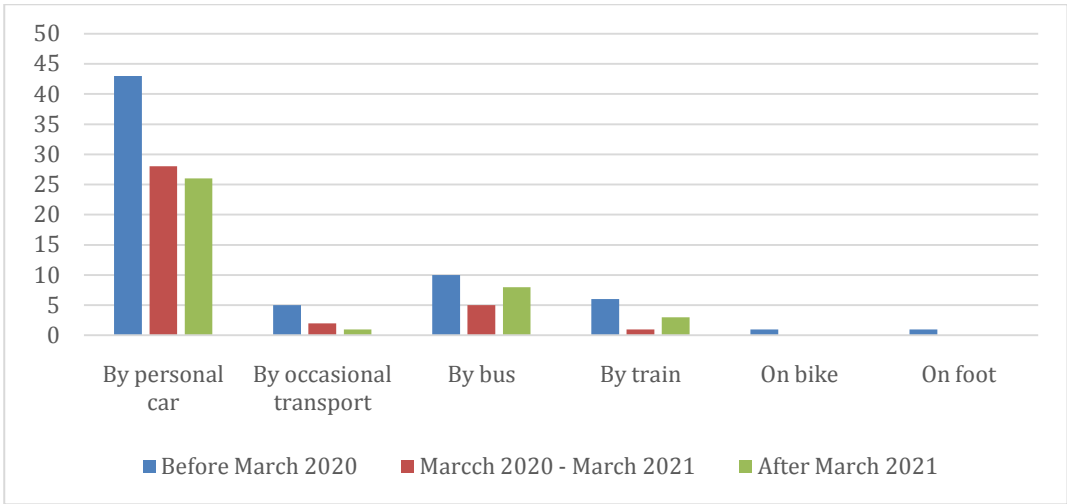
**Figure 5** shows the levels of change in the frequency of cross-border mobility. As one can observe, before the pandemic escalated most of the respondents crossed the Romanian-Hungarian border once every 2-3 months, others once every 6 months, and some once in every month. Between March 2020 – March 2021, most of the respondents did not cross the border, and those who did went between 1–4 times in the whole period. With the vaccination campaign well under way by March 2021, travel started to



**Figure 5.** Frequency of cross-border travel

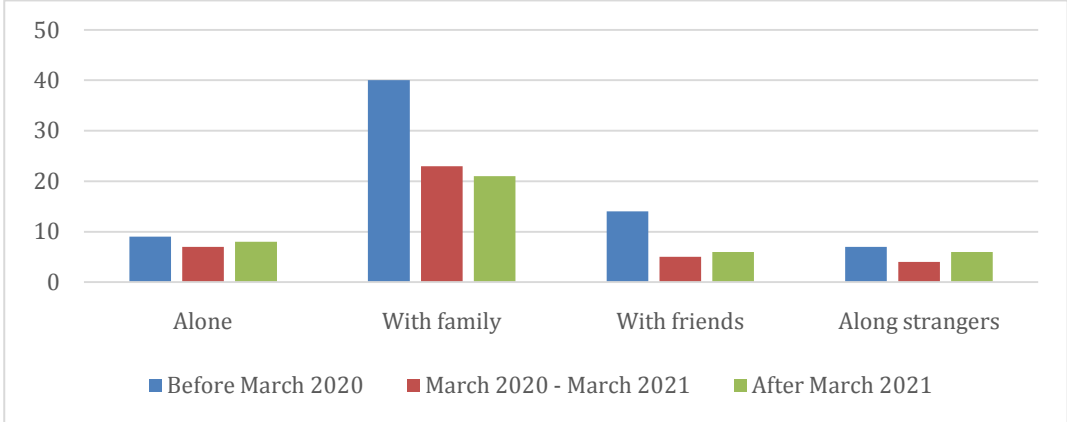
Besides frequency, generally speaking a pandemic and certain restrictive measures might influence the preferred mode of transportation of travellers. **Figure 6** shows which modes of transportation were chosen by the respondents in each time period. It might be surprising to see that not much has changed in this regard, as the use of personal car remained the most recurrent choice. During a pandemic this would seem rather normal, as the public transport system depends heavily on the imposed regulations, but the use of personal cars has been dominant even before the pandemic. This can be mainly attributed to the lack of cross-border public transport in the area, the lack of alternative transport infrastructure, such as bicycle or walking lanes across the border, but also Romanians' preference for the use of personal cars in the detriment of public transport modes.





**Figure 6.** Preferred mode of transportation

Respondents were also asked about the companions with whom they travelled across the border. Not much has changed in this regard, as most of them travelled with family before and during the pandemic. Some reduction in the ‘travel with friends’ category can be observed, which might be due to the fact that during restrictions it was harder to justify travelling with persons outside one’s household.



**Figure 7.** Companionship during cross-border travel

As mentioned before, it is very probable that due to the new entry regulations the border crossing procedure involved more steps, became more thorough therefore more lengthy. When asked about what was required at them by the frontier police in each time period, the respondents answered in the following manner:

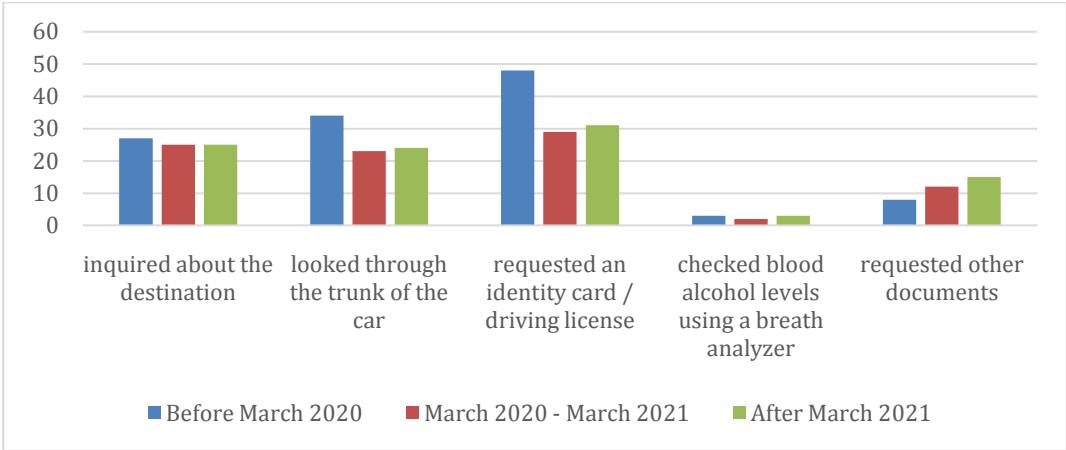


Figure 8. Border crossing procedure

One can see that much of these measures remained the same. As stated before, border controls were not a novelty at this border. Officers at the crossing point generally require an ID card and a driver’s licence, ask about one’s destination, and most of the times look through the car’s trunk. Regarding the last item, it can be seen that with each period more and more respondents stated that they had to present other documents. Before the pandemic, the ID of the vehicle was requested, while between March 2020 – March 2021 a negative test was the most common answer, followed by a work contract. In the period after March 2021, almost all of the respondents mentioned that they had to present a vaccination certification or a negative test in order to cross the border. All these measures seem to be in line with the regulations imposed in each of these periods. It seems, however, that these ‘extra steps’ did not prolong the crossing process with that much.

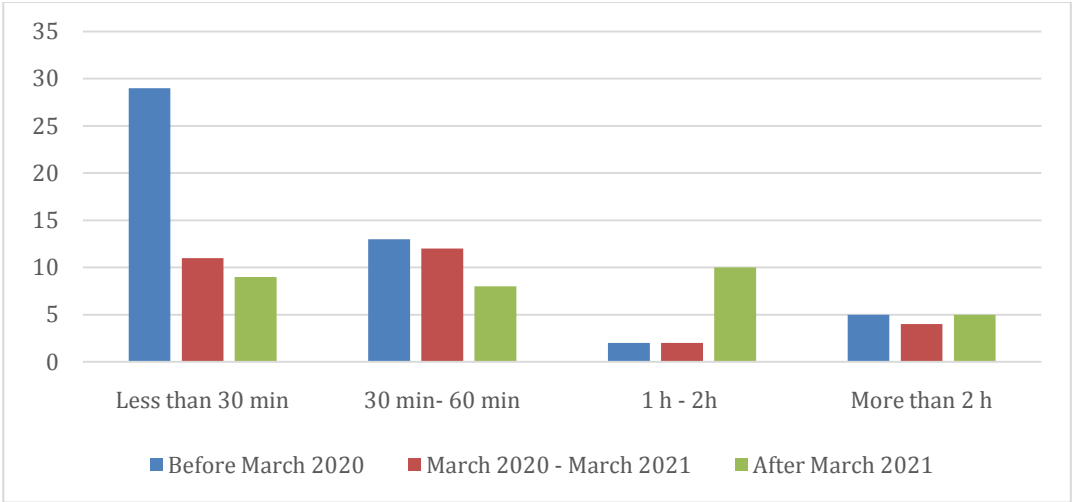


Figure 9. Duration of border-crossing

Before the pandemic, border crossing seemed to be a relatively fast process, however this might be attributed to the fact that most respondents live within 10–30 km from the border. Still, before March 2020 for most respondents crossing took less than 30

minutes, between March 2020 – March 2021 it took between 30 and 60 minutes, while it seems that since March it usually takes more than 2 hours.

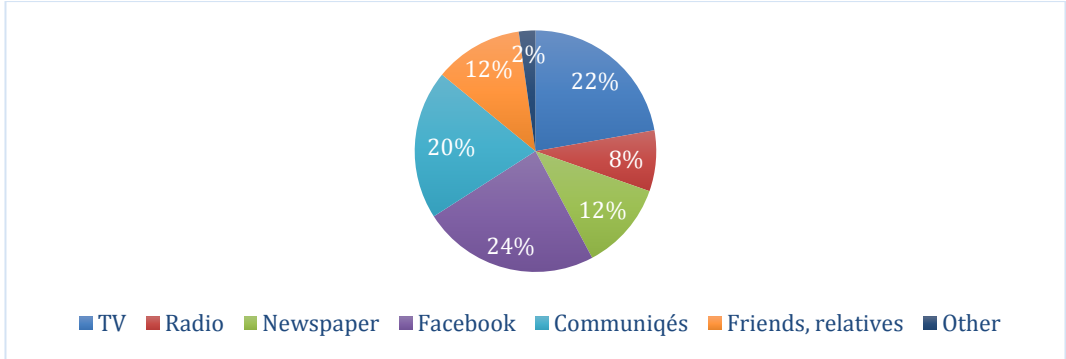
The last aspect regarding cross-border travel was meant to measure the changes in the scopes of cross-border movement. **Figure 9** shows which were the respondents' main motivation for crossing the border during each time period. If before March 2020 most of the respondents went for vacation purposes, during the pandemic, surprisingly, they crossed the border to visit friends and relatives, despite the severe restrictions imposed on physical contacts. However, keeping in mind that the volume and frequency of border crossing was significantly reduced, it is not so unbelievable that when they cross the border, most people do it to see their family, especially in insecure times like this. Since March the levels of crossings increased slightly, as it can also be seen in **Figure 9** the motivations starting to resemble the pre-pandemic patterns.

Besides questions regarding cross-border mobility and travel, respondents were also asked the following:

1. Have you been regularly informed of the measures in place since the beginning of the epidemic?
2. How did you hear about the latest epidemiological measures?
3. Do you find the measures taken by the central authorities of your country useful?

It seems that the national information campaigns have been really successful, as 94% of the respondents have been regularly informed about the new measures being introduced, and 60,7% of them think that these were useful.

As to where the information came from, the answers look like this:



**Figure 10.** Respondents' main source of information

### Conclusion

About two months after the first case of an atypical viral pneumonia was reported in the Chinese city of Wuhan, the WHO declared the novel coronavirus a global pandemic on 11 March 2020. In consequence, countries globally had begun to issue measures to limit or significantly slow the spread of the virus, closing borders, suspending international travel, placing restrictions on travellers, and declaring national lockdowns. The virus broke out in Europe on 25 January, and throughout February and March, the number of pandemic-related measures increased significantly, the crisis leading to the introduction of unprecedented measures across MS. The resulting picture was, and to a measure still is, a web of dynamic, multi-layered measures.

The variety of national responses intensified with the evolution of the pandemic, some states lifting, others reiterating or exacerbating the temporary restrictions and controls, thus further amplifying the EU-wide fragmentation. In terms of domestic,

internal measures the most common were the introduction of a lockdown, which entails the closing of shops, restaurants, cultural and entertainment facilities, the introduction of a curfew, the banning of all sorts of public and private gatherings, the prohibition of mobility one's residence or locality, the closure of schools at all levels. Added to these are the outside, external measures such as travel and entry restrictions or total bans, the reintroduction of border checks, the obligation to enter quarantine at special institutions or at one's residence, the requirement to present authorizations and certificates in order to travel internationally, and so on.

Restrictions and bans on travel have an especially important meaning in the Schengen Area, the 'borderless' part of Europe, where the 26 member countries have gradually abolished all passport and all other types of border control at their mutual borders. The legal basis for the introduction of such measures is twofold. First of all, travel bans are covered by Art. 27 and Art. 29 of Directive 2004/38/EC, and by Art. 25, Art. 28 and Art. 29 of the Schengen Borders Code. Both sources stipulate that MS can temporarily reintroduce border checks and restrict entry of foreign nationals on grounds of public policy, public security or public health. The measures, however, must respect the principle of proportionality.

Many authors have contested the necessity of the intensity and scope of border crossing and entry related measures introduced. Bonardi et al.'s study on 184 countries' lockdown measures showed that lockdowns are indeed effective in stopping the growth of cases and reducing the number of deaths, but extreme measures and strict border closures are not the most effective actions of response. Their analysis shows that partial lockdowns are as effective as stricter measures (such as declaring a state of emergency, implementing curfews), while they are also less damaging to the economy. Moreover, they argue that taking inside-country measures matters much more than taking outside-oriented ones, and that closing and blocking borders is the least effective course of action, especially if internal measures are not taken.<sup>56</sup> Askitas et. al also conclude that once other interventions are controlled for, international travel controls and closure, and restrictions on internal movement have almost no impact on the incidence of new cases. According to the authors, although restricting international movements and enacting travel controls reduce mobility, their impact on containing the spread of the disease appears to be less important: "If countries have banned all international travel soon after the outbreak in China, it would have certainly been an effective measure to seal the country from the virus. However, because most countries did not introduce such bans before the virus has started spreading domestically [...] those restrictions had a limited impact on mobility and could only reduce new imported infections but not contain the spread of the virus."<sup>57</sup> The International Organization for Migration also argues that besides Australia and New Zealand, most countries have been unsuccessful in using border closures to prevent viral spread, "and those that have had success with such closures have used them alongside a comprehensive raft of domestic measures, making it hard to attribute causality."<sup>58</sup> Specifically regarding the EU context, Peyrony et. al state that "the proportionality of border controls and restrictions with regard to the pandemic situation in the CB regions was not always respected," for example, in cases with very strict controls and restrictions

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<sup>56</sup> Bonardi et al., 340.

<sup>57</sup> Nikos Askitas, Konstantinos Tatsiramos, and Bertrand Verheyden, "Flattening the COVID-19 Curve: What Works," *Vox*, 5 June 2020, <https://voxeu.org/article/flattening-covid-19-curve-what-works>.

<sup>58</sup> Benton et al., 3.

but an extremely low percentage of incidences)<sup>59</sup>. Indeed, at many times it might have seemed that measures have exceeded their level of necessity, as it was the case when Hungary banned even transit on its territory with only 50 cases in total.

On behalf of the European institutions not much could be done, as per the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, the EU has supporting competences in the field of public health. All the institutions' ability to act depended to a large extent on the MS and their willingness to work together. In this sense, the Commission, the Council and the Parliament have on numerous occasions urged MS to coordinate their measures, but for a long time no harmonization was achieved.

Both Romania and Hungary have generally followed the EU trend during the pandemic: introduced strict lockdowns and entry bans during the first wave; went through a phased reopening between June and September/October 2020; reintroduced some stringent measures as a response to the new outbreaks a variant in the remainder of the year; and correlated relaxing measures with the vaccination campaign and the immunity levels of their citizens starting with 2021.

Nonetheless, the fast-changing travel restrictions of various kinds, coupled with a general fear from getting infected, unquestionably changed (especially international) travel behaviours and patterns of people. Following an online survey conducted in July 2021, it seems that the frequency of cross-border travels has fallen during the pandemic, but mobility across this border started to slowly and gradually restart. With regard to preferred modes of transportation and companionship during travel no relevant change can be observed. Most respondents have travelled by personal cars together with their families both before and during the pandemic. As Romania is not a member of the Schengen Area, border checks have already been in place at the RO-HU border. What changed in the process of border-crossing is the fact that other documents, such as negative tests and vaccination certificates have also been requested. This, however, has prolonged border-crossing, the whole process taking with approx. 1 hour more.

Although travel and entry restrictions are still in force today, movement across the EU has become significantly easier with the launch of EU's Digital Covid Certificate, representing a reliable, secure and common solution to restore mobility and freedom of movement to its pre-pandemic status quo.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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<sup>59</sup> Peyrony et al., 67.

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## Research in the Field of Humanities and Social Sciences during the Pandemic. Limits and Incentives, Boundaries and Freedoms

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**Abstract.** *The onset of the SARS-COV-2 crisis came with many challenges and produced a huge impact on both the various fields of activity and the individuals, according to the particularities of different states, regions, institutions, etc. The initial reversal of the general situation, materialised in a lockdown, seemed to generate astonishing revelations about life before the pandemic and about the changes that appeared necessary to apply in the future. The field of education, regardless of the level but to varying degrees, was one of the first to be affected by the pandemic, the lockdown having the main effect the closure of schools at all levels. At first, it was thought that the situation would be short-lived, but the evolution of the pandemic made lockdown a general policy and isolation a way of life for many weeks and working/teaching/learning at home became the normality. Research was also deeply affected by the pandemic, almost regardless of the field. Hence, in the large pandemic context, the interrelation between the fields of university education and research was ignored in most cases, the emphasis falling (absolutely understandable) on the pedagogical act, while research activities and researchers in academia were almost ignored in terms of specific needs, especially for the areas of research that, at least in the initial stage of the pandemic, did not seem to have a link with its study, although they were largely influenced by the pandemic, as they were humanities and social sciences. This article provides an overview of the challenges and effects that the pandemic has had on academic research, as it is not yet possible to advance definitive conclusions about the quantity and quality of research in the humanities and social sciences and about its impact on managing the Covid-19 crisis.*

**Keywords:** *humanities and social sciences scientific research; pandemic and academic research activities*

### **Introduction: humanities and social sciences across the international documents**

Many national and international institutions and organisations have set themselves the goal of monitoring the pandemic and its effects, as well as finding solutions to combat the virus. Obviously, all eyes were on those organisations or researchers involved in making the vaccine or finding the weakness of the virus so that it could be kept under control. Thus, in the fields of sciences, the pressure has been exerted to find solutions for understanding the structure of the virus and its influence on living organisms, for medical management of its spread, for healing patients and understanding the medium- and long-term effects on the lives of individuals and humanity. Though not from the very first days (and in a similarly in all states or regions), the field of education has enjoyed increasing attention from the authorities, both at the local and international level. In its academic dimension, however, the field of education is closely linked to that of research, and this

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connection has been ignored in most cases, the emphasis falling (absolutely understandable, at one point) on the teaching act, research and researchers being ignored from the perspective of specific needs and on how to meet these needs during the pandemic, regardless if it was on the fields of sciences, engineering, or those of humanities or social sciences. Lockdown meant not only the online transfer of teaching activities but also of research activities (with the specific domestic challenges for each researcher), making “unrecognisable”<sup>1</sup> the academic life. This article highlights some aspects related to research in humanities and social sciences (HSS) in the time of the pandemic, starting from two considerations: on the one hand, the HSS can often ensure the connection between the different sciences possible to address the matter of the new virus, and on the other hand, narratives in different humanities may provide an unlike dimension and perspective to the information in which the scientific fields work. To have a unitary image on the considered domains ISCED was used, which, being “a product of international agreement,” plays the role of a tool that underpins standards for the different categories of education, at the international level, the main goal and effect of its being the “fast and easy” production of “comparable statistics on education” for the 177 participating states. These statistics refer to the quantifiable data on education (duration of levels of study, specialisation, categories of diplomas, etc.), but on the categories of fields indicated by ISCED.<sup>2</sup> Hence, it is not accidental the joint data collection realised by UNESCO, OECD and Eurostat (UOE), materialised in a manual helping the three institutions in harmonising their work of collecting and analysing the international data on education systems, and participating states in providing similar information, based on “common definitions and criteria of control and verification.”<sup>3</sup> Although some minor differences may occur at the level of details, if we compare with ISCED standards, the fundamental fields of HSS<sup>4</sup> refer to similar branches of study (narrow and detailed fields), at the level of different states<sup>5</sup> (differences are probably due to some local specificities, as it is possible to see in the table below).

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<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Kramnick, “The Humanities after Covid-19. What Happens when Hiring Dies?” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 23 July 2020, <https://www.chronicle.com/article/the-humanities-after-covid-19>.

<sup>2</sup> UNESCO Institute for Statistics, *ISCED Fields of Education and Training 2013 (ISCED-F 2013)*, (Manual to accompany the Institutional Standard Classification of Education 2011) (Montreal: UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2014), 4, accessed April 09, 2021, <http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/isced-fields-of-education-and-training-2013-en.pdf>; See the short summary of UNESCO Institute for Statistics, *Using ISCED Diagrams to Compare Education Systems* (Montreal: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2021), accessed June 01, 2021, <http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/uis-isced-diagramscompare-oecdannex-final.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> UOE, *UOE Data Collection on Formal Education. Manual on Concepts, Definitions and Classification*, Version of 27<sup>th</sup> July 2016 (Montreal, Paris, Luxembourg, 2016), 3, accessed April 30, 2021, [https://circabc.europa.eu/sd/a/849a866e-d820-4006-a6af-21cb1c48626b/UOE2016\\_manual\\_12072016.pdf](https://circabc.europa.eu/sd/a/849a866e-d820-4006-a6af-21cb1c48626b/UOE2016_manual_12072016.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> I mentioned here these two large fields of research only because they are close to each other and show in what extents similarities and even juxtapositions exist in different documents. The objectives and dimensions of the article did not allow for a broader comparison between several documents with a regional (EU) or international distribution and impact.

<sup>5</sup> UNESCO Institute for Statistics, “ISCED Mappings,” accessed April 09, 2021, <http://uis.unesco.org/en/isced-mappings>; Cătălin-Ionuț Silvestru et al., “ISCED Classification Influence on E-Learning Education Systems,” *Informatica Economică* 22, no. 4 (2018).

**Table 1.** Fields of education, training in humanities and social sciences<sup>6</sup>

ISCED		Romania			
		ARACIS		CNATDCU	
Broad field	Narrow field	Fundamental field	Branch of science	Fundamental field	Specialised commissions
02 Arts and Humanities	Arts, Languages, Humanities (excepting languages)	50 Humanities and Arts	Philology; philosophy; history; theology; cultural studies (03); architecture (07) and urbanism; arts	P5 Humanities	Philology; philosophy; history and cultural studies; theology; architecture and urbanism; visual arts; performing arts and music
03 Social sciences, journalism and information	Social and behavioural sciences Journalism and information	40 Social sciences	law sciences; administrative sciences; communication sciences; sociology; political sciences; military sciences (10), information and public order; economic sciences; psychology and behavioural sciences	P4 Social Sciences	law sciences; sociology; administrative sciences; communication sciences; political sciences; security studies; military sciences, information and public order; economic sciences and business; psychology, education sciences, physical education and sports

As shown in the table above, a reversal of some branches of sciences appears in the Romanian nomenclator for some fields: cultural studies are mentioned in (03) broad field of ISCED, law sciences and administrative sciences appear in the broad field of Business, administration and law (04), architecture belongs to the field of Engineering, manufacturing and construction (07), while urbanism doesn't exist at all, and military sciences are mentioned in the field of Services (10). Observing the similarities between ISCED fields, UOE manual, Romanian nomenclator research, and specialised

<sup>6</sup> UNESCO Institute for Statistics, *ISCED Fields of Education and Training 2013*; Hotărâre nr. 403 din 31 martie 2021 privind aprobarea Nomenclatorului domeniilor și al specializărilor/programelor de studii universitare și a structurii instituțiilor de învățământ superior pentru anul universitar 2021–2022 [Decision no. 403 of March 31, 2021 on the approval of the Nomenclature of fields and specialisations / programs of university studies and the structure of higher education institutions for the academic year 2021–2022], accessed April 08, 2021, <http://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/241540>.

commissions of National Council for the Attestation of University Degrees, Diplomas and Certificate,<sup>7</sup> it is possible to consider the influence of ISCED in the great majority of academic and research systems. However, ISCED mentions the concept of research only twice, while in the *Frascati Manual*, a collective technical document providing “a standard for R&D data collection in OECD member countries” (but used everywhere in the world<sup>8</sup>) and in the *Oslo Manual*<sup>9</sup> the concept of research is used in numerous contexts. Although not at the same level as the *Frascati* and *Oslo Manuals*, the *UOE manual* focuses too on the concept of research, both completing ISCED for research activities specific for the academic level.

### **Humanities and social sciences at work in a pandemic time**

Observing the narrow fields of the two broad fields of research, HSS, their interdependence in numerous research activities is obvious.<sup>10</sup> For all areas of research, there is both the possibility of interconnection and exclusion, and the fields that I consider in this paper are no exception. The potential for interdisciplinarity is evident not only between the various sub-domains of the HSS, but also with other fields or sub-domains (e.g. international relations might be studied from the perspectives of environmental issues, energetic resources, technologies, medical services, transport services, politics and psychological / sociological issues, politics and agricultural and veterinary issues, politics and fishery issues, etc., etc., etc.), which would make difficult both a qualitative and quantitative analysis of research concerning all these fields during the pandemic.<sup>11</sup> And, because Covid-19 was a transboundary crisis and involved multiple (public and private) domains and decisional actors, escalated, changed and asked for rapid changes too, producing confusion and anxiety at regional and even international levels,<sup>12</sup> they are also

<sup>7</sup> UNESCO Institute for Statistics, *Using ISCED Diagrams*; UOE; Hotărâre nr. 403 din 31 martie 2021 privind aprobarea Nomenclatorului; Ministerul Educației și Cercetării [Ministry of Education and Research], ORDIN Nr. 4621/2020 din 23 iunie 2020 pentru aprobarea Regulamentului de organizare și funcționare a Consiliului Național de Atestare a Titlurilor, Diplomelor și Certificatelor Universitare [Order no. 4621/2020 od 23 June 2020 for the approval of the Regulation on the organization of the National Council for the Attestation of University Degrees, Diplomas and Certificates], accessed March 21, 2021, [http://www.cnatdcu.ro/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/OM\\_4621\\_2020.pdf](http://www.cnatdcu.ro/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/OM_4621_2020.pdf); UOE, 21.

<sup>8</sup> OECD, *Frascati Manual 2015. Guidelines for Collecting and Reporting Data on Research and Experimental Development* (The Measurement of Scientific, Technological and Innovation Activities) (Paris: OEDC Publishing, 2015), 4, 259–260.

<sup>9</sup> This one has as objective to provide “guidelines for collecting and interpreting data on innovation” and “to guide innovation data collection and reporting efforts through a common vocabulary, agreed principles and practical conventions,” but in a general way, without to follow specific fields of research. OECD, Eurostat, *Oslo Manual 2018: Guidelines for Collecting, Reporting and Using Data on Innovation*, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition, The Measurement of Scientific, Technological and Innovation Activities (Paris: OECD Publishing, Luxembourg: Eurostat, 2018), 19.

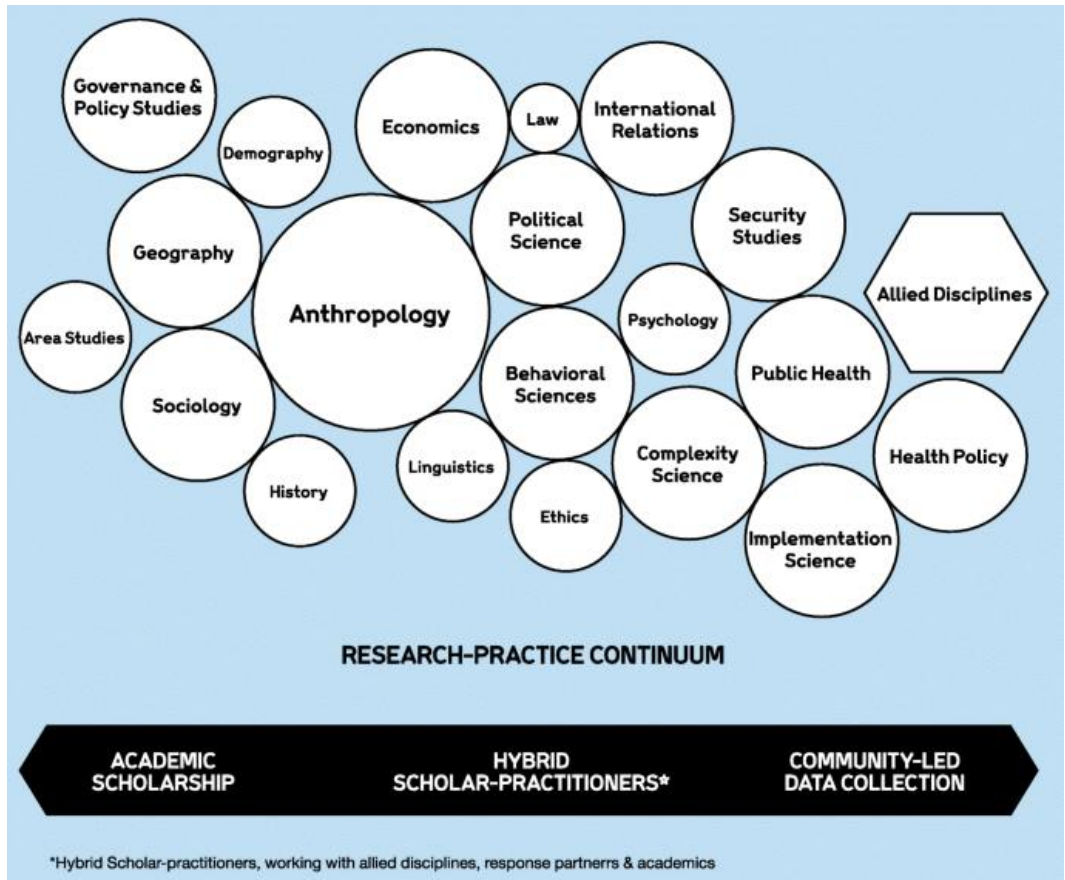
<sup>10</sup> The European Research Council presents statistics on projects related to humanities and social sciences in general, not separately. European Research Council, “Statistics,” accessed August 03, 2021, <https://erc.europa.eu/projects-figures/statistic-results>.

<sup>11</sup> Useful research across subject areas, though limited to a single databases (SCOPUS) can be found in: Aleksander Aristovnik, Dejan Ravšelj, and Lan Umek, “A Bibliometric Analysis of COVID-19 across Science and Social Science Research Landscape,” *Sustainability* 12, no. 21 (2020): 11, <https://doi.org/10.3390/su12219132>.

