

**FROM A MINING VILLAGE
TO AN ENCLAVE-LIKE
CITY NEIGHBORHOOD:**
CASE STUDY OF A DEVELOPMENT
INDUCED VOLUNTARY
RESETTLEMENT

A Thesis supervised by Prof. Dr. **Gideon Bolt**,
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1 Introduction

I found some mantle like specimens. We had to explain what we found. But the wasteland of the possibilities is a plain trace in my mouth. So [...] c'mon lets dissect it. Let's cut it up until it's gone. Let's break it up into pieces. Throw away what we don't understand. It comes together again, it comes together again.

Somehow... In the end. (de.con.struc.tion by FANFARLO)

Roşia Montană is the oldest mining settlement in Romania. In 2000, a private Canadian mining company, Gold Corporation, purchased the state-owned mine with the intention to construct the largest open gold quarry in Europe. As the company settled in the village, the community was faced with uncertainty regarding their future. This gave way to diverse reactions (e.g. locals, outsiders or media) and harsh conflicts arisen especially on matters related to the land necessary for the project. In order to reach their goal, Gold Corporation begun purchasing land from local residents, which lead to a divided and scattered community. In the first phase of the project the only option was relocation, as the company would pay money for the local's properties without any other support or follow up. However, in fall 2009, they built a new neighborhood, known as Recea, on the outskirts of the county's capital city, Alba Iulia. The district presents modern infrastructure and good connections to the city center. At the beginning of 2010, resettlement (exchange of property and most likely some money incentives, for city villa) became an option for the Roşia Montană affected population. Thus, people left their isolated deprived mountain village for the city lights of suburban Recea neighborhood.

The study of Roşia Montană resettlement case is essential, as it is unique in Romania, taking into account the size of the project (the largest transnational development project) and possibly, the first private (not state planned) relocation/resettlement plan. Currently, Roşia Montană Gold Corporation (RMGC) mining project is of national interest and receives constant media attention. The controversy regarding the project goes on matters such as profit management, project sustainability, extraction technologies, patrimony, but also,

passionately, on the future of Roșia Montană community and the future of its residence. Furthermore, within the mining induced resettlement projects, a distinctive case is represented by the gold mining communities, as gold is the most profitable mineral being extracted (Veiga, Scoble & McAllister, 2001). On the one hand, mining related relocations and displacements will become a significant problem, due to the convergence of five triggering factors: (1) consistent mineral deposits can mostly be found in places with relative low costs on the world market, (2) they are exploited from open quarries, (3) are located in areas with high population density where (4) the property over land is poorly defined and (5) the population is powerless, mainly in terms of political power (Downing, 2002). On the other hand, those that finance the extractive activities can offer a series of benefits, in terms of massive investments in marginal areas, reorientation to activities that generate revenues, creation of new jobs, modern infrastructure, development of new human settlements and, the most important, the possibility to obtain substantial profits which will generate development for the entire region and better quality of life for the people (Sonneberg and Munster, 2001; Downing, 2002). Thus, there are “numerous challenges to making a mining community viable” (Veiga, Scoble & McAllister, 2001: 192) as “all mining communities will witness the exhaustion of their mineral deposits and the closure of their mines” (idem: 199).

Given these facts, our main research question is: *How does re-establishment (post-resettlement process) take place for a former mining rural community (Roșia Montană village) and for a newly emerged urban neighborhood (Recea) in a medium size city with about 73 thousands inhabitants?* with particular focus on the social implications of re-establishment process, especially for the destination settlement.

The effects of this development induced voluntary resettlement will be followed both at origin and destination settlements, particularly on the ways in which people adjust to the new situation or environment based on four dimensions: physical space, access to services, economic security and social integration. These dimensions are grounded in the Risk and Reconstructions model, as formulated in World Bank’s resettlement handbooks. This model is the most common tool used by experts in researching the effects of (involuntary)

resettlement. In this regard, Cernea (1997:1580) states “unfortunately, there is less empirical research on reconstructive aspects than on impoverishment process, and considerably more efforts are needed to identify, analyze, and disseminate positive experiences in reconstructing livelihoods”. Moreover, Downing (2002:20) tells that “displacement theory itself is in its infancy” considering that, beyond the process of resettlement, there are countless human experiences which are yet to be explored. In other words, the research on re-establishment process and experience still lacks detailed understanding on how it actually occurs. Therefore, our goal is to offer relevant insight into how one community is taken apart and another pieced together as a direct result of a development induced resettlement project. The main objective is to describe and analyze the social re-establishment experience, both at origin (rural mining community) and, with emphasis, at destination (urban neighborhood). Furthermore, from a methodological standpoint, we collect the data through interviews (structured and semi-structured; group and individual) for each settlement, while the analysis is carried out, mainly, through SPSS analysis.

We shall start with the presentation of relevant resettlement literature, including our conceptual research design and interpretation of the four dimensions integrating concepts such as neighborhood, social capital and enclave. In Chapter 3 we discuss the manner in which field research was carried out, but also the measurement instruments and analysis structure. Chapter 4 and 5 present the main results for each settlement, Roșia Montană and Recea neighborhood. Finally, we put forth the main findings of the study drawn by regrouping the main results according to the four dimensions on which the social re-establishment process was observed and measured.

2 RESETTLEMENT: effects and interpretations

This chapter represents our theoretical framework. Section 2.1 focuses on resettlement and its characteristics as presented in policy literature. Section 2.2 presents the risk model and the effects of resettlement, followed by our conceptual model. Last, Section 2.3 discusses interpretations on our four dimensions of re-establishment, integrating theoretical literature on concepts such as neighborhood, enclave and social capital.

2.1 Resettlement Process

Resettlement can be defined as the process through which bio-geophysical, social, cultural, economic and political spaces are rearranged in the world.

2.1.1 The R. Word

The resettlement discourse came about due to the capitalist (Eurocentric) modernity paradigm as an outcome of colonization, while nowadays it is assigned to globalization (Escobar, 2003). The main reason for this change is the intertwined link between globalization and development. Although both concepts put forth the idea of transformation, development (etymologically) carries the imperative of positive change¹ in a specific aspect (social, cultural, political, economical or spatial) of a society (Lawal, 2006). In this respect, Cernea (1995) states that an average of 10 million people are displaced each year due to the development induced projects, either state or private planned, ranging from infrastructure (e.g. roads, railroads, dams), conservation (e.g. national parks) to industry ventures (e.g. mining). When it comes down to resettlement, Vandergeest (2003:47) considers that “development in all its forms is inherently a spatial activity [...] all

¹ However, I do not blindly consider all developments to bring about positive results. On the contrary, as Escobar (2003:160) mentions “[...] if modernity created the displacement, the modern/development institutions seem to be unable (and in some ways unwilling) to provide workable solutions”. Furthermore, one might consider that all the academic and media attention to the ‘drama’ surrounding some development/resettlement cases as proof of the multiple unpremeditated effects of these processes. The road to hell is paved with good intentions [sic!] (Quote dating back to 11th century).

development projects involve reorganizing the meaning and control of space”; thus, development carries within the potential to displace. In the near future, development induced displacements are expected to be more and more frequent around the world (Cernea, 2003).

Resettlement, relocation, displacement or uprooting concepts are interchangeably used in the literature². However, in our case, we make a distinction between the resettlement and relocation in accordance with the Resettlement and Relocation Action Plan (RRAP) prepared in line with the World Bank standards and Romanian laws by the Roșia Montană Gold Corporation (RMGC). Accordingly, both resettlement and relocation are mechanisms of compensation of the population affected by a large industrial investment. Furthermore, resettlement refers to the move from the origin to a specific newly built area as destination, whilst relocation involves cash compensations for the properties as individuals choose to the destination. Thus, the focus of our thesis is the development induced resettlement process from Roșia Montană (the origin) to Recea neighborhood (the newly built destination) in Alba Iulia city, Romania.

