



ROMANIAN ACADEMY

FRANCISC I. RAINER INSTITUTE OF
ANTHROPOLOGY

**TAMING POSTSOCIALIST NATURE: FLOODS, LOCAL
STRATEGIES AND NATIONAL POLICIES ALONG THE
LOWER DANUBE**

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Team Leader:
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Bucharest 2014

The List of research members that contributed to the phases I and II
2013-2014 :

Dr. Stefan Dorondel . team leader

Prof. Dr. Iulia Arma - senior researcher

Dr. Mărioara Rusu . senior researcher

Dr. Steluțerban - senior researcher

Dr. Violeta Florian . postdoctoral researcher

Dr. Oana Ivan . postdoctoral researcher

Drd. Cristina Posner. Ph.D. Student

General objective

The project kicked off on September 2nd 2013. The phase 1/2013 has three objectives and several activities which were fully met. The first objective was to set a conceptual and methodological background of the project for all members of the research group. This was very important as the research group has a multidisciplinary component: three anthropologists, one sociologist, two geographers and an agricultural economist. The second objective of the phase was to identify the historical component of the entire research which concerns the floods and the building of dykes along the Lower Danube. In order to do this we carried interviews and did archival research. The third objective was to select two villages in Romania and two in Bulgaria where the ethnographic fieldwork will be carried out. This objective addresses two of the main objectives of the project, which are a) to analyze local communities *strategies* to mitigate floods and b) the analysis of flood mitigation local and national *policies*.

Members of the group met for the first time on September 4, 2013, at 10 am at the Francisc I. Rainer Institute of Anthropology Bucharest (hereafter FIRIA). We discussed the following issues:

- The recapitulation of the research project objectives ;
- Checking the data which we have so far and the data we need to collect in the future ;
- How to improve the accessibility of all members to the information, the way we will centralize the data and how we are going to process it;
- Expected results for each phase
- The scientific approach of the project
- Preliminary conclusion

The second phase (January through December 2014) consisted of fulfilling three objectives, all of them concerning the fieldwork. The first objective was to research the social memory in the four villages using qualitative methods. The second objective was to analyze the driving factors of change for the agricultural practices in the researched areas. This objective was achieved through quantitative methods.

The third objective was to collect psychometric data concerning the perception and the mitigation of flood risks in the research area. We collected data using both qualitative (ethnography and participatory mapping) and quantitative (using questionnaires) methods.

Objective 2/2013: The identification of historical benchmarks

The project leader has distributed the tasks equally among the research team members. The two geographers from the Faculty of Geography of the University of Bucharest (Iuliana Arma and Cristina Posner) carried fieldwork in Giurgiu-Gostinu area in order to identify the most suitable villages for our research. They carry out geomorphological analysis but also talked to local elite and completed archival research. Miroara Rusu and Violeta Florian from the Institute of Agricultural Economics researched the national and international projects aiming particularly at those projects that focused on the Lower Danube. Oana Ivan researched flood history in postsocialist Romania as ~~were~~ reflected in the mass-media.

Objective 3/2013 Selection of test areas

Stefan Dorondel, from Francisc I. Rainer Institute of Anthropology of the Romanian Academy (IAFR) and Stelu Serban, from the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy (ISSEE) have realized the first ethnographic researches in different areas from the Danube Valley, on both sides, the Bulgarian and the Romanian side, in view of selecting the communes which were often flooded in the past, and which will be studied by quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The regions were selected, in the first stage of the project, on basis of complex, multidisciplinary criteria (historical, ethnographical, socio-economic and environmental).

Activities 01/2013: Multidisciplinary documentation and the methodology of the project

As the project presupposes different methodologies, specific to all the disciplines represented in the project (social anthropology, geography, history, rural sociology and agrarian economy) a group of authors was established, to be read and discussed and a bibliography summing up different theoretical and methodological perspectives forming the political ecology field. Every fortnight meetings were

organised, when members of the team debated the bibliographical themes and discussed field reports. Within these meetings were approached issues such as political ecology, environmental anthropology, natural resources management and environmental history, methodology (multisited ethnography, multi-species ethnography, translation sociology, multi-scale analysis), anthropological theories of the state and bureaucracy anthropology and authors analysing the disastersq anthropology (mainly floods) and the sociologists and the anthropologists who have analysed the social, political, economic and environmental impact of the damsq building.