<sup>12</sup> Beatrice de Graaf, “Taming Pandemic in International Relations. Why do States Cooperate in Transboundary Crises? An Applied History Perspectives,” *Journal of Applied History* 2 (2020): 37.



the international relations that could also be the domain “to identify diplomatic entry points: economic, geopolitical and political opportunities for cooperation, coordination and even resistance before, during and after health emergencies.”<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 1.** Research-practice continuum<sup>14</sup>

Hence, it is important to consider the special situation of the HSS during the pandemic, starting from two considerations: on the one hand, the HSS can often ensure the connection between the different sciences that can address the issue of the new virus, and, on the other hand, the narratives of different HSS approaches can provide a dissimilar dimension and perspective to the information in which the scientific fields work or to the awful communication<sup>15</sup> of data and policies (in this case of the scientific data and adopted policies related to the virus and pandemic).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Sara E. Davies and Clare Wenham, “Why the COVID-19 Response Needs International Relations,” *International Affairs* 96, no. 5 (2020): 1229, doi:10.1093/ia/iiaa135.

<sup>14</sup> Kevin Louis Bardosh et al., “Integrating the Social Sciences in Epidemic Preparedness and Response: A Strategic Framework to Strengthen Capacities and Improve Global Health Security,” *Globalization and Health* 16, no. 120 (2020), accessed March 05, 2021, <https://globalizationandhealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12992-020-00652-6>.

<sup>15</sup> Giving to the influence of the new technology in transmitting (sometimes wrong) data on pandemic, virus and vaccine, communication of scientific and official data and public policies and

The role of the HSS in researching pandemic was not all the time recognised,<sup>17</sup> but this can be considered a possible approach for the large public. There are already well-known the debates on the situation and importance of HSS as sciences since the development of technologies shadowed the other fields of activity. The factors considered as contributing to the decline of humanities were: 1) the diminishing of the humanities' prestige, 2) the defunding of programmes in many departments, 3) the poor employment rate of the graduates, 4) little practical use or a "waste of time," 5) decreasing tangible value, especially to that of the philosophy, literature, fine arts, 6) economic recession pressures, 7) the corporatization of higher education, and 8) other "constellation of forces that, worse than a crisis, seem to portend the very end of the humanities," 9) the context of "neoliberal capitalism and of the consolidation of the metrics-driven, corporate, managerial university."<sup>18</sup> However, beyond all these debates, the fact that much more arguments are still needed<sup>19</sup> to convince of the role of the HSS in the economics of science in general suggests that, although not in a very abrupt way, as in the nineteenth century, these sciences are still perceived, in some cases, as "soft sciences," that "deal with

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decisions became more and more difficult, being necessary new strategies to communicate and to confront the false information from the social media platforms. COST Association, "Communicating Science in Times of Covid-19," accessed April 30, 2021, [https://www.cost.eu/uploads/2021/02/210217\\_CCA\\_COVID\\_Publication-2.pdf](https://www.cost.eu/uploads/2021/02/210217_CCA_COVID_Publication-2.pdf). It is no coincidence that an entire issue of *ESSACHESS – Journal for Communication Studies* is dedicated to public communication during the pandemic (<https://www.essachess.com/index.php/jcs/issue/view/29>). On the other side, a search on google scholar of the syntagma "covid 19 pandemic public communication" reveals over 20,000 articles on this subject.

<sup>16</sup> Simon Lohse and Stefano Canali, "Follow "the" Science? On the Marginal role of the Social Sciences in the COVID-19 Pandemic," *European Journal for Philosophy of Science* 11, no. 4 (2021); COST Association.

<sup>17</sup> Hayley MacGregor et al., "Covid-19 – A Social Phenomenon Requiring Diverse Expertise," Institute of Development Studies, 20 March 2020, accessed September 11, 2021, <https://www.ids.ac.uk/opinions/covid-19-a-social-phenomenon-requiring-diverse-expertise/>.

<sup>18</sup> Anne Dominique Duque, Fatima Grace Fabillar, and Jan Greil Kahambing, "Validating the Crisis, or the "Technology contra Humanities" Argument during COVID-19 through Formal Proofs of Language," *ELS Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities* 4, no. 3 (2021): 369, <https://doi.org/10.34050/elsjish.v4i3.14340>.

<sup>19</sup> Hasten to add that a supporting plea (Lamy Report) was needed in favour of the humanities and social sciences in an EU science and innovation funding program. On the other side, in a resolution of the European Parliament is stated that "the terms 'research' and 'innovation' are not limited to technological innovation, but embedded as cross-cutting topics of broad relevance to all aspects of the social sciences and the humanities." European Parliament, "A New ERA for Research and Innovation" (European Parliament Resolution of 8 July 2021 on a New ERA for Research and Innovation (2021/2524(RSP))), art. 5, accessed December 20, 2021, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0353\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0353_EN.pdf). In the same way, the fact that most research associations in these sciences motivate their existence still through the need for to impose or maintain a certain role in the general scientific framework shows that, although marginalizing discourse is not all the time obvious, the HSS must sometimes make a greater effort to convince that their role is equally important for general scientific knowledge and progress as of the other sciences. A classic study on softness and hardness of sciences, that of Stephen Cole, assesses the scientific results of the two types of sciences from different perspectives – development of the inherent theory, possibility of quantification, level of cognitive consensus, predictability, and obsolescence and, even if it is not a very recent analysis, the results can be considered as important for understanding the differences between different sciences. Stephen Cole, "The Hierarchy of the Sciences?" *American Journal of Sociology* 89, no. 1 (1983): 115–119.

intangibles and relate to the study of human and animal behaviors, interactions, thoughts, and feelings,”<sup>20</sup> that involve a (too) high level of intellectualism and qualitative research, are less codified, predictable, and measurable,<sup>21</sup> and are more complex and difficult to be studied and, sometimes, are suffering in what concerns the obsolescence and legibility of quality and are involving low consensus on final results (in different degrees for the different fields of HSS)<sup>22</sup>. If accepting that, also, “pandemics is a social phenomenon,” the social sciences are needed to understand both the consequences of the pandemic and to adopt/improve and implement the necessary strategies to control it.<sup>23</sup>

Although it may seem that research in the HSS may be of minor importance in a pandemic period such as the one we are going through, and that the focus should be on prioritizing the study of issues that can improve or bring (new) solutions, both areas can devote part of their resources and analytical methods to the special situation in which they are required not only “to make a living,” but also to express their views on it and to produce more knowledge about the effects of the pandemic in areas that, otherwise, they may seem slightly affected or important in the general context.<sup>24</sup> The life and behavioural scientists can advise each other on the appropriate behaviours to develop during the pandemic, and both can advise “policymakers, policy advisors and practitioners” to adopt and to put into practice decisions, shaping so a collective approach to the pandemic realities.<sup>25</sup> In the face of great challenges, the different branches of science, more than on other occasions, go to each other to find answers to their own questions, and then, together or just completing each other, they can go to different levels of society to explain and contribute to the application what they have discovered. In this way, the results of the process of knowledge making meets the decision-making process, in a complex relation and following various strategies, methods and stages.

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<sup>20</sup> Anne Marie Helmetine, “What is the Difference between Hard and Soft Science?” accessed September 05, 2021, <https://www.thoughtco.com/hard-vs-soft-science-3975989>.

<sup>21</sup> Benedikt Fecher et al., “Impact of Social Sciences – (How) Can it be Measured?” *Elephant in the Lab*, 16 November 2021, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5704639>. But opinions differ, at least for some subject areas: “Social sciences have lately become quite hard. Various aspects of the various sciences like psychology, anthropology, economics, sociology, information science, and economics are extremely objective and quantified.” Subina Syal, “The Significant Role of Social Sciences in Creating a Better Tomorrow,” *Global Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 4, no. 5 (2015): 23, accessed June 30, 2020, <https://www.walshmedicalmedia.com/open-access/the-significant-role-of-social-sciences-in-creating-a-better-tomorrow.pdf>.

<sup>22</sup> Daniele Fanelli and Wolfgang Glanzel, “Bibliometric Evidence for a Hierarchy of the Sciences,” *Plos One* 8, no. 6 (2013): 1–2; Cole, 111–113, 115, 117.

<sup>23</sup> The Global Health Network, “Responding to Covid-19 – The Social Dynamics,” accessed December 19, 2021, <https://coronavirus.tghn.org/covid-social-science/>.

<sup>24</sup> As Reisz rhetorically wonders, “what can those in the social sciences bring to the table, both at the present time and when we “return to normal” and seek to rebuild our societies? And what will Covid-19 mean for such disciplines in the longer term?” Matthew Reisz, “Pandemic Response Needs ‘Wisdom’ of Social Sciences, Scholars Say,” *The Higher Education*, 12 May 2020, <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/pandemic-response-needs-wisdom-social-sciences-scholars-say>.

<sup>25</sup> International Science Council, “COVID-19 has Sparked new Relationships between Academia and Policymakers – We must Maintain Them,” 20 April 2021, accessed August 02, 2021, <https://council.science/current/blog/covid-19-has-sparked-new-relationships-between-academia-and-policy-makers-we-must-maintain-them/>.

Hence, as some authors said,<sup>26</sup> the HSS can provide different narratives of the pandemic,<sup>27</sup> raising questions on epistemology, ethics, and language(s) of the pandemic, revealing historical comparative approaches, clarifying different social aspects issued from (non)isolation (solidarity, cohesion, truth, stigma, vulnerabilities, inequalities, welfare, crisis, democracy, justice, security) that influenced life in pandemic, or even to raise the awareness on human being fragility by philosophical or artistic interpretations of different dramatic situations related to pandemic. For the social sciences, these functions are condensed by Lohse and Canali as being those of **surveilling** (the transmission dynamics, authorities' decisions and interventions, statistics, etc.), **predicting** (the "short- and mid-term societal consequences of pandemics and mitigation policies" about as many categories of problems as possible, using the existing socio-economic data), and **intervening** (providing "choice architecture, communication of policy, and public compliance," according to the given context)<sup>28</sup>. In the same way, using at the same time the theoretical concepts and the experiential research and some already realised praxis, the social sciences can help by their proficiency the decision-makers (whatever if the national institutions or the supranational/international organisations) in adopting the required public policies, providing studies, analyses and even data on the impact of pandemic, whatever is about socio-medical, economic, or political<sup>29</sup> perspectives.<sup>30</sup> HSS can provide

<sup>26</sup> Sari Altschuler and Elizabeth Maddock Dillon, "Humanities in the Time of Covid: The Humanities Coronavirus Syllabus," *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* 27, no. 4 (Autumn 2020): 836–858, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isle/isaa192>; Ela Sjølie et al., "Learning of Academics in the time of Coronavirus Pandemic," *Journal of Praxis in Higher Education* 2, no. 1 (2020); Dalton Conley and Tim Johnson, "Past is Future for the era of Covid-19 Research in the Social Sciences," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118, no. 13 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2104155118>.

<sup>27</sup> "Everything has a history and historians are especially well suited to explain social and cultural challenges met in crisis situations, epidemics and pandemics among them. ... When a neighbor asks, 'Is it worth sacrificing the economy for a few hundred thousand lives,' it's time for a humanist to enter the discussion. This important, and difficult, conversation too has a history." Colleen Flaherty, "Historians and COVID-19," *Inside Higher Ed*, 06 April 2020, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/04/06/historians-and-covid-19>; "Many social scientists see disasters as invaluable lenses through which to study the good, the bad and the ugly of human societies." Colleen Flaherty, "Social Scientists on COVID-19," *Inside Higher Ed*, 26 May 2020, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/05/26/social-scientists-covid-19>.

<sup>28</sup> Lohse and Canali, 9–13.

<sup>29</sup> "the pandemic disease... is a political problem as much as it is a public health tragedy. Politics has been at the core of how governments have prepared for and responded to this crisis. [...] politics is deciding how COVID-19 is spreading and whether people are living or dying." Davies and Wenham, 1227.

<sup>30</sup> Martyn Pickersgill and Matthew Smith, "Expertise from the Humanities and Social Sciences is Essential for Governmental Responses to COVID-19," *Journal of Global Health* 11 (2021), doi: 10.7189/jogh.11.03081; "Covid-19: However Good the Science, you Need Good Politics Too," accessed January 21, 2021, <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/vision/vision-c19-needs-good-politics-too>; Rachel Middlemass, "What is the Role of the Social Sciences in the Response to Covid-19? 4 Priorities for Shaping the Post-Pandemic World," *LSE Impact Blog*, August 25<sup>th</sup>, 2020, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2020/08/25/what-is-the-role-of-the-social-sciences-in-the-response-to-covid-19-4-priorities-for-shaping-the-post-pandemic-world/>; "COVID-19 Resource Centre," accessed November 26, 2021, <https://www.lse.ac.uk/school-of-public-policy/COVID-19-resource-centre>; Global Young Academy, "Beyond Boundaries: A Global Message from Young Scientists on Covid-19," 5, accessed February 02, 2021, <https://globalyoungacademy.net/wp->

the decision-makers a deeper understanding of “the interactions between histories, laws, traditions, and social relationships at different levels” and about “the complexity of their effects on economies, communities, and individuals” during the pandemic or in the period of recovering, and this capacity of HSS support them for an “enhanced role... as part of policy advising and making.”<sup>31</sup>

Based on the qualitative assessment of official documents, reports and results of different transnational surveys, scientific papers, academic newspapers’ articles some testimonies from inside the academic and research world, this article has rather an indicative role and can be used as a basis for a completer and more complex future research. Therefore, it is no coincidence that guidelines have been developed for researchers in the field of social sciences, namely to continue their research during the emergency period, adapting their methods to the temporary obstacles raised by pandemic, and to include in their research some topics suggested by the World Health Organisation: “public health; clinical care and health systems; engagement in public health response and clinical research media and communications; sexual and reproductive health; and international cooperation,” with the subsidiary topics for each field and contextualising for “regional, national and local levels.”<sup>32</sup>

### **Academic education under scrutiny in pandemic time**

Closing schools and universities has increased the concern of numerous regional and international organisations<sup>33</sup> about the situation of students, and many of the transnational and national studies realised across the world specified the situation of the universities too. The academic world has not escaped the tumultuous vortex provoked by pandemic, although it may not be as disturbing as for the earlier levels of the education system. For the academic level, the double possibility of using technology (largely in an almost equal way by professors and students, at least in what concerns the necessary skills) didn’t raise (though regional or local exceptions existed) so dramatic problems in organising on-line meetings and transmitting information and did not ask for a systematic intervention of the states’ specific authorities,<sup>34</sup> though problems existed too: general organisation of academic activities (usual meetings, exams, planning activities, etc.),

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content/uploads/2020/04/GYA-COVID19-Position-Statement-26.03.2020-2.pdf; Colleen Flaherty, “Historians and COVID-19”; Colleen Flaherty, “Social Scientists on COVID-19”; Rapid European COVID-19 Emergency Research Response, “Social Science Studies,” accessed November 02, 2021, <https://www.recover-europe.eu/social-sciences-studies/>; EASSH, “Mission Covid-19: Global Problems Need a Research Portfolio Approach,” 17 June 2020, accessed November 27, 2020, [https://www.ae-info.org/attach/Acad\\_Main/Collaborations/EASSH/eassh-covid-19andsshfnl.pdf](https://www.ae-info.org/attach/Acad_Main/Collaborations/EASSH/eassh-covid-19andsshfnl.pdf).

<sup>31</sup> Pickersgill and Smith, 2.

<sup>32</sup> Isis Barei-Guyot, *Social Science Research and Covid-19. Global Development Institute Working Paper* (Manchester: University of Manchester, 2021), 6–8. They are not the only subjects suggested to be analysed, some others following: gendered impact of Covid-19; the situation of researchers in poorer countries, with a focus on the inequalities in the research process and collaborative research; new types of inequalities, vulnerabilities, and traumas. Ibid., 9 sqq.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Farnell, Ana Skledar Matijević, and Ninoslav Šćukanec Schmidt, *The Impact of COVID-19 on Higher Education: A Review of Emerging Evidence* (NESET report) (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2021), 20–21, doi: 10.2766/069216, accessed August 29, 2021, [https://nesetweb.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/NESET-AR4-2020\\_Full-Report-1.pdf](https://nesetweb.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/NESET-AR4-2020_Full-Report-1.pdf).

<sup>34</sup> European Trade Union Committee for Education. EI European Region, “The Impact of COVID-19 Crisis on Higher Education and Research Staff” (To BFUG Plenary Meeting of 15-16 April 2021, under the Portuguese Presidency), 1.

decreasing of students and researchers' international mobility, the lack of access to specific networks or to international job market,<sup>35</sup> the increasing financial challenges<sup>36</sup> of universities.<sup>37</sup>

At a general level, UNESCO, "...monitoring school closures since the declaration of the pandemic,"<sup>38</sup> has furnished numerous regular statistics on the state of education system<sup>39</sup> and included the analysis related to the influence of Covid-19 in its regular reports on education system in the world,<sup>40</sup> providing important data and pieces of analysis related both to the general situation of education system and to some concerned regions and states. Also reports of the OECD and UN highlighted the general challenges of lockdown on educational systems and pointed out the various approaches that have been quite diverse, depending both on particularities of concerned students and types of education, and the logistical capabilities of states and charged authorities.<sup>41</sup> On the other side, the UN has had some important interventions focused on the university education. Thus, UN interviewed students, professors, researchers, or different officials of the academic system across the world on Covid-19 crisis and its impact on higher education, organised conferences on this subject and dedicated a special space on its webpage to the

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<sup>35</sup> Giorgio Marinoni, Hilligje van't Land, and Trine Jensen, *The Impact of Covid-19 on Higher Education around the World* (IAU Global Survey Report) (Paris: International Association of Universities, 2020), 17–18, 20, 22, 26–28, accessed May 13, 2021, [https://www.iau-aiu.net/IMG/pdf/iau\\_covid19\\_and\\_he\\_survey\\_report\\_final\\_may\\_2020.pdf](https://www.iau-aiu.net/IMG/pdf/iau_covid19_and_he_survey_report_final_may_2020.pdf); Schleicher, 4–5, 10–11; Nations Unies. "Notes de synthèse," 8; UNESCO, *Non-State Actors in Education*, 333, 342, Chapters 19–20.

<sup>36</sup> They are the universities that confronted the financial issues because of the lack of international students or because students, not benefiting from the same educational services, demanded the refund of at least a part of the fees they paid. They were too situations when teachers with short-term contract, honorary or part-time teachers whose contracts were not renewed. Schleicher, 5, 8–10; Farnell, Skledar Matijević, and Šćukanec Schmidt, 22–25; Marinoni, van't Land, and Jensen, 38; European Trade Union Committee for Education. EI European Region, 2.

<sup>37</sup> Some opinions pointed out the low interest for "teacher well-being during emergency online teaching," for "increased workload for the teaching staff," for the struggle "with the challenges of adapting to remote emergency teaching, family obligations" or "the information overload syndrome experienced by both teachers and students". Farnell, Skledar Matijević, and Šćukanec Schmidt, 26–27, 29, 31; 123; European Trade Union Committee for Education. EI European Region, 1–3.

<sup>38</sup> UNESCO, *Non-State Actors in Education. Who Chooses? Who Loses?* (Global Education Monitoring Report) (Paris: UNESCO, 2021/2), 202, accessed December 16, 2021, [https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/non-state\\_actors](https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/non-state_actors).

<sup>39</sup> UNESCO Institute of Statistics, "Covid-19 Response," accessed June 02, 2021, <http://covid19.uis.unesco.org/>; UNESCO Institute of Statistics, "Data. Survey of National Education Responses to Covid-19 School Closures," accessed June 03, 2021, <http://covid19.uis.unesco.org/data/>.

<sup>40</sup> UNESCO, "Global Education Monitoring Report," accessed May 03, 2021, <https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/allreports>.

<sup>41</sup> Andreas Schleicher, "The Impact of Covid-19 on Education. Insights from Education at a Glance 2020," OECD, 13–14, 20–21, 23, accessed May 05, 2021, <https://www.oecd.org/education/the-impact-of-covid-19-on-education-insights-education-at-a-glance-2020.pdf>; Nations Unies, "Notes de synthèse : L'éducation en temps de COVID-19 et après," août 2020, 5–8, accessed May 06, 2021, [https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/policy\\_brief\\_-\\_education\\_during\\_covid-19\\_and\\_beyond\\_french.pdf](https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/policy_brief_-_education_during_covid-19_and_beyond_french.pdf).

impact of Covid-19 on the activities of universities,<sup>42</sup> interviews, debates and specific information that highlighted in real time the state of fact and the spirit of the fields of university education and research.

The European Union, on the other hand, focused on almost similar issues related to the influence of pandemic on education system. The EU also conducted its own activities and research related to the influence of pandemic on educational system of the member states, but without neglecting (on the contrary, using them) the surveys, analysis and studies already realised by some other transnational or national institutions. The studies realised by the EU are numerous and related to many aspects and levels of education influenced by pandemic waves. The focus was greatly on the same categories of problems related to the pandemic: teaching and learning processes, social dimension of higher education, and student mobility, following the immediate, short-term and long-term impact for all these three levels.<sup>43</sup> In what concerns the research and innovation fields, as part of numerous networks and benefiting by a consistent EU financing, the European Commission used the pandemic context to reinforce some objectives, values and priorities related to this area and to the most actual objectives of the EU (i.e., green and digital transformation, competitiveness, solidarity, coherence), proposing and asking to the Member States to participate and synchronise their policies regarding the research environment (academic or not).<sup>44</sup> Though not completely giving to the pandemic, HSS were highly considered by EU in this time, when a new financing programme started, Horizon 2020 and Horizon Europe,<sup>45</sup> with a special target on the role of HSS for the general development of the EU and its societies, influencing research and development of any other field of activity.<sup>46</sup> To the EU efforts added those of the academic environment

<sup>42</sup> United Nations, “Academic Impact,” accessed May 23, 2021, <https://www.un.org/en/academic-impact/academic-impact-search?query=university+covid-19>; United Nations, “Academic Impact,” accessed May 23, 2021, <https://www.un.org/en/academicimpact>.

<sup>43</sup> Farnell, Skledar Matijević, and Šćukanec Schmidt, 6–14; Giorgio Di Pietro et al., *The Likely Impact of COVID-19 on Education: Reflections Based on the Existing Literature and Recent International Datasets*, EUR 30275 EN (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2020), DOI:10.2760/126686; Loes Van der Graaf et al., *Research for CULT Committee – Education and Youth in Post-COVID-19 Europe – Crisis Effects and Policy Recommendations* (Brussels: European Parliament, Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies, 2021), 53–60.

<sup>44</sup> European Commission, “Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. A new Era for Research and Innovation,” Brussels, 30.09.2020, COM(2020) 628 final, accessed May 29, 2021, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=COM%3A2020%3A628%3AFIN>.

<sup>45</sup> The famous report of Pascal Lamy highlighted the deep connections between education and research at academic level and invoking the need to “Adopt a mission-oriented, impact-focused approach to address global challenges” that “fully integrate social sciences and humanities,” for which “missions concern the big social questions of our time.” In the same time, EASSH, as professional associations, also recommended that Horizon 2020 better integrates social sciences and humanities, in order to reach its objectives related to interdisciplinarity. European Commission, *LAB-FAB-APP. Investing in the European Future we Want* (Report of the independent High Level Group on maximising the impact of EU Research & Innovation Programmes) (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2017), 15–16; EASSH, “SSH Integration in Horizon 2020: Lessons for Horizon Europe,” accessed November 12, 2022, <https://eassh.eu/Position-Papers/SSH-integration-in-Horizon-2020--Lessons-for-Horizon-Europe~p1273>.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas König, “Social Sciences and Humanities Research Matters – Guidelines on how to Successfully Design, and Implement, Mission-Oriented Research Programmes,” Austrian Presidency of the Council of the European Union Conference on ‘Impacts of Social Sciences and

itself, that, under the umbrella of diverse national, European or transnational structures was permanently involved in observing and analysing the impact of pandemics not only on the academic environment, but on the other academic and professional groups, and provided the EU with the necessary expertise in developing and achieving its both general and specific objectives. It was the case of ALLEA (All European Academies/The European Federation of Academies of Science and Humanities), SAPEA (Science Advice for Policy by European Academics), EASSH (European Alliance for Social Sciences and Humanities), EHEA (European Higher Education Area), LERU (League of European Research Universities), Coimbra Group, Russell Group (composed by 24 leading UK universities), EUA (European University Association), EUF (European University Foundation), EAIE (European Association for International Education), ENQA (European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education).<sup>47</sup> All of these organisations, though in different degrees, elaborated project studies, analyses or blog positions, organised interviews and obtained statements on the situation of higher education area and research in time of pandemic. To the actions carried out by the academic associations can be added those of the student, one of the most important being the survey and report realised by Erasmus Students Network, offering important data about the situation of Erasmus exchanges at the beginning of pandemic.<sup>48</sup>

At the international level, there were too many and various academic institutions, organisations or simple groups of specialists that have conducted their own research and prepared their own studies, reports, or statements on the impact of Covid-19 on the field of higher education in general, as well as on specific areas. If we look at the various regional and international initiatives, it is obvious that there were both common and specific approaches, determined by the local peculiarities of both the respective academic systems and the pandemic situation at the time of the developed actions, studies, or statements. In this context, is necessary to mention the numerous surveys, reports, researches, toolkits, insights realized by the American Council on Education, with the purpose to offer to its over 1700 members (national universities, colleges, and associations) the needed a well-structured framework of information and analyses in order to continue their activities according to the challenges of the pandemic time.<sup>49</sup> Other American approaches have become quite international, as it was the case of the four reports (the last in June 2021) of the Institute of International Education from USA, related to the effects of Covid-19 on US campuses, and the numerous surveys developed in different regions of the world. Documents related to the impact of Covid-19 on the

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Humanities for a European Research Agenda – Valuation of SSH in Mission Oriented Research’ organised by Centre for Social Innovation, Vienna, 2019, accessed June 01, 2021, [https://www.ssh-impact.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/guidelines\\_SSH\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.ssh-impact.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/guidelines_SSH_FINAL.pdf); *100 Social Sciences and Humanities Priority Research Questions for Smart Consumption in Horizon Europe* (Cambridge: Energy-SHIFTS, 2020); EASSH, “Mission Covid-19.”

<sup>47</sup> ALLEA, <https://allea.org/#/>; SAPEA, <https://www.sapea.info/>; EASSH, <https://eassh.eu/>; EHEA, <http://www.ehea.info/>; LERU, <https://www.leru.org/>; Coimbra Group, <https://www.coimbra-group.eu/mission-statement/>; Russell Group, <https://russellgroup.ac.uk/about/>; EUA, <https://eua.eu/about/who-we-are.html>; EUF, <https://uni-foundation.eu/about/>; EAIE, <https://www.eaie.org/about-eaie.html>; ENQA, <https://www.enqa.eu/about-enqa/>.

<sup>48</sup> Wim Gabriels, Rasmus Benke-Åberg, *Students Exchanges in Times of Crisis* (Research Report on the Impact of Covid-19 on Student Exchanges in Europe) (Erasmus Student Network AISBL, 2020), accessed July 08, 2022, <https://esn.org/covidimpact-report>.

<sup>49</sup> American Council on Education, “Publications,” accessed July 08, 2021, <https://www.acenet.edu/Pages/Publications.aspx>.



academic environment can be found in the fields of Academic Mobility, International Education Guides Resources and Directories, Internationalization of Higher Education, Regional Research (some documents being cross-posted), but a Covid-19 search engine will reveal more than 70 articles on the various influences of the pandemic on academic life.<sup>50</sup>

In the same register of the international character of actions is considered the report of the International Association of Universities (IAU), based on the organisation survey developed in March-April 2020 in the 424 higher education units from 109 states (replies being 46% from Europe, 21% from Africa, 17% from Asia&Pacific, and 15% from Americas), and declared “a first global overview of the disruption caused by COVID-19 on higher education around the world.”<sup>51</sup> Cooperation between different levels of academia also existed, one of the most resonant being that realised by IAU and ESN, highlighting the intersection between the academic institutions and their beneficiaries, the students.<sup>52</sup>

As can be seen, there have been many concerns about the state of academic education during the pandemic, and their recommendations<sup>53</sup> generally refer to the need to continue and deepen research, at the national and transnational level, to find out and analyse the effects of the pandemic on different levels of education systems and to make recommendations / find solutions to problems.

### **Humanities and social sciences: research and its challenges during the pandemic**

As already observed, the authors of the reports and studies about the academic environment during the pandemic are various: international organisations, professional associations, organizations specialized in data collection and study of the publications market, recognized publishers, or researchers. A ranking of these studies and a comparative analysis of the results will be very necessary at some point, but this study only aims to review them and highlight the main results of this research. In general, the international organisations’ reports related to the situation of higher education systems during the pandemic focus largely on teaching activities, and usually less (or not at all) to scientific research. Here I will mention only those reports that refer to the research issue, whatever it is about a general perspective, or they mention the specific case of HSS. Hence, the report of OECD refers to the quantity and quality of innovation and research activities developed in the academic environment in pandemic time, and to the impact for the coming years, as to the situation of postdoctoral researchers.<sup>54</sup> UNESCO elaborated two reports with different approaches, one containing many references to research in the field of education and pedagogy, while the other addresses in deep detail much more

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<sup>50</sup> Institute of International Education, “IIE Publications,” accessed July 01, 2021, <https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Publications>.

<sup>51</sup> The authors mentioned that, according to the level of distribution of higher education institutions in these regions, Europe and Africa were overrepresented in terms of received answers. Marinoni, van’t Land, and Jensen, 4, 10–11, 13.

<sup>52</sup> “IAU & ESN Joint Paper on COVID-19 Impact on HE: Institutional and Students’ Perspective,” 10 September 2020, accessed April 15, 2021, <https://www.iau-aiu.net/COVID-19-impact-on-Higher-Education-Institutional-and-Students-Perspectives>.

<sup>53</sup> UNESCO, *Non-State Actors in Education*, 205; Farnell, Skledar Matijević, and Šćukanec Schmidt, 31, 43, 59.

<sup>54</sup> Schleicher, 8, 11.

situations in the field of education (public or private, regional and/or local characteristics, public policies, etc.),<sup>55</sup> but only stressing the influence of the pandemic on academic research (the limited access to scientific information, even on-line).<sup>56</sup> UNCTAD, on the other side, even at the beginnings of pandemic emphasised the need to consider the expenditures for research and development “as part of emergency measures and of recovery packages” during the Covid-19 crisis, and to maintain and strengthen this policy after this crisis. The UNCTAD’ position mentions social sciences beside natural sciences and engineering as part of a systemic approach of pandemic, asserting that “multidisciplinary and multisectoral approaches, is likely to be the most effective strategy to improve the preparedness and resilience of societies against future similar threats”.<sup>57</sup> The World Bank report for Europe and Asia highlighted the need to follow the problem of quality of the programs offered by academic institutions and the need to solve “swiftly” the problem of infrastructure and equipment, and that of the access to the necessary educational materials and resources,<sup>58</sup> while the report on the COVID-19 crisis highlighted the “immediate challenge” for research, namely to maintain or to close the “research operations” (laboratories, field work, conferences, etc.), the “long-term challenges,” namely “loss of research, including research collaborations across institutions, borders and disciplines,” “immediate actions,” materialised in adapting or suspending teaching and research (when needed) activities, and to find solutions to continue research activities.<sup>59</sup> The 2021 European Commission’ report realised an analysis of some other reports and studies of international and academic organisations or of some realised at the national level, centralising some data about surveys related to the impact of Covid-19 on higher education system. It highlighted many times the issues of on-line teaching activities, inclusively the “teaching staff well-being,” but also addressed the problem of research: “how research is carried out,” the “cross-border research and cross-border collaborations between universities,” the “accessibility of research infrastructures, sustainability of international research collaborations and ability to carry out fieldwork.”<sup>60</sup>

The academic and research world, however, could not have ignored the situation it was going through, which is why there are quite a few references to research issues during the pandemic. Amongst the first reports realised by the academic associations, is that of the European Association for International Education, which collected preliminary data on the newly triggered coronavirus crisis, “to help shape our collective understanding of how the international education enterprise in Europe is being affected by these

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<sup>55</sup> UNESCO, *Non-State Actors in Education*.

<sup>56</sup> UNESCO, “Reimagining our Futures,” 110.

