THE LAND OF BEIUŞ (ROMANIA) BETWEEN RESILIENCE AND REGENERATION. POST-COMMUNIST CHALLENGES IN SPATIAL PLANNING

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ABSTRACT – The territorial development of post-communist Romania claims the integration into the territorial planning process of some principles that regard a balanced and rightful evolution of the total components of this area. Territorially, the communist heritage is seen as a particular pattern of land use, in which gigantic economic structures, oriented towards heavy industry, dependent on one another and the collective habitat dominated the urban environment while intensively mechanized agriculture, opposing the traditional customs, was imposed in the rural areas. Mentally, this heritage is responsible for the development of resilience to some concepts such as free association, heritage nationalization and resource rationalization that raise suspicions due to their forced and wrong implementation into the recent past. If we add the limited experience of the administration, the incomplete legislative framework and the lack of specialists, one has an overall view of the issues of the East-European territories. All these issues raise a series of challenges whose answers seem to be linked to the integration of the sustainable development principle into the process that coordinates the territorial development.

The "land" type areas are specific geographic regions of Romania with deep roots in the historical past of Romania and with features of regional mental areas. The identity marks of these areas are given by the high degree of ruralism, conservatism and the tradition, customs and traditional activities preservation. Once more, from post-communist transition to the rigours of joining the European Union, the course of these areas towards sustainable development must pass through the planning process.

The Land of Beiuş is one of the 18 "land" type areas of Romania, located in Western Romania (at the foot of the Apuseni Mountains), identifying itself with the mental area polarized by the town of Beiuş. The total population is approximately 80,000 inhabitants. The aspects related to the resilience of this area are given by the rural component, extensive traditional agriculture and crafts, preservation of ethnic-folkloric traditions and the existence of some traditional areas, etc. Opposed to this, there are areas that underwent complex transformations due to the decline of the communist economic structures, which adapted themselves to the market economy and thus became global. In this regard, the Land of Beiuş integrates in the same territorial system both dynamic areas, with mutations of the traditional features, and resilient conservative areas.

Thus, although the Land of Beiuş has no administrative significance, due to its mental area features it represents a living organism in the collective mentality of its inhabitants. The evident resilience of this type of area is completely unexploited, at least until now. The present study is suggesting the integration of these resilient features of this area into a strategy of sustainable local development where the regional peculiarities and the local identity should become landmarks.

Keywords: "tara" (land), local identity, resilient areas, regeneration

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INTRODUCTION

The term "resilience" has various meanings depending on the applied field. The roots of this concept date back to ancient times, respectively in physics where it is defined as being the ability of a material to resist to shocks, mainly its capacity to return to its initial status after a shock (Cyrulnick, 1993). In ecology, resilience is limited to an ecosystem or a species' capacity to recover a function which should allow a normal development after a trauma (Holling, 1973; Gunderson, 2000). Resilience in psychology means a psychological phenomenon that accepts the existing trauma in order to avoid a depression (Masten, 2009, Zautra et al., 2010). In economy, resilience is defined as the ability to return to an ascending course after a shock (Aiginger, 2009). In computer science, resilience is the capacity of a system or a network to function in case of disturbance (Hollnagel et al., 2011). In geography, the scientific literature is full of papers tackling the resilience of the communities to natural hazard factors, or the resilience to climate change (Rocher and Thomas-Maret, 2011; Albers and Deppisch, 2011).

Closer to the subject of this paper, this term is also used in social sciences, in various fields such as governance, with the same content yet applied to group or collectivity level and less to the individual. The term of community resilience, related to territorial development, focuses on sustainable development, to which the capacity of a community to regenerate (including its area) is added. In this field, the evolutions of "sustainable decrease" type (Kallis, 2011) are not overlooked if they represent the best solution on short, medium and long term to a community's viability. The construction of the collectivities' resilience is a long-lasting continuous process (Stein et al., 2000), whose final aim is to ensure their capacity to respond to changes in the process of natural development. There are various ways in which a community's resilience can be constructed or strengthened. Territorial planning by its tools can play an important part to that end. By facing globalization, resilience is deeply rooted in local communities through actions specific to "localism" such as participation and implication (Croft and Sheppard, 2011; Devereux and Hall, 2011). On the other hand, resilience can be supported by decisive factors by improving life quality, urban design (Black, 2011), transport (Quinn et al., 2011), green areas (Hughes, 2011), etc. As regards the rural communities, the shocks which affect their natural evolution are of economic and social type, rarely of environmental type, mainly characterized by emigration, lack of jobs, precarious services, thus raising the question of adaptation or, on the contrary, of "permanent resilience".