Political ecology, but also environmental anthropology research as approached in this project are the most up-to-date issues in the Romanian academic environment. Thus, within these meetings there were discussed authors as Paulson&Gezon (2005), Vayda&Walters (1999), Escobar (1999), Scoones (1999), Crumley et al. (2001), Asdal (2003) or Walker (2006). These authors (and others who were not cited but who were discussed during the debates) analyse the man-environment relationship as well as the main political, social and economic factors, which are influencing this relationship. They are helping us understand the plurality of interests and of the discourses towards the environment- in our case towards the idea of re-nature vs. agriculture practicing in floodable zones, the importance in the social analysis of geographical and environmental changes in the period after the dams building, the attention granted to the power concept which has an essential role in the relationship of the local communities with the State representatives, with the local, regional and national bureaucracy. We also explored and discussed the literature regarding the State anthropology and the bureaucracy anthropology-classical authors as Scott (1998), Gupta (1995) or Kapferer (2008) or more recent authors such as Bernstein & Mertz (2011) or Hoag (2011) who help us understand the State and bureaucracy role in maintaining the dams, in taking crucial decisions in case of dams' breaking after the flood, in the structuring of the social, economic and political relationships at local level. Finally, we discussed the literature regarding floods (very limited at world level) and the economic, social and ecological consequences after the dykes building, which helps understanding the methodological strategies applied by other authors and other research groups (for example the World Commission on

Dams 2000; Scudder 2006). Members of the research group became acquainted with ethnographic and participatory research methods.

Activity O2/2013: Archive research on records of historical floods and local memory and the analysis of the mass-media record on the Danube floods after 1990.

Stefan Dorondel and Stelu Serban have undergone preliminary research at the National Archives of Teleorman County (November 19th-20th 2013) and discovered records showing how the dikes were built and data about floods in Teleorman area, collected prior to the embankment. Stelu Serban did library research in Sofia between November 10th-16th 2013 on the flooded areas and learned about flooding in the interwar period and also about the embankment process in Chernopole and Vidin areas, in Vardim Plain, at the Iskar's mouth. Cristina Posner did research in the local archives of Oinacu (Giurgiu) and she found two plans from 1963 and 1980 regarding mitigation against flood impacts and local ordinances. The 1963 plan includes data on the flood affected farmed areas and other problems faced by the Oinacu village. All the researchers of the project team also carried out short interviews which suggested that the local memory about the economy and the ecology of the flooded areas prior to the embankment is still strong. Oana Ivan did internet research in order to understand how the major Danube floods on Romanian territory were recorded. The first results (that also have the highest number of hits) belong to two main sources: mass-media and institutions reports. For institutions, the website of IMNH, the report of Agentia Nationala de Imbunatatiri Funciare (National Department of Land Improvement) and The Atlas of maps for flood risk and hazard in Danube basin, 2012 (European Project %Danube Floodrisk+) revealed the most relevant data.

Activity O3/2013: The geographic analysis and the fieldwork for identifying the proper field sites in Bulgaria and Romania

The complex geographic analysis was based on the examination of bibliographic references and historical maps. The geological and geographical literature was systematised on genetic criteria and historical order, starting with the important contributions of G. M. Murgoci (1907) referring to Danube's floodplain and the deviation of a number of water courses in the Romanian Plain and the geological

formations of Tertiary Period (which marks the beginning of Neozoic Era) making up the Oltenia Plain, the Danube terraces and the genetic types of soils from the Danube Plain. During 4-10th of November Stefan Dorondel and Stelu Urban travelled along the right bank of the Danube, through several settlements from Tutrakan to Vidin, aiming to identify the two settlements of the future ethnographical fieldwork. During 18-21st of November they did the same fieldtrip on the left bank, in Romania, from Suhaia, Teleorman district, to Gighera, Dolj district, looking for one settlement to be researched next year. Iulia Arma and Cristina Posner have completed this part of the project by seeking the fourth settlement of ethnographical fieldwork, in Giurgiu district, Romania. After carrying fieldwork and archival and geographical research two settlements from the Bulgarian bank of the Danube (Belene și Slanotran) and two from the Romanian bank (Bistreșu, Dolj County and Gostinu, Giurgiu County) were selected as field sites for ethnographic research. Researching comparatively Belene with the National Park Persina on the Danube islands and Bistreșu with a Nature Reserve will lead us to a better understanding of the human-nature relations within and outside protected areas along the Lower Danube.

For the field research in 2014 we used qualitative and quantitative methods. This phase had three objectives: collecting data about social memory of floods in the four villages using qualitative methods, the analysis of the drivers of changing agricultural practices in the research area and the psychometric analysis and the flood risk mitigation.

