ASPECTS OF ECO-IDENTITY IN THE RECENT HISTORY OF PROTESTS IN ROMANIA

Costel COROBAN
"Valahia" University of Târgovişte
Andrada MUNTEANU
"Ovidius" University of Constanţa

Abstract: *Given the ideational debate launched by Michel Foucault by asserting the theory of "biopower" in* Surveiller et punir *(1975), which showed that "domination" in society is increasingly exercised not through regulations, but through control of the body, this paper brings to the fore the perspective of ecological identity in the wake of events such as ecological protests taking place in the last decade in Romania. The development of eco-identity is a novelty in Romania and is little developed at a theoretical level in our country. Nevertheless, the concept of eco-identity is a popular and important topic both nationally and internationally. The historical comparative approach is used in order to apply theories of ecological risk perception to conflict situations such as the protests against the Roşia Montană Gold Corporation or the spontaneous protests against Chevron in Pungeşti. A conclusion of the study is that, in some instances, the foreigner is seen from two perspectives by Romanians. First, as a guide and pioneer in developing eco-tourism and, second, as an exploiter. Although Romanians are sometimes involved in conflict with the imagined foreigner, represented by foreign companies which have attempted to carry out polluting economic activities on the territory of their country, foreigners are also those who have helped develop the country towards a healthier environment through the influence of international environment organizations and have promoted Romania's unique nature-centered traditional style of life abroad.*

Keywords: *eco-identity, ecology, cultural conflict, alterity, Romania, recent history*

Eco-Identity

Eco-identity represents a new concept and a form of response on behalf of humanity to climate and environmental changes facing the planet. A specialized term used in the literature for this concept is "ecological identity work" and is the way in which an individual constructs himself in relation to the planet (Coroban 91). The environmental movement is the one that has developed due to climate crises and pollution, and with it have emerged various NGOs and political parties that embrace environmental protection, mass democracy and non-violence (Coroban 92). Some examples of important NGOs in Romania that deal with environmental protection are: the AGENT GREEN Association, World Wide Fund Romania (WWF-Romania), Let's do it Romania, Greenpeace Romania, MAIMULTVERDE Association, Tera

Mileniu III Foundation, Ecopolis Environmental Organization, etc[1]. Romania currently has two parties that promote the ideology of ecology and these are the Green Party and the Romanian Ecological Party, but none of them is affiliated to the Green / EFA group in the European Parliament.

What influences the individual's attitude towards environmental issues is cultural identity. Environmental activists claim that due to the lack of a balance between human activity and nature, humanity will be subject to natural disasters (Coroban 93). Throughout human history, the natural environment has suffered largely because of humanity. The natural environment has undergone various processes of alteration, formation and re-formation, reconstruction by the individual, domination, all these being the result of human desire (Crânganu 26). Climate change enjoys a large media coverage, the current mediated and debated paradigm being that of global warming (Crânganu 19). Climate risk is perceived differently by each person, therefore, according to the concern for environmental change promoted by various environmental associations and social and civic groups, each individual develops some idea of his/her responsibilities to nature. The problem faced by these groups is the confrontation with a habit of the citizen or of the decision-makers to ignore or cover up the most serious ecological risks. For example, former President Trump opined that the purpose of the Paris climate agreement was to bring down the American economy, not to reverse global warming[2].

The following figure presents the cultural theory of ecological risk perception which illustrates a classification of individuals, social groups and even of the entire society according to its attitude towards climate problems and nature by Hulme in his 2009 study (qtd in Crânganu 21).