The present paper is part of this aforementioned issue, tackling various aspects of the resilience of a mainly rural area represented by the Land of Beiuş, with small intrusions of particular urban elements represented by the four towns. Although in the course of time, this area faced numerous external political and economic "aggressions", preserving the "land" feature is the most obvious "mark" of this Romanian area authenticity. The efforts to preserve the local peculiarities and regional coherence, the predispositions to permanently return to the essence of Beiuş mental area created resilient structures that can be considered elements of local and regional identity.

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The Romanian "lands" are regional areas specific to Romania. They have been closely analysed over the last few years by the School of Regional Geography initiated in Cluj-Napoca by Professor Pompei Cocean. The regional distinctiveness of the Romanian "lands" was clearly demonstrated through a series of doctoral theses (the Land of Maramureş, the Land of Oaş, the Land of Lăpuş, the Land of Chioar, the Land of Năsăud, the Land of Silvania, the Land of the Moţi, the Land of Zarand, the Land of Almāj, the Land of Amlaş, the Land of Bârsa, the Land of Severin). They were both analysed as system-regions, functional areas (Ilieş, M., Ilieş, A., 1998; Deszi, S., Bădărău, A. S., Man, T., 2001), and as mental areas (term established in the scientific Romanian literature by Cocean, P., 2000).

The studies focused on the refinement of uniqueness and authenticity of these areas by means of a strategic and sustainable territorial management. They are thus a natural follow-up of the regional studies adding the applied nature to the territorial diagnosis from the territorial planning perspective. Their change into project territories and the work-out of strategies of sustainable territorial

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development in order to highlight their local identity, to transform it into a landmark and to capitalize it by a territorial marketing strategy (Filimon, L., 2007, 2010) is relatively new in the Romanian scientific literature.

The starting point of this study is the "lands" seen as geographic regions specific to Romania (Cocean, P., 1997). Resilience is one of the most obvious regional features of this type of areas. Although increasingly present in the scientific world, in the Romanian regional geography the term "resilience" has been recently used by Cocean, P. (2005), who approached it as being a geographical feature, also seen as "the ability to adapt and, thus, persist".

The main question of the study is: "Would it be possible to turn the identity and resilience features of a "land" type area into regional landmarks by planning means, or will they be lost in favour of more economically dynamic areas, emerging from a natural regeneration process that eventually might erase these specific areas off the map of Romania?".

In order to answer this question we started from the short reasoning of the affiliation of Beiuş area to the "land" type areas followed by the analysis of the Land of Beiuş as a resilient area and the proposal to capitalize the resilient elements for the sustainable territorial development and the preservation of the authenticity of this type of areas.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE LAND OF BEIUŞ AS "LAND" TYPE REGION SPECIFIC TO ROMANIA

The originality of lands on the Romanian territory firstly derives from their historical origin under the form of Middle Ages pre-state structures. Being forced to face conquests by other populations, the Romanians drew away to peri-Carpathian naturally closed areas where they created their own organizations, social structures, institutions. Thus, during centuries, language, religion and culture were preserved, the "lands" being now the most authentic Romanian areas with a high degree of ruralism, archaism and conservatism (Filimon, L., 2011).