Activities 01/2014: Focus-group in the researched settlements, ethnographic fieldwork, and working up the participatory maps

The focus-group method was mainly required in the contexts of researchers' investigation regarding the information that could come from the local and medium level bureaucrats with certain tasks in making-up plans for defence against floods (as these from the Emergency Units, hydrologists from Giurgiu station, Red Cross representatives etc.). The dialogue helped to identify major research directions such as the impact of the socialist time over the flooded area, the dykes and irrigation system, the drainage channels system, state institutions and stakeholders, defence plans, the use of resources, local memory about floods (mainly about the 1963 flood), the Danube freezing, the sand and rock exploitations, the forests and deforestation,

nature restoration, the identification of the vulnerable social categories to floods (as Roma local minorities).

The ethnographic fieldwork in the four settlements (Belene and Slanotran in Bulgaria, Gostinu and Bistret in România) suggests that the matters the people have to cope with are the same. Similar ecological contexts have led to relatively similar economic structures, both before the socialist period and after that. The local economy was based on cattle breeding on the marshes, in half wilderness. The land cultivation was restricted to the terraces or natural raised areas and here and there on the flooded areas after water withdrawal. The fishing heavily supported the local livelihood. After instatement of socialist regimes in both countries the dams were built and the former floodplains were transformed in agricultural exploitations. A multi-ramified infrastructure, both visible and invisible, was built (drainage pipes, channels, irrigation systems, pumping stations; see the Stefan Dorondel's paper in the appendix of the report). In the postsocialist period all these infrastructure constructions were neglected and in consequence, massive water infiltrations from the Danube were recorded (see the photos on the project website). The water infiltrations affect the arable land in these areas. The interviews that were taken with the local and medium level actors allowed us to built up a picture of the last great flood event of 2006 (which affected mainly in Romania, but also to a certain extent, some area in Bulgaria). Thus, the roles that the local authorities, mayor, local council, government representative, were portrayed, as well as the informal networks and practices for self and mutual help amongst locals.

The ethnographic field research has also focused on the issue of nature restoration of the former flooded areas. The ways the local people in the four settlements see this matter was the core of this research, to which we added the positioning of the corporate agriculturists vis-a-vis the same issue (as for instance, in Gostinu and Bistre). Next year the team members will research whether people are in agreement with the restoration plans proposed mainly due to NGOs pressure. It should be emphasized that this project is the first that uses an anthropological approach (ethnographic research concerning this issue), as far as we know, regarding nature restoration (spontaneous and human-induced) in South Eastern Europe, and perhaps in the entire Europe.

The ethnographic research answers the first objective of the project, focused on identifying the factors that change the land use and farming practices in the areas that have experienced dramatic ecologic and economic transformation after the building of Danube's dams. The issues of state anthropology and bureaucracy are very important and they allow us to formulate an answer to the second objective of the project, focused on understanding the regional and local flood-protection strategies. The ethnographic research about nature restoration partly answers the third objective regarding the civil society's reaction to flood.

We organised participatory mapping activities both in Slanotran and Gostinu (and we will do the same in Bistret and Belene next year if we have the funding). The participatory mapping activity (which used ortophotoplans -1:5000 -in Romania, and Google Earth maps in Bulgaria; due to the funding cuts in 2014 we were unable to purchase appropriate maps, the Google Earth maps lack precision and data obtained is difficult to georeference) is a qualitative method that allows the researcher to learn about locals' perspective on the land use both in the past and present, or about the property rights on a certain strip of land or forest.¹ In Slanotran, for instance, we learned about the areas with infiltrations and also about the history of land use and the changes caused by the transformations of ponds into farm land. Information collected shows, not only the still very vivid social memory of the community, but also the social and ecological changes after the 1990s. Moreover, the analysis of these images shows us who are the losers and the winners and most important, it shows us the locals' struggle against the ways nature tries to re-establish itself, especially through infiltration in areas that were once (before embankment) former ponds and lakes.

This method is very important also because it shows on the map the erosion of the Danube's shore, a vital issue in all four villages. The shore erosion led to the Gostinu beach disappearance (very important to the local summer economy), or Danube river reaching very close to the Bistret dike. This natural issue also points to the fact that

¹ For more details on this method see Muller et al. (2003) and Muller (2003).

although very aware of the problem, the local bureaucrats cannot solve it. The local precarious politics and poor functioning of local bureaucracy are reflected by their lack of action despite knowing all these problems. This research method and the findings obtained respond to the objective number two from the project (local and regional strategies to mitigate floods).