<sup>57</sup> UNCTAD, “The Need to Protect Science, Technology and Innovation Funding during and after the COVID-19 Crisis,” *Policy Brief* no. 80 (May 2020), accessed April 16, 2021, [https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/presspb2020d4\\_en.pdf](https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/presspb2020d4_en.pdf).

<sup>58</sup> World Bank, “Europe & Central Asia: Tertiary Education. Impact and Mitigation Strategies in Europe and Central Asia,” (Summary Note), accessed July 29, 2021, <https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/356941590700737736-0090022020/original/ECATEandCovid19shortFINAL25May20.pdf>.

<sup>59</sup> World Bank Group, “The COVID-19 Crisis Response: Supporting Tertiary Education for Continuity, Adaptation, and Innovation,” accessed July 29, 2021, <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/621991586463915490/The-COVID-19-Crisis-Response-Supporting-Tertiary-Education-for-Continuity-Adaptation-and-Innovation.pdf>.

<sup>60</sup> Farnel, Skledar Matijejić, and Šćukanec Schmidt, 6, 13, 16–17, 26, 53, 56, 60.

developments.”<sup>61</sup> The report looked at the level of implementation of the Covid-19 action plan and its effects on student and teacher mobility, needs and short- and long-term challenges. Another report, based on the survey of the International Association of Universities, also realised at the beginnings of pandemic, didn’t focus on different fields of research activities, but it pointed out some general perspectives that can be related to almost any of these: cancellation of international travels, cancellation, or postponement of scientific conferences, and sometimes blocking of scientific projects.<sup>62</sup> The Institute of International Education, in its turn, focuses on the issue of academic leadership in the post-pandemic time, that should be distributive, transformational and instructional, such that curricular and instructional internationalisation really be possible.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, the Young European Research Universities Network report focused on the issue of research in academic institutions, revealing both negative and positive aspects, depending by the research field, country, facilities offered by hosting institutions, age, and circumstances of researchers’ personal life. This report also concerns the general situation of academic research, pointing out some wide-ranging problems in the broad process of carrying out the research. But even if they are not specific approaches related to the specific problems of humanities and social sciences, the report is very useful for the large perspective of research activities, many different problems being highlighted:

- imbalance in the visibility of researchers who were not directly involved in finding solutions to the virus (“vaccines and other innovation actions”), and from here “difficulties in accessing labs, libraries, archives, museum collections, etc. and funding opportunities for other areas of research”<sup>64</sup>;

- increasing working time due to involvement in several types of online activities;
- increasing the imbalance between professional and personal life for researchers with children;

- slowdown and difficulties in supporting international researchers,<sup>65</sup> constrained by the deadlines of scholarships to carry out their research projects;

- fear of the economic consequences of the crisis in areas of research that do not directly address the problem of the virus;<sup>66</sup>

They revealed some positive aspects too:

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<sup>61</sup> Laura E. Rumbley, *Coping with COVID-19: International Higher Education in Europe* (Amsterdam: European Association for International Education, 2020), 3.

<sup>62</sup> In what concerns the level of participation of higher education institutions in Covid-19 research, 41% already participated in, and 86% from these were involved in shaping the public policies on Covid-19, and the authors found several typologies of involvement or non-involvement in these two general types of activities regarding the Covid-19 crisis. Marinoni, van’t Land, and Jensen, 32–35.

<sup>63</sup> Tim Jansa and Dona L. Anderson, *Socially Responsive Leadership for Post-Pandemic International Higher Education: Theoretical Considerations and Practical Implications* (Institute of International Education, 2021), 33sq.

<sup>64</sup> Young European Research Universities, “The World of Higher Education after Covid-19. How Covid-19 has Affected Young Universities,” (June 2020): 12, accessed September 01, 2021, <https://www.yerun.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/YERUN-Covid-VFinal-OnlineSpread.pdf>. See too: Farnell, Skledar Matijević, and Šćukanec Schmidt, 17.

<sup>65</sup> For the issues of internationalization and cross-border research and cross-border collaboration (inclusively from financial perspective) between universities see too Farnell, Skledar Matijević, and Šćukanec Schmidt, 13, 53–54.

<sup>66</sup> Young European Research Universities, 13. Similar problems were highlighted by European Trade Union Committee for Education. EI European Region (1–2).

- increasing the number and productivity of international meetings (no more wasting time with travel, online meetings offering the possibility of increased efficiency);
- some universities or academic networks have offered to doctoral or postdoctoral students free online courses on research management, career counselling sessions;
- some universities have created more secure mechanisms for reserving research infrastructure and have adopted new safety rules in their use;
- some universities have made the quantitative limits or deadlines for completing research flexible, depending on the particular situation (childcare, inability to travel to the places where the research should have been carried out, etc.);
- some universities extended the temporary contracts of researchers and/or provided new hospitality provisions when the case.<sup>67</sup>

In September, 2020 a briefing of EUA also highlighted the impact of pandemic on young researchers, both from the point of view of their professional career and financial situation, on the cooperation between universities and on role of digital tools both of academic cooperation and research activities.<sup>68</sup> The end of 2021 brings the report of the Coimbra Group, with a chapter dedicated to research. They are highlighted the main problems of researchers during pandemic (gender discrepancies, early career researchers) and some key recommendations for the academic environment: prioritising the safety of staff, adjustments to the researchers evaluation procedures, providing additional fundings for research projects, postponing schedules and deadlines, including working from home in internal regulations of the universities, etc.<sup>69</sup> Another important document is the resolution of the European Trade Union Committee for Education, noticing the pre-pandemic difficulties encountered by members of academic institutions before and during the pandemic: the overwork and “short-termism,” “fixation on metrics,” “more labour market oriented programmes,” “quasi-market policies” to which they were added the emergencies and disruptions provoked by pandemic situation.<sup>70</sup> To these reports and position documents can be added the numerous articles of the Social Science Research Council, highlighting the different aspects of the relationship between researchers and academic researchers and the challenges of pandemic; the studies of some publishing market organisations, as Simba Information, the numerous articles of the academic issues oriented newspapers as *Times Higher Education*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Inside Higher Ed*, etc., or the blogs of some well-known universities, as the case of London School of Economics. Not less important are the networks or working groups composed of multidisciplinary teams, social scientists included, as for example Global University Network for Innovation, Social Science in Action (with the programme Social

<sup>67</sup> Young European Research Universities.

<sup>68</sup> European University Association, “European Higher Education in the Covid-19 Crisis,” (Briefing), (September 2020): 5–6, accessed January 29, 2021, [https://eua.eu/downloads/publications/briefing\\_european%20higher%20education%20in%20the%20covid-19%20crisis.pdf](https://eua.eu/downloads/publications/briefing_european%20higher%20education%20in%20the%20covid-19%20crisis.pdf).

<sup>69</sup> Coimbra Group, *Universities’ Response to the Covid-19 Crisis: What Have we Learnt so Far?* (Brussels: Coimbra Group, December 2021), accessed January 12, 2022, <https://www.coimbra-group.eu/wp-content/uploads/Coimbra-Group-Covid-19-Report-2021.pdf>; “Research Evaluation must Change after the Pandemic,” *Nature. The International Journal of Science* 591 (04 March 2021): 7, accessed October 02, 2021, <https://media.nature.com/original/magazine-assets/d41586-021-00527-9/d41586-021-00527-9.pdf>.

<sup>70</sup> “Campaigning for a Better Future for Higher Education and Research” (Resolution. Adopted by the ETUCE Conference, the Regional Conference of Education International, on 5–6 July 2021), accessed December 29, 2021, [https://www.csee-etuce.org/images/Resolutions/RS\\_2021\\_Higher\\_Education\\_and\\_Research.pdf](https://www.csee-etuce.org/images/Resolutions/RS_2021_Higher_Education_and_Research.pdf).

Science in Humanitarian Action Platform), Recover, The Global Health Network, The Guild, International Science Council, and SoNAR-Global. All these organisations organised conferences or webinars or published studies about the effects of the pandemic on the academic and scientific environment.<sup>71</sup>

Another report, published at the end of 2020 by De Gruyter based on two surveys (realised in May and October 2020) on the impact of pandemic on academics professional and personal life, proposes some more detailed insights on the challenges that this professional category confronted during pandemics, also considering the level of career of respondents. According to this study, the impact of Covid-19 depended by the level of career and gender too, being dramatic for the mid- and early-career scholars and for female researchers, and almost positive for late-career.<sup>72</sup>

Though they are so general, if these highlights on research in pandemics are corroborated with the criteria of research activity proposed by *Frascati Manual* (being novel, creative, uncertain, systematic and transferable/reproducible) and the types of research and development of the same source (basic research, applied research and experimental development), it is possible to understand the challenges that scientific research,<sup>73</sup> whatever is about humanities and social sciences or from some other fields, confronted in time of pandemic.<sup>74</sup> There are different connotations for these criteria and principles of research, depending by the field of activity, and it is not the subject of this paper to establish the level of novelty or creativity of the results of scientific research during pandemic not even in the humanities and social sciences. However, regarding the other criteria, it can be said that some of them were fully experienced during the pandemic period, especially uncertainty or planning. But uncertainty was not related only to the possible results of the research, but to the disrupted conditions and limited working time to carry out the research activities, lack or limited access to documents and bibliographic resources, limited access to certain techniques (interview, practical stages and activities, etc.), but when “multitasking, workload, task sequence, and peer effects”<sup>75</sup> were the rule

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<sup>71</sup> <https://www.guninetwork.org/about-guni-0/>; <https://www.socialscienceinaction.org/about/>; <https://www.recover-europe.eu/who-we-are/>; <https://hub.tghn.org/>; <https://www.the-guild.eu/>; <https://council.science/>; <https://www.sonar-global.eu/>.

<sup>72</sup> “Locked Down, Burned Out. Publishing in a Pandemic: The Impact of Covid on Academic Authors,” De Gruyter Blog, 15.12.2020, [https://blog.degruyter.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Locked-Down-Burned-Out-Publishing-in-a-pandemic\\_Dec-2020.pdf](https://blog.degruyter.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Locked-Down-Burned-Out-Publishing-in-a-pandemic_Dec-2020.pdf).

<sup>73</sup> Though “it is difficult to define where the education and training activities of higher education staff and their students end and where R&D activities begin, and vice versa.” OECD, *Frascati Manual 2015*, 266.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 44–47.

<sup>75</sup> These are sources of stress, frustration, lack of efficiency. Ruomeng Cui, Hao Ding, and Feng Zhu, “Gender Inequality in Research Productivity during the COVID-19 Pandemic,” *Manufacturing & Service Operations Management* (June 2021): 4, <https://doi.org/10.1287/msom.2021.0991>. A similar situation is revealed Raabe et al., using data obtained by a survey realised amongst the researchers from Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, related to the situation before and after lockdown, that “the effect size of average work-life satisfaction for subjects with children... is significantly smaller than the effect for... those without children.” However, Raabe et al. found that, at a very general level and excluding the few exceptions, scientists generally were rather satisfied during the pandemic, because even “home-office may bring several down-sides, for example, restricted laboratory access for scientists and harder self-organisation, it also results in a flexible work-life organisation, making it easier to fit in time for the family, hobbies, or exercise. [...] crowds, such as in public transport, big lecture halls, or conference venues, create individual

and planning was often impossible, as the systematic nature of the research suffered greatly. Working from home and delimiting space and time for various activities was almost impossible for someone, as studies highlighted both for women and male teachers<sup>76</sup> and researchers whose research activity does not depend on the use of laboratories, substances, instruments, etc., such as those in the HSS.<sup>77</sup>

Whilst “Higher education institutions play a key role in addressing pressing societal needs of their surrounding communities through all their activities, from teaching and research to knowledge exchange and student activities,”<sup>78</sup> in general, academic research looks like pieces from several different puzzles that cannot be put together too easily. The “assembly process” requires different methods and techniques. The pedagogical process only rarely overlaps entirely with the research activity and can act as an obstacle for the research process. Researching, as a rule, presupposes/demands dedication in isolation as long as possible to create, while didactic pedagogical activities require dedication with physical presence, participation, extroversion. And we can say that the pandemic made this process even more difficult, although not all researchers were affected in an equal way. Given all the changes that have taken place in the research activity, at the beginning of the pandemic there have been concerns about the situation of researchers and the result of their work,<sup>79</sup> and some important studies and statistics have

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unhappiness and discomfort. Scientists are likely to have more experience with home-office and are likely more self-selected on intrinsic work motivation.” Isabel J. Raabe et al., “Satisfaction of Scientists during the COVID-19 Pandemic Lockdown,” *Humanities & Social Sciences Communications* 7 (2020): 4, 6, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-020-00618-4>.

<sup>76</sup> Bringing different studies, King and Frederickson consider that pandemic only exacerbated the situation for women, and disparities existed previously. Molly M. King and Megan E. Frederickson, “The Pandemic Penalty: The Gendered Effects of COVID-19 on Scientific Productivity,” *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 7 (2021): 4–6, 14–15, [doi.org/10.1177/23780231211006977](https://doi.org/10.1177/23780231211006977). However, a gender analysis is also difficult to perform because, as King and Frederickson point out, the authors' gender is sometimes difficult to find in databases by name. King and Frederickson, 16.

<sup>77</sup> “COVID-19 Research Update: How many Pandemic Papers have Been Published,” *Nature Index*, 20 August 2020, accessed November 20, 2020, <https://www.natureindex.com/news-blog/how-coronavirus-is-changing-research-practices-and-publishing>; Alessandra Minello, “The Pandemic and Female Academic,” *Nature*, 17 April 2020, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-020-01135-9>; Giugliana Viglione, “Are Women Publishing less during the Pandemic? Here’s what the Data Say,” *Nature*, 20 May 2020, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-020-01294-9>; An Ansoms, “Research in Times of Crisis: Caring for Researchers’ Mental Health in the Covid-19 Era,” Social Science Research Council, 14 May 2020, accessed August 29, 2021, <https://items.ssrc.org/covid-19-and-the-social-sciences/social-research-and-insecurity/research-in-times-of-crisis-caring-for-researchers-mental-health-in-the-covid-19-era/>. A quantitative survey appeared at the early beginning of pandemic, scrutinizing the periods March 15–April 15, 2019, and 2020, and for the period Jan 1, 2020, to April 30, 2020, revealed some gender imbalances in what concerns the preprint publication of the results of academic research. A study that examines publications in certain medical fields based on gender is not as pessimistic (in terms of gender gaps) as those related to less technical fields. Alana K. Ribarovska et al., “Gender Inequality in Publishing during the COVID-19 Pandemic,” *Brain, Behavior, and Immunity* 91 (2021).

<sup>78</sup> Farnel, Skledar Matiječić, and Šćukanec Schmidt, 18.

<sup>79</sup> The articles in note 77 all appeared in the first 2–3 months of the pandemic and focused especially on the situation of female researchers in HSS, revealed as being not so positive (as in the “hard sciences” too, as shown the following study: Megan Frederickson, “COVID-19’s Gendered Impact

been published on the subject, underlying both the solutions that some universities found for particular problems (accommodation for transnational researchers, flexibilization of grant conditions) and some effects impossible to be quantified in due time: the scale of general troubles that researchers working from home had to confront and the scientific productivity<sup>80</sup> of research. A survey conducted by researchers from USA revealed the impact of pandemic, in terms of productivity, in the first year of pandemic, 2020: the time spent in the job decreased with 14% in April 2020 (and only 3.4% was recovered until January 2021), while the number of new projects decreased with 15% for researchers working on Covid-related projects and with 41.2% for researchers not working on Covid-related projects.<sup>81</sup>

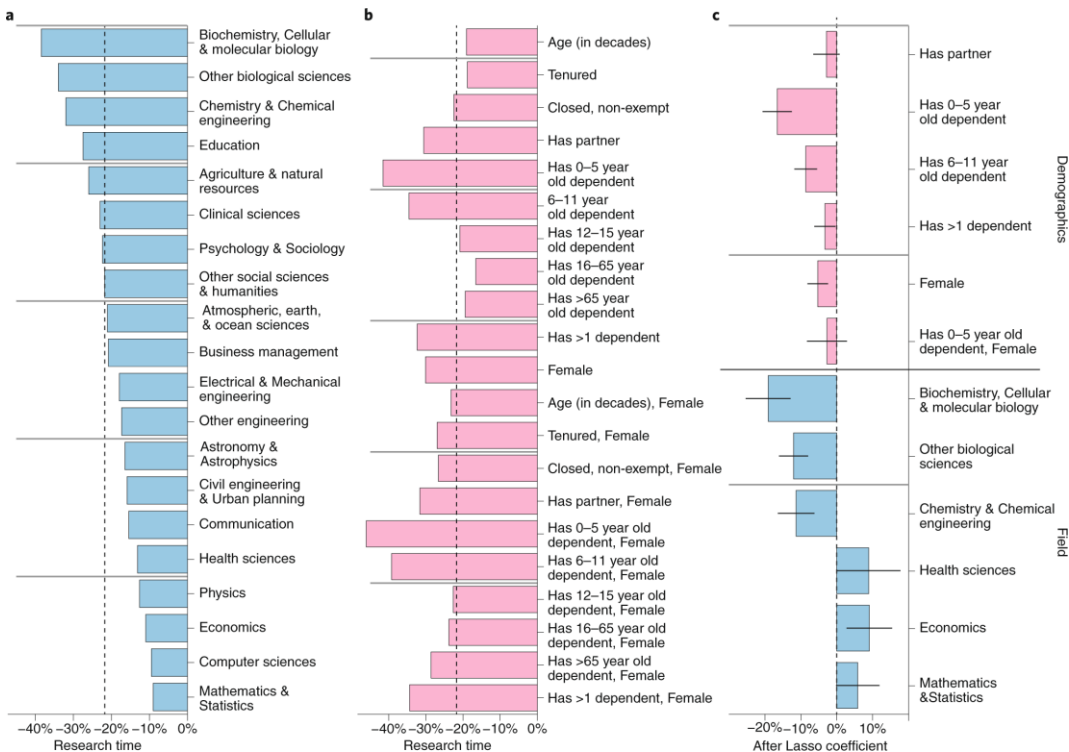


Figure 2. Field and group-level changes in research time<sup>82</sup>

on Academic Productivity,” 11 May 2020, accessed November 13, 2020, <https://github.com/drfreder/pandemic-pub-bias/blob/master/README.md>.

<sup>80</sup> That “can be measured as the product of the amount of time he or she can dedicate to research, Time Available for Research, and how efficiently he or she conducts research, Research Efficiency. [...] productivity is determined by two elements: (1) the capacity constraint due to physical or cognitive limitations and (2) efficiency variations with changes in operations factors in the working environment.” Cui et al., 6.

<sup>81</sup> Dyani Lewis, “The COVID Pandemic has Harmed Researcher Productivity – and mental health,” *Nature*, 09 November 2021, doi:<https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-021-03045-w>.

<sup>82</sup> Where **a)** Field-level average changes in research time, **b)** Group-level average changes in research time; **c)** Changes in research time associated with important features of scientists or their fields, after controlling for other factors. Ibid., 881.

From the studies focusing on the research productivity, I chose to present the results of some that referred to all areas of research and that were realised and appeared in different periods of the pandemic. Thus, a study conducted in April 2020 on self-selected researchers from USA and Europe suggested some key aspects (for all fields of research) as being problematics at the moment: the decline in total working hours and the decline of research time. So, Myers et al. revealed that only 18% of scientists reported an increase of their working time, while the time for research activities generally declined with 24%, research being “the only category that saw an overall decline” (21% reported more time dedicated to research and 9% unchanged situation). Myers et al. highlight different situations for various categories of researchers (women, scientists with young dependents, young scientists, scientists working in biology or chemistry laboratories) and even for the members of the same category, depending by some individual circumstances, emphasised in the figure below.<sup>83</sup>

Another survey analysed SSRN repository since for the periods December 2018-May 2019, and December 2019-May 2020 and exposed the discrepancies of productivity in general, by Covid-19&gender influence, by academic ranks, and by country (only 25 countries were analysed). According to these authors, “before the COVID-19 shock, female and male researchers’ productivity would follow the same time trend,” while since the lockdown “the number of all-female preprints has significantly dropped” and the authors detected “an overall 35-percent increase in productivity and a 13-percent increase in gender gap among **social science** researchers,” the gender inequality being “more pronounced when a research team has only female authors.”<sup>84</sup> As a consequence, the authors consider that “universities could consider providing additional support, such as childcare support, to female researchers whose productivity has been disproportionately affected. ... keep this inequality in mind when evaluating professors for promotion.”<sup>85</sup> Although it was realised in another period and using a different data basis, are enough similar to those presented by De Gruyter’ report. Cui et al. also analysed the quality of the papers and revealed the problems that abstracts of female authors/co-authors are less downloaded after lockdown.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Kyle R. Myers et al., “Unequal Effects of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Scientists,” *Nature Human Behaviour* 4 (15 July 2020): 880–882, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-0921-y>.

<sup>84</sup> Cui et al., 1–3, 16, 20.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 20. The same kind of analyses was realised by Molly M. King, and Megan E. Frederickson analysing more than 450000 authorships in two preprint databases for science, technology, engineering, and mathematics – STEM, “one of the most gender unequal realms of the academy.” Although for these fields the two authors concluded that “Women scientists have experienced a productivity penalty from the social and structural changes accompanying the COVID-19 pandemic, but not in all authorship positions,” they recommend that academic employers consider the special circumstances in which women found themselves during the pandemic, as well as other categories of researchers in special situations (Blacks, Asians, Indigenous, Latinx, people with disabilities) and even to reconsider the matter of productivity for the atypical situations, as pandemic was. King and Frederickson, “The Pandemic Penalty: The Gendered Effects of COVID-19 on Scientific Productivity,” 1, 15–16. Byrom asserts that researchers from arts and humanities “reported higher levels of mental distress and loneliness. Researchers with a physical disability or long-term illness can also find it challenging to work from home if they do not have access to the assistive technology they require.” Nicola Byrom, “COVID-19 and the Research Community: The Challenges of Lockdown for Early-Career Researchers,” *eLife Sciences*, 12 June 2020, DOI: 10.7554/eLife.59634.

<sup>86</sup> Cui et al., 17.

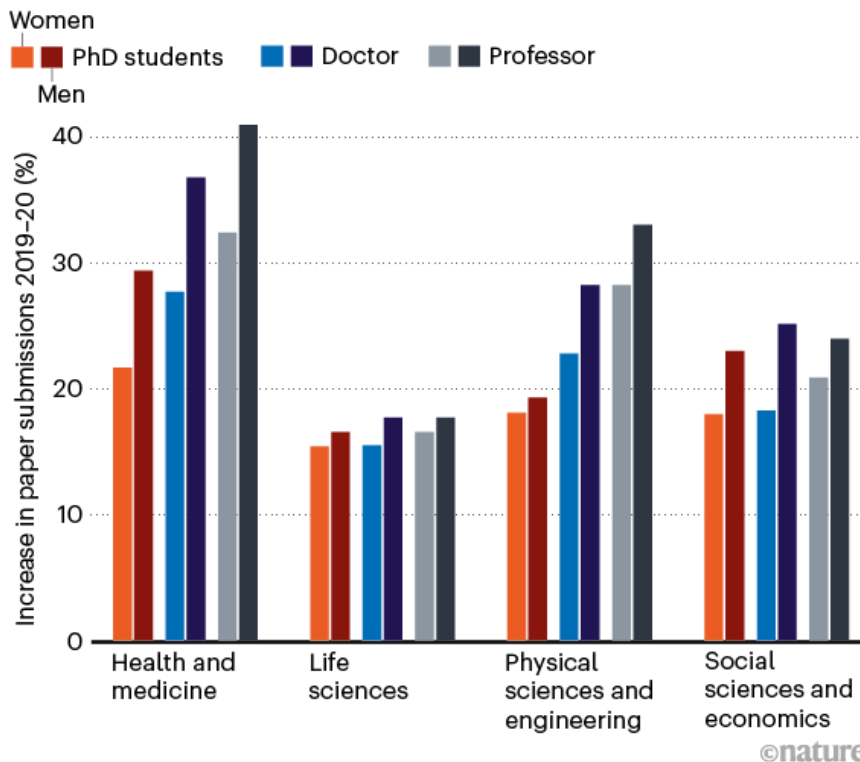


**Table 2.** COVID-19 related documents according to the Scopus hierarchical classification (January–June 2020)<sup>87</sup>

Subject area %		Subject area classification (all) %		Fields (top 10) %	
Social Sciences and Humanities	8.3	Social Sciences	44.2	Sociology and Political Science	9.2
		Psychology	24.6	Clinical Psychology	6.3
		Business, Management and Accounting	11.4	Geography, Planning and Development	6.3
		Arts and Humanities	9.6	Health (social science)	5.7
		Economics, Econometrics and Finance	8.8	Social Psychology	5.6
		Decision Sciences	1.3	Education	5.1
				Political Science and International Relations	5.0
				General Psychology	4.9
				Arts and Humanities (miscellaneous)	4.2
				Applied Psychology	3.7

## LOWER RATES

An analysis of papers submitted to Elsevier journals between February and May found that all scientists sent in more papers, on average, but the growth in submissions from male authors was highest.



<sup>87</sup> Aristovnik et al., 8. The other subject areas are: Health Sciences (65.2%), Life Sciences (19.0%), and Physical Sciences (7.5%).

**Figure 3.** Dynamic of publishing by domain and gender – Elsevier<sup>88</sup>

Another survey, however, considers that the number of publications increased<sup>89</sup> in the first year of the pandemic (though the differences between the male and female authors preserved). Hence, Elsevier journals received 58% more articles in February–May 2020 than in the same period in 2019, the articles in the field of health and medicine increased by 92%, while 4% of the world research in 2020 focused on covid (more than 100,000 or even 200,000, depending by considered database). As expected, beside the differences between the different fields of research, it is possible to see in the figure bellow, they are also differences between states and regions, in a descending order, these being: China, USA, Italy, UK, India (Europe, as a whole, is situated immediately after China).<sup>90</sup>

However, despite the above-mentioned worries, a recent insight on 266,409 articles published in *Nature* database for the period 2019 – January 2021 revealed that research has not stagnated or decreased to a significant level, almost regardless of the field of activity (though they are some differences) and, in spite of the difficulties highlighted by many studies for some categories of researchers (parents, especially mothers), without major imbalances in terms of gender. For the HSS, there are, however, some particularities revealed by this study, which I tried to condensate in the following:<sup>91</sup>

**Table 3. Extremes in HSS (*Nature* database)**

Domain	Biggest decrease		Biggest increase	
	2019 – January 2021	2020 – January 2021	2020 – January 2021	2020 – January 2021
Psychology	74.4%	12.3 %		
Philosophy	11.3%	10.3%		
Geography			42.6%	32%

In terms of gender, for psychology, the author observes “a drop in the number of articles with women as first authors... as well as the number of male first-author articles with women as co-authors.” At a general level, the author emphasises that “in disciplines where the share of women authors was higher, there were fewer single-authored articles... In multiauthor articles with women as first authors, there tended to be more of a gender balance among authors: the average ratio across years and fields was 0.68 when a woman was the first author and 0.40 when the first author was male.” However, the author

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> The effects of this general growth of the number of publications had both negative and positive effects: the superficial and non-transparent review process and, respectively, a growing tendency to promote and accept open science and preprints. International Science Council, “The COVID-19 Pandemic Illustrates the Need for Open Science,” 04 September 2020, accessed November 28, 2020, <https://council.science/current/blog/open-science-covid/>.

<sup>90</sup> Holly Else, “How a Torrent of COVID Science Changed Publishing – In Seven Charts,” *Nature*, 16 December 2020, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-020-03564-y>.

<sup>91</sup> Colleen Flaherty, “A New Take on Gender and Productivity during COVID-19,” Inside Higher Ed, February 23, 2022, [https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2022/02/23/study-says-women-arent-publishing-less-during-pandemic?utm\\_source=Inside+Higher+Ed&utm\\_campaign=2acc271878-DNU\\_2021\\_COPY\\_02&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_1fcb04421-2acc271878-236976385&mc\\_cid=2acc271878&mc\\_eid=7f9294bebc](https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2022/02/23/study-says-women-arent-publishing-less-during-pandemic?utm_source=Inside+Higher+Ed&utm_campaign=2acc271878-DNU_2021_COPY_02&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_1fcb04421-2acc271878-236976385&mc_cid=2acc271878&mc_eid=7f9294bebc).

considers that it is still too early to draw conclusions about the influence of the pandemic on the publishing capacity of women in academia.<sup>92</sup>

As the great majority of the authors of these studies point out, it is difficult to consider these studies as defining to draw long-term conclusions: important data are still missing, some of which are still in the humanities and social sciences to be brought to light.<sup>93</sup> Some areas of the social sciences, in order to conduct studies and research on the effects of the pandemic, should collect data from (different categories of) the population. This can be a difficult process, at some point, responders may already be tired of being asked many times (not only by researchers, but by their relatives, by some other people, etc.) their opinions and hence they no longer want to participate in interviews or offer reluctant answers, affecting the quality of research.<sup>94</sup> There will be a need for quantitative (still difficult and too early to be realised) and qualitative analysis of pandemic research in the HSS. In the Frascati Manual are mentioned three types of research: basic, applied and experimental research, but is stated that “a clear-cut separation of the three types of R&D rarely exists. All three types may sometimes be carried out in the same unit by essentially the same staff, but some research projects may genuinely straddle categories... social sciences, humanities and the arts where, as discussed above, the blurring of boundaries could affect the distinction between basic and applied research.”<sup>95</sup>

Contempt with the sectoral dimension (low level of representativeness or realised only in some geographical areas) of these studies, considered as parts of the puzzle that represent the research activity at the academic level, they can be sources of a later more complete understanding of the problems and challenges that it has raised the pandemic of academic researchers. For this reason, I believe that an analysis of these can highlight issues and experiences that could underlie subsequent analyses of much higher complexity.

### Final remarks

It is already unanimously accepted that the pandemic period has disrupted human life and all areas of activity, though at the beginnings it seemed to bring numerous benefits: more free time and less financial resources spent, access to events that were previously difficult to reach, because of distances, the digitalisation of some economic activities, of labour markets, public services, of learning process, of society as a all.<sup>96</sup> Definitely, they were some professionals overwhelmed by the work they had to do (especially those in the medical field), but as the pandemic dragged on, some others became overwhelmed by the work or by the challenges and the worries that came from those around them, although there have been times when it seems as if it had no so many

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Pierangelo Isernia and Alessandro Giovanni Lamonica, “The Assessment of the Impact of COVID- 19 on the Cultural and Creative Sectors in the EU’s Partner Countries, Policy Responses and their Implications for International Cultural Relations,” Cultural Relations Platform, February 2021, accessed March 19, 2021. [https://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/cier-data/uploads/2021/02/CRP\\_COVID\\_ICR\\_Study-final-Public.pdf](https://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/cier-data/uploads/2021/02/CRP_COVID_ICR_Study-final-Public.pdf).

<sup>94</sup> Sonny S. Patel et al., “Research Fatigue in COVID-19 Pandemic and Post-Disaster Research: Causes, Consequences and Recommendations,” *Disaster Prevention and Management* 29, no. 4 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1108/DPM-05-2020-0164>. The difficulty to collect data is also mentioned by Myers et al., who said that only 1.6% of those contacted responded to the survey (probably the extremes – the most affected, either positively or negatively, by pandemic). Myers et al., 881.

<sup>95</sup> OECD, *Frascati Manual*, 51, 55.

<sup>96</sup> UNESCO, *Non-State Actors in Education*, 274.

reasons to worry. Depending on the field, the academic environment has not escaped any of these situations, older or newer problems taking place in the new context and provoking those directly involved in solving them or at least in supporting those affected.