---

[1] "Top 10 organizaţii de mediu din România şi prezente în mediul online [Top 10 environmental organizations in Romania present in the online environment]", https://casadecomertdona.ro/top-10-organizatii-de-mediu-active-in-romania/, accessed on 10.02.2021

[2] Matt Mcgrath, "Climate change: US formally withdraws from Paris agreement" 04.11.2020, *BBC News*, https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-54797743, accessed on 24.10.2021.
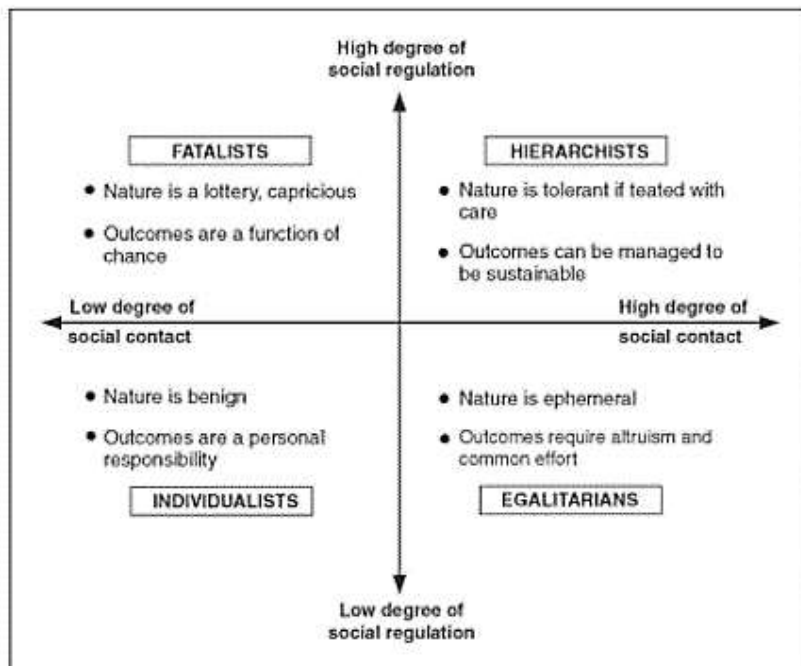
Fig. 1. The four-fold classification of cultures and ecological risk perception. Source: Hulme 2009.

Therefore, Hulme identifies four major groups in terms of responding to natural and environmental risks: fatalists, hierarchists, individualists and egalitarians. As can be seen, the two variables used by the author in his classification are social contact and social regulation. The term social contact refers to the interpersonal relationships between people, i.e., the direct and conscious psychological connections between them through which groups, communities and societies are formed. Social regulation can be transposed through laws, conventions, formal and informal norms of social interaction, and is usually more pronounced in the case of large groups, as opposed to groups with a small number of individuals, which tend to be poorly regulated. According to this classification, for example, a corporation (high degree of social contact, high degree of regulation) that aims to transform towards being "green", i.e. the replacement of polluting technologies with ecological, non-polluting technologies, the use of green energy sources, all included in a sustainable development strategy, can be considered as part of the category of hierarchism in terms of ecological risk. An example of this would be Nike corporation, which has launched a comprehensive "green" transformation

program through the use of recyclable materials and biodegradable and recyclable packaging[3].

The attitude of the individual towards the environment is conceptualized in various forms. A definition of the attitude towards the environment is given by Heberlein in his 1981 study, which states that it represents a set of beliefs, including assessments of the type "I like", "I do not like" towards certain aspects of the environment, the environment as such, or to certain environmental objectives that have clear and direct implications for the environment, for example industrial objectives (Heberlein, qtd in Nistor 5). Holahan also states that it represents people's favorable feelings towards certain aspects of the physical environment, or towards an environmental issue (Holahan 5, qtd in Nistor 61). Yin argues through his 1999 definition that the attitude toward the environment is cognitive, affective, and evaluative and is directed toward objects that are related to the environment, including environmental issues (Yin, qtd in Nistor 61).

Our attitude and the way we observe and understand environmental changes help us to develop creative solutions. In order to understand the relationship between the individual and the environment and how the concept of eco-identity is formed, we have to understand the basic concepts that help to form it. The first concept to be understood is that of anthropocene and anthropogenic phenomenon. It suggests that the current era represents a new geological time span and means that the human activity of extracting natural resources and exploiting them has a strong negative impact on the biosphere (Thomashow 408).