Activity O2 / 2014: Statistical analysis - the socio-economic dimension and socio-economic quantitative surveys

Violeta Florian and Marioara Rusu designed and then pre-tested socio-economic questionnaires and the village (commune) factsheet. Questionnaires were calibrated (both at the level of questions and length of the questionnaire) to make them as relevant as possible. Commune factsheet also proved to be useful for the rest of the team carrying out qualitative research.

A first quantitative research component was conducted by Marioara Rusu and Violeta Florian who analyzed the socio-economic profile and vulnerability to hydro - climate change of the rural areas from the eleven counties situated along Danube River. The Danube Region² has diverse social, economic, political and environmental characteristics. This suggests that the region's counties have a different degree of vulnerability to hydro-climatic changes. Vulnerability assessment was done through indicators - a method that can capture the multidimensionality of vulnerability in a comprehensible form. Identification and selection of relevant indicators³ was based on the three dimensions of vulnerability: exposure, sensitivity and adaptive capacity. Thus, were selected twenty-five indicators and compiled a data matrix which was then processed in SPSS.

The proposed approach aimed to identify the differences in rural vulnerability level and profile, using a multi-criteria analysis model. Classification based on this model was performed using factor analysis (principal component analysis) and cluster

² In this report, the Danube Region is defined as the area heavily influenced by the Danube, consisting of eleven riparian (NUTS 3): BR, GL, CT, TL, CL, IL, GR, TR, OL, DJ and MH. Due to the complex works that were carried out at the Iron Gates I, which introduced a number of significant changes in the hydrology of the area between Bazia and Iron Gates, Caras-Severin County was excluded.

³ During database set up, constraints arose due to indicators availability: many of the proposed indicators in the literature could not be used because they were not available at the county level or data reliability was not satisfactory.

analysis (hierarchical cluster analysis, Euclidean distance, the farthest neighbour method).

The four obtained classes / clusters show spatial differences of socioeconomic vulnerability at the county level. The socio-economic study of rural communities had as the main objective identifying the rural population capacity to engage in crisis management, the natural vulnerability perception mechanisms, the ways of combining economic and social systems to draw up local strategies to combat natural risk.

The study conducted in the rural communities had as main objectives the following: i) to determine the socioeconomic development and modernization level; ii) identifying the characteristic of the natural risk management process at the local authorities level. The method used consisted of a mix between direct observation and interviews with formal leaders of the community. The instrument used to collect sociological information was the "Commune factsheet" (Fi a comunei).

Quantitative investigation also comprised questionnaires application at the household level in two micro rural areas composed of two communities: Giurgiu micro area with Gostinu and Oinacu rural localities and Dolj micro area with Bistre and Rast rural localities. Behaviour analysis at individual and community levels generated by overcoming natural hazards, in different materiality degrees, was developed using a representative sample consisting of 201 persons, of the two rural micro areas. The method used was the sociological survey and the investigation technique was the questionnaire. Data processing was performed using SPSS Program. From the perspective of sociological research we can say that at the micro area level there are behaviours, attitudes and options generated by risk based on the specificity of each rural community and that there is a mix between traditional and early modernization.

In these investigations two phenomena of the natural risk were pursued, with profound implications for community life: infiltration and flooding. The rural micro areas under investigation are composed of communities with a peri-urban status, built according to different historical, geographical, economic and social circumstances. Rural dynamics have different paths being the result of the complex interactions between: agricultural restructuring caused by external factors

(rationalization of agriculture) and internal factors (agricultural modernization); rural restructuring caused by external factors (social empowerment) and internal factors (rural modernization). From the demographic structures perspective it was found that there is a dramatic decrease in the rural population, with negative impact on natural regeneration of labour resources.

Risk management, analyzed from a sociological point of view, is characterized by residual archaism in Giurgiu micro area and instrumental activism in Dolj micro area. In Dolj, from the perception of the local authority, there is a more coherent representation of the socio-hydraulic system of the community versus Giurgiu micro-zone. This is because Dolj microzone is exposed to much stronger and more often flood risk events (the floods in 2006 had a profound impact on the lives of rural communities - Bistre and Rast, as well as the annual infiltration phenomenon) generating, at local authority level, much bigger concerns, which do not diminish over time.