2.1.2 Voluntary versus Involuntary R.

There are two main types of resettlement: voluntary and involuntary. In the World Bank terminology, resettlement “covers all direct economic and social losses resulting from land taking and restrictions of access, together with the consequent compensatory and remedial measures” (World Bank, 2004:5). On one hand, voluntary resettlement “refers to any resettlement not attributable to eminent domain or other forms of land acquisition backed by powers of the state” (ibid:21). The principles of voluntary resettlement are informed consent and power of choice. Informed consent presumes that the people are fully informed regarding the implications and consequences of the project, and freely decide to participate; while power of choice presumes that there are no adverse consequences, formal or informal,

² The preference for one term or the other depends mainly on the author(s). In addition, I observed that the term of uprooting is preferred by those that practice ethnographic or anthropological research, displacement by those which focus on development and resettlement by policy oriented researchers.

imposed on the people - the decision to move or not lies with the people. It is essential that both principles are available in order for resettlement to be voluntary. On the other hand, even if there is informed consent, but the project location is fixed (e.g. a road can be redesigned on a different course, while a dam is immutable) then there is no power of choice; thus the resettlement becomes involuntary.

Taking these into account, we find it rather difficult to place the resettlement case of Roșia Montană in terms of voluntary or involuntary. Given the fact that the project implies constructing the largest gold open quarry in Europe (immutable location), it cancels out the power of choice. However, the Romanian Government does not intend to force anyone to resettle, thus giving ‘a bit’ of power of choice, as there is no certainty of whether or not the project will actually be carried out. Thus, the people, more or less take a gamble, either to move or to remain, while the success of the resettlement and mining project lay on the interplay of these individual decisions. For these reasons, we opt for RMGC version, which clearly defines the resettlement process as voluntary. In accordance, Buruiiană (2008) states that the “Resettlement and Relocation Strategy is based on the personal development opportunities that transform resettlement and relocation into a voluntary decision”. The World Bank policies and studies on resettlement focus only on involuntary resettlements, such as the development induced (mega) projects³ and refugee cases. We consider the main reasons for the focus on involuntary resettlement lies in the fact that it creates a framework in which World Bank policy can be applied and the whole process can be transparently regulated (governments conform to the international laws and human rights procedures). It would be rather presumptuous to expect the same in the case of voluntary resettlement, as in these instances the investment is private, the stakeholders are divers (from local to international), the process has as primary goal profit, and only secondary, a mean to improve the wellbeing of the affected people. However, RMGC took upon itself the responsibility of

³ Gellert and Lynch (2003:15-16) define mega-projects as “projects which transform landscapes rapidly, intentionally, and profoundly in very visible ways, and require coordinated applications of capital and state power”. In addition, these types of projects usually require specialized equipment and sophisticated technologies (e.g. mining projects, dams, reservoirs, etc.).

respecting the World Bank policy on involuntary resettlement and tailored their RRAP based on these grounds⁴ (Buruiană, 2008).

2.1.3 R.: characteristics and typologies

Development induced resettlement is planned (if spontaneous⁵, then it would be considered a refugee type of displacement), selective (given the set location of the development, only those which are in the immediate proximity to the site are to be displaced) and permanent (in comparison with refugees, which are somewhat expected to return to their origin, in the case of development induced resettlement there is no turning back as the origin itself becomes unavailable) (Escobar, 2003; Kibreab, 2000).

Resettlement most often occurs in rural⁶ underdeveloped areas (Gellert and Lynch, 2003), characterized by poverty and unemployment, where the population has low social and educational capital and as a result “the poorest of the poor pay the price of other peoples progress” (Downing, 2002:12). The intrinsic reasoning lies in the fact that usually these types of areas resume in low costs of development (infrastructure and built environment), high profits (the rural areas are nearest to natural resources) and relative small number of people which are bound to resettle (as in comparison with urban settlements which have high population density and the price of the land is expensive). Based on the bio-geophysical and the social impacts of a resettlement project, Gellert and Lynch (2003) make the distinction between primary displacement and secondary displacement. On one hand, primary displacement is an integral process where every involved party plays out its role according to the set plan; it refers to the directly affected population and the workers for which the transformation is imminent and to some degree predictable (i.e. the company takes measures

⁴ As a consequence, I once again choose to follow in the footsteps of RMGC. Furthermore, the theoretical body on involuntary resettlement is more robust and well-defined, in comparison with voluntary resettlement which sometimes transcends to migration studies.

⁵ In the case of refugee resettlement, the initial stage of the process is rather sudden and unexpected (i.e. a war starts, people flee the country). Nonetheless, except for the lack of destinations’ citizenship/nationality - “population displaced by development projects are often nationals, whereas refugees are aliens” (Kibreab, 2000:328) - they are treated as any other resettled population.

⁶ Gellert and Lynch (2003:23) consider that development induced resettlement projects, especially in the case of mega-projects, occur mainly in “[...] societies remote from centers of power”.

to prevent the failure of resettlement process based on previous knowledge and experiences). On the other hand, secondary displacement is an indirect process, and stands for the consequences of the development project on the neighboring areas. This process is based on uncertainty, as it is close to impossible to estimate the effects of a resettlement project on its surrounding areas. Also, secondary displacement is considered temporary, as it is expected that in time the neighboring to stabilize/accommodate to the changes. Last, this typology is one of a few which take stands on important aspects which are scarcely discussed in the literature: the temporality and ripple effect of resettlement.

The economic mechanisms represent one of the most debated and important issue regarding resettlement (what are the costs of resettlement?). Initially, resettlement projects were carried out solely on the basis of compensation (purchasing of the land and property at market price value, without any other support system for the resettled). This practice proved to be fallacious, as the majority of resettlement projects do not have the sustainability principle as goal, but rather a strong economic motivation (Cernea:1995, 2003; Gellert and Lynch:2003). In other words, compensation becomes the goal⁷, rather than a means to ensure sustainable development⁸ (Downing:2002). As a response, within the resettlement paradigm there was a shift from compensation to income improvement, which entails the change from compensation to ‘double’ sustainable development, as financial compensation cannot ensure the pre-resettlement livelihood, which represents more than the material aspects of life. Thus, “the task to pursue is achieving *double sustainability*, because real sustainability must be *concomitantly* social *and* ecologic” (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2006: 1810). Or, as Cernea (2003:39) states “the entire economics of resettlement operations must be considered, shifting it from a compensation-centered economics to one centered on income improvement in order to achieve resettlement *with* development”. Or, “the resettlement *policy goal* was never defined simply as paying compensation, but as a complex socio-economic

⁷ According to Downing (2002:13) “under-financing of the resettlement component is a key cause of failure”.

⁸ Cernea (1997:1579) states that “compensation alone, by definition, is therefore never sufficient for reestablishing a sustainable socioeconomic basis for resettlers”.

reconstruction process” (idem:44). To sum it up, although compensation⁹ is one of the most commonly applied economic mechanisms in resettlement projects, it is not enough to ensure the sustainability, the development or the reconstruction of the resettled community.

Based on the economic mechanisms commonly used in resettlements, Downing (2002) establishes three types of resettlement: displacement, relocation and rehabilitation. Displacement is the least acceptable; as it implies that the resettled do not receive any compensation of any sort. Relocation consists in some commitment for compensation and rebuilding of infrastructure, houses and public facilities at the destination. Rehabilitation implies a system provided in addition to compensation, which insures income streams, livelihoods and restoration of social system. In addition, Downing (ibid:18) considers that in order to achieve sustainable development both relocation and rehabilitation are necessary. However, rehabilitation only hopes to restore the community as it was, thus not necessarily improving the livelihoods of the resettled as supported by the ‘double’ sustainability principle.