On the Romanian territory, there are 18 such regional entities (Cocean, P., 1997), the Land of Beiuş being one of them. Another peculiarity that defines the geographic personality of the Romanian "lands" is the diversity of rural activities, the agricultural works together with traditional crafts (wood processing, chalk processing, pottery, weaving, etc.). This occupational mosaic, based on the exploitation of natural resources generated a specific type of area management, having as result an immaterial *regional cohesion* of high intensity, manifested and intensely felt by the human psyche. It is the all-in-one spiritual entity born through history between the individual and his living space seen as being "his own". That particular collective conscience is thus born, that feeling of belonging to that territory and respective community, felt by the individual and accepted by his neighbours from various areas, up to national conscience level. Pompei Cocean (2000) broadens this idea by talking about lands as mental areas deeply rooted in the psyche of the individual who is most of the times unable to go beyond it, although physically, the area of his land has long time ago been exceeded.

By its geographic features, the Land of Beiuş highly corresponds to the "land" type areas on the Romanian territory, being completely enclosed in the pattern defined by the aforementioned features. Located in the South-East of Bihor County, enclosed on three sides by the Apuseni Mountains, the relative isolation given by this geographic location was one of the basic premises for its individualization as "land", limiting the contact of the inhabitants with other areas and allowing the conservation and preservation of the profound Romanian characteristics.

Morphologically, the Land of Beiuş corresponds to the internal basin of the Beiuş Depression, drained by the Crişul Negru River. The half-closed peri-Carpathian depression dominates morphologically and, at the same time, is *a connecting or transitional unit* between two major landforms: mountain and plain. The overlap of the two complementary landforms is a favourable element to the complexity of the economic activities developed in settlements due to the resource diversity.

The adaptation of the settlements to the land morphology has triggered another element of geographic originality: the high degree of disintegration into small and very small villages, at short distance. The conventional village of the Land of Beiuş has a population of 485 inhabitants on average

(Filimon, L., 2007). With a population of approximately 80,000 inhabitants, located in 4 towns and 125 rural settlements, these small communities, with strong human relations, represent another element of regional coherence (Filimon, L. et al., 2011).

The management of the "lands", predominantly agricultural and traditional, similar to the western European rural world of the last century, is another plea for the land peculiarity of Beiuş area.

Last but not least, the traditional lifestyle, with ethnographic peculiarities and archaic features, where the traditions and customs of this area are preserved, becomes a local feature that broadens the regional coherence of the Land of Beiuş.

THE LAND OF BEIUS BETWEEN RESILIENCE AND REGENERATION

The Land of Beiuş as a functional entity can be considered a permanent resilient territory because of the permanent exposure to shocks, variety and rhythmicity of the interventions that create this permanent state of bounce-back. Another reasoning resides in its secular existence in the collective mentality, although it has never existed as an administrative structure. Although subject to various administrative, political, military and economic-social interventions, the half-closed peculiarity of the depression, related to its space and cohesion, favoured the resilience to its initial form and its resistance to changes, solid arguments in favour of its resilient feature.

One of the most powerful and visible resilient elements in Beiuş area is the agricultural work. Subsistence is the secular occupational dominance in the life of the inhabitants. The general technological progress only managed to bring small changes in the mentality of the typical peasant who presently continues to work his land out of a sacred duty to his ancestors who in their turn had made so many sacrifices to own it. This ancestral routine has become a professional aim in itself for the Beiuş peasant and consolidated the feeling of belonging to the local collectivity with an identical behaviour, as leaving the land unexploited is a disgrace in the Land of Beiuş.

During the communist era, there were brutal interventions on the territory, thus affecting the individual and communities and disarraying the traditional lifestyle of the Land of Beiuş. In the villages located in the core of the depression with more fertile lands, the communists broke the ancestral bond of the peasant with his land by forced collectivization. Nevertheless, because of the reduced natural fertility of the lands close to the mountain ridge, in this area there were communities that had not been part of this forced process. They continued to work their land in the same archaic way, not focused on economic profit (stock farming or crops adapted to the environment of the Land of Beiuş), but on providing food for their families (stock raising and growing vegetables needed for human nourishment and plants for stock), taking after a regional pattern of "self-assurance" (Juillard, 1962), an obvious element of resilience.