The “ivory tower is not immune from shocks to our most essential social systems,”<sup>97</sup> though the pandemic is not the only factor that can influence the lives and careers of researchers in academia, but it provided “an important natural experiment in the disruption of work-life routines,” causing sometimes unforeseen and dramatic disturbances concerning for a category of employees whose ideal profile was that of a somebody who “work long hours without concern for family obligations.”<sup>98</sup> The pandemic has brutally added to a number of other problems that the academic community was already experiencing, especially those members who already were in challenging situations: those at the beginning of their careers and those with multiple additional obligations due to social traditional roles, especially women,<sup>99</sup> demonstrating that “traditional gender norms have negative effects on all modern families.”<sup>100</sup> Research work is not one of execution, but a creative, non-repetitive one that requires considerable attention, immersion, reflexivity, emotional involvement. Though they are necessary other quantitative and qualitative research to have a completer and complex image of the situations confronted by different categories of researchers during pandemic, the actual insights pointed out some threats to which researchers are exposed and the vulnerabilities of the/some members academic environment, especially in the actual context, when “the measurement of productivity is very clear compared with other white-collar professions. Publication is a concrete outcome with a settled value in academia. Skipping even a single year of publication significantly reduces the citation impact of a highly productive scientist.”<sup>101</sup> As observed, though differences exist, researchers often experience the emotional stress, and the pandemic period bring new types of challenges for this professional category, raising questions on how can the protection of the researcher and the creative process be ensured and how its creativity potential can be protected and stimulated.<sup>102</sup> It is for this that “Preventative training should create a culture in which it is legitimate to take care of ourselves, to temporarily step back, and to safeguard our mental health,” researchers needing training, coaching and even a (free) institutional aid to

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<sup>97</sup> King and Frederickson, 1.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>99</sup> Studies highlight that is not the situation of women from academia. Hence, a study published in Harvard Business Review following a survey on multigender full-time employees from different fields of activity, showed that women, especially women of colour, are too often than men in burnout situations before pandemic (17% of women, and 30% of women of colour), that the percentage of women who “experienced burnout, poor mental health, and even physical health issues stemming from work” often and very often is larger than that of men (the most affected being Latinas, Black women, and South Asian women). Colleen Ammerman and Boris Groysberg, “Women can’t go back to the Pre-Pandemic Status Quo,” *Harvard Business Review*, 08 March 2022, <https://hbr.org/2022/03/women-cant-go-back-to-the-pre-pandemic-status-quo>.

<sup>100</sup> King and Frederickson, 2.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> This approach can be found in the documents of Coimbra Group, YERUN and other scientific organisations or networks, as in some reports of international organisations too. The lecture of the mentioned academic life related newspapers revealed the fact that some states or at least some universities adopted some protective measures related to some categories of researchers, but the concerned policies are enough limited (especially to the PhD students, post-doctoral students or researchers involved in on-going projects of research).

overpass some problems related to pandemic stress.<sup>103</sup> Probably it may seem redundant to say but it is compulsory to opine that, once in a while, medical and social sciences can work together to explain the situation and, eventually, to provide solutions to decision-makers. Working together, some hard and soft sciences “can contribute to the strengthening of unity, involvement, harmony, honesty, creativity, critical and analytical thinking, and commitment to accept change and establish healthy relations” with any type of decision maker and employment environments.<sup>104</sup>

Though data and following studies are numerous and sometimes provide dissimilar perspectives, the situation of scholars from the HSS seems to be a particular one: “the research finds that 74% of humanities scholars feel hampered in one way or another with 55% still facing major problems accessing essential facilities and resources [...] 84% of humanities scholars and 84% of social sciences academics are spending far more time teaching online than they expected to. In addition, humanities scholars are far more concerned than academics in STM or social science fields about their career development and the chances of promotion.”<sup>105</sup> Recovery will depend by: the evolution of the pandemic, new possibilities of therapy and vaccination,<sup>106</sup> national and transnational

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<sup>103</sup> Ansoms.

<sup>104</sup> “...health cannot be attained and illness cannot be vanquished through biomedical or technical interventions alone.” Altschuler and Maddock Dillon, 837–838. See also: Syal, 24; Barei-Guyot, 6–10; King and Frederickson, 15–17; Walter Leal Filho et al., “Impacts of COVID-19 and Social Isolation on Academic Staff and Students at Universities: A Cross-Sectional Study,” *BMC Public Health* 21 (2021): 15.

<sup>105</sup> “Locked Down, Burned Out...,” 17.

<sup>106</sup> They are very few studies about the effects of long-covid (officially “post-acute sequelae of COVID-19”) on the researchers work, being known that about a third of those infected the symptoms last for several months (on average three, but some studies revealed effects for a period of 12 months or more) after the moment of infection, affecting the quality of personal and professional life alike. Katie Bach, “Is ‘Long-Covid’ Worsening the Labor Shortage?” Brookings Institution, 11 January 2022, accessed January 29, 2022, [https://www.brookings.edu/research/is-long-covid-worsening-the-labor-shortage/?utm\\_campaign=Brookings%20Brief&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=200588850&utm\\_source=hs\\_email](https://www.brookings.edu/research/is-long-covid-worsening-the-labor-shortage/?utm_campaign=Brookings%20Brief&utm_medium=email&utm_content=200588850&utm_source=hs_email); Trade Union Congress, “Workers’ Experiences of Long Covid. A TUC Report,” 3, 29, accessed January 29, 2022, <https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/2021-06/Formatted%20version%20of%20Long%20Covid%20report%20-%20v1.3.pdf>. In the end of 2021 USA government declared that “the long-term effects of COVID, both physical and mental, can constitute a disability under federal antidiscrimination laws such that someone suffering those effects might be entitled to a reasonable accommodation at a college or university.” Howard Pashman, “When Does Someone Have a Long COVID Disability?” *Inside Higher Ed*, 8 December 2021, <https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2021/12/08/challenging-new-federal-policies-long-covid-disabilities-opinion>. However, though the international organisations highlighted the long-covid impact, the existing data and studies are not used in all the states and health and working environments. ILO-OECD, “The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Jobs and Incomes in G20 Economies” (ILO-OECD paper prepared at the request of G20 Leaders Saudi Arabia’s G2-Presidency 2020), accessed January 28, 2022, [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---cabinet/documents/publication/wcms\\_756331.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---cabinet/documents/publication/wcms_756331.pdf). The fact that these aspects are not regulated for the researchers’ work can generate different consequences. Being physically or mentally in a semi-working capacity, researchers will not be productive, so they will not meet the job evaluation standards. However, the evaluation will be done as if they were perfectly functional workers. And if we think about people who are exposed to almost a double day’s work, such as women/parents, the situation could become even more complicated.

policies dedicated to HSS (especially the financial policies), the (new way to) use of technology, individual characteristics of each field and sub-field of activity, the availability for transnational cooperation, and probably some other factors, difficult to predict in this moment. To all these it is possible to add the level of concern of states and universities decision makers for the problems generated by the pandemic to the researchers from the academic environment, the level of concern about the impact of the pandemic on the “accessibility of research infrastructures, sustainability of international research collaborations and ability to carry out fieldwork” as about the impact “on university engagement with external partners (businesses, public authorities and civil society) and on universities’ broader societal impact; and what the impact will be the levels of public funding of higher education in Europe.” For real and long-term recovery, it is “crucial to continue to analyse these developments in the coming academic year through further surveys and research.”<sup>107</sup>

Covid-19 triggered a global crisis, and academic and research activities could not escape this crisis. Although solutions were constantly sought, and some, those related to crisis activity, were found, many of the negative effects of this crisis on academia and research could not be foreseen and counteracted timely. But the crisis is far from over, much more research will be conducted and many more approaches will be possible from now on. Also, the HSS chapter is not yet finished either, many data, interpretation of the findings, articles and stories that can be associated with this field being or will be useful for research in different fields of science and technology. As we seen, of the main questions at the beginning of the pandemic concerned the capability of social sciences to be part of solution in Covid-19 crisis, to participate in the realising the way to the “return to normal.”<sup>108</sup> The fact that a simple search on Google Scholar of the expression “covid 19 pandemic humanities and social sciences” reveals more than 20,000 articles (and more than 93,000 if patents and mentions are included) makes obvious that scholars of HSS, despite of the challenges and difficulties they confronted during pandemic, whatever their gender and status, they succeed to focus on the issues that societies also confronted, to analyse these issues and to give their share of the puzzle of efforts to solve the crisis.

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<sup>107</sup> Farnel et al, 16, 60.

<sup>108</sup> Reisz.

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## Religion during the Pandemic

*Emilia Nicoleta ȘCHIOP\**

**Abstract.** *After various global crises began to recover, the challenge posed by the coronavirus, the unseen enemy, diverted attention from other issues considered less urgent. The paper will focus primarily on the description of the article by Giorgio Agamben, who is one of the greatest philosophers alive today. The article deals with the way in which science and medicine have become the “religion” of our times, especially in the context of current challenges, such as the pandemic. In the modern West, three major belief systems have coexisted and, to some extent, still coexist Christianity, capitalism, and science. In the history of modernity, these three “religions” have often intersected, coming into conflict from time to time, only to reconcile in various ways, until they have gradually reached a kind of peaceful and articulate coexistence, if not to true and adequate collaboration in the name of common interest. According to Cătălin Raiu, Europe has not only a venerable Christian tradition but also political structures born of or in relation to Christianity. Secondly, the paper is analyzing the right to health, but also to religious freedom, observing the border between the two. Later the paper is observing in the case studies how some countries approached religion during the pandemic. There have been many cases of churches suing the state that closed them, recently in Madrid and California. This topic is a topical one, currently feeling the effects of restrictions on the religious phenomenon in a negative sense. Regarding the methodology, the article starts with the presentation of the context in order to create an overview of the phenomenon (the sources being both general and special, to highlight elements from several areas), but is does not neglect elements of originality resulting from the analysis of the legislation (official sources providing objective points of view through document analysis) and its implementation, but also from case studies (both by examples of good practice and by negative examples).*

**Keywords:** *pandemic, religious freedom, cultural freedom, human rights*

### The introduction

The project aims to study how the pandemic has a negative effect on religious freedom. In this sense, the article is analyzing Giorgio Agamben's ideas that it is not surprising that the protagonist of this new religious war is that part of science in which dogmatics is less rigorous and stronger is the pragmatic aspect: medicine, whose immediate object is the living body of human beings. In his ideas, the article insists on the essential characteristics of this victorious faith with which we will have to settle our accounts more and more.

There are also analyzed in the paper both international human rights law and some national laws in order to observe how they approach the right to health, but also to religious freedom, especially regarding the manifestation of cultural and spiritual values. Also, there is an analyze of the legal concept a state of emergency and alert, which

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justifies in the name of the right to public health the restriction of citizens' rights. Legally speaking the state of emergency must be limited. And related to religious freedoms – if in the state of alert decisions restrict discriminatory some activities, but not others, it is possible to take legal action. For example: why is it legal to go to the polls and on the subway (indoors) but not on a pilgrimage (outdoors)? This is clear discrimination.

With regard to international law, the article thus take into account the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly by resolution no. 217 A. (III) of 10 December 1948, as well as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the UN General Administration by Resolution 2,200 A. (XXI) of 19 December 1966 and entered into force on 3 January 1976, which also contains references to fundamental rights, but unlike statement, further details the regulations on work, economic and cultural activities. The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, as amended by Protocols 3, 5, and 8 and supplemented by Protocol 2 (Rome, 4 November 1950), also entered into force on 3 September 1953. Unlike the other two legal acts, the convention focuses more on internal decision-making procedures.

In the case studies, we will be able to observe how to approach the pandemic in the context of religious freedom.

The general objectives of the paper are the general presentation of the context, especially by describing the ideas of the Italian philosopher, the study of international and national normative documents especially the connection between the right to health and cultural freedoms, but also how it was applied in practice by examples from certain countries.

The presentation of the theoretical part is an important part that exposes the gradual influence of medicine on society and will result in the creation of a framework for understanding the applied part. The connection or rupture between the right to health and the right to religious freedom will also be highlighted.

In general, at the end of the research project it will be possible to see how it is approached. The issue of the pandemic in society (especially in terms of legislation) and how religious freedom could be preserved in this context. As indication of potential applications, the main application of the project: document analysis, respectively analysis of international and national legislation on this subject. Case studies are also important to consider.

### **The context and the Agamben's ideas**

“Like previous pandemics, Covid-19 has led to a broad range of human rights violations around the world, from censorship and the silencing of criticism to the excessive use of police force. Minority groups and migrants have found themselves particularly vulnerable to abuse, as well as to Covid-19-related stigma and violence.”<sup>1</sup>

The Lisbon Treaty specified the institutional aspects and emphasized the importance of the European Parliament.<sup>2</sup> Some of the major claims of liberal culture are placed, but in time a concept is defended that is in line with a rejection of nationalism in a

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<sup>1</sup> Sara (Meg) Davis, “Human Rights and Covid-19,” *Global Challenges* no. 1 (2020), accessed on 10.12.2020, [https://globalchallenges.ch/issue/special\\_1/human-rights-and-covid-19/](https://globalchallenges.ch/issue/special_1/human-rights-and-covid-19/).

<sup>2</sup> Jérôme Legrand, “Politica de securitate și apărare comună” [Common Security and Defence Policy] September 2021, accessed December 10, 2020, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/ro/sheet/159/common-security-and-defence-policy>.



general way.<sup>3</sup> There may be a degree of subjectivity in debates about ethnicity and religion. In the relationship between majority and minority, there are several factors that influence, such as the demographic aspect, the sociological aspect and the distribution of power. To avoid forms of nationalism, communication between different ethnicities is needed.<sup>4</sup> The Lisbon Treaty does not contain any formally establishing the supremacy of Union law over legislation national law, but a declaration to this effect was attached to the Treaty (Declaration No 17), which refers to an opinion of the Council's Legal Service reiterating the case law of the Court of Justice of the European Union on this subject.<sup>5</sup>

What does human rights have to do with Covid-19? The answers to this question echo the human rights violations that shaped the trajectory of earlier pandemics: in 1997, epidemiologist Jonathan Mann, one of the early architects of what became a global response to HIV and AIDS, called for a “dual paradigm shift” in public health and human rights to combat inequality and stigma which, he said, increased the vulnerability of women, children and sexual minorities to the virus. In response to that crisis, millions of people living with HIV, and their families and allies, took to the streets to mobilise and demand universal access to treatment. In response, historically unprecedented sums have been mobilised by donor states, private foundations, corporations and individuals, who have financed the construction of a sprawling global health architecture: international agencies, NGOs, national committees and more.<sup>6</sup>

Regarding to **Agamben's ideas**, the first characteristic is that medicine, like capitalism, does not need a special dogma, but only borrows its fundamental concepts from biology. Unlike biology, it articulates these concepts in a Gnostic-Manichaeian sense, that is, according to an exaggerated dualistic opposition. There is a god or a malignant principle, namely disease, whose specific agents are bacteria and viruses, and a god or beneficial principle, which is not health, but healing, whose cultic agents are medicine and therapy.

The second idea: if this cultic practice has been so far, like any liturgy, episodic and limited in time, the unexpected phenomenon we are witnessing is that it has become permanent and all-encompassing. It is no longer a matter of taking medication or, when necessary, undergoing a medical examination or surgery: the whole life of human beings must become, at all times, the place of an uninterrupted cultic celebration. The enemy, the virus, is always present and must be fought without ceasing and without any possible truce.

In the third idea we see the extent to which the other two religions of the West, the religion of Christ and the religion of money, have ceded their primacy, seemingly without a struggle, to medicine and science. The church simply renounced its principles, forgetting that the saint, whose name the current pope bears, embraced lepers, that one of the works of mercy was to visit the sick, that the sacraments could be administered only in the presence. Capitalism, for its part, although with some protests, accepted losses of productivity that it had never dared to count, probably hoping later to reach an agreement with the new religion, which at this point seems willing to negotiate a solution.

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<sup>3</sup> Alan Patten, *Equal Recognition: The Moral Foundation of Minority Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 5–6.

<sup>4</sup> Mircea Brie, “Ethnicity, Religion and Intercultural Dialogue in the European Border Space,” in *Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union's East Border*, ed. Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, and Sorin Șipoș (Oradea/Debrecen: Editura Universității din Oradea/Editura Universității din Debrecen, 2011), 11–12, supplement of *Eurolimes*.

<sup>5</sup> European Parliament, “Tratatul de la Lisabona” (Fișe tehnice UE – 2021) [Treaty of Lisbon (EU Facts sheets – 2021)], accessed October 11, 2020, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/ro/FTU\\_1.1.5.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/ro/FTU_1.1.5.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> Davis.

Then the medical religion unreservedly took over the eschatological urgency from Christianity, which the latter neglected. Already capitalism, secularizing the theological paradigm of salvation, had eliminated the idea of the end times, replacing it with a permanent state of crisis, but without redemption or end. Crisis is originally a medical concept, which designated in the corpus of texts of Hippocrates the moment when the doctor decided whether the patient would survive.

The last idea refers to the fact that Like capitalism and unlike Christianity, the medical religion offers no prospect of salvation and redemption. On the contrary, the healing it seeks can only be temporary, since the evil god, the virus, cannot be eliminated once and for all, because it is constantly changing and always taking on new forms, most likely more and more dangerous. The epidemic, as the etymology of the term suggests (demos means people in Greek as a political body, and Polemos epidemos is in Homer the name for civil war) is, first of all, a political concept, which is preparing to become the new field of politics – or non-politics – world.<sup>7</sup>

### **The legal frame**

The main argument is that “people are born and remain free and equal in rights”<sup>8</sup> The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations by resolution No. 217 A. (III) of 10 December 1948.<sup>9</sup>

It refers to the recognition of the dignity of family members, to equal and inalienable rights that constitute the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. It is also desirable to develop friendly relations between states by respecting fundamental human rights, including equality of rights between women and men. Peoples and nations should strive for these ideals in order to improve the conditions of persons and bodies in society.

The first article of the declaration specifies the equality and freedom of human beings regarding dignity. The second article refers to the lack of discrimination, to the observance of unitary principles, regardless of race, color, sex, language, religion, public opinion or other type of opinion, national or social origin, wealth, birth, etc. An individual must not be discriminated against according to the political, legal or international status of the country or region to which he or she belongs, regardless of whether they are independent or have sovereignty.<sup>10</sup>

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the UN General Administration by resolution 2,200 A. (XXI) of 19 December 1966 and entered into force on 3 January 1976 also contains references to fundamental rights, but in contrast statement, further details the regulations on work, economic and cultural activities. It explains the recognition of the rights of all family members, of economic, social, and cultural rights, but also political and civil rights. States must respect human

<sup>7</sup> Giorgio Agamben, “Medicina ca religie” [Medicine as a religion], 20 May 2020, accessed October 11, 2020, [http://contramundum.ro/2020/05/20/medicina-ca-religie/?fbclid=IwAR2zh\\_7k2Ng8BKpThqYT9BT-rDz7CwFX4k1fKkiHChrRPAHfe1b-wqhyk9w](http://contramundum.ro/2020/05/20/medicina-ca-religie/?fbclid=IwAR2zh_7k2Ng8BKpThqYT9BT-rDz7CwFX4k1fKkiHChrRPAHfe1b-wqhyk9w).

<sup>8</sup> “Declarația drepturilor omului și ale cetățeanului – “Oamenii se nasc și rămân liberi și egali în drepturi” [Declaration of the rights of man and citizen – “People are born and remain free and equal in rights”], 25 August 2014, accessed December 10, 2020, <http://www.istorie-pe-scurt.ro/declaratia-drepturilor-omului-si-ale-cetateanului/>.

<sup>9</sup> United Nations, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, accessed July 02, 2018, <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

freedoms. Also, the remedies in court are detailed, but also the issues related to citizenship. Human dignity is an important factor to consider and respect.<sup>11</sup>

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“In the coming period it will take a lot of calm and especially the joint effort of the state, religious denominations, the press, and the public to understand on the one hand that any aggression against religious freedom can have very harmful effects in the long run, and on the other hand, we are all responsible not only for post-pandemic social reconstruction but also for contributing to the consolidation of social capital, which is so vital in times of crisis. In a democratic and rule-of-law political regime, state policies in matters of religious life, neither excessive ecclesiastical protectionism nor exacerbated secularism should be generated, but the principle of religious freedom. As well as in its external or associative dimension,” declared the representative of Romania in the panel of experts on the religious freedom of the OSCE, Cătălin Raiu.<sup>14</sup>

According to international standards, states cannot suspend religious freedom in a state of war or in a state of emergency. “According to international standards (UN, OSCE, EU, Office of International Religious Freedom within the US State Department, etc), states cannot suspend religious freedom either in a state of war or in a state of emergency. However, religious freedom in its external dimension may be restricted to the restoration of public order and security or in pandemic situations as an exceptional measure and with the fulfillment of the following conditions: 1. to be provided by law, 2. to serve the purposes of the political body in its entirety (protection of the security, of public order, health, etc); 3. to be non-discriminatory in language and applicability; 4. to serve strictly the purpose and the announced period,” says Cătălin Raiu.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Liga Apărării Drepturilor Omului [League for the defence of human rights], *Cunoaște-ți drepturile* [Know your rights] (București: LADO, 1997), 13.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Davis.

<sup>14</sup> Alina Oprea, “Expert OSCE în libertate religioasă: faptul că prin recomandările emise recent statul ținește doar practici liturgice specifice bisericilor răsăritene poate avea efecte foarte periculoase / cultele trebuie să arate responsabilitate în timpul pandemiei” [OSCE religious freedom expert: recent state recommendations target only liturgical practices specific to Eastern churches may have very dangerous effects / cults must show responsibility during pandemic], *News.ro*, 11 May 2020, [https://www.news.ro/social/expert-osce-libertate-religioasa-faptul-recomandarile-emise-recent-statul-tinteste-practici-liturgice-specifice-bisericilor-rasaritene-avea-efecte-foarte-periculoase-culte-arate-responsabilitate-1922404011002020050819357792?fbclid=IwAR26zgj8BuKJy30j3wEwtN0cOiVSF-bYPckIaSqPpaa2TE\\_WVOLP0AoDB0](https://www.news.ro/social/expert-osce-libertate-religioasa-faptul-recomandarile-emise-recent-statul-tinteste-practici-liturgice-specifice-bisericilor-rasaritene-avea-efecte-foarte-periculoase-culte-arate-responsabilitate-1922404011002020050819357792?fbclid=IwAR26zgj8BuKJy30j3wEwtN0cOiVSF-bYPckIaSqPpaa2TE_WVOLP0AoDB0).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

### Case studies

While millions of people across Europe and beyond have been forced into lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic, some artists have used their time in isolation to create work using religious imagery as a way to tell the story of the crisis: on the streets of Madrid, graffiti artist Ernesto Muñiz reimagined the imagery related to the Immaculate Heart of Mary as a means of interpreting the current situation. The Virgin's heart becomes a rendering of the virus, the cause of the world's suffering and she is wearing a gas mask, yet her sorrowful eyes, pose and garments are all instantly recognizable. This image of the Virgin seems to suggest that we should place our trust in science, wear our masks and the situation will pass.<sup>16</sup>

The Supreme Court granted requests from the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn and two Orthodox Jewish synagogues to lift New York's coronavirus-related attendance limits on worship services; The broader impact of that ruling became even more apparent when the justices ordered a federal district court to take another look at a southern California church's challenge to that state's restrictions on indoor worship services.

The lawsuit was filed over the summer by the Harvest Rock Church, a Christian church with multiple campuses in California: the church contends that the COVID-19 restrictions imposed by California Gov. Gavin Newsom (D), which prohibit or limit in-person worship services, depending on the number of cases in the county where the house of worship is located, violate its right to freely exercise its religion. The church argues that it is treated less favorably than businesses like grocery stores, malls, swap meets and card rooms, which can remain open with less stringent attendance limits – or, in the case of essential retail in the state's least restrictive zones, with no attendance limits at all and indeed, the church notes, it can still carry out its charitable work in its buildings. Moreover, the church adds, Newsom “openly encouraged” Black Lives Matter protests involving tens of thousands of people in the summertime.<sup>17</sup>

So far, such rulings are limited in scope and temporary; the assault on the American Constitution and the rights is deep and broad and will only be stopped by a Supreme Court ruling that our freedoms cannot be erased by an edict from a governor, mayor, or a state health secretary. These orders are not laws passed by a legislature, and even then such laws should and must pass constitutional muster. As George Washington University Law Professor Jonathan Turley observes:

“Pandemic is not a magic word that instantly negates all individual constitutional rights,” said Jonathan Turley, a law professor at George Washington University.

“A pandemic gives states a compelling state purpose in the imposition of restrictions. But when the state denies or restricts constitutional rights, it must satisfy a balancing test.”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Paul Keaveny, “Coronavirus: How Artists in the Spanish-Speaking World turn to Religious Imagery to Help Cope in a Crisis,” *The Conversation*, 22 June 2020, <https://theconversation.com/coronavirus-how-artists-in-the-spanish-speaking-world-turn-to-religious-imagery-to-help-cope-in-a-crisis-139143>.

<sup>17</sup> Amy Howe, “Justices tell Lower Court to take another look at California COVID-19 Restrictions on Indoor Worship,” *ScotusBlog*, 03 December 2020, <https://www.scotusblog.com/2020/12/justices-tell-lower-court-to-take-another-look-at-california-covid-19-restrictions-on-indoor-worship/>, accessed December 10, 2020.

<sup>18</sup> Daniel John Sobieski, “No Pandemic Exception to Constitution,” *American Thinker*, 21 May 2020, [https://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2020/05/no\\_pandemic\\_exception\\_to\\_constitution.html?fbclid=IwAR1CtLwfEgmuLVD2IJkQ7iip8XoY-7u0xneNfJCNh6RzYWpeVgHPQCLzN6A](https://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2020/05/no_pandemic_exception_to_constitution.html?fbclid=IwAR1CtLwfEgmuLVD2IJkQ7iip8XoY-7u0xneNfJCNh6RzYWpeVgHPQCLzN6A).

There is no pandemic exception clause in the constitutions. Lockdowns have health costs themselves that constitute a compelling interest to not have them. Simply put, Americans cannot be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law and, again, executive orders do not constitute due process. There is no pandemic exception clause in the constitutions.

### **The cross-border travel with religious purposes**

In March 2020 Josep Borrell, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy said: “Crisis situations like the one we live with pandemic coronavirus presents particular challenges for the effective exercise and protection of human rights and challenging operation our democrats.”<sup>19</sup>

To limit the spread of the coronavirus outbreak in the course of 2020, the EU’s 27 member states have adopted different measures, some of which have had an impact on citizens’ right to move freely across the European Union.<sup>20</sup>

Religious tourism has been hit hard in the pandemic as sites close and pilgrimages were put on hold.<sup>21</sup> The Commission also proposed to update the mutual criteria for risk areas and to introduce an “emergency brake” mechanism, to address new coronavirus variants of concern or interest. The proposal also includes specific provisions on children to ensure unity of traveling families and a standard validity period for tests.<sup>22</sup> Coronavirus has affected popular destinations of all faiths. Jerusalem, Vatican City and Mecca, which attract millions of Jewish, Christian and Muslim visitors annually, are among the worst affected. Likewise, Buddhist sites such as Nepal’s Lumbini Temple and India’s Mahabodhi Temple, also the Hindu temple of Kashi Vishwanath, have seen a slump in visitors.

For example, in 2020 approximately 2.5 million muslims from around the world performed the hajj, one of the five pillars of Islam, with nearly two million coming from outside of Saudi Arabia. Jordan, which hosts 35 Islamic sites and shrines and 34 Christian holy sites, has closed its borders because of the pandemic (tourism accounts for about 15% of the country’s GDP and sustains an estimated 55,000 jobs).<sup>23</sup>

For the purpose of safe movement in October 2020 the member states adopted a Council recommendation on the coordination of free movement restrictions in the EU. The Council recommendation established a common approach on the following key points: the application of common criteria when deciding whether to introduce restrictions to free movement and a mapping of the risk of coronavirus transmission, published by the European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control, based on an agreed colour code; and a coordinated approach as to the measures, if any, which could be applied to persons

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<sup>19</sup> European Commission, “Human Rights and Democracy: Striving for Dignity and Equality around the World,” (Press Release), Brussels, 25 March 2020, accessed August 18, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip\\_20\\_492](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_20_492).

<sup>20</sup> European Commission, “Questions & Answers on the Latest Update Regarding the Coordination of COVID-Related Measures Restricting Free Movement in the European Union,” Brussels, 15 June 2021, accessed August 18, 2021, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/qanda\\_21\\_2984](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/qanda_21_2984).

<sup>21</sup> Faizan Ali and Cihan Cobanoglu, “Religious Tourism has been hit hard in the Pandemic as Sites Close and Pilgrimages are put on Hold,” *The Conversation*, 20 August 2020, <https://theconversation.com/religious-tourism-has-been-hit-hard-in-the-pandemic-as-sites-close-and-pilgrimages-are-put-on-hold-144394>.

<sup>22</sup> European Commission, “Questions & Answers.”

<sup>23</sup> Ali and Cobanoglu.

moving between different areas.<sup>24</sup> Outside of the European Union there were countries that did not declare a state of emergency.

According to Ali and Cobanoglu, in June 2020 just 5,800 people visited Israel, as a multi-religiously important destination (Christians, Muslims and Jews too), compared to 365,000 for June 2019, being expected that the pandemic will produce a \$1.16 billion damage to the country's tourism industry. For different sites of pilgrimage, wherever across the world, the loss of revenue has been shocking. The authors give as an example, the Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church in France, that usually welcomed up to five million visitors every year, when had to switch only to virtual pilgrimages it registered a deficit of \$9.06 million. It is also well-known that many places of pilgrimage developed a whole industry in travel, transport and accommodation, and this kind of business was completely shocked by pandemic restrictions (the tourism industry, in general, registered \$2.7 trillion drop in revenue and job losses in excess of 100 million in 2020), and United Nations World Tourism Organization estimates that for 2020 international arrivals will be down by between 850 million to 1.1 billion, depending by themoment of borders fully reopening.<sup>25</sup>

Religious minorities from different countries had also restrictions from visiting other countries for religious purposes. Almost every country in the world has travel measures in place, but those measures were highly inconsistent. And the rules, which have few provisions about travel in the first place, provide even less guidance on how such measures should be relaxed or removed as the pandemic would beaten back. James Wiltshire, International Air Transport Association assistant director, also called for a context-based measures for travel measure exit strategies: "There's not a joined-up approach between measures at the border and measures behind the border."<sup>26</sup>

The World Health Organization thinks that religious leaders, faith-based organizations, and faith communities can play a major role in saving lives and reducing illness related to COVID-19. They are a primary source of support, comfort, guidance, and direct health care and social service, for the communities they serve, and religious leaders of faith-based organizations and communities of faith can share health information to protect their own members and wider communities, which may be more likely to be accepted than from other sources. They can provide pastoral and spiritual support during public health emergencies and other health challenges and can advocate for the needs of vulnerable persons.<sup>27</sup>

Wiltshire Thinks that each country also faces different contexts, not in terms of disease transmission as well as social and economic pressures: This is a "complex pandemic, with many different countries in different states, so almost certainly a phased removal or relaxation of measures is needed. It is not realistic to expect something that's prescriptive of the International Health Regulations to be followed to the letter of the law, given the range of different circumstances that countries have."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> European Commission, "Questions & Answers."

<sup>25</sup> Ali and Cobanoglu.

<sup>26</sup> Raisa Santos, "Travel Restrictions & Other Cross-Border Pandemic Control Measures need more Coordination," *Health Policy Watch. Independent Global Health Reporting*, 26 May 2021, <https://healthpolicy-watch.news/travel-restrictions-cross-border-pandemic/>.

<sup>27</sup> World Health Organization, "Practical Considerations and Recommendations for Religious Leaders and Faith-Based Communities in the Context of COVID-19," (Interim guidance), 20 March 2021, accessed August 18, 2021, <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/how-to-use-the-who-mass-gathering-religious-addendum-risk-assessment-tool-in-the-context-of-covid-19>.