2.1.4 The Affected Population

In a mining development induced resettlement process, there are four main stakeholders: multinational corporations, state, NGOs/voluntary associations and community (Ballard & Banks, 2003). The multinational corporations are the ones that ignite the process as they represent the “common element in these contemporary resource wars” (idem: 290). The state represents the legal and administrative power, as it controls the entry of multinationals within the national market and regulates their activity. The NGOs play the role of the community broker, and can be engaged in the project by both sides, multinationals (to confer credibility and support the projects) or community (to defend human rights or environment). The affected population engages in discussions with the multinational, tries to assure their own livelihoods and demands protection from both state and corporation throughout the process.

⁹ However, compensation is necessary, and as a practice, it should be continued and improved (Cernea, 2003).

The World Bank policy on resettlement identifies four major types of vulnerable population: the poor, women, indigenous peoples and those less able to care for themselves (children, elderly and physically/mentally disabled). The poor are the most susceptible as they might lack property or income sources, thus calling for special measures to identify and include in the resettlement process. Women are vulnerable “because they may be excluded from participation and because they are often exposed to greater risk of impoverishment” (World Bank, 2004:75). Indigenous people are at risk, as the state might not recognize their right to resources, may lack representation in the process or simply lose their socio-cultural institutions once resettled. Finally, those less able to care for themselves are vulnerable as: children (less than 6 years old or school aged) lack any capacity in protecting their livelihoods; elderly usually tend to be more attached to the place of origin, and may lack the capacity to obtain new sources of income or lose their leadership positions within the community; and the mentally or physically disabled, may require special assistance during the negotiations process, accommodation at the destination and in any other daily life aspect once resettled. In addition, this last category of vulnerable population is very sensible to health related risks.

In our case, the affected population is that of a mining community defined as a mono-industrial community, which highly depends economically and socially on a mining company, which represents “a distinctive culture, closely tied to work place, family and community” (Holmes and Hartig, 2007:57). All mining settlements are industrial places, mainly in remote regions (Veiga et al., 2001), centers of employment and migration (in-out), where identity, community and culture are constructed and reinforced through work ideology. The mining communities, due to their nature, are total gendered¹⁰ places and represent the “ideal-typical repositories of working-class life” (Strangleman, 2001:265). In other words, the mining community presents well embedded gendered roles, as the woman is bound to taking care of the household and of the children, and has no political power,

¹⁰ According to Ballard and Banks (2003:302) “mining is an exceptionally masculinized industry, in terms of its workforces, its cultures of production, and its symbolic despoliation of a feminized nature”.

while the man is the sole provider of income and politically active within the community. Furthermore, one might suggest the fact that the woman are ‘invisible’ in the public life¹¹, as the man is the ‘builder’ and the ‘star’ of community life as the “occupational identity and community identity, norms and values are produced and reproduced within the context of workplace and community networks” (Strangleman, 2001:256).

In the Romanian context, during the communist period, miners represented a privileged occupational group. In the democratic context, they became impoverished and marginalized (Stan, 2004). During the transition period, the mining working class was shattered by the closure of about 75% of mines and mining related factories (Buruiană, 2008). The impact of these massive lay-offs has included: out-migration, depopulation of the mining communities, and the redefinition of former mining areas as impoverished localities with no employment opportunities.

2.2 The Risk and Reconstruction Model (R&R model)

The evaluation of a huge number resettlement projects, reveals that not only rehabilitation and sustainable development “has seldom been achieved” (Downing, 2002), but that also resettlement predisposes the affected population to impoverishment. As a result, Cernea (1995, 2000) proposes the risk model which consists of eight risk factors:

- ∴ Landlessness represents the primary source of de-capitalization, as the resettled lose both natural and man-made capital (production and commercial systems, livelihoods).
- ∴ Homelessness is a common aspect in many resettlement cases, although usually temporary, it can become a chronic issue. In addition, the concept of home goes beyond the physical characteristics, thus adding to the loss of those resettled, in terms

¹¹ In the case of Romanian mining community characteristics, “according to a local joke, for the women from Jiu Valley to be wife of a miner was the best profession” (Stan, 2004:6). Jiu Valley was considered the ultimate Romanian coal mining community during the communist period; while, nowadays is one of the most deprived and under-developed micro regions in the country.

of identity and cultural heritage – “homelessness is also placelessness” (Cernea, 1995:251).

- .∴ Joblessness predominantly appears in the urban resettlement cases (occurs in the rural areas but at a different intensity). Furthermore, there is also the matter job availability and entrance to market at the destination which concludes in unemployment or under-employment for the resettled.
- .∴ Marginalization is defined as downward social mobility (lower income, lower status), as “many individuals cannot use their previously acquired skills at the new location and human capital is lost or rendered inactive, useless” (Cernea, 1997:1574).
- .∴ Increased morbidity and mortality due to the stress and trauma of the resettlement process or due to the new environment.
- .∴ Food insecurity is defined as “calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work” (Cernea, 1995:252).
- .∴ Loss of the access to common resources refers to the issue of common property assets (e.g. forests, grazing lands etc.) and public services which become unavailable once resettled.
- .∴ Social disarticulation¹² stands for the loss of community social traits such as – behaviors of interactions, networks, mutual help systems, social organization and even family structures.

All these risk of impoverishment, are considered to be a “*system of risks*, as they are in real life, not discrete threads but risks that are interconnected and mutually reinforcing: the displaced people have no option but to face them as a *system of compounded dangers*, thus more difficult to struggle with” (Cernea and Schmindt-Soltau, 2006:1816). However, we choose re-conceptualize the R&R model by merging six interlinked risks into four main dimensions: economic security (landlessness and joblessness), access to services (loss of access to

¹² Cernea (1997:1576) deems that “if poverty is not only an absence of material means – such as land, shelter, work, food – but also powerlessness, dependency, and vulnerability, than the disarticulation of communities and the loss of reciprocity networks are significant factors in aggravating poverty”.

common resources and marginalization), physical space (homelessness as placelessness) and social integration (social disarticulation). The risks referring to health issues and food scarcity, although integrated in the research¹³ are outside of the scope of our thesis.

The R&R model was adopted and integrated in the World Bank policy, and is currently the most common tool used in the study of resettlement (be it involuntary or voluntary, permanent or temporary¹⁴). Kibreab (2000:297) considers that “the *raison d’être* of the risk model is to predict the set of scenarios of impoverishment that are likely to unfold by ‘development projects’ that cause population displacements, and, consequently, accentuate the need for the development of a policy that incorporates countervailing or cushioning programs into the planning and the implementation processes of such projects”. Furthermore, the R&R model presents four distinctive functions: a diagnostic tool (taking into account the research on past resettlement cases, the model carries the capacity to help manage current projects); a predictive tool (it can help predict and project possible outcomes); a problem-solving tool (it has pragmatic applications, as it goes beyond the point of explanations) and last, a research tool (useful in theory oriented fieldwork) (Cernea, 1997).

In our thesis, the R&R model is used as a research tool in order to reach our goal of exploring post-resettlement effects at both origin and destination. In other words, we plan to use the model in order to measure reconstruction, specifically social re-establishment, and not risks per se or how the resettlement plan was actually carried out by RMGC. As we assessed in Section 2.1.3, reconstruction or re-establishment implies that the affected population is better off on all the aspects once resettled (‘double’ sustainability principle). The re-establishment process is the common follow up on any resettlement project. The reviewed literature tends to concentrate on the resettlement process, and less on the re-

¹³ The questionnaire collected data regarding quality of life, costs of living and alimentation behavior & health problems that occurred at the destination.