Ecological identity is the way an individual perceives himself in the world in relation to other people and habitats. We must also mention here the concept of ecosystem services that refers to how human development was influenced by ecosystems and by the biosphere and emphasizes the way in which natural resources are perceived (Thomashow 410). For a positive development in the human-nature relationship it is important to understand the concept of conceptual reciprocity which refers to the way organisms adapt and evolve together by being aware of the environmental changes that take place (Thomashow 413).

The relationship between human society and the environment can be conceptualized by the model of the three functions proposed by Dunlap in 1993. This model emphasizes three important, indispensable aspects that operate in a continuous circuit (Fig. 2). One change in one aspect of the three automatically affects another and can create various resource crises,

---

[3] Bethany Biron, "Nike unveiled a big new sustainability initiative as millions around the world prepared to strike for action on climate change" 20.09.2019, *Nike*, https://www.businessinsider.com/nike-announces-climate-change-sustainability-campaign-move-to-zero-2019-9, accessed 24.10.2021.

overpollution, and even resource depletion. The three functions are the space of existence, the resources and the space where the waste is stored. Fischer-Kowalski and Weisz also presents the interaction between society and the physical environment that create the so-called *social metabolism* (Fig. 3).
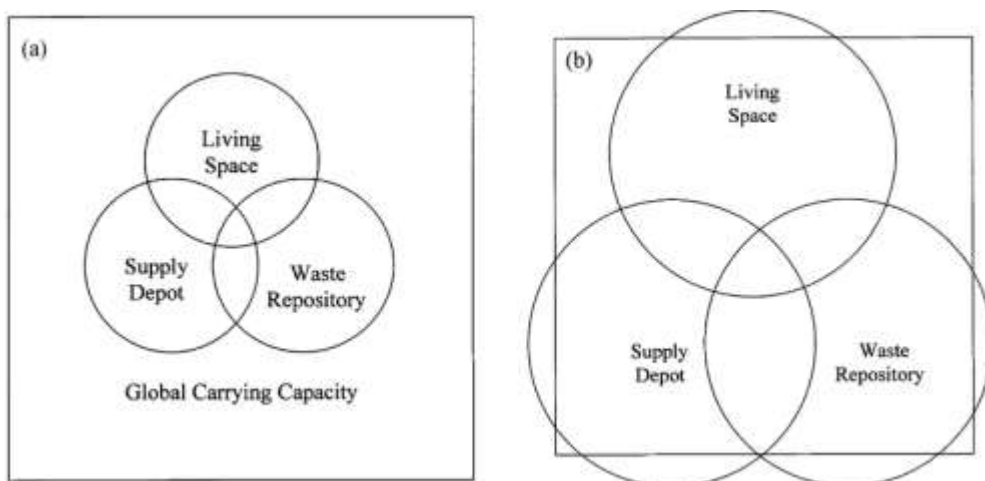

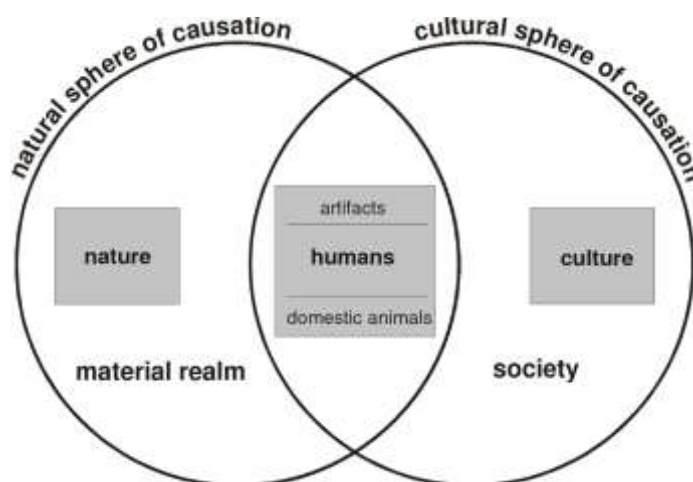Fig 2. Functions of the environment ca 1900 (a) and ca 1990 (b). Source: Dunlap & Catton 2002.