Although, the period of the communist collectivization did not entirely break the ancestral bond between the peasant and his land, the liberalization of the access to European markets after Romania had joined the European Union, triggered a dilution of the bond between the young generation and the land inherited from the ancestors. In the harsh economic and social environment of the last decades, Beiuş area, like many other areas in Romania, has lost some young population and labour force. Based on the small Beiuş village pattern (80 localities, representing 62% of the total number of Beiuş settlements, have less than 500 inhabitants), depopulation can endanger the future of the settlements, as disappearance is a real threat to seven localities (Filimon, C., 2011). As for the others, in a less critical situation, welfare through policies and state programs in order to keep the young population and the economic rejuvenation is a way of regeneration.

Even though we cannot find the past times intensity when each and every village of the Land of Beiuş was specialized in a traditional craft, and judging by the products one was able to identify the locality of origin (Ştefănescu, B., 2001), the traditional crafts are still present in some villages. From this point of view, Beiuş area shows elements of continuous resilience supported on the one hand by the keepers of these activities and, on the other hand, by the individuals' attachment to local traditions. By facing the process of intense globalization, Beiuş crafts and traditions are not dominant anymore, being in a state of preservation, and most of the times they are on the verge of extinction together with the artisans. From the industrial revolution to present days, these crafts have been subject to

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continuous shocks, yet, due to the their historical nucleus, they formed themselves as landmarks and identity elements, a plea for the acknowledgment of the resilient nature of the Land of Beiuş.

Of all the "aggressions" of the communist regime with major impact on the territory and communities, ending up in transformations, flaws and adaptations or resilience, the most brutal was the process of forced industrialization that triggered irreversible mutations in some communities. For them to be set right there is a need for territorial reconversion and urban regeneration. The most important mutations recorded in the analysed area were the shift of the economic and human flow from Beiuş, traditional polarizing centre, towards Ştei and Nucet, representative towns of forced industrialization when uranium deposits were discovered at Băiţa. The most visible transformations were linked to the labour force for which the communist state built the towns of Dr. Petru Groza (now Ştei, by adding new neighbourhoods to the already existing village) and Nucet (built up from scratch in approximately 4 years) as a socio-cultural centre and a dormitory town for the miners, respectively. Their appearance and development was strictly dependent on the exploitation of mineral resources (complex minerals) in this area, especially the uranium, deposit considered of strategic national importance. Both towns had a monofunctional economic profile directly linked to the mining activities. Their artificial support by the state and less by the local reality led to their progressive decline after the fall of the communist regime and a short post-1989 period.

The fall of the communist regime, the shift to market economy and implicitly the reduction of external interventions, allowed the Beiuş territorial system to return partly to its initial status of area polarized by its traditional centre, Beiuş. As opposed to Ştei, which is in a better condition, Nucet's perspectives of future development are scarce, the community being doomed mainly by the placement of the National Deposit of Radioactive Waste in the galleries of the former uranium mine. Without artificial support, the towns of Ştei and Nucet represent relict urban structures of the communist era (Săgeată, 2003), with insufficiently established urban functions, precarious life quality and urban culture, with high economic and social issues and inability to find a way to economic reconversion and regeneration. Mining communities "from parent to son", at present, these localities still pass through a period of deep decline as a result of the loss of identity due to the closing of the mining activity (Filimon, L. et al., 2011).

The forced industrialization and urbanization during the communist era affected the population of Beiuş area, attracted by possible jobs in the big cities, with all their facilities, thus triggering the migration of the labour force towards the newly created centres. Although after the closing of the former communist economic units most of them returned to the villages they had abandoned, the four decades of intervention on the rural environment, by their intensity and persistence, triggered irreparable transformations of the social and economic foundation of the communities, the resilience feature being present at individual level and less at the group level.

This evolution of Beiuş area perfectly integrates and is part of the adaptive cycle pattern with four consecutive stages: *growth*, *conservation*, *surrender* and *reorganization* (Shannon et al., 2010), and Beiuş rural area is found between the second and the third stage. Nevertheless, in the profound, archaic and conservative rural Beiuş area, mainly in the naturally more isolated villages located at the contact of the depression with the mountains, there are latent resilient elements of unchangeable value that represent the regional identity and distinctiveness of this area.

