

**COLLECTIVE REPRESENTATIONS IN VOLUNTARY EXILE:  
A CASE STUDY ON THE PATTERNS OF SELF-ASSERTIVE  
MIGRATION DISCOURSES WITHIN THE GERMAN MINORITY  
IN THE BANAT AREA**

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*Abstract: The German settlers in the Banat area displayed a peculiar initial constellation of two distinct social groups in one and the same minority. This led to a unique development of identity patterns in a threefold outcome. The first one was the submersion programme, which was a Hungarian-friendly, Budapest-oriented, political and cultural movement, giving up main German minority features in favour of the new Hungarian state. Later on, after 1918, the submersion programme partially applies for the Romanian-friendly, Bucharest-oriented positions within the German minority. The second programme arising after 1867 is the Vienna-oriented pro-Austrian immersion programme, which positioned itself as a moderate current, claiming an integrative common Habsburg identity pattern for all ethnic groups in the Banat area. Finally the third one is the highly conservative Berlin-oriented autarchy programme, claiming a German-only identity for the minority. The full outlining, as well as a theoretical completion of these three patterns, valid mainly for the period 1716-1918, and briefly outlined in this paper, are still pending.*