Fig 3. Interactions between nature, society and culture. Source: Fischer-Kowalski and Weisz, 2006.

Aspects of Eco-Identity and Conflict in Romania

The relationship between society and the environment is a sensitive one, and Catton and Dunlap support the hypothesis that sociology needs to revise its anthropocentric foundations. Although it can be considered that the ideas and initiatives related to ecological principles came from the West and

were adopted in Romania through the mentioned NGOs and organizations, the dimension of eco-identity was also based on a "value fund" native to Romanian national identity. In the traditional Romanian society there is a strong positive valorization of the elements related to ecology ("The forest is a sibling to the Romanian" says a proverb), which sometimes lead to the polarization of the Romanian public opinion against the Foreigner in cases where Western companies or foreign investors attempted to conducting polluting economic activities in Romania, in which case the valorization of ecological principles comes from nationalist or patriotic groups, environmental protection being equivalent to the "defense of the ancestral homeland", thus gaining the dimension of a heroic Manichean conflict, such as "Good vs. Evil", "David vs. Goliath", as we will see.

What influences the functioning of the concepts at social and civic level are both state and private environmental organizations. Concern for the environment became a common topic for several countries in 1972, brought together at a United Nations conference on "Environmental Protection" in Stockholm. Wide participation in this conference helped to develop the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), following the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) aims to help as many countries as possible to meet global needs through various practices, which facilitate the relationship between partners and pilot projects, especially through goals in the field of sustainable development and ecology (according to MFA).

Romania collaborates with UNDP to carry out the actions decided at the Sustainable Development Summit in Johannesburg, but also to establish a solid international relationship with favorable effects in the development and elaboration of projects in order to protect the environment. The Office for Romania of the United Nations Development Program was established in Romania in 1971 and aims to support the Government of Romania in areas such as energy and environment, poverty reduction, crisis prevention, through specialized advice and financial assistance. information and communication technology (Nicula). According to a study launched by the Foundation for Civil Society Development at the end of 2015, 48,586 non-governmental organizations were active in Romania. But only 3% of that number are organizations that represent the protection of the environment and ecology[4].

After the change of the regime in 1990, even if the protection of the environment was not a priority, it enjoyed some success on the short term when the ecological parties were established. After this short period, environmental

---

[4] Foundation for Civil Society Development, *România 2017. Sectorul neguvernamental. Profil, tendinţe, provocări* [Romania 2017. Non-governmental sector. Profile, trends, challenges], Bucharest, 2017, https://issuu.com/oanaionitanasui/docs/romania-2017_fdsc, accessed 10.04.2021.

problems advanced and in response to these, an environmental movement was formed aimed at mobilizing society (Miroiu et al 39). The answer to these environmental problems highlights a new issue that will be analyzed. An example of civic mobilization is the "Save Roşia Montană" movement, which has a history of up to 15 years. This movement developed in opposition to the establishment of the largest mine that would use a method of extracting gold and silver by cyanide. What happened in Roşia Montană was the first major environmental movement in Romania, which developed at the national level but which also evinced a strong ecological conflict (Miroiu et al 220). During the protests, the citizens shouted "United we save Roşia Montană!", "No to corporations, we provide the education!", "Down with all the parties, the mafia, the powers!" and several gendarmes tried to stop the protesters through physical violence.[5] Thus, following the massive protests in 2013, the mining project in Roşia Montană was suspended. In this example two types of attitude to environmental risk can be identified. The first type of attitude is underlined by behavioral actions with a low degree of social contact is specific to fatalists (according to Hulme's model), represented in this case by the Canadian company Gabriel Resources, which through the Roşia Montană Gold Corporation project wants to exploit Romania's resources and earn profit.[6] The Canadian company's attitude to environmental risk is that of the fatalists because it sees natural disasters as a lottery and do not seek to make their operations more nature-friendly, but on the contrary, it sees the negative aspects of its gold mining operations as excusable by the wealth brought to the local community. For example, even though the documentation available online lists 204 pages of possible risks[7] for the Roşia Montană and Bucium areas, the company's communication campaign instead emphasizes development of the regional and national economy.[8]