¹⁴ Kibreab (2000:323) states that “there are no substantive differences between the problems faced by refugees and relocatees in resettlement schemes. The problems faced by refugees in resettlement schemes are more or less the same as those embodied in the risk model”.

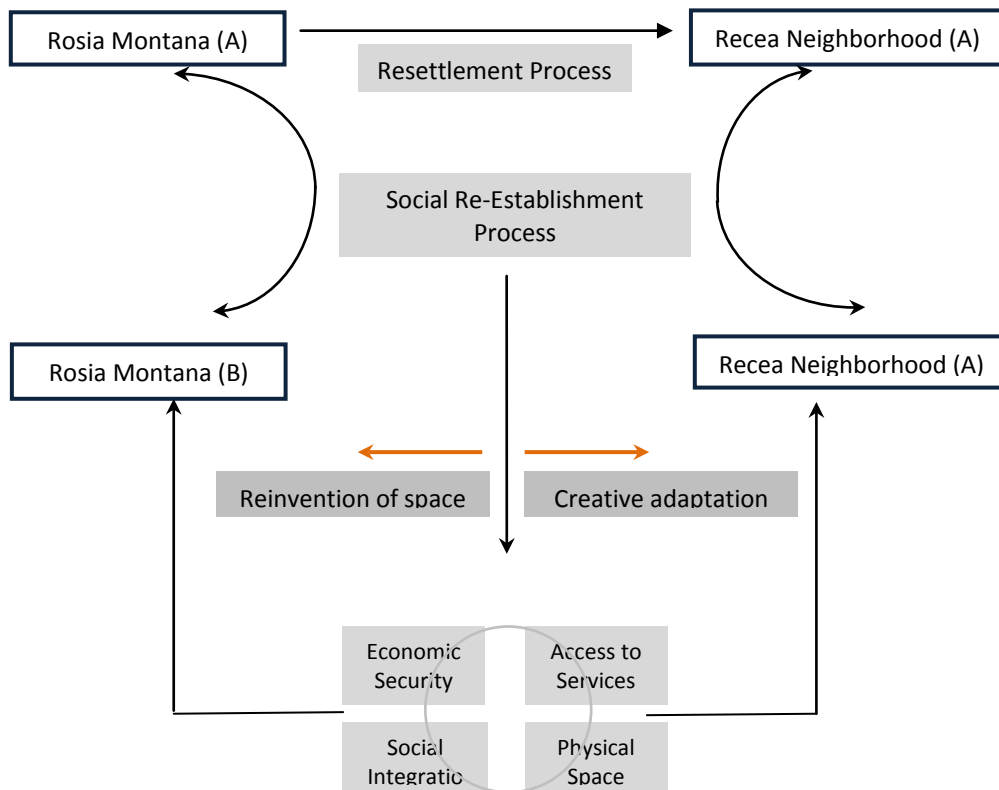
establishment process. It is fair to say, that the concept of (social) re-establishment needs further conceptualization (Cernea, 1997).

Therefore, we submit two mechanisms through which social re-establishment takes place, namely (1) reinvention of space and (2) creative adaptation. According to Holmes and Hartig (2007), the reinvention of space is intrinsic within any resettlement process. Resettlement consists first of all in a physical change of space, the displacement from point A to B of a settlement, but also the redefinition of point A. Taking this into account, Silberling (2003) and Gellert & Lynch (2003) suggest that community is more than a mere point on map, but it is a place of production, of culture and collective identity; as “place can be understood as a relation” (Silberling, 2003:153); thus, not a given, but a social construction, a complex of given meanings (as identity). Any community which goes through resettlement faces contestation of its own social construction, thus, possesses the power to reconfigure itself, even in a new spatial context (social and geographical). Furthermore, Holmes and Hartig (2005), in their article on British former coal mining towns, reason that reinvention of space is most likely to occur due to external forces, affecting the residential real estate market, lifestyles, system of values and employment market. In our case, Roșia Montană (rural settlement), the origin, is the one which undergoes reinvention of space as form of social re-establishment. The second mechanism of social re-establishment: creative adaptation, is a concept mainly used in refugee resettlement studies, and refers to the ways in which the affected population recalibrates their daily lives in enclosed settlements. According to Escobar (2003:163), “the capitalist modernity dis-places (literally: removes from place, at time physically, always culturally)”. Once resettled, the community is prescribed to redefine itself, and that can only be done through adaptation to the host community. As Koo (1978:292) states “being newcomers from different social systems and different attitudes, norms and life styles, they¹⁵ are believed to share the problems of adaptation to a new social system”. We deem that through creative adaptation, the resettled are capable of restoring their livelihoods by using traditional, but especially innovative measures (Kibreab, 2003). The

¹⁵ The author refers to rural immigrants and foreign immigrants into the urban setting.

word ‘creative’ stands for constructive and original facets of integration with the host community, as we consider that any change (spatial or cultural) prompts people to generate meaningful ways of coping at the destination. Finally, in our study, the creative adaption mechanism takes place for the affected population at destination – Recea district, Alba Iulia City.

Figure 1 Conceptual design of the research



As presented in Figure 1, due to the development induced (voluntary) resettlement process, one community is reinvented (from Roşia Montană A -> B) and another is created (Recea A-A). Moreover, this specific resettlement process presents the case of rural-urban ‘conversion’ of the affected population. In both communities, we consider that the social re-establishment process takes place on four dimensions: economic security, access to services, social integration and physical space.

2.3 Interpretations: the story of the four dimensions

The majority of resettlement literature regarding the eight risks of the R&R model and the re-establishment process is, mainly policy oriented. As this approach lacks in flexibility, we explore various theoretical literature on social capital, community or neighborhood as our goal is to research social re-establishment, for both those left behind and resettled, from rural (origin) to urban environment (destination). We propose a more integrative approach¹⁶ to the risks in the R&R model, specifically to our four dimensions, in the context of neighborhood and enclave concepts.

The origin is represented by a rural mining community¹⁷, Roșia Montană. These types of communities are, more than others, facing issues of sustainability as they present, due to remote geographical location, few opportunities for diversification (Veiga et al., 2001) and the resources bound to vanish at one point in time. Moreover, Roșia Montană is a gold mining community, thus even more susceptible to erosion as “gold, due to its ease of trading and independence of monetary instability, is by far the major commodity being extracted” (ibid:197). Once resettlement became available, people decided to leave in search for a better life. As a result, the majority of the resettled opted for Recea district, a neighborhood build just for the sole purpose of accommodating the resettled, which is located in the residential suburbs of the county capital, Alba Iulia.

According to Kearns and Parkinson (2001:2103) “there is no single, generalizable interpretation of the neighborhood”. Nonetheless, we opted for Galster’s (2001:2112) definition, which states that the “neighborhood is the bundle of spatially based attributes¹⁸ associated with clusters of residence, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses”. The

¹⁶My plan is not to generate any theory, but rather to ‘glue’ together specific aspects that can be found in other types of literature. I find it particularly important to make these connections and not to appear as though I ‘locked’ myself in a specific theoretical perspective.

¹⁷ The description and characteristics of this type of settlement can be found in Section 2.1.4.

¹⁸The spatial attributes of the neighborhood are: 1) structural characteristics of the residential and non-residential buildings; 2) infrastructural characteristics; 3) demographic / 4) class status characteristics of residential population; 5) tax/public services package; 6) environmental characteristics; 7) proximity characteristics; 8) political characteristics; 9) social-interactive characteristics and 10) sentimental characteristics (Galster, 2001:2112).

definition suits us, as it accentuates the importance of physical space when it comes to the neighborhood - spatially based (physical space nurturers social interactions) and particular location (if there are changes in the physical space, the social interactions change also) (Galster, 2001; Lee and Campbell, 1997).