<sup>28</sup> Santos.

The World Health Organization acknowledges the special role of religious leaders, faith-based organizations, and faith communities in COVID-19 education, preparedness, and response, also through:

- Avoiding large group gatherings and conducting rituals and faith-related activities remotely/virtually, as required and whenever possible;
- Ensuring that any decision to convene group gatherings for worship, education, or social meetings is based on a sound risk assessment and in line with guidance from national and local authorities;
- Ensuring safe faith-based gatherings, ceremonies, and rituals when they do occur.<sup>29</sup>

### Conclusions

The field of religious freedom is increasingly sensitive in Europe today as we celebrate three decades since the collapse of communist regimes.

Europe has not only a venerable Christian tradition but also political structures born of or in relation to Christianity.<sup>30</sup>

Abrupt lockdowns were the only means left to slow transmission after health systems failed to do so in many countries. However, the challenges of ensuring food security during lockdown have also been poorly addressed but have received very little attention thus far. The shutdowns of schools in both the US and Europe revealed to many for the first time that millions of families rely on school meals to feed their families, especially once livelihoods collapsed.

In the face of these and other rights abuses, community networks have been lifelines to many of those most marginalized, providing food and emotional nourishment and support that enable those most vulnerable to survive. Human rights may be at risk under Covid-19, but the norms and movements mobilized in the past also offer guideposts for navigating our way out of this crisis. Such standards as transparency, accountability and non-discrimination are principles we can use to rebuild our broken world and heal it in the future.

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<sup>29</sup> The World Health Organization.

<sup>30</sup> Antonio Amuza, "Cătălin Raiu: Europa are nu doar o tradiție creștină venerabilă, dar și structuri politice născute din sau prin raportare la creștinism" [Europe has not only a venerable Christian tradition, but also political structures born of or related to Christianity], *Sinteza*, 19 December 2019, [https://www.revistasinteza.ro/catalin-raiu-europa-are-nu-doar-o-traditie-crestina-venerabila-dar-si-structuri-politice-nascute-din-sau-prin-raportare-la-crestinism?fbclid=iwar2bc-cuid3ut0fooyde8h7jv9u0oggbucqcmekb\\_klejapazt-fq6dxe](https://www.revistasinteza.ro/catalin-raiu-europa-are-nu-doar-o-traditie-crestina-venerabila-dar-si-structuri-politice-nascute-din-sau-prin-raportare-la-crestinism?fbclid=iwar2bc-cuid3ut0fooyde8h7jv9u0oggbucqcmekb_klejapazt-fq6dxe).

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## Innovation and Human Capital in a Knowledge Economy

Yaroslav DROZDOVSKY\*

**Abstract.** *“The knowledge-based economy” is an expression coined to describe trends in advanced economies towards greater dependence on knowledge, information and high skill levels, and the increasing need for ready access to all of these by the business and public sectors. The development of a knowledge economy is a key priority for innovative progress and for ensuring the country’s competitiveness through the efficient use of intellectual resources and human capital. Our paper is focused on the influence of human capital in providing innovative development and the formation of knowledge economy, to develop measures for its formation, accumulation, preservation, reproduction in order to increase national competitiveness at the world market. The foundation of the knowledge economy is productive knowledge and quality education that contribute to the intellectual capital embodiment into productive activities. A detailed analysis of the current state and problems of the innovation and human capital spheres has been carried out, international ratings have been analyzed and the place of Ukraine in them is determined in the article.*

**Keywords:** *knowledge economy, innovative development, human capital, intellectual capital*

### Introduction. Problem statement

The knowledge economy is a system of consumption and production that is based on intellectual capital. In particular, it refers to the ability to capitalize on scientific discoveries and basic and applied research. Transition from the industrial age to the post-industrial knowledge-based economy is associated with accelerating development of scientific and technological progress, the growth of labor productivity and the importance of information technologies, intelligence and scientific knowledge embodied in human capital. Under the conditions of globalisation the competitive advantages depend on the basis of the development of intellectual capital, science and technology, the intensive introduction of research, development, innovation in production, which influences on all aspects of innovation development and defines the country’s place in the world economy and international ratings.

### *Aim of the research*

The purpose of the scientific work is to find out the significance of innovation activity in formation of knowledge economy, development of measures for its formation, accumulation, preservation, and reproduction in order to increase national competitiveness at the world market. The research methods include comparative and systematic literature analysis, economic and mathematical calculations, trend modeling method and own research conclusions.

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### *Literature review*

Actual questions of the formation of the knowledge economy on the basis of providing innovative and intellectual development and human capital are sufficiently highlighted in the scientific works of both domestic and foreign scientists: Podra (2021), Bazhal (2006), Fedulova (2008), Semiv and Vovkanych (2007), Demchishak and Zhuk (2018), Bell (1993), Becker (1993) and others. However, despite the scientific achievements of the research subject, there is still the lack of coverage of the importance of innovation and intellectual development in accordance with the requirements of the new knowledge-based economy, which requires detailed research.

In the new economy, which can rightly be interpreted as the “knowledge-based economy,” innovative work and human capital are becoming more and more tangible and almost the main factors of development. This statement is fully consistent with the conclusions of many foreign experts who study this issue and believe that the key characteristics and distinctive features of the knowledge economy are:

- 1) recognition of intellectual capital and innovation as the main factors of economic growth;
- 2) the presence of more than 50% of employment in innovative work;
- 3) priority development of the main institutes of intellectual activity, namely, scientific and educational institutions, centers of strategic development, research laboratories, other intellectually and knowledge-intensive industries in which the creation, redistribution and consumption of knowledge<sup>1</sup>.

Indeed, if the modern economy of the most developed countries of the world as well as the new economy of developing countries, considered through the prism of the most distinctive features in comparison with the economy of the industrial age, we will certainly reach conclusion that such features are large-scale changes in the structure and quality of production factors, an unprecedented increase in the role of knowledge, information, intelligence, innovation. The statement that the one who possesses information owns the world can already be seen as an axiom. The above resources of the modern economy are both determinants of improving the efficiency of production of tangible and intangible goods and quality of life.

The material, organizational and technical side of this phenomenon is such that the knowledge, intellectual, innovative component is now increasingly becoming a leading at all stages of the “life cycle” of new goods and services; these components dominate the design, production, management of tangible and intangible assets. In addition, knowledge itself is a prerequisite for solving such urgent problems of modern production as:

- adaptation of the human factor to dynamically changing production conditions;
- decision-making in non-standard conditions;
- organization of teamwork and work on the result<sup>2</sup>.

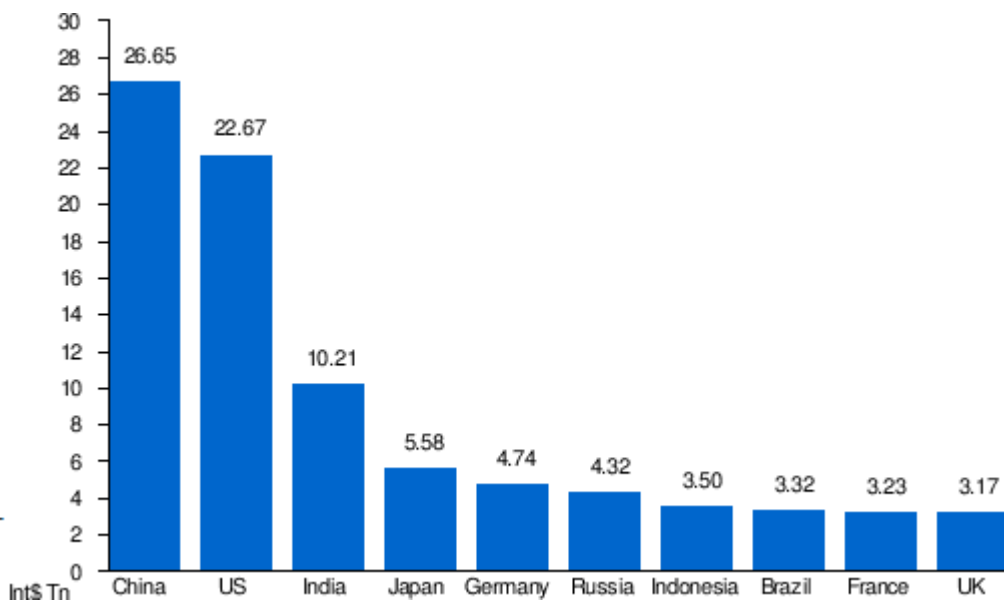
Economic resource, which is a set and combination of information, knowledge, intelligence, innovation, is so important that it can rightly be called strategic. He has no replacement both now and in the future. Thus, in the XXI century, not natural resources, not territory, but high technology, knowledge, intelligence will be the basis for the

<sup>1</sup> A. Zharinova, “*Ekonomika znan': zmist ta rol intelektu liudyny v yii formuvanni*” [The economy of knowledge: the content and role of human intelligence in its formation], accessed August 28, 2021, <http://jrn1.nau.edu.ua/index.php/PPEI/article/view/222>.

<sup>2</sup> O.O. Belyaev, A.S. Bebelo, and O.M. Komyakov, *Derzhava i perekhidna ekonomika: mekhanizm vzayemodiyi* [State and Transition Economy: The Mechanism of Interaction] (Kyiv: KNHEU, 2003), 120.

formation of a new economy, a source of well-being and quality of life of the population of a country. This is confirmed by the experience of the most developed countries in the world, where in recent decades there has been an intensive replacement of fixed assets, tangible inventories, other tangible assets and physical capital.

For example, we can analyze the share of the largest countries in world GDP as of 2021. (**Figure 1**). According to the IMF, the first places are occupied by such countries as China (26.65%), USA (22.67%), India (10.21%), Japan (5.58%) and Germany (4.74%). In all of them, with the exception of India, the state primarily focuses its efforts on the development of innovation and intellectual work<sup>3</sup> [9].



**Figure 1.** The share of the largest countries in world GDP, as of 2021, for IMF data<sup>4</sup>

If we analyze the geographical structure of innovation development in the world as of 2021, the top echelon of innovation rankings are headed by Switzerland, Sweden and the United States, and these three countries hold their positions from 2019. Also in the top ten rankings, along with the Netherlands, include other European countries, such as Great Britain and Finland. This year, Germany came in 10th place. But Israel moved from the 10th place in 2019 to the 15th place. It is also worth noting that the Republic of Korea is confidently moving up. So, for the last three years it has moved from the top twenty to 5th place, which can not fail to impress.<sup>5</sup>

Here are just a few examples. In the early 80's of last century, about 60% of investment in US industry was directed to the acquisition of material values, and twenty years later this share was only 16%. Since the early 1990s, US companies have spent more on equipment that processes information than on other equipment. According to available

<sup>3</sup> V. Seminozhenko, "Doktrina ekonomiki znan (Proekt)" [Doctrine of Knowledge Economy (Project)], accessed August 16, 2019, <http://www.semynozhenko.net>.

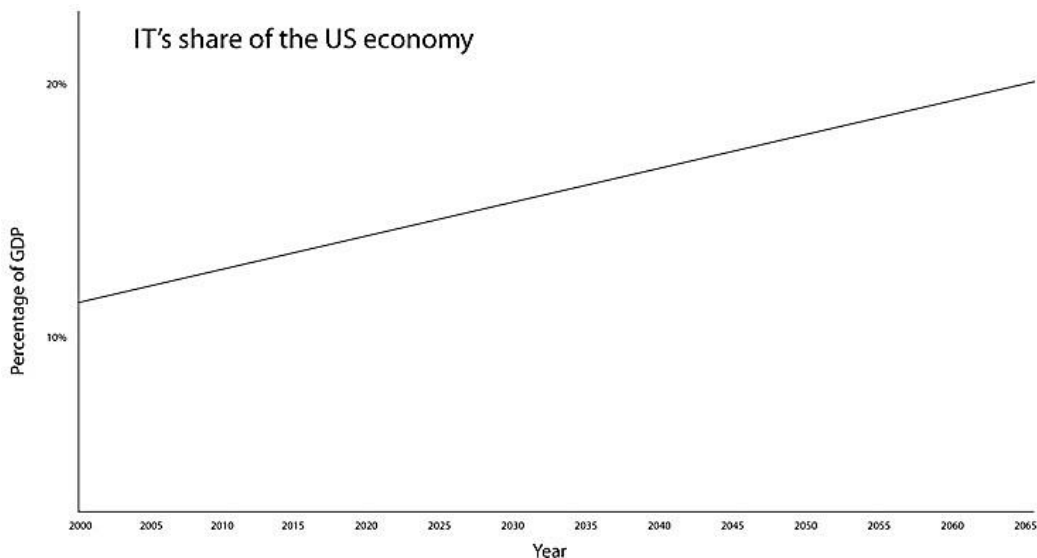
<sup>4</sup> International Monetary Fund (IMF), accessed August 16, 2021, <http://www.imf.org>.

<sup>5</sup> Global Innovation Index, accessed July 29, 2021, [https://www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/en/wipo\\_pub\\_gii\\_2021.pdf](https://www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/en/wipo_pub_gii_2021.pdf).

data, the tangible assets of American enterprises in 1982 averaged 62% of market value enterprises, ten years later this share was already 38%. Recent studies in 2018 estimate the share of tangible assets of American enterprises at 10-15%<sup>6</sup> [4; 190].

It is especially important to take into account that large investments are being made in the development of new technologies in the United States. The state assumes such a function as stimulating investment in this sector. It is for this reason that a high level of competitiveness of the national economy is achieved. At the same time, the state not only creates conditions acceptable to private investors and even small businesses, but also invests half of the research and development (R&D). The other half of the funding comes from educational institutions, U.S. government and local governments, private corporations.

As can be seen from **Figure 2**, the pace of technology development in the United States has been growing in recent years and is projected to continue to grow in terms of GDP.



**Figure 2.** The share of IT technologies in the US economy (projected data by 2065)<sup>7</sup> [6]

The formation of GDP in developed countries by 40% or more is currently carried out at the expense of knowledge-intensive industries. We need to think deeply about the following data: 90% of all knowledge possessed by mankind received in the last 30 years. At the same time, 90% of the total number of scientists and engineers trained throughout the history of civilization are our contemporaries. These data alone are enough to conclude

<sup>6</sup> L.Z. Kit, "Evolutsiya merezhevoyi ekonomiky" [Evolution of network economy], *Visnyk of Khmelnytsky National University. Economic sciences* 2, no. 3 (2014): 190.

<sup>7</sup> Artem Karyavka, "10 osnovnykh trendiv vysokiyh texnologiy u 2019 roci" [The main trends of high technologies in 2019], *Hromads'kyj Prostir* [Public space], 22 August 2019, accessed July 16, 2021, <https://www.prostir.ua/?blogs=10-osnovnyh-trendiv-vysokiyh-tehnologiy-u-2019-rotsi>.

that the world community is going through a transition period from an economy based on the use of natural resources to a knowledge economy<sup>8</sup> [5].

Knowledge based economy is determined by the intellectual potential of society, on which it is based and which is a set of everyday and specialized (scientific) knowledge accumulated in the minds of people and materialized in technological methods of production<sup>9</sup> [1; 6].

The European Commission emphasizes that the core of the knowledge economy and society is a combination of four independent elements: the production, transfer, dissemination and use of knowledge.

Given the above, we can say that innovative work is a labor activity, which is characterized by a high share of knowledge, intellectual, creative components, and which is able to meet social needs with greater useful effect.

Increasing the "knowledge capacity" of modern production, on the one hand, and the high level of knowledge component in human potential, on the other hand, allows economically active people:

- become an effective participant in the process of perception, use and creation of new knowledge;
- ensure the innovativeness of work, to form their own competitive advantages and prerequisites for a decent standard of living;
- make the most of the opportunities created by globalization;
- minimize risks and eliminate the threats that arise with increasing competition in its various forms;
- increase the possibility of their adaptation to conditions of uncertainty and rapid change<sup>10</sup> [8].

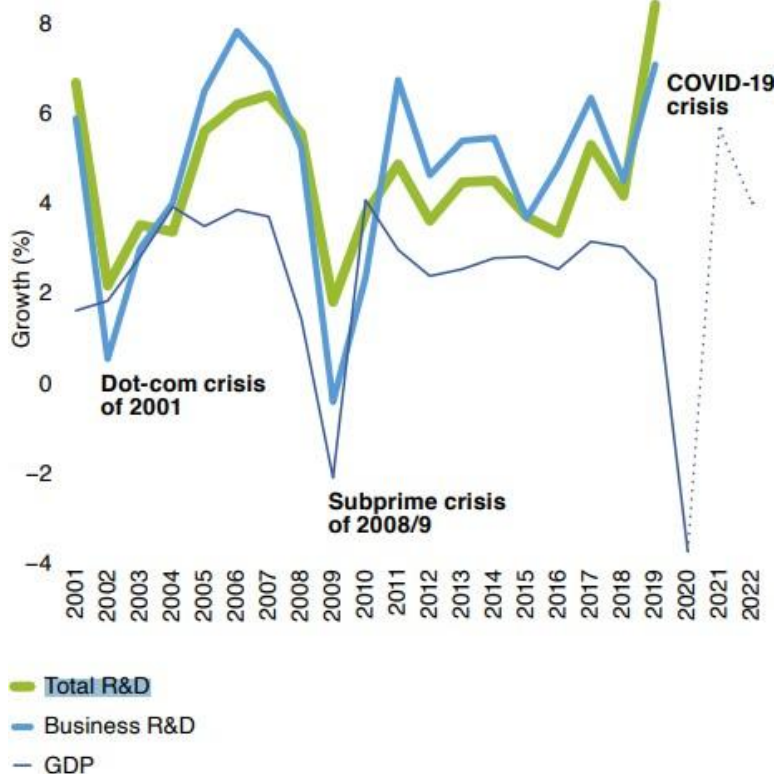
If we analyze the development of innovation in the world economy, it is possible to notice the trend of steady growth, despite the general rate of decline in world economic growth. In both developed and developing countries, this trend is actively expanding through official channels, as evidenced by research and development (R&D) and patents, and in less formally organized forms.

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<sup>8</sup> M.V. Nikolaychuk, "Investytsiyi v lyudskyy kapital yak peredumova stanovlennya ta rozvytku ekonomiky znan'" [Investments in human capital as a prerequisite for the formation and development of the knowledge economy], accessed August 24, 2021, <http://nikolaychuk.at.ua/news/2010-12-08-57>.

<sup>9</sup> V. Heiets', *Ukraina u vymiri ekonomiky znan'* [Ukraine in the dimension of knowledge economy]. (Instytut ekonomiky ta prohnozuvannia NAN Ukrainy / Institute of Economics and Forecasting of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine K.: «Osnova», 2006); Karyavka.

<sup>10</sup> Olha P. Podra, "Investytsiyi v lyudskyy kapital yak chynnyk pidvyshchennya yakosti zhyttya" [Investments in human capital as a factor in improving the quality of life], accessed July 27, 2021, [http://www.nbu.gov.ua/e-journals/PSPE/2012\\_2/Podra\\_212.htm](http://www.nbu.gov.ua/e-journals/PSPE/2012_2/Podra_212.htm).



**Figure 3.** Rising expenditures on R&D in the world economy, 2001–2022<sup>11</sup> [11]

If we analyze the geographical structure of innovation development in the world as of 2021, the top echelon of innovation rankings are headed by Switzerland, Sweden and the United States, and these three countries hold their positions from 2019. Also in the top ten rankings, along with the Netherlands, include other European countries, such as Great Britain and Finland. This year, Germany came in 10th place. But Israel moved from the 10th place in 2019 to the 15th place. It is also worth noting that the Republic of Korea is confidently moving up. So for the last three years it has moved from the top twenty to 5th place, which can not fail to impress.<sup>12</sup> [11].

Historically, R&D spending has moved in parallel with GDP, slowing markedly during the economic downturns of the early 1990s, early 2000s, and late 2000s. Declining revenues, lack of cash flow, cost-cutting measures, declining tax revenues and increased risk aversion are some of the key transmission channels through which falling output reduces R&D investment.

Modern economy is, without a doubt, an innovative economy in which knowledge allows us to generate a continuous flow of innovation that meets changing dynamic needs, and quite often shapes these needs. Knowledge is only important in the economic sense when it is realized in the form of innovation. The activity of production, dissemination and use of knowledge in the modern economy plays an important role as never before, determines its essential features and pace of development. A new interaction is emerging between science and technology - more and more sectors of the economy are becoming

<sup>11</sup> Global innovation index.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.



knowledge-intensive, the share of investment in knowledge, education and intangible assets is growing. We are talking, first of all, about the key role of human capital, which under certain institutional conditions becomes the most important factor in the development of an economic system based on knowledge.

#### Top three innovation economies by income group

High-income	Upper middle-income	Lower middle-income	Low-income
1. Switzerland	1. China	1. Viet Nam	1. Rwanda ↑
2. Sweden	2. Bulgaria ↑	2. India ↑	2. Tajikistan ☆
3. United States of America	3. Malaysia ↓	3. Ukraine ↓	3. Malawi ☆

**Figure 4.** Rating of investments of countries in the development of science, etc. ovation technologies, for 2021, according to UNESCO<sup>13</sup> [11]

In fact, according to UNESCO, 10 countries account for about 80% of the world's R&D spending. The United States spends much more on research than the rest of the globe. More than \$ 100 billion separates the country from the persecutor in the face of China. Further elaboration of the data shows another important indicator: while the United States employs 4,295 researchers per million inhabitants, China has only 1,096. Of course, China is home to many more people than the United States. But American dominance in the R&D market is obvious. The United States accounts for 27% of global spending, well above the spending of the 100 countries at the bottom of the list combined.

R&D includes a wide range of different industries. The data includes the cost of everything from artificial intelligence, the invention of new pharmaceuticals to the creation of advanced fighters. Political scientists claim that demography is the destiny to win the election. It is possible that investment in research and development will determine the development of countries in the long run to the same extent. Judging by the visualization, it is clear that the United States and China will continue to be locked in a constant confrontation for economic control over the rest of the world<sup>14</sup> [8].

### Conclusions

Thus, historical evolution shows that at almost all stages of human civilization innovations (technical, technological, socio-cultural) were the basis for the transition of individual processes and society as a whole to a qualitatively new level of socio-economic development and, consequently, to a new level well-being and quality of life. The fundamental difference of the last decades of the twentieth century is that the production of innovation has turned into an independent sphere of human activity, in which ¼ of the world's gross domestic product is currently produced.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Podra.

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## Potential Impact of Cross-Border Cooperation on the Regional Development: Case Study Romania-Ukraine Border

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**Abstract.** *Starting with 2003 the European Union turned its interest in developing the borders with the future neighbours at that time, out of which our interest is on Romania-Ukraine border. Since then, several generations of programs financed projects aiming to boost the cooperation between the communities living along the border, also to develop the economic and social life. The paper aim was to determine the interplay between macroeconomic indicators, export, import and gross product, of Romanian and Ukrainian administrative territories. The evaluation of the defined hypotheses showed no statistically significant influence of economic activity of Romanian regions on Ukrainian ones in G1 (Odesa and Tulcea), G2 (Chernivtsi, Botoşani, Suceava) and partially G3 cross-border regions, namely in all cases of Zakarpattia oblast and gross regional product of Ivano-Frankivsk oblast. Maramureş and Satu Mare import were significant for Ivano-Frankivsk export affecting it in different directions, Satu Mare impact was positive, while Maramureş – negative. Therefore, we can assume that Ivano-Frankivsk and Satu Mare had export-import relations. Maramureş export had negative impact on Ivano-Frankivsk export and import, while Satu Mare influence was not significant. Therefore, we can suppose that Maramureş and Ivano-Frankivsk compete for the same markets. The research results indicate that there is need to increase the efficiency of the cross-border programmes in this area or develop better ones to intensify the positive synergy effect on both Romanian and Ukrainian sides. The paper is first part of a larger study concerning the evolution of this border area before the pandemic period, but after each programming period.*

**Keywords:** *cross-border cooperation, cross-border programs, regional development, Romania, Ukraine*

### Introduction

At the moment of launching the European Neighbourhood Policy, namely 2003, the cooperation on the borders with that time actual and future neighbours of the European Union was supported by a variety of instruments, governed by different regulations, operating with different project identification, selection and implementation procedures, being also difficult to implement genuine joint projects (meaning to serve a joint objective and to operate on both sides of the border at the same time).

During 2020–2021 a significant mark was on the cross-border programmes and projects due to the change in border permeability and the changes on the European, national and local agendas concerning health, people movements, economic life.

We intend to start a study in dynamic and time slots on the effects of the cross-border funds on the trade flows in the border areas along Romania-Ukraine border. The

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first period is dedicated to the follow up of the PHARE CBC programme that was implemented in 2006–2010 and will cover 2011–2015, second period is dedicated to the follow up of 2007–2013 CBC programmes and will cover 2016–2019, before pandemic period, and third period will be dedicated to the follow up of 2014–2020 CBC programmes that will end implementation in 2022 and most likely will cover 2020–2024.

In the framework of the pre-accession-driven PHARE instrument in the candidate countries, the PHARE CBC programmes<sup>1</sup> supported cross-border cooperation with Member States and between the candidate countries. In the also called New Independent States (NIS countries) the TACIS CBC programme<sup>2</sup> supported cross-border cooperation in the western border regions of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova.

For the first phase, for the 2004–2006 programming period, the proposed key objective was to build on existing progress made in coordinating the various instruments, while fulfilling the existing commitments at that time and obligations regarding the previous programming period up to the end of 2006. These programmes should have been prepared jointly by relevant stakeholders on both sides of the border. The Neighbourhood Programmes covered a broad range of actions flowing from the objectives stated in the European Commission document<sup>3</sup>, including infrastructure in the sectors of transport, environment, energy, border crossings, electronic communications, etc.

The second phase for the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy through the cross-border financial instruments was to establish a new Neighbourhood Instrument post 2006 linked to, and coherent with, the various external policy agendas and processes taking into account of the different regional priorities already developed. Also, this new instrument was aimed to combine both external policy objectives and economic and social cohesion. The new instrument was named the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) and covered more programmes, the geographic coverage of the programmes being established in 2007 in reflection of the basic criteria from the ENPI Regulation and taking account of relevant lessons from past experience, notably with the Neighbourhood Programmes operating in the period 2004–2006, and with some adjustments which needed to reflect the developments since 2007.

The 2003 External Border Initiative Programme (EBI), an aid programme of the European Community in form of grants,<sup>4</sup> has been designed following bilateral discussions between the Romanian authorities and the European Commission's representatives. The objectives of the 2003 PHARE External Border Initiative for Romania were to improve cross-border cooperation at local level between Romania and Serbia&Montenegro, Moldova and Ukraine, to support the further development of the economic potential of the border regions and to pave the way for the future (2004–2006) PHARE CBC/Neighbourhood programmes between Romania and Serbia & Montenegro, Moldova and Ukraine.

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<sup>1</sup> European Commission, *Commission Regulation (EC) No 2760/98 of 18 December 1998 Concerning the Implementation of a Programme for Cross-Border Cooperation in the Framework of the PHARE Programme* (Bruxelles, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> European Union Council, *Council Regulation (EC, Euratom) No 99/2000 of 29 December 1999 Concerning the Provision of Assistance to the Partner States in Eastern Europe and Central Asia* (Bruxelles, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> European Commission, *Paving the way for a New Neighbourhood Instrument* (Bruxelles, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> European Commission&Romanian Government, *Financing Memorandum for 2003 External Border Initiative Programme for Romania Signed on 19.12.2003*, 2003/005-778 (December 2003), accessed April 26, 2021, [http://www.mdrl.ro/\\_documente/cbc/2003/ebi/memorandum\\_ebi\\_2003.pdf](http://www.mdrl.ro/_documente/cbc/2003/ebi/memorandum_ebi_2003.pdf).

The first from the four priority fields for these funds was the economic development and cooperation that included as eligible activities:<sup>5</sup> studies for planning and development; economic development – support for small projects focused on the capitalization of the economic activities such as proposals for small scale enterprises, marketing initiatives, market studies, networks and structures for cross-border cooperation and partnership in order to support those kinds of projects; and tourism – soft activities such as studies, planning, institutional capacity building, training for SMEs and human resources development in tourism field.

In the next step, the starting point to state the general objectives of the Neighbourhood Programme (NP) that influence the area, namely Romania-Ukraine 2004–2006, have been the analyses focused on key factors uniting border regions of Ukraine and Romania.<sup>6</sup> The results of the analyses on uniting factors, presented in the Joint Programming Document, showed that a number of key socio-economic fields were important and with a high cross-border value.

The identified opportunities on the Romania-Ukraine border were: expanding rural tourism in regions particularly rich and competitively advantaged for long-term development in this sector, provided that biological equilibrium will be protected on short and long term; the development of existing human resources operating or to be operating in competitive sectors; the opportunity of supporting growth of an interesting SME backbone specialized in economic sectors and having good cooperation scope for local development with an integrated perspective; and of preserving and promoting common historical heritage and natural treasures of extremely high value at regional, national and international levels. The general objective of the Romania-Ukraine NP programme was to improve cross-border integration between boundary regions while posing good bases for sustainable economic development.

For the 2007–2013 programming period was in place the European Neighbourhood Partnership Instrument (ENPI) through which there were financed three programmes on the actual Eastern border of EU and covering mainly Ukraine and Republic of Moldova: Joint Operational Programme Poland-Belarus-Ukraine, Joint Operational Programme Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine and Joint Operational Programme Romania-Ukraine–Republic of Moldova.

The main priorities of the above-mentioned programmes were built around economic and social development, environment management and protection, increase of the security and efficiency of the border by proper management and the “People to people” component.<sup>7</sup> The main difference between the previous implementing systems for the programming period 2004–2006 and the ENPI requirements was that for the 2004–

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<sup>5</sup> Managing Authority – Romanian Government, *Guidelines for applicants for Joint Small Projects Fund*, 2003, accessed January 18, 2016, [http://www.mdrl.ro/\\_documente/cbc/2003/ebi/ucraina/pachet\\_info\\_U\\_ro.exe](http://www.mdrl.ro/_documente/cbc/2003/ebi/ucraina/pachet_info_U_ro.exe).

<sup>6</sup> Managing Authority – Romanian Government, *Joint Programming Document for the Neighbourhood Programme Romania-Ukraine*, July 2005, accessed January 14, 2016, [http://mdrl.ro/\\_documente/cbc/2004\\_2006/RoUa/programare/JPD\\_ro\\_ua.pdf](http://mdrl.ro/_documente/cbc/2004_2006/RoUa/programare/JPD_ro_ua.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> Joint Managing Authority – Romanian Government, *Joint Operational Programme Romania-Ukraine-Republic of Moldova*, 2008, accessed January 18, 2016, [http://www.ro-ua-md.net/images/stories/File/Joint\\_Operational\\_Programme.pdf](http://www.ro-ua-md.net/images/stories/File/Joint_Operational_Programme.pdf); Joint Managing Authority Hungary, *Joint Operational Programme Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine*, 2008, accessed January 18, 2016, [http://www.huskroua-cbc.net/en/file\\_download/1](http://www.huskroua-cbc.net/en/file_download/1); Joint Managing Authority Poland, *Joint Operational Programme Poland-Belarus-Ukraine*, 2008, accessed January 18, 2016, [http://pl-by-ua.eu/upload/en/PL-BY-UA\\_ENG.pdf](http://pl-by-ua.eu/upload/en/PL-BY-UA_ENG.pdf).