---

[5] Catiuşa Ivanov, "Protest gigantic in Bucuresti impotriva exploatarii de la Rosia Montana, cu peste 15.000 de oameni. Protestatarii au blocat tot centrul Capitalei, au marsaluit prin oras si au cerut demisia lui Ponta [Gigantic protest in Bucharest against the exploitation of Rosia Montana, with over 15,000 people. Protesters blocked the entire center of the capital, marched through the city and demanded Ponta's resignation]" 15.09.2013, *HotNews.ro*, https://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-esential-15584298-rosia-montana-15-proteste-jur-200-manifestanti-adunat-piata-universitatii.htm, accessed 20.04.2021.

[6] Gabriel Resources, "The Proposed Mining Project", n.d., *Gabrielresources.com*, https://www.gabrielresources.com/documents/Gabriel%20Resources_ProposedMiningProject.pdf, accessed 20.04.2021.

[7] Gabriel Resources, "Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Report. Chapter 7. Risks", n.d., *Gabrielresources.com*, https://www.gabrielresources.com/documents/EIA/Chapter%207/Chap%207%20EIA.pdf, accessed 20.04.2021.

[8] Gabriel Resources, "Sustainability. Economy", n.d., *Gabrielresources.com*, https://www.gabrielresources.com/site/economy.aspx, accessed 20.04.2021.

Gabriel Resources, as well as the fatalists, conform to a society governed by law, given that the project was canceled due to massive opposition and protests. On the other side there are the protesters, who can be considered to share the attitude of the egalitarians because their actions involve a high degree of social contact and their principles are similar. For example, a resemblance that is found is that of solidarity and common effort, by the fact that Romanians everywhere have united with a common goal and have managed to make their action visible even at an international level. Both protesters and egalitarians have in common the perspective of ephemeral, vulnerable nature, which when threatened requires immediate rescue.

The second theory through which we will analyze the given example is that of the nature-population-culture interaction model. Thus, we can observe a closely related relationship between human society and the physical environment. In our example, this relationship can be represented by the intention of the protesters and the efficient communication between them to save Roşia Montană from the mining project. The protesters were aware of the natural disasters that could occur as a result of the project, such as overpollution and even the depletion of resources: "We went out for the good of the country, because we really love it, we love our children and we don't want them to live, to grow up in a destroyed country, in a valley of grief. We want to keep it at least as it is, even if it is no longer has forests. But at least we don't want there to be poison, cyanide".[9]

Fig. 4. Protesters in Arad, 14 September 2013: "Tourism and agriculture, NO to fracturing and cyanide". Source: http://www.newsar.ro/arhiva/doua-zile-de-proteste-la-arad-uniti-salvam-rosia-montana-galerie-foto#.YXU0yp5BxPY

---

[9] Digi24, "Continuă protestele împotriva proiectului de la Roşia Montană" [Protests against the Roşia Montană project continue], 23.09.2013, https://www.digi24.ro/regional/digi24-brasov/continua-protestele-impotriva-proiectului-de-la-rosia-montana-122444, accessed on 20.04.2021.