Activity O3/2014: Design and testing of questionnaires, psychometric analysis and processing and interpretation of results

To evaluate the way the population relates to flood risk, a multi-modal questionnaire structured on a sequence of 15 items was designed using qualitative methods (focus groups), but was also based on the experience of previous research. The questionnaire included different types of questions (with single answer, multiple or open), on different scales of measurement. The items have identified cognitive elements (expectations, anticipations and negative or positive judgments in relation to the risk event), affective (feelings) and behavioural (activities, strategies in a disaster). The dimensions aimed at were the following:

1. The affective dimension (how scared are the subjects of a possible flooding);
2. The perceived probability of the event;
3. Impact, more exactly the degree of damage to the household, past effects and anticipation built on previous experiences (based on frequency and intensity of past events);
4. Support in case of a disaster (material and relational support, from family to community).

Testing the first working hypothesis - the socio-demographic conditionality - did not confirm significant socio-demographic differences in the way people relate to the risk. Firstly, there were no statistically significant gender differences in the way people relate to flood risks, although there is a more balanced distribution of responses for female population versus predominant male population responses showing indifference to environmental risks. The degree of involvement of women with issues concerning environmental uncertainty is higher (3% of the respondents with "do not know" are women). The number of people in the household and their education level does not correlate with the perception. The fact that the socio-demographic determinants do not reach statistical significance in relation to flood risk perception is confirmed in the worldwide literature.

Testing the second working hypothesis - the economic conditionality - This relates to material support influencing the way people react regarding risk. A number of significant correlations were identified on the inequality dimension, regarding disaster anticipation, the ratio capital / income and the extent to which subjects were affected by the last floods. The inequality is significant statistically correlated with the extent to which the household has been affected by previous floods ($r = 0.36$, $p = 0.001$). The result can receive a dual interpretation: either communities with an uneven distribution of income were more affected by the disaster, precisely because they are unequal, or flood has pushed the poor to a great poverty limit and affected to a lesser extent people with higher incomes.

The second correlation that reaches statistical significance is the anticipation of disaster due to a catastrophic flood ($r = 0.33$, $p = 0.001$). In this case, also in the unequal communities, the flood stressor is perceived as being closer temporally than in the villages with a little more equalized distribution of income. The third association, which is statistically significant is the capital ratio / income ($r = 0.83$, $p = 0.001$). This strong correlation, although not surprising, shows that large economic discrepancies occur in access to capital.

The result confirms the methodological decision to use capital/income ratio as an independent measure. The percentage of non-housing capital held by the wealthiest 10% of the villagers correlates with flood anticipation ($r = 0.35$, $p = 0.001$). The

villages where 10% of inhabitants own 80% of the land perceive the next flood as being closer than villages where the 10% most wealthier inhabitants have less than 80% of land.

Information from the field was included in descriptive statistical procedures for frequencies and inferential analysis. The hypothesis of different variations in perception according to gender and age of individuals in the sample was checked with one way ANOVA. The relation between risk perception and other socio-demographic variables was based on parametric and nonparametric correlations. To check assumptions and associations the T and chi-square tests have been used. The material support was quantified by calculating indices that were based on the declared income, which implied limitations specific for measurements using a questionnaire.

Conclusions

The multidisciplinary field research (ethnographic, historical, statistical, geographic) showed great similarities between the four communities studied. Relatively similar ecological conditions, similar historical and social evolution (during socialism and the period after) led to the emergence of relatively similar problems faced by villagers in the four communities: poor state of dykes, levees and drainage and irrigation infrastructure, poor training, lack of funding and bureaucratic institutions, which should keep the infrastructure functional, water infiltration and spontaneous nature restoration. All these increase the risk of catastrophic flooding in the future, as our research shows poor people will be more affected than richer people.

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Appendix with the list of workshop presentations by the members of the research group

NATIONAL CONFERENCES IN 2014

Cristina Posner, Iuliana Armas, *The analysis of local communities adaptation strategies to floods- A conceptual framework*, paper presented at the symposium sEnvironment, Society and Geospatial Technology+, organised by the University of Bucharest, November 16-17, 2013.

Cristina Posner, Iuliana Armas, A. Marin, *The Evolution of Danube's Islands from Gostinu Village Area*, paper presented at the 2014 Edition of Annual Scientific Conference %Changing Geographies and Societies+, University of Bucharest, November 15 2014.

Marioara Rusu, *The Assessment of the Flood Damages Produced to the Agricultural Sector. A Theoretical Approach*, paper presented at the 21st National Conference of Agrarian History of Romania, Deva, September 4-7.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Stefan Dorondel, Stelu Serban, *A Moving Island: Nature Dynamics and State Borders Conflict for Nature in Modern Southeast Europe*, paper presented at the conference of the International Association for Danube Research, %The Danube and Black Sea Region Unique Environment and Human Well Being Under Conditions of Global Changes+, Sofia, June 17-20.