Recea, being a newly build district on the outskirts of the city, although administratively named a neighborhood, it is still in the process of establishment. Which brings us to the question: how is a place (neighborhood) created? The answer lies in two complementary classifications: where Aguilar-San Juan (2005) views the process of place-making, as an internal process, while Warren (1978) adds the external mechanisms, such as interactions of the residents outside the neighborhood. On one hand, Aguilar-San Juan (2005:41) reasons that place-making is not about the change in the way in which people use space, but rather “[it] means assembling the features of place so that specific forms of community are bolstered and promoted, while others are diminished or extinguished”. Furthermore, Aguilar-San Juan (ibid.) presents three place-making activities (mechanisms): i) territorializing (the form, the organization and recognizable patterns of social interactions); ii) regulating (as place needs to be supervised and controlled); and iii) symbolizing (through which the place is embedded with symbolic and mythical value, thus bringing about the group identity in material form). In our case, Roșia Montană loses its social resources and networks, and is about to undergo an extensive process of land use reconfiguration, while the resettled will establish a new base in Recea, where they will promote their lifestyles and culture, but also redefine a previously empty urban setting. On the other hand, Warren (1978) takes into account three mechanisms of place-making (neighborhood construction): individual identification with the area, social interactions between the neighbors, and the connections of the area with the larger community. Furthermore, based on these mechanisms he proposes the following typology¹⁹:

¹⁹ Warren (1978) identifies eight forms of neighborhood, but presents only six - the most empirically frequent.

Figure 2 Warren's neighborhood typology

Integral – an area where residents (1) have high levels of formal and informal interaction with one another, (2) manifest high levels of contact with local government, (3) show high levels of reported voting in the last national election, (4) have strong commitments to remaining in the neighborhood, and (5) have strong positive attitudes toward the area.

Parochial – an area where residents (1) have extensive formal and informal interactions with one another, (2) hold positive attitudes towards the neighborhood and (3) do not show high levels of political participation outside their local area.

Diffuse – an area where residents (1) have relatively limited formal and informal contacts, (2) hold positive views towards the neighborhood, (3) have no extensive ties in the political structure of the larger community and (4) may be hostile or indifferent to its values.

Stepping-stone – an area where residents (1) have extensive formal and informal contact, (2) have no pronounced positive reference group orientation in the local area and (3) have extensive participation in the political process of the larger community.

Transitory – an area where there is (1) low reference group identification with the local neighborhood, (2) little formal and informal interaction and (3) participation in the larger community to a moderate or high degree.

Anomic – an area where people (1) lack formal and informal ties to the local area, (2) do not have a high level of participation in the larger community and (3) lack strong positive identification to the neighborhood.

Excerpt: Warren (1978:314)

We use this typology, not only to assess the type of neighborhood Recea is, but also to accommodate Roșia Montană (rural village), as both settlements regardless of administrative form, are first and foremost communities that share the same population. This aspect is consistent with Galster (2001:2116), who mentions that “the *consumers* of the neighborhood

can be considered the *producers* of neighborhood as well”; thus, residents, be it of a village or urban neighborhood, are those which consume and produce the community.

The resettled are bound to concentrate in a specific geographical location (place). In this regard, all resettlement projects are to some degree ‘enclave’ producers. Kusenbach (2008:241) defines the enclave as “any intentional cluster of residents who share a significant social status or identity, be it race, ethnicity, nationality, wealth, occupation, sexuality, religion, or lifestyle [...] geographically anchored peer communities that typically feature a concentration of businesses and services catering to members’ special needs and wants”. For this reason, Recea can be viewed as a possible enclave, as the resettled represent the rural lifestyle in an urban environment. Furthermore, the journey to Recea is similar with immigrant enclave settlements, which present a ‘domino’ type effect (if one moves, others will follow), as people are bound to resettle in close proximity to friends and relatives, and in a place which offers better opportunities and services to suit their needs (Chiswick and Miller, 2005). We expect that our resettled population will experience the wearing down of old patterns (rural) of interaction and lifestyle, thus stimulating change and innovative adaptation (Kibreab, 2003).

Thus, on one hand we have a rural gold mining village which faces an uncertain and harsh future, while on the other hand we have a newly established neighborhood which is yet to learn the ‘urban’ ways. Now that we have the story of our settlements, let’s proceed to our four dimensions and the way each might affect both origin and destination population.

2.3.1 Access to services

This dimension accounts for the loss of access to common resources and services, and marginalization as presented in the R&R model.

At the origin, the mining development project will alter the common resources of the community, such as pastures and landscapes, as parts of the village will be redesigned to accommodate the mining facilities and the necessary infrastructure. As the main activity in the region is agriculture and farming, the disappearance of grazing land will affect not only

the village, but the whole commune²⁰. Furthermore, with the prospect of the biggest open gold quarry in Europe, other development options such as eco-tourism will not be possible in the micro-region. Therefore, in terms of services there will be no improvements, as either private or state service providers do not have incentives to expand in this industrial area. In other words, the foreign investment will help develop the industrial character of the area, at the cost of further marginalization of this under-developed region and its population.

At the destination, being an urban environment, the number and access to services is bound to improve for the resettled. However, the resettled will downsize in terms of the area of property, which will affect their livelihood (no longer possible to sustain themselves through agriculture and farming). Cernea and Schmindt-Soltau (2006:1821) reason that “alienation and marginalization were found to be the most severe where the new resettlers ended as strangers (without rights) among homogenous neighborhoods from a different cultural, social and economic background”. Taking into account that Recea district is located on the outskirts of Alba Iulia city and that its population was originally rural, we expect that the resettled will undergo a difficult and long process of integration within the larger community.

2.3.2 Economic security

This dimension accounts for landlessness and joblessness as presented in the Re&R Model.

The origin, in the last 15 years, suffered major and abrupt changes. On one hand, there was the closure of the state-owned mine, followed by layoffs and the switch from employment to self-employment²¹ in agricultural activities. On the other hand, soon after the mine closed, RMGC came into the picture with the promise of employment opportunities. However, the proposed mining project did not commence and as Downing (2002:10) states, “the argument that mining employment may substitute for lost local jobs is problematic and, in

²⁰ Romanian economic and administrative unit, composed out of one or more villages which is run by a Mayor.

²¹ Parry (2003:243), in his article on British coal mining communities, states “that the dangerous working environment of coal mining was offset by its secure working force, sociable working environments, and meaningful, relatively autonomous, status-providing employment. However, the labor market opportunities created by restructuring have met these needs only for more privileged individuals [*former union men*]. Hence individuals have increasingly sought meaningful activity outside the paid labor market, in communal, leisured, familial and political activities”.

sustainability terms, does not hold if the lifespan of the mine is shorter than the lifespan of the sustainable economy it dismantles”. Furthermore, Downing (ibid:9) considers that landlessness can lead any mining community into impoverishment as: the loss mining land; the surrounding land is damaged and less productive; subsequent losses in the productive value of land on account of environmental problems and overall, loss of land as people are unable to gain access to alternative lands. Not to mention, that in the case of rural communities “land and/or house possession in one’s place of origin is seen not only as a wealth-creating and livelihood-sustaining resource, but also as the basis of status and identity” (Kibreab, 2003:57).

At the destination, the resettled might not encounter any serious landlessness problems, as they move into newly build house in a newly established city district. As for joblessness, Parry (2003:243) explains that “the meanings individuals attach to work are the product of complex interplay of past and present influences”. In addition, our rural origin resettled population will most likely have limited education and qualifications in obtaining jobs, not to mention that we expect the population to be aged. In this regard, Koo (1978:296) deems that “in general, social mobility changes are fairly good for early-age migrants from nonfarm background, while old-age migrants with farm work experience seem to have considerable occupational handicaps”. However, it is difficult to predict the effects of this resettlement project in terms of employment, although we expect that the urban environment to bare more job opportunities for our resettled population. Yet, as Downing (2002:10) mentions “post-displacement unemployment or underemployment is often chronic following the dismantling of the local income generating resource base”.