2006 exercise there was no joint implementation on the project level and the tasks related to the external funding and implementation were performed by the services of the European Commission, while after the joint implementation and funding was mandatory.<sup>8</sup>

The Joint Operational Programme Romania-Ukraine-Republic of Moldova,<sup>9</sup> financed through the European Neighbourhood Partnership Instrument, is one of the tools used by the European Commission for the implementation of the European Union Neighbourhood Policy. The programme aimed to create a bridge between the three partner countries, in the purpose of sustaining the communities from the border areas for finding common solutions to the similar problems they face. Through this programme the local administration and other organizations from cross-border areas are encouraged to collaborate for the development of the local economy and environmental issues.

As the JOP Romania-Ukraine-Republic of Moldova presents, the aim of the first priority was to improve the economic performance of the border area through the diversification and modernization in a sustainable manner, of the border economy. The most urgent needs of the area, identified in the analysis that was the starting point of the programme design, addressed by this priority are focused mainly: “to support SMEs growth and to increase the number of SMEs in order to improve the economy of the region and limit the migration; to improve competitiveness across the economy, particularly for Innovation and Research and Development (R&D); to facilitate the ecologically balanced modernization of agriculture in order to make the principal sector of the area more competitive; to develop the great potential of tourism (cultural, agro, eco and theme tourism) for area development; to improve the region’s infrastructure through modernization of transport and energy networks which suffer from a lack of investment and are key aspects to a competitive economy and to provide adequate interconnection of electricity systems through integration into the UCTE (Union for the Coordination of the Transmission of Electricity) in order to increase the capacity of cross-border electricity exchanges and increase security of supply in the region; to make the area more attractive for foreign direct investments, etc.

### ***Theoretical background***

Cross-border cooperation creates additional opportunities for national and regional economies, as well as local businesses involved in international trade and production. Therefore, there is an abundant literature devoted to different aspects of this topical issue. Milenković shed light on eco-regionalism as the model for amending economic and social status and maintaining the living space and environment of people living in bordering regions of different countries.<sup>10</sup>

Analysing Black Sea Region, an EU macro-region, Studzieniecki determined that even though cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation programs foster

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<sup>8</sup> European Parliament and EU Council, *Regulation 1638/2006 Laying down General Provisions Establishing a European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument* (Bruxelles: European Commission, 2007); European Commission, *Regulation no 951/2007 Laying down Implementing Rules for Cross-Border Cooperation Programmes Financed under Regulation no 1638/2006* (Bruxelles: European Commission, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Joint Managing Authority – Romanian Government.

<sup>10</sup> Marija Milenković, “Ecoregionalism-Factor Cross-Border Cooperation and Tourism Development,” *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 44, (2012): 236–240.

regional development, the organisational structure still requires amendment.<sup>11</sup> According to Ustinovichius, Lewczuk, and Czech, the mechanisms for multifunctional development of cross-border regions should include: complex analysis and generalization of regional economic development, integration and relations on cross-border area; comparison of cross-border trade potential of neighbouring regions; the assessment of premises and conditions; substantiating the perspective directions and determining the purpose, as well as efficiency of cross-border cooperation of cross-border regions<sup>12</sup>. Bouwmeester and Scholtens (2017) found that “international spill-overs are generally larger for employment compensation compared to capital compensation and that the spillovers are unevenly distributed among the countries and the types of labour.”<sup>13</sup> These authors showed that high-skilled and medium-skilled labour is more influenced in countries hosting investments, while low-skilled labour is occupied outside the EU.

Using a bivariate linear model on the sample of Portuguese and Spanish cross-border small and medium enterprises, Raposo, Ferreira, and Fernandes (2014) confirmed that cross-border cooperation positively affects company performance and innovation results.<sup>14</sup>

Lewczuk and Ustinovichius (2015) presented the concept of multifunctional development of cross-border areas, which includes the following conditions for efficient functioning: monitoring the regional socio-economic indices, improving regional competitiveness, and implementing economic reforms within the framework of national development programmes.<sup>15</sup>

In a study of Péter Balogh and Márton Pete, as argument of our endeavour, we identified that in some cases, a combination of market forces with adequate policy of multiple levels of governmental decision makers, and within the local cross-border influence led to an integration along the border.<sup>16</sup> However, in other cases, while comparing the way the macro-national EU objectives are reflected in the regional cross-border programmes, researchers found that the regional specificity is also very important in establishing the specific development objectives.<sup>17</sup> Some researchers’ reviews on

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<sup>11</sup> Tomasz Studzieniecki, “The Development of Cross-Border Cooperation in an EU Macroregion – A Case Study of the Baltic Sea Region,” *Procedia Economics and Finance* 39 (2016): 235–241, doi: 10.1016/S2212-5671(16)30318-5.

<sup>12</sup> Leonas Ustinovichius, Jerzy Lewczuk, and Artur Czech, “Methodological Approach Justifying the Concept of Cross-Border and Trans-Boundary Cooperation with other Countries and Regions,” *Procedia Engineering* 208 (2017): 183–189, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.proeng.2017.11.037>.

<sup>13</sup> Maaïke C. Bouwmeester, Bert Scholtens, “Cross-border Investment Expenditure Spillovers in European gas Infrastructure,” *Energy Policy* 107 (2017): 371–380, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2017.05.010>.

<sup>14</sup> Mario L. Raposo, Joao J.M. Ferreira, and Cristina I. Fernandes, “Local and Cross-Border SME Cooperation: Effects on Innovation and Performance,” *Revista Europea de Dirección y Economía de la Empresa* 23 (2014): 157–165.

<sup>15</sup> Jerzy Lewczuk and Leonas Ustinovichius, “The Concept of Multi-Functional Development of Cross-Border Regions: Poland Case,” *Procedia Engineering* 122 (2015): 65–70, <http://doi:10.1016/j.proeng.2015.10.008>.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Balogh and Marton Pete, “Bridging the Gap: Cross-Border Integration in the Slovak–Hungarian Borderland around Štúrovo–Esztergom,” *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 33, no. 4 (2018): 605–622.

<sup>17</sup> Stefan Telle, Martin Špaček, and Daniela Crăciun, “Divergent Paths to Cohesion: The (Unintended) Consequences of a Place-Based Cohesion Policy,” in *Regional and Local Development in Times of*

literature show that a cross-border region may benefit of a better integration on the cross-border labour market, energy innovations, cross-border logistics and joint marketing.<sup>18</sup>

On the other side, even the evaluation of the cross-border programmes is a complex task due to the several competences and data needed to be processed,<sup>19</sup> aspect that proves how more difficult is a task of detecting the contribution of these programmes in the economic development of the border area. A previous research listed four categories of financial sources relevant in the development of the cross-border regions – the along the border communities' funds, the domestic development funds targeted for regional development, European funds for different objectives that lead to development, and attracted private sources of funds.<sup>20</sup>

In case of borders in the Eastern part of Europe it seems that a significant part of economic cross-border cooperation is represented by smuggling, mainly in the case of the borders between member states and the partner countries.<sup>21</sup> Despite the significance, in this area there is a lack of official data or the possibilities of field research are extremely low, therefore it cannot be counted as source of analyse.

Specific on the border area of our study, other researchers concluded that the EU cross-border programmes, directed on the interregional dialogue and society democratization assisted in cross-border cooperation very much, contributing to the integration path of the countries.<sup>22</sup> On the same area, other researchers analysed the perceived immediate impact that some projects had on economic level.<sup>23</sup> Still, any of them went deeper in analysing the economic impact.

### *Aim, methodology and data*

The aim of our paper is to determine the interplay between macroeconomic indicators, namely, export, import and gross product, of Romanian and Ukrainian administrative territories belonging to the same cross-border regions. Our hypotheses are

*Polarisation: Re-thinking Spatial Policies in Europe*, ed. Thilo Lang and Franziska Gormar (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 149–172.

<sup>18</sup> Jos van den Broek and Hub Smulders, "Institutional Hindrances in Crossborder Regional Innovation Systems," *Regional Studies, Regional Science* 2, no. 1 (2015): 116–122.

<sup>19</sup> Florentina Chirodea, "Evaluarea programelor de cooperare transfrontalieră. Instrumente, metodologii și particularități" [Evaluation of cross-border cooperation programs. Tools, methodologies and features], in *Evaluarea cooperării transfrontaliere la frontierele României* [Evaluation of cross-border cooperation at Romania's borders], ed. Ioan Horga, Constantin-Vasile Țoca, and Florentina Chirodea (Oradea: Editura Primus, 2013).

<sup>20</sup> Marcela Șlusarciuc, "Financial Instruments for Crossborder Economic Development. Shaping the new Tendencies at the European Level" (PhD diss) (Suceava: Universitatea „Ștefan cel Mare,” 2013).

<sup>21</sup> Katarzyna Stokłosa, "Conflict and Co-operation on Polish Borders: The Example of the Polish-German, Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Russian Border Regions," *Austrian Journal of Political Science* 42, no.1 (2013): 65–82.

<sup>22</sup> Serghei Hakman, "Ukraine – Republic of Moldova – Romania: Cross-Border Cooperation and Regional Experience of European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument Realization," in *Challenges and Opportunities for a Multilateral Cooperation*, ed. Antonello F. Biagini, Constantin Hlihor, and Andrea Carteny, (Roma: Mineo Giovanni Editore, 2012), 87–99.

<sup>23</sup> Iordan Gh. Bărbulescu, Mircea Brie, and Nicolae Toderaș, "Cooperarea transfrontalieră între România și Ucraina, respectiv între România și Republica Moldova. Oportunități și provocări în perioada 2014–2020" [Cross-border cooperation between Romania and Ukraine, respectively between Romania and the Republic of Moldova. Opportunities and challenges in 2014–2020] (București: Institutul European din România, 2016).



that export, import and gross regional products of Romanian regions are significant for export (hypothesis 1, H1) and import (hypothesis 2, H2), export (hypothesis 3, H3), and gross regional products (hypothesis 4, H4) of Ukrainian ones respectively.

In our research, we rely on available Romanian National Institute of Statistics and Statistical Service of Ukraine data, adjusted to exchange rates, in 2011–2015. The regions of our interests are: Tulcea, Botoşani, Suceava, Maramureş and Satu Mare for Romania; as well as Odesa, Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk and Zakarpattia for Ukraine. We made a grouping depending on the border pairing, and inclusion in different generations of programmes along time: G1 – Tulcea and Odesa (**Table 1**); G2 – Botoşani, Suceava, Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk (**Table 2**); G3 – Maramureş, Satu Mare, Zakarpattia (**Table 3**).

**Table 1.** Export, import and gross regional products in G1 cross-border region in 2011–2015

Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Export, million euros					
Odesa	1 108.07	1 388.63	1 226.37	1 342.35	1 557.32
Tulcea	357.35	317.68	450.10	341.63	450.85
Import, million euros					
Odesa	2 261.55	3 349.39	2 589.64	1 567.50	872.00
Tulcea	277.68	276.98	268.71	267.95	272.66
Gross regional product, million euros					
Odesa	5 544.57	6 303.75	6 573.60	4 768.04	4 117.47
Tulcea	1 239.83	1 101.60	1 196.63	1 159.63	1 241.62

*Source:* Authors' calculations based on data retrieved from Romanian National Institute of Statistics and Statistical Service of Ukraine, 2021.

**Table 2.** Export, import and gross regional products in G2 cross-border region in 2011–2015

Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Export, million euros					
Chernivtsi	98.20	97.20	94.38	97.44	97.63
Botoşani	246.36	252.18	270.52	272.95	290.38
Suceava	261.36	334.22	411.07	407.02	416.20
Import, million euros					
Chernivtsi	117.18	136.08	119.07	84.10	70.66
Botoşani	216.52	232.61	210.99	226.41	252.21
Suceava	355.48	356.62	422.52	432.31	498.13
Gross regional product, million euros					
Chernivtsi	1 079.09	1 281.92	1 296.34	957.57	763.80
Botoşani	1 442.10	1 339.33	1 517.34	1 492.39	1 555.43
Suceava	2 515.46	2 493.33	2 690.77	2 757.32	2 873.48

*Source:* Authors' calculations based on data retrieved from Romanian National Institute of Statistics and Statistical Service of Ukraine, 2021.

**Table 3.** Export, import and gross regional products in G3 cross-border region in 2011–2015

Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Export, million euros					
Ivano-Frankivsk	677.27	639.24	355.25	367.85	336.26
Zakarpattia	1004.87	1077.74	979.00	1042.77	986.58
Maramureş	799.92	855.83	981.48	1033.99	1076.17
Satu Mare	837.36	840.97	773.08	796.03	860.71
Import, million euros					
Ivano-Frankivsk	768.09	765.46	435.49	363.42	265.49

Zakarpattia	1436.51	1563.27	1553.23	1308.03	911.87
Maramureş	629.94	625.22	666.67	716.88	801.82
Satu Mare	898.64	888.07	757.12	816.36	900.63
Gross regional product, million euros					
Ivano-Frankivsk	2411.88	3143.55	3128.11	2395.22	1892.55
Zakarpattia	1627.70	2084.02	2016.56	1534.75	1194.95
Maramureş	2133.64	2231.93	2311.07	2452.15	2720.75
Satu Mare	1596.30	1610.61	1777.97	1824.84	1937.18

**Source:** Authors' calculations based on data retrieved from Romanian National Institute of Statistics and Statistical Service of Ukraine, 2021.

There are certain limitations of our research due to the specificity of Ukrainian and Romanian statistics. Firstly, the Statistical Service of Ukraine does not provide data on monthly basis, while the Romanian one has data on bordering regions starting with 2012. Secondly, Ukraine faces challenges caused by the Russian Federation, so last five years illustrate the drop-in economic activity due to the hybrid war against it, while Romanian is a peaceful EU member-state. Finally, statistics does not depict economic activity between the very countries simply illustrating general data for regions of interest.

To evaluate the defined scientific hypotheses, statistical significance of the interplay between macroeconomic indicators of regions of interest was determined via t-statistic at the significance level of 5%. If the calculated t-statistic value was lower than 5%, we rejected the null hypothesis and adopted the alternative hypothesis. We applied Eviews 8 to conduct calculations.

### **Results and discussion**

The research results are in the tables below.

The probability values (0.7084; 0.7907; 0.5117; 0.4377) confirm that in the evaluation of the interplay between macroeconomic indicators in G1 cross-border region, there are no statistically significant influence of economic activity of Romanian regions on Ukrainian ones (**Table 4**). Therefore, H1-H4 were not confirmed.

**Table 4.** Evaluation of the interplay between macroeconomic indicators in G1 cross-border region in 2011–2015

Dependent variables	Independent variables	t-statistic	Probability	Correlation
Odessa export	Tulcea export	0.411375	0.7084	0.231080
Odessa export	Tulcea import	-0.289982	0.7907	-0.165123
Odessa import	Tulcea export	0.742308	0.5117	-0.479038
Odessa gross regional product	Tulcea gross regional product	-0.892845	0.4377	-0.458190

**Source:** Authors' results, 2021

The probability values (0.3073; 0.4234; 0.3699; 0.2723; 0.1463; 0.3637; 0.8925; 0.4867) confirm that in the evaluation of the interplay between macroeconomic indicators in G2 cross-border region, there are no statistically significant influence of economic activity of Romanian regions on Ukrainian ones (**Table 5**). Therefore, H1-H4 were not confirmed.

**Table 5.** Evaluation of the interplay between macroeconomic indicators in G2 cross-border region in 2011–2015

Dependent variables	Independent variables	t-statistic	Probability	Correlation
---------------------	-----------------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

Chernivtsi export	Botoşani import	1.358347	0.3073	0.481827
	Suceava import	-0.998178	0.4234	-0.121075
Chernivtsi export	Botoşani export	1.147514	0.3699	-0.187165
	Suceava export	-1.500194	0.2723	-0.497012
Chernivtsi import	Botoşani export	-2.318677	0.1463	-0.834236
	Suceava export	1.166506	0.3637	-0.576767
Chernivtsi gross regional product	Botoşani gross regional product	0.152892	0.8925	-0.610640
	Suceava gross regional product	-0.845933	0.4867	-0.729889

*Source:* Authors' results, 2021

**Table 6** indicates that G3 cross-border region showed controversial region. Considering Zakarpattia region, the probability values (0.5467; 0.6654; 0.6720; 0.8868; 0.0794; 0.1069; 0.5453; 0.8327) confirm that there is no statistically significant influence of economic activity of Romanian regions on Ukrainian one (**Table 6**). Therefore, H1-H4 were not confirmed.

Regarding Ivano-Frankivsk oblast within G3 cross-border region, H4 was not confirmed; H1 was totally confirmed, while H2 and H3 were partially supported by the results of our calculations.

**Table 6.** Evaluation of the interplay between macroeconomic indicators in G3 cross-border region in 2011–2015

Dependent variables	Independent variables	t-statistic	Probability	Correlation
Ivano-Frankivsk export	Maramureş import	-17.60324	0.0032	-0.777918
	Satu Mare import	13.29368	0.0056	0.557663
Ivano-Frankivsk export	Maramureş export	-8.846232	0.0125	-0.962345
	Satu Mare export	2.239337	0.1545	0.393164
Ivano-Frankivsk import	Maramureş export	-8.079252	0.0150	-0.985099
	Satu Mare export	0.274779	0.8093	0.203058
Ivano-Frankivsk gross regional product	Maramureş gross regional product	-0.740105	0.5363	-0.667064
	Satu Mare gross regional product	0.343625	0.7639	-0.576525
Zakarpattia export	Maramureş import	-0.719142	0.5467	-0.412503
	Satu Mare import	0.502166	0.6654	0.269291
Zakarpattia export	Maramureş export	-0.490985	0.6720	-0.347149
	Satu Mare export	0.161102	0.8868	0.164712
Zakarpattia import	Maramureş export	-3.333860	0.0794	-0.676990
	Satu Mare export	-2.806917	0.1069	-0.529986
Zakarpattia gross regional product	Maramureş gross regional product	-0.722035	0.5453	-0.735111
	Satu Mare gross regional product	0.239970	0.8327	-0.660908

*Source:* Authors' results, 2021

Applying the least squares method, we received the following linear regressions for Ivano-Frankivsk oblast:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{IF\_EXP} &= 368.30429913 - 1.90067974426 \cdot \text{MM\_IMP} + 1.66017202906 \cdot \text{SM\_IMP} \quad (\text{Adjusted } R^2 = 0.991163; \text{Probability (F-statistic)} = 0.004419) \\
 \text{IF\_EXP} &= 828.546426667 - 1.31692590171 \cdot \text{MM\_EXP} + 1.09175631931 \cdot \text{SM\_EXP} \quad (\text{Adjusted } R^2 = 0.957864; \text{Probability (F-statistic)} = 0.021068)
 \end{aligned}$$

$$IF\_IMP = 2187.90632276 - 1.94450841986*MM\_EXP + 0.216583672351*SM\_EXP$$

(Adjusted R<sup>2</sup> = 0.942994; Probability (F-statistic) = 0.028503)

Where: IF\_EXP – Ivano-Frankivsk export; IF\_IMP – Ivano-Frankivsk import; MM\_EXP – Maramureș export; MM\_IMP – Maramureș import; SM\_EXP – Satu Mare export; SM\_IMP – Satu Mare import.

Maramureș and Satu Mare imports were significant for Ivano-Frankivsk export affecting it in different directions, Satu Mare impact was positive, while Maramureș – negative. Therefore, we can assume that Ivano-Frankivsk and Satu Mare had export-import relations.

Maramureș export had negative impact on Ivano-Frankivsk export and import, while Satu Mare influence was not significant. Therefore, we can suppose that Maramureș and Ivano-Frankivsk compete for the same markets.

### **Conclusions**

The aim of the paper was to determine the interplay between macroeconomic indicators, namely, export, import and gross product, of Romanian and Ukrainian administrative territories belonging to the same cross-border regions. The evaluation of the defined hypotheses showed no statistically significant influence of economic activity of Romanian regions on Ukrainian ones in G1 (Odesa and Tulcea), G2 (Chernivtsi, Botoșani, Suceava) and partially G3 cross-border regions, namely in all cases of Zakarpattia oblast and gross regional product of Ivano-Frankivsk oblast.

Maramureș and Satu Mare imports were significant for Ivano-Frankivsk export affecting it in different directions, Satu Mare impact was positive, while Maramureș – negative. Therefore, we can assume that Ivano-Frankivsk and Satu Mare had export-import relations. Maramureș export had negative impact on Ivano-Frankivsk export and import, while Satu Mare influence was not significant. Therefore, we can suppose that Maramureș and Ivano-Frankivsk compete for the same foreign markets. Also, both parts of the border could be affected by factors external to the region and a possible direction of investigation could be to compare these border regions with the national average data or with other borders of the two countries.

The research results indicate that there is need to increase the efficiency of the cross-border programmes in this area as to intensify the positive synergy effect on both Romanian and Ukrainian sides. The research has its limitations mostly due to the specificity of Ukrainian and Romanian statistics, but it also contains interesting findings and inspiration for the following steps of the mentioned research on cross-border cooperation. The follow up of the study in dynamic and time slots on the effects of the cross-border funds on the trade flows in the border areas along Romania-Ukraine border will focus on to effects after 2007–2013 CBC programmes and will cover 2016–2019, before pandemic period.

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## FOCUS

**Klara CZIMRE** (Debrecen) ◀▶ *Fifteen Years and Thirty Aspects*





## Fifteen Years and Thirty Aspects

*Klára CZIMRE\**

### Introduction

The high activity of the Institute for Euroregional Studies has been unbroken for the next five years following its anniversary in 2015 when the twentieth issue of the *Eurolimes* (ISSN: 1841-9259) – its journal – was published. Five years passed with the active involvement of more and more researchers considering issues related to borders, border regions and cross-border co-operations very important. The papers published in *Eurolimes* are introduced and discussed in the light of the operation of the Institute for Euroregional Studies as well as in connection with its evolution during the past fifteen years. The present study is based on the results of the analysis published in the twentieth volume in 2016 (Czimre, 2016) completing them with the achievements of the next five years. In the first volume in 2006 Ioan Horga (Oradea, Romania), one of the founding fathers of the journal, posed the question “*Why Eurolimes?*” in his introductory article (Horga, 2006), and then ten years later together with István Süli-Zakar (Debrecen, Hungary), the other founding father of this international journal, they reflected saying “*Still Eurolimes!*” (Süli-Zakar and Horga, 2016). Their joint introductory paper in the twentieth volume had a multiple meaning and message. They expressed their will to devote their work for the better understanding of borders, border regions and cross-border co-operations explaining their approach representing an evolution from balanced optimism to a kind of moderate optimism. They insisted on their views that cross-border co-operations on all levels are necessary elements in the building of Europe. The volumes of the next five years represented this notion with topics relevantly discussing the most important present-day border related issues. (**Table 1**)

**Table 1.** Basic facts on the *Eurolimes* Volumes 20–29 published between Autumn 2015 and Autumn 2020

Volume No.	Title	Number of articles (+ book reviews)	Number of pages
Volume 20	Border Cities in Europe	12 (+5)	257
Volume 21	Cross-border Co-operation in Europe between Successes and Limits	11 (+5)	245
Volume 22	Minorities and European Frontiers	11 (+7)	211
Volume 23-24	Migration at the European Borders	15 (+6)	301
Volume 25	Territorial Marketing at the European Borders	11 (+4)	191
Volume 26	The European Borders at Hundred Years after the First World War	13 (+5)	251
Volume 27-28	Cross-border Co-operation in EU Member States: Theoretical Studies and Best Practices	17 (+4)	329

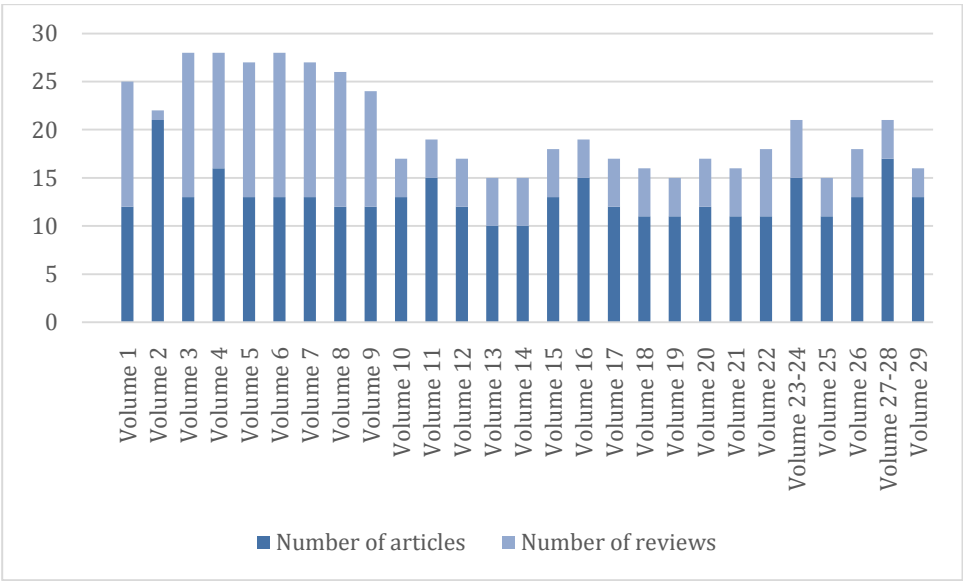
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Volume No.	Title	Number of articles (+ book reviews)	Number of pages
Volume 29	Border Regions: Area of Co-operation and Good Neighbourhoods	13 (+3)	257

A total of 103 papers and 39 book reviews were published in the ten issues focusing on eight major topics.

**Statistical overview**

During the past fifteen years altogether 350 studies and 195 book reviews were published presenting the works of altogether 459 authors. The journal has also provided a forum for as many as 195 reviews by 195 authors. (Figure 1)

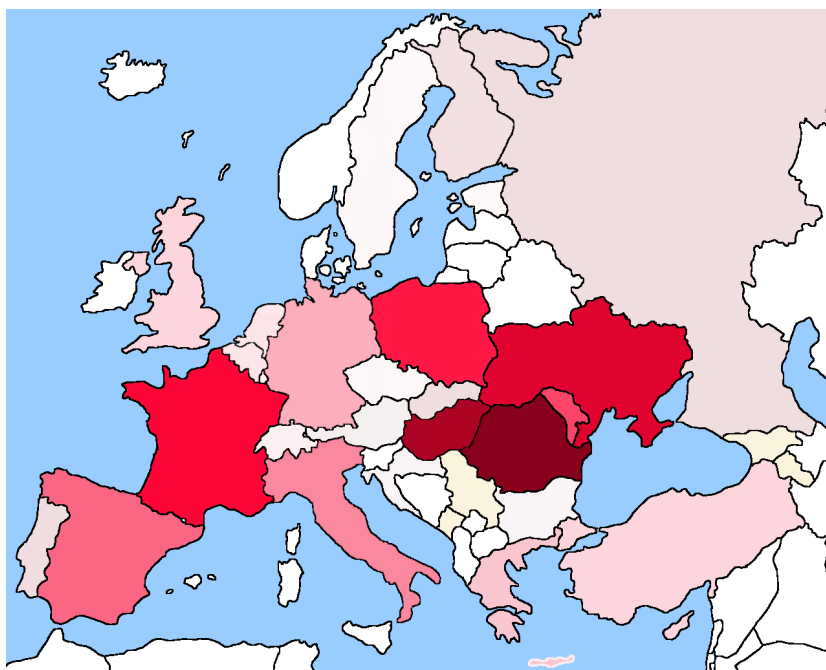


**Figure 1.** Number of publications (articles and reviews) in Eurolimes by Volume between 2006 and 2021

There were 27 volumes so far regarding that in the past five years two volumes were published together (Spring-Autumn 2017 and Spring-Autumn 2019) which actually resulted in higher page numbers culminating in Volume 27-28 with 329 pages. During the past fifteen years the articles and reviews published in the Eurolimes made up a total of 6222 pages. The number of reviews and their share in the total of papers presented in the volumes was significantly higher during the first five years, then this tendency changed and higher emphasis has been paid to the original studies in the past ten years. The number of keywords also provides interesting information, especially if we look at the occurrence of the words border, boundary, frontier and European Union – since these concepts refer to the main profile of Eurolimes. There are altogether 1579 keywords in 27 (23-24 and 27-28 are calculated as two volumes and not four) volumes (unfortunately no keywords were provided by the authors in the first two volumes) of which 124 are Europe or European Union, 111 are border or frontier, and 90 are cross-border (co-operation).

### Authors

The Eurolimes provides an opportunity for authors to publish their research results and share their ideologies from a great variety of countries from all corners of the world: from Europe to Asia and the American continents. In the so far published 27(29) volumes the authors represent 37 countries. (**Figure 2**) This has the very important message for us that the topics related to borders are universal phenomena. There were more than 10 authors from 9 countries: 30.7% of the authors from Romania, 15,8% from Hungary, 8% from Ukraine, 6,7% from France. Other European countries – including Russia and Turkey – were represented by 18% of the authors. The authors from continents other than Europe represented Israel, the USA, Canada, Guadalupe and Chile with one author each. As the numbers show, researchers from over 80% of the European countries have shared their border and cross-border approaches and results in the journal. This implies that in fifteen years the Eurolimes has become one of the most leading forums for researchers focusing on international borders all over Europe.



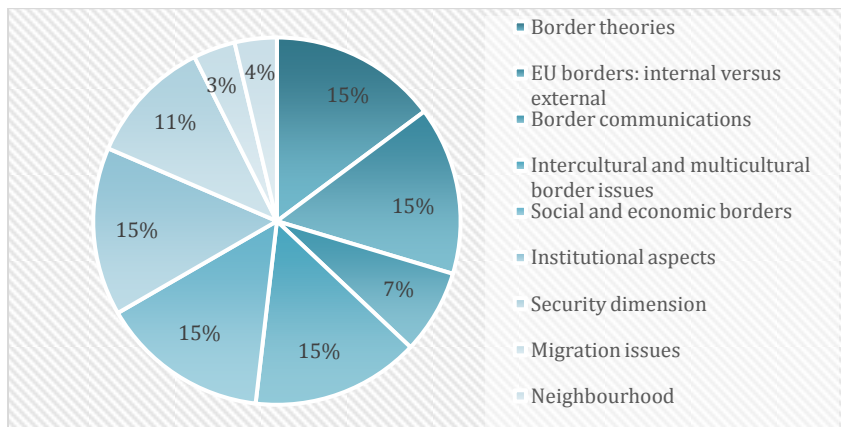
**Figure 2.** Geographical location of the European authors contributing to Eurolimes (n=32, the darker colours mark higher representation of authors)

The information on the research activities of the authors at the end of each volume opens opportunity to get an insight into their works, to follow up their activities, to make contact with them and to create cross-border research networks.

### Thematic considerations

The Eurolimes journal has thematic focuses for each volume inviting academic works from various disciplines. The themes always address such particular aspects of international as borders, border regions or cross-border relations and co-operations. These are closely related to actual political border-related topics. Strictly speaking eight basic aspects of the border problems (**Figure 3**) are addressed in the thematically organised

issues applying multidimensional methods and introducing multidisciplinary approaches. The balanced thematic division characterising the volumes allows the readers a multidimensional insight into the complex system of borders and border studies.



**Figure 3.** Thematic aspects of border problems addressed in the Eurolimes (Spring 2006 – Autumn 2020)

The common point in most papers is the strong influence of geopolitical aspects which makes both the authors and the papers co-related. The most often discussed topic was the phenomenon of the internal and external EU borders with neighbourhood and enlargement being the most frequently studied aspects.