Stefan Dorondel, Veronica Mitroi, *Fishermen Into Poachers: Nature, State and Fishing Practices in the Danube Delta*, paper presented at the workshop %Nature State+organized by the Ludwig-Maximilians Universitaet M nchen, Gran Paradiso National Park, Italy, July 15-17.

Stefan Dorondel, *Green Imperialism, Neocolonialism and Land Grabbing in Eastern Europe*, talk given to the Global Environments Summer Academy organized by the University of Bern and LMU Munich, Bern, August 5-8.

Stefan Dorondel, *Environmental Disasters and Other Big Problems of Our Time: What Place for the (Southeast European) Anthropology?* Keynote speech for the International Conference organized by the International Association for Southeast European Anthropology, Kadir Has University, Istanbul, September 18-22.

Stefan Dorondel, *Floods, Power and Environmental Justice along the Danube Floodplains in Postsocialist Romania*, public talk at the Department of Anthropology, University of Vienna, October 15.

Stefan Dorondel, *Natural Disasters and Environmental Justice: an Example from Eastern Europe*, paper presented at the international conference organized by the World Resources Forum, Arequipa, Peru, October 19-23.

Stefan Dorondel, *Postsocialist Agriculture Vs. Nature: State, Land Improvement and the 'Invisible Infrastructure' in the Lower Danube Floodplains*, paper presented at the interna ional workshop sFarmland, Food and Forest in Transition: The Eurasian Countryside 25 Years After+organized by the International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University,

Rotterdam and Francisc I. Rainer Institute of Anthropology, Bucharest, Romanian Academy November 7 . 8.

Stefan Dorondel, *Taming the Postsocialist Nature: Floods, Local Strategies and National Policies along the Lower Danube*, paper presented at the international conference *Modes of Appropriation and Social Resistance* organized by the SASC, University Babes-Bolyai Cluj-Napoca, November 20-22.

Violeta Florian, *Risk Culture. Rural Communities in Danube Flood Plain: Case Study*, International Conference - Prospects for Agriculture and Rural Development through the New Vision of the Common Agricultural Policy 2014- 2020, 10 decembrie, 2014, IAE, Bucharest, Romania.

Marioara Rusu, *A Typology of Rural Areas in the Danube Region*, paper presented at the 2nd International Conference *Economic Scientific Research - Theoretical, Empirical and Practical Approaches*, ESPERA 2014, November 13-14, NIER, Bucharest, Romania.

Oana Ivan, *The "glorious" communist past and the "green" ecologic present: Anthropological perspectives over the Danube Delta and lower Danube fishing communities*, paper presented at the international conference of the International Association for Danube Research, *The Danube and Black Sea Region Unique Environment and Human Well Being Under Conditions of Global Changes*, Sofia, June 17-20.

Marioara Rusu, *Territorial Disparities of Farm Structure in the Lower Danube Region*, International Conference - Prospects for Agriculture and Rural Development through the New Vision of the Common Agricultural Policy 2014-2020, December 10, 2014, IAE, Bucharest, Romania.

Stelu Serban, *Tracking the state in the smaller landscape*, paper presented at the international conference, *Modes of Appropriation and Social Resistance* organized by the SASC, University Babes-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, November 20-22.

Stelu Serban, *Agricultural expertise in small farms in Northern Bulgaria*, paper presented at the international workshop *Farmland, Food and Forests in Transition: The Eurasian countryside 25 years after* organized by the International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University, Rotterdam and Francisc I. Rainer Institute of Anthropology, Bucharest, Romanian Academy November 7 . 8.

Stelu Serban, *Past and present in life on the banks of the Danube*, paper presented at the international conference *Cultures of Crisis. Experiencing and Coping With Upheavals and Disasters in Southeast Europe*, organized by the International Association for Southeast European Anthropology, Kadir Has University, Istanbul, September 18-20.

Conferences and Workshop organisation

Stefan Dorondel, organiser of the panel *Hybrid Landscapes: Dykes, State and the Ecological Transformations along the Lower Danube* within international conference *Modes of Appropriation and Social Resistance* Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, November 20-22.

Stefan Dorondel, co-organizer of the international workshop *Farmland, Food and Forest in Transition: The Eurasian Countryside 25 Years After* together with Oane Viser i Max Spoor (International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University, Rotterdam), Romanian Academy, Bucharest, November 7-8.