2.3.3 Physical space

This dimension accounts for placelessness (homelessness) as presented in the R&R Model.

The origin, due to the impending mining project, will suffer major spatial changes. In terms of bio-geophysical effects, Gellert and Lynch (2003:16) make a distinction between primary displacement which entails deforestation, tailings, creation of barriers for species migration, reduction/depletion of particular minerals and hydrological changes, and secondary

displacement which entails landslides, earthquakes, water quality decline, loss of fish and wildlife populations. In our case, we expect that all primary displacement effects to be inevitable, as long as the mining project continues. As for secondary displacement, the main effect of the project will be on the local wildlife²². Accordingly, “those who imagine, define, and transform landscapes bring about material changes in the bio-geophysical environment, which in turn influence social organization, values, understandings, and actions” (ibid:17). People are tied both socially and spatially in order to form a community²³. Silberling (2003:153) deems that “place and the meaning attached to it are constructed; thus, one location can have multiple meanings for different groups and individuals, and those meanings are opened to contestation”. We expect the origin to be fragmented, as outsiders settle in, and insiders leave the village, there are still those who stay behind (the other villages of the commune) which have no other choice than to adjust to these abrupt changes. Thus, once the physical space changes, so will the community itself²⁴.

At the destination, we anticipate the resettled to undergo a ‘nesting’ behavior in regards to space. One on hand, they are facing the change from rural to urban bio-geophysical space. Their properties are smaller in terms of area; the landscape is gray with no mountains or forests. Čapek (2010:220) reasons that “[...] we must be able to *see* nature in the city and not merely as background for human action”. In our case, the resettled left behind a nature friendly environment for the urban landscape²⁵. On the other hand, they are facing the loss of their ‘placeness’. Aguilar-San Juan (2005:39) regards space, not only as a container, “but also an *active element* in the creation of [...] (*a*) community”. Consequently, location is the same as placement: the resettled need to buckle up and start creating a new type of

²² According to RMGC’s Environmental Impact Assessment (<http://en.rmgc.ro/Rosia-Montana-project/environment/environmental-impact-assessment.html>), some invertebrate species (insects) might go extinct once the mine is functional.

²³ Allan et al. (1998:1-2; apud Holmes and Hartig, 2006:55) consider that we need to “understand both space and places as constituted out of spatialized social relationships and narratives about them, which not only lay down ever-new regional geographies, but also work to re-shape social and cultural identities and how they are represented”.

²⁴ Silberling (2003:153-154) states that “if the physical location and spatial arrangement of quilombos are shifted, there would be a shift in how quilombos relate to each other as a community and as collectivity”. Quilombos is a type of settlement that can be found in Brazil, South America. Furthermore, Downing (2002) supports this argument, reckoning that homelessness disturbs family cohesion and mutual support patterns.

²⁵ Recea district is located in walking distance to the industrial area of the city.

community, starting with assigning meaning and identity to this new space. This type of behavior is similar to enclaves, which recreate their ‘home land’ in the host community – e.g. street names²⁶, landmarks or collective celebrations (Kusenbach, 2008). In this respect, we anticipate that the resettled will transfer some aspects of their former community space, while on the other hand adjust to the urban environment – Recea district, a hybrid neighborhood. This process will take time and will require extensive negotiations between the resettled and the host urbanites (Chiswick and Miller, 2005:8).

2.3.4 Social integration

This dimension accounts for social disarticulation as presented in the R&R Model.

At the origin, a community is disabled (social capital loss), thus reinvented (adjustment to situation). Cernea (2003) considers that communities which undergo resettlement become dispersed and fragmented, the modes of organization are destroyed, inter-personal relationships are weakened and kinship groups are scattered. Accordingly, Guest and Wierzbicki (1999) point out that dramatic change in the geographical possibilities shapes the community members’ greater choice in their social interactions. Therefore, these areas become anomic, as the feeling of insecurity and fragmentation of the common identity among the people is reinforced by the destabilization of the collective life. For this matter, Cernea (1997:1570) considers that “displacement is a socially caused disruption, not a natural disruption, and its perverse effects must and can be counterbalanced”.

Furthermore, we need to take into account that our origin is a mining community. Ballard and Banks (2003:289) deem that “mining is no ethnographic playground”, as “relationships between different actors within the broader mining community have often been characterized by conflicts, ranging from ideological opposition and dispute to armed conflicts and the extensive loss of lives, livelihoods, and environments”. In this regard, each

²⁶ For example, Lee and Campbell (1997:930) in their study on neighborhood found that “[...] 69.2% of our survey respondents identify their own neighborhood with its modal name. [...] Residents receive numerous reminders about what their area is called”.

mining community is different, as it is subjected to extensive transformation throughout the life span of the mining project. In our case, the RMGC resettlement plan brought major changes for the Roșia Montană social dimension. Gellert and Lynch (2003:16) make a distinction between primary social effects²⁷ of displacement, such as planned eviction and resettlement, loss of resource base in project area due to construction and/or flooding, and secondary social effects of displacement such as loss of access to resources (and property), unemployment with project completion, creation of new identities, psychosocial stress. Roșia Montană is and will experience all these predicted effects, one way or the other (the future of mining project is yet to be decided).

Other academics present the social effects of the resettlement process in relation to the compensation, which might reinforce the social disruption process due to the “absence of traditional mechanisms for the distribution of cash and other benefits” (Ballard and Banks, 2003:304). Furthermore, multinational mining companies have as goal – technology (e.g. construction or engineering), and not “social development, poverty alleviation, or rehabilitation” (Downing, 2002:21).

At destination, the resettled piece together a neighborhood community (in a new, previously undefined social space). This process of creation is more or less similar to a puzzle game, where each individual brings to the board a specific type and amount of social capital. Escobar (2003:163) mentions that “[...] culture is carried into places by bodies”, as places are result of historical practices. Furthermore, identity is always a status/label which is defined by both the self and others (Silberling, 2003), thus being constantly mobile. In this regard, Recea district is place for which history is happening as we speak, and so, the identity is still blurry (yet to have sturdy roots²⁸). Puddifoot (2001) defines community identification as the sense of belonging to a particular geographical area, long residence and family ties,

²⁷ Gellert and Lynch (2003) study focuses on displacement only in terms of primary/secondary and social/bio-geophysical effects. Their broad interpretation offers an integrative perspective on resettlement related social effects which is also consistent with our intertwined four dimensions.

²⁸ Schnell et al. (2005:86) reason that “systems of social relations, both within and outside of the neighborhood – the extent to which the residents had established their roots in it and the strength of their identification with it – have been suggested as key criteria for the classification of the social characteristics of neighborhoods”.

whilst less important in terms of neighbors and local amenities²⁹. Accordingly, he states (ibid:606) that “longevity of residence was quite clearly the most important factor in the respondents’ perceptions that they belonged to a particular location”. In our case, we expect the majority of the resettled to have lived most of their lives in Roşia Montană (common place of birth and source of family ties), thus still identifying more with the origin, rather than with their current settlement, Recea district.

Wetherell et al. (1994:645) reckon that any given community is neither informed by place or population, but rather by “the relationships that people actually possess”. In other words, a community is primarily a form of social structure, and only secondary a spatial structure. In terms of mutual support, the strongest ties are among family members (especially parents and adult children or sibling relationships); followed by coworkers and neighbors (type of relationships based on convenience). In terms of gender, women are the “kinkeepers” (Wetherell et al., 1994:649) of the community.