Another movement that developed as a result of intentions to pollute the environment and deplete its resources is represented by the Pungeşti clashes. The conflict broke out when the American company Chevron obtained all the necessary approvals for the installation of shale gas wells in Vaslui County. Following the riots that lasted from October 2013 to February 2014 the company announced the suspension of its activities. The first protest event of this action started on October 14, 2013 and was called "The resistance movement from Pungeşti" by the protesters. During the first demonstration, 150 people protested. Two days after the start of the anti-pollution protest, the number of participants swelled to 500, forming a human wall in front of the bulldozers. As a result of this action, 200 gendarmes were mobilized to release the traffic, but a clash broke out between them and the protesters. In the wake of this violence between the two parties ten people were injured, including an 81-year-old man who suffered a panic attack. The "Pungeşti resistance movement" spanned over a period of five months during which solidarity protests sprang up in Timişoara, Sibiu, Cluj-Napoca, and Bucharest. Also, 19,300 people signed petitions created by the "Romania without Them" organization, accusing the abuse of the authorities and asking for the shutdown of the Chevron company. On December 24, 2013, a number of protester began a hunger strike to demand the establishment of a special public safety zone.[10]

Throughout the resistance movement, protesters shouted "United we save all of Romania!", "Out of the country with Chevron!", "Traitors!", and in an attempt to stop the protesters several gendarmes used violent repression. The "Pungeşti resistance movement" became widespread internationally because this incident was reported by the Greenpeace organization, which claimed that it was "a serious abuse against freedom of expression" and that the company's authorizations are being challenged in court.[11] The American company gave up the action for shale gas exploitation in 2015 and announced that the land in Pungeşti will be returned to the owner. From the point of view of Hulme's theory, the cultural theory of ecological risk perception, we can observe the interaction between fatalists and egalitarians, categories which evince incompatible goals. According to what is specific to fatalists, the American company Chevron and the authorities engaged in a low degree of social contact by carrying out their business in private, top-level contacts and

---

[10] I. C., "Vaslui: Protestatarii de la Pungesti au renuntat la greva foamei si acuza jandarmii de abuzuri [Vaslui: Protesters from Pungesti have given up their hunger strike and accuse the gendarmes of abuses]" 04.01.2014, *HotNews.ro*, https://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-esential-16342034-vaslui-protestatarii-pungesti-renuntat-greva-foamei-acuza-jandarmii-abuzuri.htm, accessed on 21.04.2021.
[11] Ecomagazin, "Greenpeace a blocat sonda Chevron din Pungesti! [Greenpeace has blocked the Chevron probe in Pungesti!]", 08.08.2014, https://www.ecomagazin.ro/greenpeace-a-blocat-sonda-chevron-din-pungesti/, accessed 21.04.2021.

meetings. Also, another feature of fatalists is that they do not promote connection between man and nature, on the contrary they regard natural events as a lottery, the results depending on luck. On the other hand, the egalitarians are represented in this case by protesters and the Greeenpeace activists, because they emphasized the fact that nature is vulnerable and that through solidarity and joint effort positive results can be achieved. Examples of this kind can continue, the most recent being the international scandal triggered by the poaching of the bear Arthur by the Prince of Lichtenstein.[12]

Conclusions

A conclusion of this analysis is that, in environmental issues, there existed instances in which the Foreigner was perceived from two perspectives by Romanians, both as a guide and a pioneer but also as an exploiter who takes advantage of the corrupt political class of the country in order to obtain authorization for polluting industrial projects. Although Romanians are sometimes involved in a conflict with the imagined foreigner, represented by foreign companies which have tried to carry out economic activities damaging to the environment, foreigners are also those who helped develop the country towards eco-tourism. For example, the Prince of Wales Foundation was founded to support heritage conservation, agriculture and the sustainable development of the rural landscape in Transylvania. What underlines this example is the intercultural dialogue and the overlapping of dualistic conceptions towards the Other, perceived either as an exploiter or as a tourist or investor and provider of know-how and intelligent design in ecotourism. Another example of intercultural dialogue, even assimilation and cultural syncretism in the context of promoting eco-tourism in Romania is that of the British journalist Charlie Ottey, who promoted the image of Romania and its culture in documentaries on the Netflix platform. In our opinion, a more diversified series of such campaigns carried out with the support of the state can bring an advantageous result and could help develop a stronger relationship between society and nature. A suggestion to solve the problems of intercultural dialogue of the country is to carry out ecotourism development information campaigns in each area that has a high potential in this respect. Also, television information campaigns could be carried out on the risks of living in a toxic and polluted environment so that members of the society belonging to the older generations can also benefit.