### Volume by volume...

#### *Border theories*

During the past fifteen years there were 4 volumes where the focus of most papers was the study and analysis of **border theories** describing and introducing old and new theoretical approaches. Of these, in Volumes 1 and 10 theoretical approaches constitute the main focus. Altogether 25 articles present theoretical considerations, doubts and debates in the two volumes concentrating on the theories related to border studies. It is worth considering that at present there are 51 countries in Europe “boasting of 103 borders” which allows for at least 206 different border interpretations. Volume 1 provides a forum for authors from 10 different countries and Volume 10 for authors from 9 different countries. This means the clash of 9-11 border theories and approaches. In **Volume 1 (*Europe and its borders: theoretical and historical perspective*)** the authors’ approaches cover the historical perspectives of borders from regionalism (Süli-Zakar) to globalisation (Marczewska-Rytko). Griffiths and Quispel provide a historical perspective for border studies, while Delanty interpretes the borders from the aspect of the dynamics of openness and closure and Bideleux emphasises the *limiting character* of borders. Three studies open discourse on the significance and role of borders in earlier historical periods, Tanase from the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, Nouzille from the seventeenth century, and Sipos from the nineteenth century. The historical roots of the present-day border challenges are discussed from the aspect of the European integration processes focusing on linguistic (Climent-Ferrando), political (Nacev) and geographical (Ungureanu) issues. Missir Lusignan raises points for debates concerning the integration process of Turkey to the European Union – summing up basic information concerning the place and role of Turkey in the European political and economic realm.

**Volume 10** (*The geopolitics of European frontiers*) is an anniversary issue dedicated to the geopolitical aspects and evolution of European borders. The great variety of keywords reflects the significance of multicultural aspects in multidimensional researches within this interdisciplinary topic. (**Table 2**)

**Table 2.** Keywords used in the studies published in Eurolimes Volume 10 (Autumn 2007)

<b>border</b> boundary frontier identity Eurolimes (Horga)	<b>European Union</b> Mexico agreement <b>cooperation</b> <b>globalization</b> (Santagostino-Fornari-Bravo)	<b>European Union</b> demographic changes ageing of the population (Abrhám)	<b>border</b> <b>cooperation</b> Finland Russia Karelia region (Scott)	regionalisation <b>globalisation</b> <b>cross-border co-operation</b> trans-border region hierarchy of regions Baltic Sea region EU-Russia co-operation (Fedorov-Korneevets)
<b>security</b> <b>defence</b> <b>EU</b> reform strategy (Duna)	EU trade competitiveness trade policy global trade system US strategy of trade liberalisation (Mucha-Leszko-Kakol)	<b>European Union</b> (4) <b>security (3)</b> <b>cooperation (3)</b> <b>defence (2)</b> <b>cross-border cooperation (2)</b> <b>border (2)</b> <b>globalisation (2)</b>	<b>European Union</b> neighbourhood geopolitics security (Dolghi)	Baltic Adriatic <b>co-operation</b> corridor transport landbridge (Wendt-Wiskulski)
Turkey <b>security</b> Europe defence (Charalambides)	pivotal state buffer state limes pontic-baltic isthmus Romanian-American strategic partnership (Toboşaru)	Islam Muslims Balkan Islamic expansion (M. Császár)	territorial system Romanian-Serbian border functional system natural system (Ilieş-Dehoorne-Ilieş-Grama)	EGTC <b>cross-border cooperation</b> EGTC Oradea-Debreceen (Țoca-Popoviciu)

Nevertheless, the most often used keywords reveal the key topics in the border researches in 2007: European Union, security, defence, cooperation, cross-border cooperation, border and globalisation. These imply that the role of borders in 2007 is still most of often studied as lines of defence and zones for cooperation, that is, borders are still interpreted as dividing and connecting geopolitical entities.

At this point, it should be highlighted that at present the European Union, as the “heart of the borderless Europe,” is regarded by most of the world as a unique borderless entity with 31 external borders bordering 21 states, and as such – theoretically – It should represent a common approach to borders.

### ***EU borders: internal or external***

**Volume 2** (*From smaller to greater Europe: border identity testimonies*) presents research methods and approaches for the studying of the eastern borders of the European Union from both sides of the border. This Volume breaks several records in the history of the Eurolimes with presenting both the highest number of papers (21) and the highest number of authors<sup>1</sup> (22). Besides, the range of countries (12) represented by the authors is also the highest in comparison with any other Eurolimes Volumes published in the past fifteen years. One-third of the countries of origin of the authors publishing in the

<sup>1</sup> Exceeded only by the two double volumes: Volume 23-24 (28 authors) and Volume 27-28 (21 authors) with actually less papers (15 and 17 respectively). These, however, could also be regarded as records since the highest co-operation of authors can be observed in these two cases.

Volume are outside the EU, one-quarter are New Member States while five countries are Old Member States (*at the time of the publication of the Volume*). This resulted in a thorough geographic analysis concerning the correlation between the EU external borders and the external relations of the European Union. The effects of the first round of the eastern enlargement (2004) raised hopes as well as doubts in Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova (Skyvarova, Sturza, Fabian, Nestorovski, Banus). Most of the papers are case studies focusing on border regions in countries whose accession happened later (2007). Blomqvist, Şoproni, Faur, Balogh and Hinfray all set the Hungarian-Romanian border region into the focus of their papers. The case of Ukraine and its minority issues are addressed by Kutrzeba, Savchur, Svyetlov and Udoviyk, while the future of the Republic of Moldova – analysed by Leuca, Iatco and Dilan – is discussed from the aspect of its position with respect to the European Union. The case of Catalonia presented by Gimeno Ugalde is used as an example to encourage the regions along the new external borders. Trajkova focuses on the Western Balkans, and Gânga calls attention to the relationship between the EU and the CIS. Kozma examines the connection between place marketing and cross-border co-operations, and Komádi defines the potential roles for place marketing in border regions.

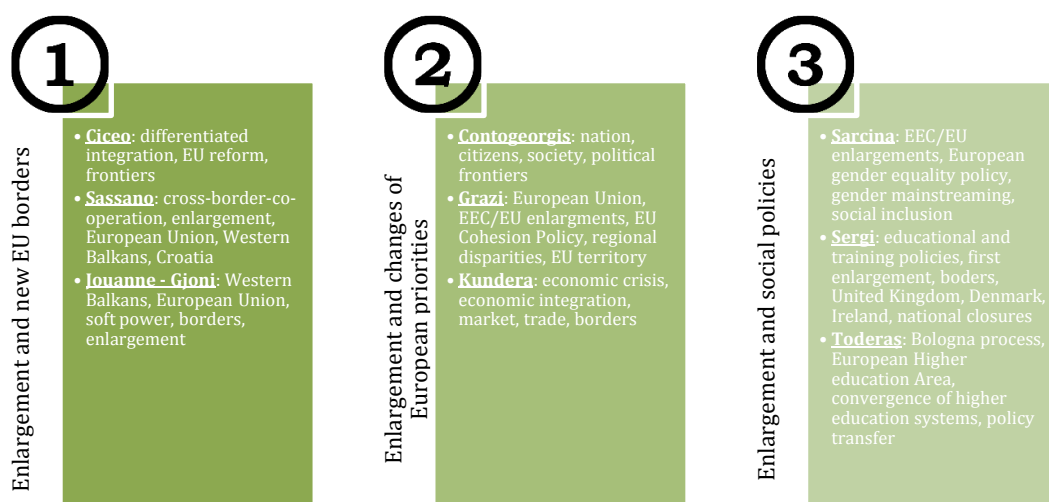
The keywords specified by the authors of **Volume 4** (*Europe from exclusive borders to inclusive borders*) reveal the most essential differences between exclusive borders and inclusive frontiers. (**Table 3**) Horga and Pantea in their Introduction to the Volume suggest that most of the authors – more specifically those from the New Member States, are more likely to apply a pragmatic perspective rather than a cosmopolitan one. The papers are grouped under three themes: (1) Europe – a Euromyth with or without borders, (2) Europe, an inclusive frontier and (3) Image and identity of the frontiers of the new Europe.

**Table 3.** Keywords used by the authors in Volume 4

<b>borders</b> conflicts peace war (Pfetsch)	multilingualism language diversity cross-border languages EU-language typology border shifts (Gimeno Ugalde)	<b>borders</b> European Union <b>Europe</b> (Maron)	migration <b>borders</b> Netherlands <b>labour market</b> illegality (Quispel)
employee <b>labour market</b> green card Interreg Phare CBC permission exemption (Csapó)	<b>frontier</b> literature openness closeness culture tradition identity (Banus)	politics <b>frontiers</b> <b>borders</b> image cultural policy (Pantea)	trafficking globalisation phenomenon transnational <b>cooperation</b> (Gavrila)
<b>borders</b> employment potential model regional inequalities road accession (Pénzes – Molnár)	totalitarianism democratization mass society totalitarian ideology propaganda (Chabanna)	cultural frontiers <b>Europe</b> common values the family (Rezsőházy)	<b>cross-border</b> <b>cooperation</b> international river basin transboundary rivers EEU actions transboundary environmental regimes (Czimre)
<b>cross-border cooperation</b> public education higher education education market <b>labour market</b> (Teperics)	security <b>border</b> crime terrorism <b>cooperation</b> (Edelstam)	EU enlargement borderlands cosmopolitanism post-communism diversity (Delanty)	euro economic policy <b>frontier</b> accession (Kundera)

As it is summed up in **Table 2**, the presence of borders is evident and distinct in several fields (labour market, employment, monetary policy, cultural policy, education, security, river management) further strengthening the interdisciplinary nature of the study of borders and frontiers.

The external borders of the European Union do not only *divide* the integration from the rest of Europe (and the rest of the world) but also *connect* it with its neighbours. **Volume 7 (*Europe and the neighbourhood*)** is dedicated to this special bond, the so called “institutionalised neighbourhood.” Duna differentiates between the two dimensions of the EU neighbourhood: the Northern and the Southern. At the same time, the author names security and cooperation which may also be interpreted as the two chief dimensions of the EU neighbourhood. Pop, Dandiş and Kocamaz discuss the Eastern neighbourhood and its relations to the EU. Sumer analyses the milestones and components of the EU-Turkey relations. Rouet suggests that the large number of nations result in diverse perceptions of Europe: “different cultural experiences led to different interpretation of Europe and its limits and accordingly, different neighbours.” Lazăr points out that neighbourhood also creates cultural diversity. Istvanfoyoa presents a unique approach by introducing the role of narrative fiction in opening borders for geographical neighbours – emphasising that “The borders that are usually the most difficult to open are those mental ones.” Côme evaluates the educational mobility programme (Erasmus) from the aspect of the impact on the perception of Europe and her neighbours. Süli-Zakar opens a discourse on the local level of neighbourhood programmes through the analysis of the role of border regions, euroregions and eurometropolises, concluding that the most important aim for effective neighbourly relations is to create an advantageous economic, innovative, academic and social climate by introducing adequate institutions. The Danube region (Gál) and the Black Sea region (Nazare), whose geostrategic significance is indisputable, are shared by several countries and require a special approach presupposing active neighbourly relations. In the article presented in the Focus section, Amaral lays down the basic argument that divides all researchers irrespectively of which discipline they represent: “...Europe has no frontiers. No physical frontiers, to be more precise. And, accordingly, no fixed identity either.” Is this Utopia or Reality? To what extent can we consider utopia in reality and vice versa?



**Figure 4.** Keywords of Volume 14 grouped by Sections

*Enlargements, Borders and the Changes of EU Political Priorities (Volume 14)* is divided into three sections focusing on the impacts of enlargement. (Figure 4) The introductory (Landuyt) and the closing (Dogot and Horga) articles include general remarks about the EU enlargement processes, challenges and priorities.

### ***Border communications***

Communication has become one of the most important tools in the global processes and activities, and it has undergone an excessively rapid development during the past decades. Its development and role reached its peak in the early 2020s due to the pandemic situation due to the COVID-19 determining all social and economic relations in these years. Volumes 3 and 12 are dedicated to the role of the various forms of conveying information across state borders. In **Volume 3 (*Media, intercultural dialogue and the new frontiers of Europe*)** the authors evaluate the role of mass media, and interrelationships between the various border issues are discussed in relation to the public media (Figure 5) leading to the presentation of borders and border regions as buffer zones in this respect, too.



**Figure 5.** Interrelationship between various border issues and the public media – as presented by the authors of Volume 3

The authors of **Volume 12 (*Communication and European frontiers*)** choose specific examples to explain the relationship between communication and globalisation (*globalisation of communication*). The information and communication policy of the European Union and the enlargement processes (2004, 2007) raised the attention of many of the authors. Martin Gonzales argues that transparency, information and communication are indispensable elements in bringing closer the citizens to the EU. Blanco Sio-Lopez



defines the motivations, strategies and discourses of EU institutional narratives, and studies the communication frontiers of the Eastern enlargement. The role of education is of specific interest in the development of communication skills and information flows: Horga lays down the fundamental points of the “Communication and Information Studies” curricula that serves as an instrument for the internal and external cross-border communication of the EU. Ciucanu aims at redefining the European borders in the context of the European Higher Education Area focusing on higher education and research. Teperics, Czimre and Pásztor look at the cross-border elements of education in the Hungarian-Romanian border region differentiating between formal and informal communications. The media market and the economic implications of the media are also analysed: Vukanovic investigates the factors for a successful FDI inflow into the South East Europe media market for western investors, and Soproni makes an attempt at redefining the borders of financial communication at the time of the world economic crisis. Dolghi and Oliva suggest that public speech and mass communication can be used by the political elites as a tool to induce and influence public perception. Contogeorgis sets cultural diversity and the political systems into the focus of his paper while interpreting them from the aspect of the media. Region specific studies are provided by Stoica and Mărcuț (Communication with and between the citizens of the EU using the Basque community in the Spanish-French border region) and Piatkiewicz (Romanian “media landscape” to illustrate the regulations of press freedom). Radics, Kulcsár and Kozma point out the significance of settlement level communication in the tourism and renewable energy projects implemented in the Hungarian-Romanian border region.

### ***Intercultural and multicultural border issues***

Religion, intercultural dialogue, ethnic issues, minorities... all belong to the topic of multicultural borders. Volumes 5, 6, 9 and 22 are organised around these themes where the historical perspectives and the present-day experiences are both included. In **Volume 5 (*Religious frontiers of Europe*)** four of the papers discuss the historical roots of the development of religious borders in Europe (Idel, Pop, Șipos and Gumenâi), while Marczevska-Rytko, Kocsis, Dufoulon and Contogeorgis focus on the politics and religion in the enlarged EU in their works. The third Section in this Volume is dedicated to interreligious dialogue where Santagostino, Ioan and Mircea Brie, Cabrè and Preda share their research results with regard to the Islamic situation in Europe, the European ecumenical movement, the Muslims in Spain and Christianity and the limits of Europe. Antes examines in his paper how the religious borders in Europe tend to disappear both externally and internally.

Following on with the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008), **Volume 6** was published in the Autumn under the title “***Intercultural dialogue and the European space***” with contributors focusing on (1) Europe as the space and the memory of cultural and human diversity, (2) the space of the European Union and interculturality, (3) and life at the European borders. The complexity of interculturalism is reflected in the great variety of approaches introduced by the authors. Banús reaches back to the religious heritage of Europe, Dogot discusses the cultural theories represented by Denis de Rougemont. The case of the Carpathian Euroregion cross-border cooperation is investigated from the aspect of cultural diversity through the importance of civil society participation in cultural cooperation (Chabanna). Ethnic issues, minorities and migration movements are the central questions in many of the papers with varying geographical scopes (Portugal: Pinheiro, European Union: Șaptefrați, Romania: Hofmann, Slovakia:

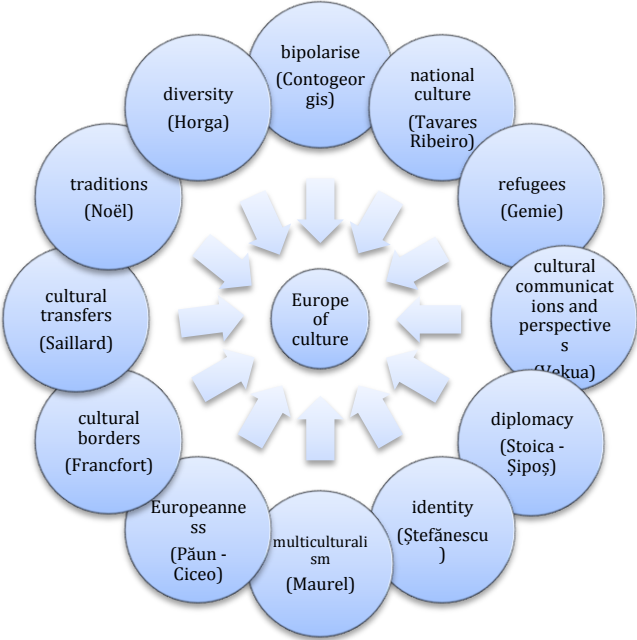
Morávková). Swiebel explores the meaning of the concept of diversity in EU policies and legislation. The cultural diversity of Hungary is approached from different aspects starting with Csüllög’s social geographical analysis of the effects of the early spatial organisation of Hungary. Michalkó and Illés reveal the nexus between international tourists, migrants and real estate purchasers arriving to Hungary with a focus on the relationship between real estate purchase-oriented mobility and interculturality. Tagai, Péntes and Molnár investigate the theoretical effects of the most important economic centres on the border areas of Hungary. The future of Moldova is discussed by Țicu being the “New Abroad” on the border of the Russian Federation and the European Union.

Alina Stoica and Mircea Brie claim in their introductory article to **Volume 9** (*The cultural frontiers of Europe*) that “The cultural borders are basically contact areas that provide communication and cooperation, without being boundaries between European peoples or cultures.” The papers in this Volume are organised into three sections which are closely interconnected. (**Table 4**)

**Table 4.** The main points addressed in the three sections in Volume 9

(1)	<b>The birth and evolution of the intercultural frontiers concept</b>	an explanatory approach to the idea of cultural border, chosen by the authors to follow its evolution in time
(2)	<b>The Europe of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue</b>	study cases that cover the dimension of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue
(3)	<b>Artistic intercultural expressions</b>	states that the cultural difference appears as a legitimization of territorial-political structures

Stoica and Brie also formulate the basic questions: “So what is the Europe of culture? What are the contents, the meaning, the project?” The answers provided by the contributors reflect the multidimensional character of the topic which can be the most effectively handled with the comparison of the keywords used in the papers. (**Figure 6**)



**Figure 6.** Keywords explaining the contents, meaning and the project of the Europe of culture in Volume 9

The Focus study at the end of Volume 9 is a conceptual-epistemological analysis of the European cultural borders. In this paper Horga and Brie conclude that “The existence of national cultural areas does not exclude the existence of a common European cultural area. In fact, it is precisely this reality that confers the European area a special cultural identity.” This is actually what the “Europe of cultures” is about, and this is how the cultural frontiers of Europe should be interpreted on all levels.

**Volume 22** has a directed focus to the issue of minority (*Minorities and European Frontiers*) approaching it from three specific aspects. (**Table 5**)

**Table 5.** Minority issues from the aspect of integration in Volume 22

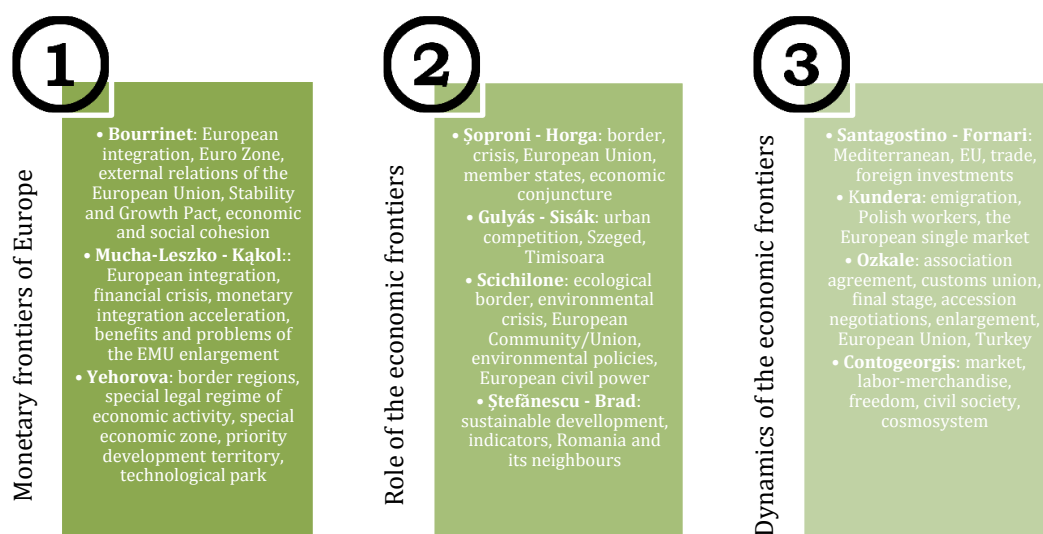
<b>Topic</b>	<b>Keywords</b>	<b>Geographical scope</b>
<i>education</i>	Hungarian education, vocational education, foreign citizen students, catchment area, distribution of students (Jász)	Hungary-Romania
<i>language</i>	language policies, minority, minority language, public policies, the Armenian language (Iorgulescu)	Romania
<i>Roma population</i>	Roma, integration, education, human resources, Hungarian-Romanian border region (Kóti)	Hungary-Romania
<i>ethnicity</i>	ethnicity, Central Europe, Ukraine, Transcarpathia, social-constructivism, minorities, Rusyn (Huszarik)	Ukraine-Hungary-Romania
<i>political representation</i>	ethnic minority, ethnic parties, minority representation, Territorial Autonomous Unit of Gagauzia (Putină and Iațco)	Moldova
<i>emigration and political strategy</i>	ethnic Turks, migration, Bulgaria (Peeva)	Bulgaria-Turkey
<i>migration crisis – political discourse</i>	critical discourse analysis, Angela Merkel, Wilkommenskultur, Wir schaffen das, migration rhetoric (Mészáros)	European Union
<i>migration crisis – EU law enforcement</i>	refugees, Dublin system, Turkey-EU (Sirca)	European Union, Turkey
<i>national minorities</i>	minority, integration, ethnical, confessional, national (Polgár)	Romania, Hungary
<i>minority right policies</i>	bilateral relations, European Union, Europeanisation, minority rights, Romania, Serbia (Anghelescu)	European Union, Romania, Serbia

The special relevance of the articles in Volume 22 published in Autumn 2016 includes references to the refugee/migration crisis beginning in 2015 – creating special circumstances for all (old and new) minority groups in Europe.

### ***Social and economic borders***

The social and economic borders were addressed in four thematic issues during the fifteen years history of Eurolimes. Volumes 8, 13, 17 and 25 are dedicated to the impacts of social and economic frontiers approached from several perspectives in various geographical settings.

**Europe and its economic frontiers (Volume 8)** specifies the role and dynamics of economic frontiers, with the monetary frontiers in its centre in Section 1, and the role and dynamics of economic frontiers in Sections 2 and 3. Šoproni and Horga in their introductory paper formulated the fundamental questions that constitute the focus of economic frontiers: “What is the role played by the Euro, both in the European and the global economy? What is the impact of the international financial crisis upon the economy of the European Union on the one hand and upon the countries within the Euro zone on the other hand? How attractive are the European countries for foreign investors and how could one gain access to the European market? How strong are the administrative frontiers of the EU countries, as regards their influence upon the economic politics of neighbouring states? What are the ecologic frontiers? What is the new global economic order and what are its pitfalls? How could the relationship between states, markets and societies be defined in the contemporary world? What is the meaning of democracy today?” The answers to these questions are found in the three sections. (Figure 7)



**Figure 7.** Keywords defining the three sections in Volume 8

Finally, Marga gives the answer to the last question in his explanation of how democracy changed through history connecting reform, culture, education and communication with contemporary democracy.

**Volume 13 (Permeability and Impermeability of Socio-Economic Frontiers within European Union)** is the second among the Eurolimes volumes that specifically dealt with economic issues. Dogot, in her introduction to the Volume, establishes that the social and economic perspectives have many conceivable influences in common, especially the different economic situation of the EU member states. The papers are organised under three themes accordingly. The three studies in Section 1 (*European social environment and the new economic challenges*) are focused around (1.1) wage coordination, euro-syndicalism, European minimum wage, European trade union federation, European Union (Dufresne); (1.2) borders, frontiers, electronic frontier, European Union, Digital Agenda for Europe, globalisation, ICT (Mărcuț and Šoproni); and (1.3) Corporate Social Responsibility, sustainability (CSR), EU strategy on CSR, corporate culture, stakeholder dialogue, CSR strategy (Büchner). The papers presented in

Section 2 (*Transnational economic and social Europe*) cover areas like (2.1) market, services, country, origin, trade (Santagostino); (2.2) Polish economic development, economic frontier, liberalisation of Polish market, economic growth (Kundera); and (2.3) EU internal migration, cross-border labour, transnationalisation, renationalisation, labour and social rights (Batal and Delteil). The last Section (*South-East Europe, a new land of economic and social permeability?*) is even more specific in its choice of topics: (3.1) multinational firms, labour-management relations, HR policies, institutions, comparative analyses France-CEECs (Dieuaide); (3.2) EU enlargements, Central and Eastern Europe economic catching-up, economic crisis, migrations (Guyader); and (3.3) demographic tendencies, ethnic change, income, Northeastern Hungary, peripheries, Roma population (Pásztor, Péntes and Bántó). The Focus Section is a reinterpretation of the rise of populism in Europe where Delteil construes populism as part of a political operation intended to convert social issues into a question of identity.

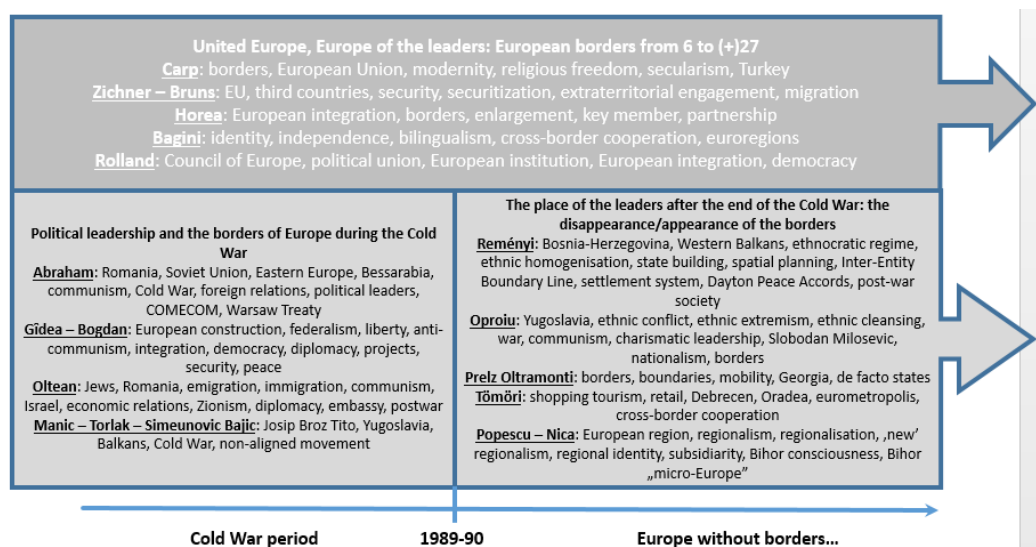
**The social frontiers of Europe (Volume 17)** includes works of researchers studying the nature, structure, form and image of the social borders revealing the complexity of the European social space (Brie and Pantea). The great variety of the social sphere is reflected in the multitude of perspectives used in the approaches of the authors. *Welfare and social inclusion* (Section 1) is discussed by Péntes, Pálóczi and Pásztor in their work “Social frontiers in Hungary in the mirror of the centre-periphery dichotomy of incomes,” Ciot in “Persons with disabilities and eliminating the social barriers”, and Mucha-Leszko and Kałol in “Welfare states in Europe or the European welfare state. *New paradigms of social frontiers in the EU* (Section 2) includes Mărcuț’s “Social inclusion and social frontiers in the digital age – How can EU’s digital agenda help?”, Oros and Stoica’s “Social borders at the edge of EU. Canary Islands, Réunion, Guiana and Azores” and Eylemer’s “The social impact of the Eurozone crisis on European integration: emerging social frontiers in the European Union?”. The papers contributed to Section 3, entitled *Ethnicity and social frontiers*, discuss the multi-ethnic Moldovan case (Putină: “Real and imagined borders in the multi-ethnic states – The Republic of Moldova Case”), the Roma in Romania (Brie and Dărăbăneanu: “Ethnic identity and social borders. The case of the Roma in Romania”), the Roma in France (Iov: “The ‘frontiers’ of Roma’s social integration in the EU. Case study: the Roma issues in France”), the Roma population in Southeast Europe (Süli-Zakar, Czimre and Pálóczi: Social frontiers between the Roma minorities and mainstream population in Southeast Europe [The rough ways of the Roma integration]), and student mobility to Rome (Montanari and Staniscia: “International tertiary students: is Rome an attractive destination?”). Contogeorgis in the Focus Section discusses the meaning of citizens, citizenship and cosmosystems.

**Volume 25** (Spring 2018) presents papers of a specific aspect of social and economic aspects of borders, with a topic which connects these two areas requiring co-operation at all levels (*Territorial marketing at the European borders*). The usual division into three sections offers different dimensions: starting out with the problem of place marketing and branding presenting two papers from the same border region but from two different urban centres from each side (Oradea – Şoproni and Debrecen – Kozma and Molnár), and a cross-border region from the Ukrainian-Polish border (Stadnytskyi, Pasternak and Demedyuk). The second Section focuses on digitalisation and the role and future of digital Europe, and as such it offers the greatest geographical variety with examples brought from Romania and Germany by Mărcuț, Poland and Georgia by Gubashvili and Stawinoga, and Moldova and Ukraine by Plămădeală and Senyuk. The importance of digitalisation in the development and sustainability of cities and regions is

clearly summed up by Mărcuț “cities or regions must also create a tech-friendly climate in order to attract investment, which can come in many forms: tourism, innovation, manufacturing, research, etc.” Cities or regions have become entities eligible for funding, using their budget not only for development but also for selling themselves (marketing and branding) and thus creating an attractive environment for all. Eastern Partnership is the key topic discussed by the next three papers in Volume 22 which is one of the most important parts of the EU foreign policy at its external borders. The high interest of the European Union in its eastern neighbours is reflected in its favourable regional policy including such elements as the European Neighbourhood Instrument or the diplomatic relations with these third countries. Protsyk and Petelca looks at the Romanian-Ukrainian bilateral relations, while Czuczor and Rusu focus on a more problematic topic, the Russian pressure influencing the external relations of the Black Sea region. Siudek calls attention to the energy dimension of the Eastern Partnership reminding the readers of energy dependence and its consequences. For the European Union, it is crucial to maintain – even via financial support from the EU budget – safe and continuous energy supply. The research work presented in the Focus Section by Horga and Pop demonstrates how cities and regions can reach the level of CBC communities relying on proximity and marketing.

### *Institutional aspects*

**Volume 11 (*Leaders of the Borders, Borders of the Leaders*)** “focuses on two important issues of the contemporary world: political leadership and the European frontiers” (Dogot-Perchoc-Tóké). The three sections are organised around the fact that the European continent has seen several modifications in its borders and the political leaders are most often the key figures of these changes. The greatest merit of this Volume is that the different periods are seen from the aspect of several countries, thus allowing for multinational comparisons, arguments and conclusions. The keywords also reflect the complexity of the approaches providing clear images of the relationship between the political leaders and the border changes during the given periods. (**Figure 8**)



**Figure 8.** Timeline of the changes in the institutional aspects of borders as presented in the three sections in Volume 11

In the final paper, Busek reinforces the introductory thoughts and the message of most of the studies: “Moving borders was in every century a characteristic of politics”.