Guest and Wierzbicki (1999) identify four types of residents, for whom the social interactions tend to be bound at neighborhood level: (1) due to poor education and low income, the individual has limited choice and less knowledge about the world; (2) elderly people present physical mobility and energy problems; (3) parents choose a neighborhood³⁰ that offers security for their children, whilst childless persons focus relationships outside the neighborhood (bridging and linking capital oriented); and (4) those that are unemployed or outside of the workforce may lack social opportunities outside of the neighborhood. Moreover, Fisher (1982; apud Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999:103) considers that “rural people ranked highest on traditional friendships based on neighborhood, church, and kin and lowest on modern friendships based on work, organizations, and casual acquaintances”. In this regard, we expect that our resettled population of rural origin, to lack the both knowledge and practice in terms of urban socialization patterns. Furthermore, Clampet-

²⁹ Puddifoot (2001:606) deems that “few people seemed to consider that the amenities of the town had any bearing on their sense of belonging to it”.

³⁰ The neighborhood is seen as the “prime locale for family activities” (Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999:97).

Lundquist (2004:435) points out that the resettled choose to socialize in the neighborhood, as either, they are indifferent about making new friends, or they prefer stay to themselves in order to avoid potential conflict. Consequently, the choice of where to relocate is based on proximity to family and friends.

We analyze the dimension of social networks and interactions in the key of 'social capital'. This concept is a tradition in the sociological literature and lately, developed and increasingly influential among economists and other social scientist, as well as among the development agencies³¹. Evidence shows that high social capital (in the form of social trust and networks of associations) is critical for societies to be economically prosperous and sustainably developed. As Putnam (2000:23) argues social capital has “forceful, even quantifiable effects on many different aspects of our lives”, among which lower crime rates (ibid.), better health (Wilkinson, 1996), improved longevity (Putnam, 2000), better educational achievement (Coleman, 1988), greater levels of income equality (Wilkinson, 1996), less corrupt and more effective government (Putnam, 1995) and enhanced economic achievement through increased trust and lower transaction costs (Fukuyama, 1995). Consequently, research indicates that the well connected are more likely to be “housed, healthy, hired and happy” (Woolcock, 2001:12).

Putnam and Woolcock define social capital, within the social networks approach³². Social capital is an attribute of communities and is defined as networks, norms, and trust that enable most citizens to co-operate in each other's best interests. 'Mutual confidence' is what 'makes democracy work'. Social capital, states Putnam, is built mainly by any kind of 'social networks' (social organization and community groups) that bring people together voluntarily to achieve shared purposes. Such networks produce the social capital that lubricates social

³¹ The World Bank defines social capital as “institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together” (www.worldbank.org).

³² According to Wetherell et al. (1994:645), the social network approach “views communities as *personal communities*, that is, as networks of individual relations that people foster, maintain, and use in the course of their daily lives”.

relationships, which results in more volunteering, more 'good cause' giving, more voting and political participation, greater trust and a healthier economy.

However, various social networks produce a mix of different forms of social capital. Bonding, bridging and linking are the main three forms of social capital³³.

- *Bonding (exclusive) social capital* is similar with 'strong ties' and denotes ties between people in similar situations, such as family, close friends and neighbors³⁴.
- *Bridging (inclusive) social capital* is similar to 'weak ties'³⁵ and refers to weaker and more diverse relations with distant friends, workmates, associates and colleagues³⁶.
- *Linking social capital* refers to relations with people and groups from different social strata, in dissimilar situations, such as those who are entirely outside the community. Woolcock (2001) extends this to the capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community.

According to Putnam (2000), bonding social capital is more inward looking and tends to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups, whereas the bridging social capital is more outward looking and tends to generate broader identities and heterogeneous groups including people from different social divides. Bonding social is good for 'getting by', while bridging social capital is crucial for 'getting ahead'.

'Bonding capital is good for under-girding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity [...] Bridging networks, by contrast, are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion [...] Moreover, bridging social capital can generate broader identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding social capital bolsters our narrower selves [...] Bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological superglue, whereas bridging social capital provides a sociological WD-40.' (Putnam, 2000: 22-23)

³³ Putnam did not really look at linking social capital nor did he grasp the implications of different forms of social capital.

³⁴ Such as ethnic fraternal organizations and church based women's reading groups (Putnam, 2000).

³⁵ Granovetter (1973) also showed that weak ties represent an important resource in making possible mobility opportunities.

³⁶ Examples given by Putnam (2000) comprise civil rights movements and ecumenical religious organizations.

Bonding and bridging social capital can work together productively if in balance, or they may work against each other. Bonding social capital is a necessary antecedent for the development of bridging or linking social capital. However, a disproportionate amount of bonding *versus* bridging social capital is a characteristic of violent or criminal gangs, of reactionary groups, of religious sects as well as of ethnic enclaves³⁷. For example, Hirschon (2000:405) argues that “cultural values provide a template for action and that the maintenance of cultural practices and values was an essential element in the resilience” as displayed by Kokkinia³⁸ refugee neighborhood. This is proof of the proclivity of any resettled population inwards, as they maintain boundaries between them and the host society. Without bridging social capital, the strengthening of bonding social capital (insular ties) can lead to a variety of effects such as ethnic marginalization or social isolation. In extreme cases ethnic cleansing may result if the relationship between different groups is so strongly negative. In mild cases, it just isolates certain communities such as suburbs of cities specifically because the residents spend so much time away from places and groups that build bridging or linking social capital (Bolin et al, 2004; Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Hipp and Perrin, 2009).

Finally, although we choose to present separately each of the four dimensions, they are intertwined and codependent effects of resettlement. Any community which undergoes a resettlement and re-establishment processes is bound to experience these effects, at different intensities, but always concomitantly.

³⁷ Clampet-Lundquist (2004:419) considers that “the demographic composition of a neighborhood can shape possibilities in that racial, ethnic, and class differences can present barriers to building ties”.

³⁸ Refugee settlement located in Athens-Piraeus, Greece. This process of resettlement started more than 70 years ago, as an exchange between Greece and Turkey.

3 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Objective

Our main objective is to describe and analyze the social re-establishment experience caused by a development induced voluntary resettlement process, both at origin (rural mining community) and especially at destination (new urban neighborhood).

3.2 Main concepts and methodological model

As presented in Chapter 1, the main concepts of our research are: resettlement, social re-establishment, mining community and neighborhood. According to our conceptual design (Figure 1), the social re-establishment process takes place on four dimensions: economic security, access to services, social integration and physical space.

Based on a series of intertwined attributes, each of the four dimensions is analyzed both in relation to the origin and the destination spaces and corresponding communities. The intertwined attributes used in our thesis are in line with ‘the bundle of spatially based attributes’ which ‘associated with clusters of residences’ define, according Galster (2001: 2112), a neighborhood. In Figure 2, we present the methodological model given the attributes used for each dimension of analysis.

Amongst the four dimensions of social re-establishment, we choose to focus the social integration dimension. We consider that social integration takes place through social interactions and identification with place and community. On one hand, the origin - Roșia Montană is a well established small mountain village which suffers major social changes due to the mining development project. On the other hand, the destination - Recea neighborhood is a place where former Roșia Montană dwellers are creating a new community within the medium-size city of Alba Iulia. Based on the operationalization of the abovementioned intertwined attributes, we expect these to play a major role into the reconstruction of the origin as well as in the creation of destination community.

Figure 3 Methodological model

Economic security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment and education composition • Household incomes and expenditures
Social integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Population characteristics: age, gender, ethnicity • Kin and friend networks, type and quality of social interactions inside and outside community • Main source of common identity, sense of identification with place
Access to services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The perceived quality of the public services • Access to public services: public schools, medical services, public administration, transportation, safety, parks and recreation etc. • Access to major destinations of employment, markets, shops, banks and other private services
Physical space/ environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structural characteristics of the residential buildings (houses) and their personalization • Land and garden use • Infrastructure such as roads, sidewalks, parking spaces, utility services • Environmental characteristics such as perceived degree of land, air, water and noise pollution.