---

[12] Radio Free Europe, "Liechtenstein Prince Accused of Poaching Romania's Largest Bear" 05.05.2021, https://www.rferl.org/a/romania-austrian-prince-poaches-biggest-bear/31239420.html, accessed on 24.10.2021.

WORKS CITED

Belu, Mihaela. "Dimensiunea interculturală în rezolvarea conflictelor [The Intercultural Dimension in Conflict Resoulution]" *The Romanian Economic Journal*, vol. 11, no. 30, 2008. 89-102.

Biron, Bethany, "Nike unveiled a big new sustainability initiative as millions around the world prepared to strike for action on climate change" 20.09.2019, *Nike*, https://www.businessinsider.com/nike-announces-climate-change-sustainability-campaign-move-to-zero-2019-9 , accessed 24.10.2021.

Bullard, Robert D. "Environmental Justice in the 21st Century: Race Still Matters". *Phylon*, 49 (3–4). 2001. 151–171.

Constitution of Romania, *Art. 8. Pluralismul şi partidele politice* [Pluralism and Political Parties], https://www.constitutiaromaniei.ro/art-8-pluralismul-si-partidele-politice/, accessed 11.01.2021

Coroban, Costel. *Comunicare Interculturală* [Intercultural communication], Iaşi: Editura Pim, 2020.

Crânganu, Constantin, *Schimbările Climatice. Un Ghid (Uneori) Incorect Politic* [Climate change. A (Sometimes) Politically Incorrect Guide]. Bucureşti: Editura Integral, 2020.

Digi24, "Continuă protestele împotriva proiectului de la Roşia Montană" [Protests against the Roşia Montană project continue], 23.09.2013, https://www.digi24.ro/regional/digi24-brasov/continua-protestele-impotriva-proiectului-de-la-rosia-montana-122444, accessed 20.04.2021.

Dunlap, Riley & Jr, William. "Which Function(s) of the Environment Do We Study? A Comparison of Environmental and Natural Resource Sociology". *Society & Natural Resources*, 2002, 15. 239-249.

Ecomagazin, "Greenpeace a blocat sonda Chevron din Pungesti! [Greenpeace has blocked the Chevron probe in Pungesti!]", 08.08.2014, https://www.ecomagazin.ro/greenpeace-a-blocat-sonda-chevron-din-pungesti/, accessed 21.04.2021.

European Commission, "Proposal for a Council Recommendation on Key Competences for LifeLong Learning." 17.01.2018. *European Commission website*. Accessed 18.02.2021.

Fischer-Kowalski, Marina, Helga Weisz. "Society as hybrid between material and symbolic realms: Toward a theoretical framework of society-nature interaction". *Advances in Human Ecology*, 8, 1999. 215-254.

Foucault, Michel. *A supraveghea şi a pedepsi* [Surveiller et punir], Bucureşti: Editura Humanitas, 1997.

Foundation for Civil Society Development, *România 2017. Sectorul neguvernamental. Profil, tendinţe, provocări* [Romania 2017. Non-

governmental sector. Profile, trends, challenges], Bucharest, 2017, https://issuu.com/oanaionitanasui/docs/romania-2017_fdsc, accessed 10.04.2021.

Gabriel Resources, "Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Report. Chapter 7. Risks", n.d., *Gabrielresources.com*, https://www.gabrielresources.com/documents/EIA/Chapter%207/Chap%207%20EIA.pdf , accessed 20.04.2021.