In **Volume 16** (*Cross-border governance and the borders evolutions*) the institutionalised nature of borders and cross-border co-operations is approached from the side of cross-border governance. In her introductory study Stoica sets the scene by explaining how the cross-border and transnational initiatives of the past twenty years helped to improve border permeability (in terms of economic, cultural, institutional, environmental, social and infrastructural development). These initiatives may be regarded as the most relevant elements of institutionalisation. The papers are grouped into four sections based on their relevance to cross-border institutional processes. (**Table 6**)

**Table 6.** Summary of the four sections in Volume 16

The impact of the frontier upon community building	The new ways of mapping borders in addition to the geopolitical perspective
<p><b>Gulyás – Bali:</b> From the coexistence of border zones to integration: characteristics of Croatian-Hungarian border relations from 1945 until today</p> <p><b>Kruglashov:</b> Euroregion Upper Prut: studies and activities</p> <p><b>Polese:</b> The socio-economic function of borders, evidence from EU neighbourhood countries</p> <p><b>Pop:</b> On multilevel governance and the local authorities’ role in implementing the EU’s policy on borders</p>	<p><b>Süli-Zakar–Tőkés–Lenkey:</b> The operation and development of CBC institutions along the Hungarian-Romanian border in the light of the research results of Institute for Euroregional Studies (IERS) Debrecen-Oradea</p> <p><b>Hernández I Sagrera:</b> EU-neighbourhood cross-border cooperation: fostering border management as a condition for increased mobility</p> <p><b>Molochko:</b> Current trends of cross-border cooperation of Ukraine and Romania</p>
<p><b>Perrin:</b> La gouvernance culturelle dans les eurorégions: enjeux et dynamiques</p> <p><b>Chabanna:</b> Cross-border governance in the Carpathian Euroregion: institutional dimension of decision-making</p> <p><b>Guyader:</b> L’intégration économique des pays d’Europe centrale et orientale</p> <p><b>Cugleşan:</b> Regional decentralisation in Romania and its impact on cross-border cooperation</p>	<p><b>Astroza Suárez:</b> Bonne gouvernance: un espace pour la diplomatie subétatique dans la coopération transfrontalière?</p> <p><b>Faria e Castro:</b> Governance, Insularity and EU external dimension</p> <p><b>Oros:</b> Governance of the external borders of the European Union</p>
The factors that enhance or hinder cross-border cooperation	The spatial dimension of borders, including maritime spaces

Carlos E. Pacheco Amaral in his Focus study explores the concept of frontier, more exactly its relation to power and political community. He concludes that the different political communities “require frontiers equally differentiated” not only in history but also in the contemporary world.

**Volume 19** (*Border Cities in Europe*) is geographically the most specified issue in the history of the journal. Țoca introduces the topic through the explanation of the concept of borders, finally concluding that cities that are situated on two sides of the same border can develop on common goals and strategies. He calls attention to the case of Oradea and Debrecen: “two small cities that face strong competition in the region from more developed growth poles that have decided to develop together in certain areas in order to become more competitive in a national and regional context.” In Section 1 border cities are investigated through the examples of three different parts of Europe. Papapolyviou and Kentas discuss the case of the capital of Cyprus, Nicosia, which is a unique example of dividedness. Kurkina analyses borderland identities in Slovakia, arguing that the urban space of Bratislava is an area contested by several national groups and uses the “mental borderland” category instead of the geographical one. Fedorov, Belova and Osmolovskaya from Kaliningrad comment on the future role of Kaliningrad oblast of Russia as an “international development corridor.” The cities in the first three



papers are all analysed with respect to the positive and negative effects of the border position in economic, social and political terms. Section 2 operates with a wider area when the situation and development of the cities are discoursed with respect to their position and role in border regions. Turşie identifies the narratives used by Marseille-Provence and Pécs as European Capitals of Culture and concludes that both cities tried to reorient their geography in order to place themselves in a central position – instead of their peripheral situation. Țoca and Pocola explore history, demography, development strategies, institutional and conceptual limitations and cross-border cooperation frameworks that help to define Oradea as a border city. Süli-Zakar and Kecskés investigate the historical borders and cross-border connections and processes that resulted in the development of the cultural traditions of Debrecen and Oradea. The authors suggest that there is not only a common past but there is also common future for the two cities while forming a cross-border Eurometropolis (DebOra). The last section consists of four papers introducing four frontier cities: Sarajevo (Troncotă), Chernivtsi (Kruglashov), Izmir (Eylemer and Memişoğlu) and Tiraspol (Cucerescu and Roșca). Horga and Costea study the issue of frontier/border cities in order to highlight the differences between them and to analyse how the border/frontier affect their environment. At the end, they conclude that regardless of the current international development and the globalisation effect, borders/frontiers still exist both physically and symbolically.

Țoca and Czimre in the introductory paper of **Volume 21** claim that “the European Union with its border policy endeavours at healing the scars and strengthening the perfections” referring to the legal and financial instruments for the improvement of cross-border relations provided by the various EU institutions lead to successful management. The title of the Volume (*Cross-border co-operation in Europe between successes and limits*) also refers to this unique European phenomenon with papers focusing on borders from an institutional perspective: (1) euroregions, (2) CBC programmes, (3) and co-operating institutions in border regions. (**Figure 9**)



**Figure 9.** Grouping of keywords used by authors in Volume 21

(1) Molle provides an analysis of two euroregions (Euregio and Maas-Rhine Euroregion) along the borders of the Netherlands which are the prototypes of all institutionalised cross-border co-operations. The western examples along EU internal borders are followed by Prytula’s and Kalat’s paper on an easternmost Euroregion, the “Euroregion Upper Prut” which they claim to be one of the oldest but also one of the least



significant cross-border co-operations with the participation of Ukrainian regions. Their critical comparative evaluation sets a good example for similar studies to find out more about the reasons for certain cross-border co-operations not proving to be effective despite all efforts. Süli-Zakar analysis of the history of Eastern European cross-border cooperations concludes that one of the most important breaking-out points for the lagging behind regions in Eastern Europe is the diminishment of the dividing role of state borders and the strengthening of the external relations along the borders.

(2) Pachocka focuses on one of the priorities of ENI CBC Poland-Belarus-Ukraine 2014–2020, namely the promotion of border management and border security, mobility and migration management, thus calling attention to one of the most important issues related to the external borders of the European Union. Cucerescu analyses the impacts of Eastern Partnership from another angle in another EU external border region discussing cross-border initiatives and projects in Eastern Europe. Jora takes us to the southern neighbours of the European Union highlighting the importance of cultural and academic exchange programmes in strengthening good neighbourly relations. Mărcuț's paper focuses on the specific means in which cross-border cooperation projects have used the Internet.

(3) Găvăneci looks at the relationship between mass media and mental mapping, more exactly he investigates the relationship between the mediated images from border regions and the institutional practices in trans-border cooperation in the Estonian-Russian border region. Mészáros evaluates police cooperation between Hungary and Romania in the fight against cross-border financial crime (as cross-border crime in general is considered to be a component of organised crime) focusing on the collaboration between Hajdú-Bihar and Bihor counties. Study-driven international migration is dynamically increasing all over the world, and Czimre, Țoca, Hegedűs and Teperics compare the characteristics of diploma mobility and the mobility of Erasmus students with respect to the universities of the cities of Debrecen and Oradea from the aspect of cross-border cooperation.

### *Security dimension*

In the introductory paper in **Volume 15** (*A security dimension as trigger and result of frontiers modifications*) Dolghi in his conclusion raises the following questions: “Is it security reasoning that shapes the meaning of borders or the new meaning of borders shapes security perceptions?... whose security and what kind of security? To what extent the borders and frontiers are to be scientifically approached as independent variables, or as consequences of transformation?” As security is interpreted in various ways, therefore it is recommended to approach the topic through the keywords used by the authors, and to search for the common points which make up for security in the European Union. (**Table 7**)

**Table 7.** The concept of the security dimension in the light of the keywords in Volume 15

<b>European Union, enlargement, security, borders, neighbourhood</b> (Dolghi)	<b>European Union, borders, security, cooperation, police, judicial</b> (Dolghi – Bogdan)	borders, <b>security</b> , nation politics, Common Foreign and Security Policy, European Security and Defence Policy (Frangakis)	Balkans, historical spatial structure, buffer zones, Islam, Osman Empire, ethnics (Csüllögh – M. Császár)
<b>European Union, Moldova, Ukraine, Russian Federation, Eastern Partnership, association agreement, custom union</b> (Ghimis)	<b>FOCUS</b>  <b>European Union integration enlargement security neighbourhood</b>		border, dismemberment, frontier, independence, indivisibility, secession, separation, separatism, statehood, territorial integrity, unity, uti possidetis (Vahlas)
Arab Spring, illegal migration,			border, <b>security</b> , interstate relations,

<b>European Union, enlargement, security, borders, neighbourhood</b> (Dolghi)	<b>European Union, borders, security, cooperation, police, judicial</b> (Dolghi – Bogdan)	borders, <b>security</b> , nation politics, Common Foreign and Security Policy, European Security and Defence Policy (Frangakis)	Balkans, historical spatial structure, buffer zones, Islam, Osman Empire, ethnics (Csüllögh – M. Császár)
global approach to migration and mobility, Schengen border package (Mészáros)	<b>(Laschi)</b>		agreement, cooperation (Nechayeva-Yuriychuk)
<b>integration</b> , national and international security, interdependence, security policies, community policies (Afanas)	border, barrier function, contact function, Kaliningrad region, exclave, development corridor, Russian Federation, Poland, Lithuania, <b>European Union</b> (Fedorov – Rozhkov-Yuryevsky)	Post-Cold War Europe, Eastward enlargement, Baltic States, Trans-Atlantic relations, <b>security</b> (Blanco Sio-Lopez)	energy security, trans-boundary threats, geopolitics of resources (Rocco)

Most authors treat security as an indispensable element for the operation of the European integration. As the great diversity of studies shows it, the sources of threats to security vary on a wide scale from natural to human elements. Nevertheless, there is more or less one common notion in this respect: the question of security is essentially linked to (state) borders. Borders may be tools to protect and preserve security, and at the same time may as well serve as spaces for cross-border cooperation with security effects.

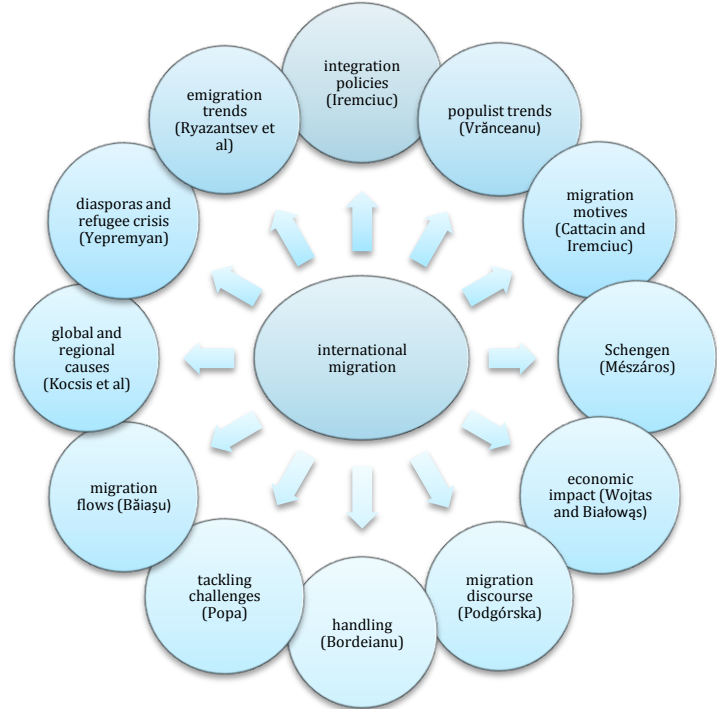
The security dimension is approached from three new aspects in **Volume 18** (*The security dimension of European frontier vs the legitimacy of political priorities of EU and EU Member States' national preferences*). Dolghi lays down the theoretical basis of borders and the shaping of security, preferences and legitimacy in Europe in the introductory study, and the next eleven papers provide details and practical interpretation unfolding the theoretical roots. What does security and insecurity mean for the citizens of the European Union? Where do they see the threats? What is security for the states outside the EU? Where and how could they find it? In *Europe and its Eastern neighbourhood* (Section 1) Dolghi examines the EU-Russia relations in the context of the Ukrainian crisis, Rotaru analyses the importance of the Vilnius Summit for the Eastern partnership through the “common neighbourhood”, and finally Țicu reveals through the example of the Republic of Moldova that societal identity and cohesion may also be sources of instability thus threatening societal security. *Security, securitization and de-bordering of the European Union* (Section 2) is a reflection and reaction to the potential threats to the EU. Duna and Dăncuță advocate the necessity of restarting the debate surrounding the development of a strong European common defence policy (1) focusing on the question of national (Member State) preferences with regard to security and defence and (2) applying a geostrategic approach for the eastern borders of the EU. Găvănesci looks at the Pskov oblast to illustrate cross-border cooperation and mass media influence along the Russian-Estonian border. Melnychuk discusses the relations between Ukraine and Romania through the social evolution of Romanian speakers in Northern Bukovina (Ukraine). Bogdan, Mera and Oroian argue that the connection between migration and security should be seen as the dichotomy of natives and migrants, pointing out that in most cases immigrants and refugees have become the main sources of insecurity. The third section (*Identity, interests and preferences: from Western Balkans to South Caucasus*) seeks to find answers to the questions of “the effectiveness of the peacekeeping process and of international interventions in post-conflict areas and their contribution to a more stable

peace” (Mészáros), reveals “difficulties to implement and follow European rules in States headed by ethnic tensions, inefficient fight against local threats, and marked by uncertain future” (Douçot-Rubigny), attempts to explain “European are Georgian and Moldovan people” as Georgia and Moldova are the only states of the Eastern Partnership with European aspirations. In the Focus Section Horga and Costea argue that “the EU seems to be still incapable of fully managing the security level at its frontiers although claiming to be a global player.”

The *European borders at Hundred Years after the First World War (Volume 26)* is a special anniversary issue devoted to the discussion of the events, processes and phenomena determining international relations all over Europe and the world. The structure of the Volume provides grouping for three topics. In the first one, four studies focus on *Europe of Rehabilitation*, *Europe of Rediscovery* by Alliès, Mészáros, Büchner and Vasiloni representing four different approaches and backgrounds. The essence of the events leading to the current European situation can be summed up by the words of Alliès: “The border was invented in Europe and flourished there with the nation-states... The European Union is taken in the contradiction of a space without borders and an indefiniteness of limits.” In her research, Mészáros reveals that the security policy in the current European Union is the consequence of the situation created by the first and second world wars resulting in a need for *new* frontiers. Büchner among other things analyses “... a success story about how in a century of time enemy countries can develop themselves to nations with equal rights, without losing their political and cultural identity.” referring to the Franco-German friendship. Vasiloni discusses the issue of national minorities in depth with regard to the Romanian minority living in Hungary and the Hungarian minority living in Romania. The related negotiations, dialogues, laws and communications are supported by documents and data helping to understand the difficulties and opportunities that minorities face (and might face).

### ***Migration issues***

In the past five years the topics related to migration became the research focus of more and more scientific activities, and thus first a double volume in 2017 (Spring-Autumn) set migration as its theme. In *Migration at the European borders (Volume 23-24)* Chirodea raises a very important question in her introductory article: “Migration – a factor of development or destabilisation?” It is the question of how we approach the impacts of migration, whether it is seen as a positive or a negative process. The following twelve papers provide explanation, show evidence or even debate the possible consequences of the movement of people generating changes in society. (**Figure 10**) Bordeianu sums up an important message “Migration is a process that should be handled, not a problem that should be solved.” recalling Romanian National Strategy for immigration for 2015–2018.



**Figure 10.** Keywords defining migration at the European borders in Volume 23-24

The fourth section of this Volume is dedicated to the memory of István Süli-Zakar (1945–2017) who was a social geographer from Debrecen, building a border research scientific community in the region and one of the founding fathers of Eurolimes. Czímre sums up his life and work, and Horga and Ilieş relate to the special relationship between Professor relationship and Oradea.

*Neighbourhood*

The papers in **Volume 29** (*Border regions: area of cooperation and good neighbourhoods*) approach the Eastern borders of the European Union basically in three ways thus providing a thorough analysis of the neighbourhood (policy). (**Table 8**)

**Table 8.** Thematic division of Volume 29

Section	Theme	Authors	Keywords
theoretical	migration	Myl and Mucea	migration, refugee, human rights, FRONTEX
		Khymynets and Tsimbolynets	labour migration, remittances, savings, decentralization, investments
	child trafficking	Farruku and Özcan	Albania, child trafficking, push factors, poverty, culture norms
	East vs. West	Sălăjan	ontological security, memory, trauma, Eastern, Western, post-communism
cross-border co-operation	EU candidate countries	Salihu and Mileski	geopolitics, cross-border cooperation, EU, Kosovo, North Macedonia, IPA
	economic development	Şlusarciuc	cross-border regions, common strategic development, roadmap, institutional system

Section	Theme	Authors	Keywords
	investment	Bocoi	foreign direct investment, Romanian-Hungarian border, common space for development
	peaceful relations	Lindh and Forsell	differentiated Europeanisation, cross-border relations, boundaries, borders, Sweden, Norway
<b>EU Eastern border</b>	innovative communities	Horga	Regional Innovation System, Eastern European border, cross-border communities, universities, innovation
	cross-border cooperation	Prytula, Demedyuk and Kalat	Lvivska oblast, border region, cross-border clusters, euroregions, the European Neighbourhood Instrument, cross-border cooperation
	border perception	Tabeshadze	European Union, border, non-EU states, divider, unifier
	multilateral cooperation	Dogot	EU's leadership, multilateral cooperation, regional policies, Eastern Partnership

The external borders of the European Union and its neighbourhood policy has gained more and more attention after the fifth enlargement. Most authors in this Volume concentrate on the analysis of relations between the European Union and the countries outside it. There is a clear difference between the various external borders depending on whether they separate the EU from candidate countries or states which have no aspirations (or chance) to join the EU. The great diversity of case studies makes this Volume special and multidimensional.

### ***Book reviews***

In addition to the altogether 350 articles published, the 29 volumes also present 195 book reviews. The first nine volumes (except for Volume 2 with only one review but the number of articles was excessively high – 21 – in that issue) contain 12-15 reviews each, while from Volume 10 their number varies around four and five. The aim of the reviews is to introduce recent publications which are related to the thematic issues and could be of interest to study more in depth.

### ***Closing remarks***

The present study demonstrates the productive and far-reaching publication activities of the *Eurotimes* Journal of the Institute for Euroregional Studies (“Jean Monnet” European Centre of Excellence) edited in cross-border cooperation between the University of Oradea and the University of Debrecen in the past fifteen years. *Eurotimes* is indexed in various databases, namely Ebscohost, ProQuest, CEEOL, Index Copernicus, Gesis Socioguide, and CNCSIS. The thematic breakdown revealed eight chief areas that are addressed by the contributing researchers. These areas are all relevant and fit in the mainstream European research activities on borders. As the analysis of the keywords of the selected Volumes suggests, the applied research methods and approaches are multidimensional and multidisciplinary allowing for a deep insight into the international scene of border researches.

Ten years ago in Volume 10 Professor Ioan Horga, the editor-in-chief of *Eurotimes*, raised the question: “*Eurotimes*, where to?” I am certain that *Eurotimes*

reached its goals and is on the best way to continue the presentation of border-related researches whichever direction the development of borders takes in the next decades.

### **References**

All references made in the paper can be found in Volumes 1-29 of the Eurolimes Journal. Volume numbers and the names of the authors are indicated respectively.

## **Book review**

**Cristina-Maria DOGOT** (Oradea) ◀▶ *The European Union*  
– *From Concept to an Extended Reality*





## The European Union – From Concept to an Extended Reality

*Cristina-Maria DOGOT*<sup>1</sup>

**Review of:** *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, edited by Florentina Chirodea, Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Luminița Șopron, Alina Stoica, and Klára Czimre. Oradea; Debrecen: Oradea University Press; Debrecen University Press, 2021. ISBN 978-606-10-2138-3; ISBN 978-963-490-295-9.

Since the end of the IWW, the concept of a united Europe has attracted increasing interest both amongst the intellectual and political elite and scholars from different fields. After the fall of the communist regimes, the idea of European unity returned to the eastern space, including the University of Oradea, where, due to the vision and determination of Professor Ioan Horga, it materialized into a faculty of international relations and European studies and a center of research in the same field. The numerous scientific events organized in this new institutional framework have brought together, since 2003, specialists from various domains of the humanities and social sciences from many European university centers. Some of these specialists (Iordan Gheorghe Bărbulescu, Klára Czimre, Ludmila Roșca, Gabriel Moisa, Mihai Drecin, Antonio Faur) have found the opportunity to write a few words and recall an academic relationship in which they believed and to the consolidation of which they have contributed on numerous occasions, and we are grateful that they have often broken their time to support with their knowledge and experience a young and affirming group. Other specialists have decided to make another contribution to the development of the Oradea School of International Relations and European Studies through their own contributions to this volume, and for this reason, we are also grateful to mention them in this review of their work in honor of Professor Ioan Horga.

The present volume has a special objective, that of paying homage to a professor who laid the foundations of European studies at the University of Oradea, a university founded in 1964 but which developed mainly after the fall of the communist regime. The volume proposes a collection of 33 articles, belonging to specialists from different areas of European studies but also specialists in political sciences, economics, law, history, geography, philosophy, and languages. The articles, which cover a wide range of topics and are written in English, French, and Romanian, are divided into three sections: *European Union – Values, identities and influences*, *Regional Cooperation and European Borders*, and *România la frontiera estică a Europei* [Romania at the Eastern border of Europe].

The first section of the book contains historical, philosophical, and cultural studies related to the concept of European unity; studies revealing regional or local aspects of the European integration process; and insights into key concepts of European political systems. This first section opens with the paper of a very well-known historian, Carol Iancu, who realises a historiographical approach to the history of Europe, with a focus on

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the work of the French historian Charles-Olivier Carbonell. The historical approaches are continued by the papers of Radu Romînaşu and Laura Ardelean on the European models of political unity, the authors discussing the concepts of "nation" and "empire" in different historical times and concluding that the use of the second concept is not appropriate for the modern great powers, as for example, the France of Napoleon and also the current super-powers.<sup>2</sup>

Cultural studies are divided into two categories: united Europe's cosmopolitical perspective(s) (Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro) and musical Europe, as evidenced by the number of festivals dedicated to it (Didier Francfort). In the same register can be mentioned the articles of Mercedes Samaniego Boneu, on the Europeanist approaches of Spanish intellectuals, revealing the different internal and international political contexts and some gender perspectives; and that of Alina Stoica,<sup>3</sup> on the renewed role of religion in European and international cooperation, highlighting the most recent situations when religion and politics influenced each other and questioning the role of both in world politics. Buda and Mărcuţ, two other authors, examine the minority language as an instrument in the construction of identity and the shaping of political preferences, using the cases of the Republic of Moldova and the Catalan region of Spain to show how different political groups use local languages as tools to achieve specific goals.<sup>4</sup> Another perspective on minorities is presented by István Polgár, who considers the role of ethnic and confessional minorities from Transylvania in the process of European Integration, underlining the importance of the MS in managing the integration policy at their own level.<sup>5</sup> Though the philosophical approach is covered by only one paper, signed by George D. Contogeorgis, it offers an insightful presentation of the political phenomena and their roles in modern political systems.

The other studies in this first section provide an analysis of Romania's economic regional integration, emphasising too the influence of globalisation on the transition process to a functional market economy,<sup>6</sup> and one very dynamic analysis of how the UK is

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<sup>2</sup> Radu Romînaşu and Laura Ardelean, "Europe between two Great Models of Political Unity: The Nation and the Empire," in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>3</sup> Alina Stoica, "Aspects of the Role of Religion on the Intellectual Society," in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>4</sup> Mariana Viorica Buda and Mirela Mărcuţ, "The Language as a Geopolitical Instrument at the Western and Eastern Borders of the European Union. Case Studies: Spain and Republic of Moldova," in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>5</sup> István Polgár, "A Brief Outlook over the Ethnical and Confessional Diversity of Transylvania and the Role of it in the European Integration Process," in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>6</sup> Luminiţa Şoproni, "Romania Facing Regionalization and Globalization," in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

trying to regain its international role after leaving the EU, revealing the inherent difficulties of this process<sup>7</sup>.

The second section focuses on a very current subject, that of cross-border cooperation, approached from different and particular perspectives. The chapter begins with a theoretical study of Papp István, Péntes János, and Czimre Klára, revealing how the border regions of certain countries were defined in the Hungarian and international literature, as well as the reasons for choosing a given line of demarcation and the information used in this process. Also relevant to border areas are papers on the enhancement of integrated transportation systems, which has a positive impact on economic activity in border areas,<sup>8</sup> that concerning the reform of EU neighborhood policies and instruments in the post-2020 period, with an emphasis on the contribution of the European Parliament and European Commission to the formulation of this reform package,<sup>9</sup> and Emilia Negrea's article on the free movement of people, revealing both the situation of the Schengen space and that of the third countries bordering the European Union.

The sectoral analyses are covered by different analyses that, though not directly related to the process of European integration, focus on specific aspects that have improved given this European integration process. Hence, it is possible to mention that the study highlighting the challenges that some given Hungarian cities (Debrecen, Pécs and Szeged, and Budapest), where academic life was enriched by the increasing international student exchanges, faced given the increasing number of international students, challenges materialised in the necessity to improve some given services and infrastructure,<sup>10</sup> as well as that revealing the benefits of European subsidies on the development of renewable energy sources on the territory of Hungary, especially in the Northern Great Plain region, where natural conditions are propitious to solar energy,<sup>11</sup> and that analysing the development of the automotive industry in the last decades in the states of ECE, approaching some concepts related to the process of European economic

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<sup>7</sup> George Anglițoiu, "Glocal England, Little Britain," in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>8</sup> Florentina Chirodea, "The Issue of Border Regions in the Context of Deepening the European Integration Process," in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>9</sup> Mircea Brie, "Reformarea politicilor și instrumentelor UE destinate vecinătății în perioada post 2020" [Reforming the EU neighborhood policies and instruments in the post-2020 period], in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>10</sup> Teperics Károly et al., "Studentification Processes in the Largest University Cities: Satisfaction Level of the International Students with the Specific Attributes of the City," in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>11</sup> Badar Zoltán and Kozma Gábor, "Spatial Characteristics of Tenders Involving Renewable Energy Sources in the Northern Great Plain Region during the 2014–2020 Budget Period," in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

integration and economic globalisation, as integrated periphery, local clusters, cross-border agglomeration, regional/local location choice logic<sup>12</sup>.

Beside an article on the need to include Computer Law not only by name, but by actual content in the curricula of the faculties of Law,<sup>13</sup> we can also highlight two articles on international issues: a comparative content analysis of the press articles published by *Unimedia*, *Ziarul de Gardă*, *Sputnik News Agency* during the first round the election campaign of the 2020 presidential elections on both pro-European or unionist and pro-Russian candidates,<sup>14</sup> and that on the European reactions to the January 6, 2021, violence in Washington, signed by Florin Trandafir Vasiloni.

The third section of the volume contains a great diversity of articles, touching both on topics related to the process of European integration of Romania and topics related to less recent historical periods. Regarding the first typology, readers can find some approaches related to the post-communist development of Romania. Hence, Claudia Timofte focuses on a very actual subject, that of Romanian banking legislation between 1990–2000, highlighting the role of the new laws in developing both the Romanian National Bank and the private banking system,<sup>15</sup> Mihaela Pătrăuș on the problems that Romania is facing due to non-compliance with environmental protection legislation,<sup>16</sup> Simona Goia on the development of constitutional democracy in post-communist Romania,<sup>17</sup> and Alin-Ciprian Gherman on the implementation of *acquis communautaire* in the field of road transport in Romanian legislation<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Molnár Ernő and Radics Zsolt, “Automotive Production Networks: An Economic Dimension of Intraregional Cooperation in East-Central Europe,” in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges*. In *Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>13</sup> Cristian-Dumitru Miheș, “Do we need Computer Law as Subject in Law Faculties Curricula,” in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges*. In *Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>14</sup> Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Edina Lilla Mészáros, Cristian Bejenari, “Content Analysis of the Presidential Elections in the Republic of Moldova,” in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges*. In *Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>15</sup> Claudia Timofte, “Aspecte privind legislația bancară între anii 1990–2000” [Aspects regarding banking legislation between 1990–2000], in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges*. In *Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>16</sup> Mihaela Pătrăuș, “Calitatea aerului. Probleme la nivel național legate de nerespectarea reglementărilor europene în domeniu” [Air quality. Problems at national level related to non-compliance with European regulations in the field], in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges*. In *Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>17</sup> Simona Goia, “Elemente ale democrației constituționale moderne” [Elements of modern constitutional democracy], in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges*. In *Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>18</sup> Alin-Ciprian Gherman, “Implementarea acquis-ului comunitar în domeniul transportului rutier în legislația românească” [Implementation of the *acquis communautaire* in the field of road transport in Romanian legislation], in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges*. In *Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

Following a different register, two of the studies in this section refer to historical periods in which Oradea and the Bihor region were not yet part of a united Romania. Thus, Mihai Drecin, on the role of theatre in the Romanian language for the development of the cultural education of Romanians and of a Romanian cultural elite able to build the local institutions of administration after the Great Union of 1918. Gabriel Moisa discusses the administrative reorganisation of Romania after the Great Union and the influence of the development of the different urban areas of the county of Bihor and of Oradea as a municipality.<sup>19</sup> Three other studies in the section focus on another important issue in Oradea, that of the Jewish community. Two of these studies bear on some historical times: Edith-Emese Bodo proposes a study on the history of the Jewish community from Oradea in the period 1870–1884, where the author examines the circumstances and tensioned situations that determined the emergence of this community, the administrative process related to its establishment, as well as of its dissolution too,<sup>20</sup> while Antonio Faur reveals, starting from the personal archive of an involved person, the actions of a Romanian officer, Ioan Perhaița, in rescuing the Jewish people in the IIWW.<sup>21</sup> The third study is signed by Anca Oltean, who focuses on the situation of Jews from Transylvania following the IIWW, using some oral testimonies of some Holocaust survivors living in Oradea or the county of Bihor.<sup>22</sup>

The other three articles in this section refer to a philosophical approach to the evolution of man seen through different historical periods (antiquity, pre-Romanesque and Romanesque periods, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque, and modern period), signed by Horia Ciocan, an overview of the main principles of juridical philosophy developed by the Romanian philosopher Eugeniu Speranția, signed by Mihaela Ioana Teacă, and an ethnographic study of traditional crafts and occupations from the land of the “moți,” signed by Maria Mirela Mocan.

This volume presents a collection of articles on various topics in the fields of social sciences and humanities. As its editors point out,<sup>23</sup> it represents an expression of

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<sup>19</sup> Gabriel Moisa, “Considerații privind județul Bihor în perioada interbelică. Aspecte teritoriale și legislativ-administrative” [Considerations regarding Bihor county in the interwar period. Territorial and legislative-administrative aspects], in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>20</sup> Edith-Emese Bodo, “Istoria comunității evreiești *status quo ante* din Oradea” [The history of the Jewish community *status quo ante* in Oradea], in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>21</sup> Antonio Faur, “Considerații referitoare la biografia și implicarea locotenent-colonelului Ioan Perhaița (1896–1983) în acțiunile de salvare a evreilor (1944)” [Considerations regarding the biography and involvement of Lieutenant-Colonel Ioan Perhaița (1896–1983) in the actions of rescuing the Jews (1944)], in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>22</sup> Anca Oltean, “Data of oral History Collected by the Questionnaires at the Jewish Community from Oradea,” in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga*, ed. Florentina Chirodea et al. (Oradea, Debrecen: Oradea University Press, Debrecen University Press, 2020).

<sup>23</sup> Luminița Șoproni et al., “Introductory Study. Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges,” in *Europe in a Changing World: Opportunities and Challenges. In Honorem*

interest in new approaches to European and regional issues from various perspectives, both historically as well as research areas. The variety of topics covered only emphasizes and reinforces the idea that Europe is and continues to be a diversity, as well as an inclusion of this diversity.

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