Beyond the regional identity and resilient elements, Beiuş area has to go beyond the major drawbacks in its development. Although the infrastructure is on top of the list of locality investments, there are initiatives for the enhancement of life quality as well as the rehabilitation of collective housing, green area fitting, and rehabilitation of cultural, health and educational units. Another development issue is the growth of the administrative capacity; in this regard, one could note some shy attempts to initiate a process of strategic planning. An example is the association of some Beiuş area localities in the so-called Associations of Inter-community Development.

In spite of all this, solving all the issues related to the development of this unique area requires a frontal and complex approach of the challenges of a narrow present, strongly marked by a very close past.

PROPOSAL FOR THE CAPITALIZATION OF THE RESILIENT FEATURES IN THE LAND OF BEIUŞ

Expressing themselves with maximum intensity at the level of "land" type areas, the resilient features form the regional identity itself. The traditional lifestyle, the extended subsistence agriculture, the traditional crafts and the preservation of local ethno-folkloric elements are resilient elements long lost at European level that can be turned into comparative advantages of these areas. Following the process of globalization that levels the keen competition among territories, Romania should stress its regional identity in order to resist this competition.

In this regard, we suggest the set-up by the state of a programme of sustainable regional development to support these areas in their process of asserting their identity. Following France's pattern, the turning of the Romanian lands into project territories (Filimon, 2007; Filimon et al., 2010; Filimon et al., 2011) by encouraging the associations of the territorial structures in inter-community cooperation structures, would originate an institutional framework to support the local communities in this type of development. A certain advantage is the study of all the Romanian "lands" within the School of Regional Geography set up by Professor Cocean in Cluj, the doctoral theses coordinated by him being analyses of territorial diagnosis that are still not capitalized by authorities. Thus, the authenticity and uniqueness of these areas could be saved by the preservation and perpetuation of the national distinctiveness.

Resuming the capitalization process of the resilient features of the Land of Beiuş as project territory, the first step should be towards strategic planning. There is a need for the drawing up of a sustainable development strategy for the entire Beiuş area and the set-up of an institutional structure to coordinate its implementation in the area. Based on the endogenous development pattern, the distinctiveness of every locality must be capitalized in order to set up networks of cooperation between localities based on complementarities and not competition. The territorial collectivities strategies must be integrated and each and every one should be a piece in the "puzzle" of this development pattern of Beiuş area. Sectorally, one should work out programmes to support the sustainable economic revitalization adapted to the peculiarities of each locality (ecological agriculture, woodcarving, traditional folk medicine, chalk processing, berry and mushroom processing, weaving, pottery, etc.). Based on a natural attractive environment due to the vicinity of the Apuseni Mountains, ethno tourism - a more and more popular term in Europe - can become a successful alternative for sustainable development (Petrea et al., 2011). Last but not least, there is a need to promote Beiuş area and this development pattern by an appropriate territorial management.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of this study are the following:

- Although "lands" as specific regions of Romania best preserve the national distinctiveness and many of them face major difficulties in their adaptation to the opening and flattening process brought by globalization, there is no strategy of capitalization by sustainable development of these territories, by the preservation and promotion of the local heritage;
- Belonging to this type of area, the Land of Beiuş displays both identity resilient elements, tributary to its past as "land" type area, and more recent elements of regeneration, tributary to the social-economic mutations of the last decades:
- The path towards economic reconversion is extremely difficult for communities with a monofunctional economic profile artificially supported by the communist regime, which lost their identity and are in a progressive decline, as opposed to the villages that still preserve a strong and viable identity;
- The conversion of the Land of Beiuş as a pattern of sustainable local development into a project territory could become a pilot project, subsequently extended to the other "land" type areas, in the context of several case studies of Beiuş area whose aim is to capitalize the local elements of identity resilience.

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