Gabriel Resources, "Sustainability. Economy", n.d., *Gabrielresources.com*, https://www.gabrielresources.com/site/economy.aspx, accessed 20.04.2021.

Gabriel Resources, "The Proposed Mining Project", n.d., *Gabrielresources.com*, https://www.gabrielresources.com/documents/Gabriel%20Resources_ProposedMiningProject.pdf , accessed 20.04.2021.

Heberlein, Thomas. "Environmental Attitudes". *Zeitschrift fur Umweltpolitik*, vol. 4, 1981. 241-270.

Holahan, C. J. *Environmental Psychology*, New York: Random House, 1981.

Hulme, Mike, *Why we disagree about climate change: Understanding controversy, inaction and opportunity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Ivanov, Catiuşa. "Protest gigantic in Bucuresti impotriva exploatarii de la Rosia Montana, cu peste 15.000 de oameni. Protestatarii au blocat tot centrul Capitalei, au marsaluit prin oras si au cerut demisia lui Ponta [Gigantic protest in Bucharest against the exploitation of Rosia Montana, with over 15,000 people. Protesters blocked the entire center of the capital, marched through the city and demanded Ponta's resignation]" 15.09.2013, *HotNews.ro*, https://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-esential-15584298-rosia-montana-15-proteste-jur-200-manifestanti-adunat-piata-universitatii.htm , accessed 20.04.2021.

J. Yin. "Elite opinion and media diffusion: Exploring environmental attitudes", *The Harvard International Journal of Press Politics*, 4, 1999. 62-86.

MAE. "Programul Naţiunilor Unite pentru Dezvoltare [United Nations Program for Development]", *Ministerul Afacerilor Externe (MAE)*, https://www.mae.ro/node/2115 , accessed 18.02.2021.

Manolache, Constantin, Gheorghe Rusnac. "Ecologismul ca doctrină politică: unele consideraţiuni metodologice [Ecology as a political doctrine: some methodological considerations]". *Moldoscopie: Probleme de analiză politică*. Ed. Valeriu Moşneaga. Chişinău: USV, 2000. 40-46.

Mcgrath, Matt, "Climate change: US formally withdraws from Paris agreement" 04.11.2020, *BBC News*, https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-54797743 , accessed 24.10.2021.

Miles, Robert, *Rasism after„Race Relations"*, Routlegde: London, 1993.

Miroiu, Mihaela, Andreea Molocea, Ioana Vlad, Cristian Ionuț Branea. *Mişcări feministe şi ecologiste în România (1990-2014)* [Feminist and ecological movements in Romania (1990-2014)]. Iași: Editura Polirom, 2015.

Neumann, Victor. "Naţiunea multiculturală. O perspectivă asupra identităţii României [The multicultural nation. A perspective on Romania's identity]" *Punctul Critic, Cultură naţională, multiculturalism şi dialog intercultural,* Vol. 3, No. 25, 2018. 59-71.

Nicula, Bogdan Ion. "Organizaţiile internaţionale şi protecţia mediului [International organizations and environmental protection]" https://www.academia.edu/37132212/ORGANIZA%C8%9AIILE_IN TERNA%C8%9AIONALE_%C8%98I_PROTEC%C8%9AIA_MED IULUI accessed 15.02.2021.

Nistor, Laura. *Sociologia mediului înconjurător: Aplicaţii privind atitudini şi comportamente în România* [Sociology of the environment: Applications Regarding Attitudes and Behaviors in Romania]. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universală Clujeană, 2009.

Samovar, Larry, Richard Porter. *Intercultural Communication: A Reader.* Wadsworth, 2012.

Thomashow, Mitchell. *To know the world: A new version for environmental learning,* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2020.

"Top 10 organizaţii de mediu din România şi prezente în mediul online [Top 10 environmental organizations in Romania present in the online environment]", https://casadecomertdona.ro/top-10-organizatii-de-mediu-active-in-romania/, accessed on 10.02.2021