

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### PART I INTRODUCTION

- 1. Posing the Question, Handling the Question**
- 1.1 Transnational Mobilization and its Limits (p. 13)
- 1.2 The “Romanians”: Expectations Deriving From an Interpretative Case Study (p. 21)

### PART II THE ACADEMIC DEBATE: INSTITUTIONS, ACTORS AND REPERTOIRES OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION

- 2. Political Mobilization – Between National and Supranational Polity**
- 2.1 The Key Factors Influencing Political Mobilization (p. 41)
- 2.2 Defining the Borders of Public Authority in Contemporary Europe (p. 46)
- 3. Transnational Mobilization**
- 3.1 Transnational Mobilization: Definition, Processes, and Potential Impact (p. 51)
- 3.2 From Threat to Hope: Actor-Specific Incentives for Transnational Mobilization (p. 56)
- 4. Transnational Minority Mobilization?  
Scrutinizing the Participants**
- 4.1 Who Cares? The Participatory Dimension of Transnational Minority Projects (p. 60)
- 4.2 What Kind of Minority? Different Status, Different Mind-Sets, Different Goals (p. 68)
- 5. Transnational Minority Mobilization?  
Scrutinizing the Institutional Environment**
- 5.1 Deceptive Hopes? Conflicting Assessments of European Norms and Institutions (p. 73)
- 5.2 Unity in Diversity? The Limits to Minority Activism in Post-Communist Europe (p. 79)

PART III  
ANALYSIS: FRAMEWORKS, PRECONDITIONS  
AND THE MOBILIZATION AMONG ROMANIANS

**6. External Actors and Institutions**

- 6.1 Main International Frameworks of Minority Protection:  
Laws and Institutions (p. 87)
- 6.2 The Activities of the Romanian Government (p. 94)
- 6.3 Romanian Organizations as Transnationalizers and Networkers? (p. 102)
- 6.4 The Activities of Committed Individuals at the International Level (p. 108)

**7. The Serbian Case**

- 7.1 An Overview of the Situation of Minorities in Serbia (p. 113)
- 7.2 The Local Influence of International Institutions (p. 120)
- 7.3 Contested but Critical: Distinguishing Romanians, Vlachs,  
and Serbs in Serbia (p. 122)

**8. The Bulgarian Case**

- 8.1 An Overview of the Situation of Minorities in Bulgaria (p. 143)
- 8.2 The Local Influence of International Institutions (p. 147)
- 8.3 Only a Show? Gaps between Romanians, Vlachs  
and Aromuns in Bulgaria (p. 151)

**9. The Ukrainian Case**

- 9.1 An Overview of the Situation of Minorities in Ukraine (p. 164)
- 9.2 The Local Influence of International Institutions (p. 167)
- 9.3 Active but Adversarial: Romanians Contra Moldovans in Ukraine (p. 168)

**10. The Hungarian Case**

- 10.1 An Overview of the Situation of Minorities in Hungary (p. 178)
- 10.2 The Local Influence of International Institutions (p. 182)
- 10.3 Small and Silent: The Romanian National Minority in Hungary (p. 185)

PART IV  
CONCLUDING REMARKS

- 11. **“Someone had to do this work” –  
What is Left of Transnational Mobilization?** (p. 195)