3.3 The field research

We³⁹ carried out extensive field research in two settlements from Romania, in a village (Roşia Montană, Alba County) and in a city (Recea neighborhood of Alba Iulia, Alba County).

The first wave of field research took place at the end of August-beginning of September 2010, with a one-week stay in Roşia Montană⁴⁰. The purpose of this field trip was to collect data regarding the effects of the relocation and resettlement process implemented by the RMGC mining company. Initially, we planned to do individual interviews, but the current

³⁹ The use of the term ‘we’ is preferential and an issue of style. The field trips and interviews were carried out by me, whilst the questionnaires were carried out by professionals.

⁴⁰ Prior to this field trip, in 2005, I spend three weeks in Roşia Montană, as part of student field research project in regards to the purchase of the mine by an international company – at that time the mine was still functional so I had the opportunity to talk with miners and visit the quarry.

situation in Roșia Montană did not allow it. The Roșia Montană community is highly fragmented. The whole process of resettlement and relocation has fractured the community from within, creating three main ‘camps’: those that want the gold mine to open; the *againters (impotriviștii)* who ‘fight’ for the community and its cultural assets (both material and social); and the undecided in regards to the RMGC mining project. The public controversy is so tensed that all ‘camps’ tend to treat any alien as a ‘spy’.

Consequently, the fieldwork was difficult and it required serious communication and networking skills in order to interview all local stakeholders. For these reasons, we considered that group interview is the appropriate data collection method, as people from each group meet and talk about (and thus reconfirm) their standpoints. We organized three group interviews, one with each group: pros, cons and undecided. In addition, we conducted individual interviews with the Mayor of Roșia Montană (Mr. E. Furdui), with the representative of RMGC in charge with the relocation and resettlement process as well as with the social and community aspects (Mrs. C. Buruiană) and with two ‘outsiders’ who reside in the neighboring town, Abrud. These interviews were necessary, as we want to offer a complete imagine on Roșia Montană based on opinions of all actors involved: local administration and residents, RMGC and neighboring town residents.

The second wave of field research took place within the period 20-26 February 2011 (interviews and pretesting of the questionnaire) and 10-28 March 20011 (representative survey), in Recea neighborhood. Once arrived in Alba Iulia, we first dealt with some organizational aspect. First, we visited the Alba Iulia City Hall, had a meeting with the Program’s Department Manager and gained official status for the field work and for the fore coming survey. Following, we carried out ten semi-structured interviews with residents of the Recea neighborhood. In addition, we pretested our questionnaire on two residents. Next, we had a meeting with the Director of the Alba County Office of the National Institute for Statistics, in order to set up and organize the survey. Due to time constrains we chose to hire professional field operators for the survey; it would not have been reasonable to complete this huge amount the work without any help and it was essential for the thesis to have

reliable quality data. Our survey was, in fact, the first one that took place in Recea district, and drew lots of attention. Therefore, this empirical analysis will also be presented to the Municipality of Alba Iulia, to the National Architects Order and to Roşia Montană's Gold Corporation (RMGC).

3.3.1 Data collection methods

In our study, we made use of a multitude of data collection methods. The following table presents information regarding data and methods used:

Method	Location	
	Roşia Montană (Aug.-Sep. 2010)	Recea District (Feb.-Mar. 2011)
Desk Research	Yes	Literature not available
Observation	Yes	Yes
Semi-structured interviews:	Yes	Yes
- Individual	4	10
- Group	3	None
Structured interviews:	No	Yes
- Questionnaires	None	61

The desk research collected relevant facts on Roşia Montană community, but also on the implications of the RMGC mining project.

Both for Roşia Montană and Recea, observation was carried out in order to acquire the 'feel of place' recording our own narrative comments.

In Roşia Montană, the semi-structured interviews were held in a natural context for the participants, such as the village center square or office. The group discussions lasted on average about 2 hours and followed the normal course of a discussion. We prepared just few questions such as: *Did Roşia Montană change due to RMGC mining development project? If yes, how has it changed? And, what do you think Roşia Montană will be like in the future?* The individual interviews posted the same questions, and the interviews lasted on average about 20 minutes. Except for the interviews held with the Mayor of Roşia Montană and representative of RMGC, the sampling was that of convenience. Whoever was interested and willing to

answer our question was welcomed to join. The majority of the participants were over 40 years, pensioners and male; just 3 women participated, all of them house persons.

In Recea neighborhood, the interviews were held in a natural context for the participants, such as their homes, gardens or simply on the street. They lasted on average about 35 minutes and followed the normal course of a discussion. We asked the participants questions such as: *Why did you choose to resettle in Recea? How did you accommodate to the new house and urban environment? What were the major changes in your life as result of the move to Recea? And, how satisfied/unsatisfied are you with your current property in Recea? To what extent do you identify with Recea community? How about Roşia Montană? How many friends do you have in Recea / in Alba Iulia (outside Recea) / Roşia Montană? How much time do you spend with them?* The interviews were carried out through the snowball sampling procedure, but we selected at least one house on each street of the neighborhood.

The questionnaire⁴¹ was developed and pretested by us. It had a total of 17 pages, on themes such as: resettlement process, neighborhood and access to services, housing conditions, social integration, family and health, and economic security. The questionnaire lasted on average about 40 minutes. In Recea district there are 89 houses out of which 8 houses are out of scope as being empty dwellings (either still in construction or up for sale). The survey included all the other 81 inhabited houses. The response rate was 75% (61 households), refusal rate was 15% (12 households) and 10% (8 households) were unavailable as the household was out of Recea for the entire period of data collection.

3.3.2 Data analysis methods

Our thesis is based mainly on primary data, collected through quantitative and qualitative methods. The qualitative data include photos and interviews (individual or group discussions). Transcripts of interviews⁴² (*verbatim*) were used either for content analysis, particularly those regarding Roşia Montană, or for illustrating the re-establishment

⁴¹ Due to practical reasons (length) we choose not to add the questionnaire as annex. However, if interested, please contact me at the following via email, dragonfly13candy@yahoo.com.

⁴² The sentence was the unit of analysis.

experience. However, the main findings of this study are drawn from quantitative data provided by the *Recea representative Survey*, carried out in March 2011. The data was entered and processed in SPSS format. The dataset includes 436 variables regarding both household and individual members.

The quantitative results presented below are based on association analyses (crosstabs with significant chi-square association test and adjusted residual results which in absolute value are equal with or bigger than 2), correlations (bivariate, Pearson coefficient) and analysis of variance (One-Way Anova). Only the results which are statistically significant for $p \leq 0.05$ are included. Furthermore, we applied two methods to compute the scores (indexes⁴³), on issues such as: satisfaction with house, supply and access to services, and ‘useful connections’ (linking social capital). The first method used to derive scores was factor analysis (principal components extraction method, varimax rotation). Factor scores have an average value of zero, with values typically ranging from -3 to +3. However, due to the large share of neutral opinions (including non-responses), we mainly used the method⁴⁴ of the dominant opinion index developed by Hofstede (1980) based on the formula: $(P-N) * (T-NR) * 100 / T * T$, where P – positive answers, N – negative, NR – neutral or non-response, and T – total number of variables. This type of index varies between -100 (generalized negative attitude) and 100 (generalized positive attitude toward the issue).

⁴³ The explanations for each index can be found in the text (Chapter 6).

⁴⁴ Before applying the dominant opinion method, we checked that all items refer to a unique dimension.

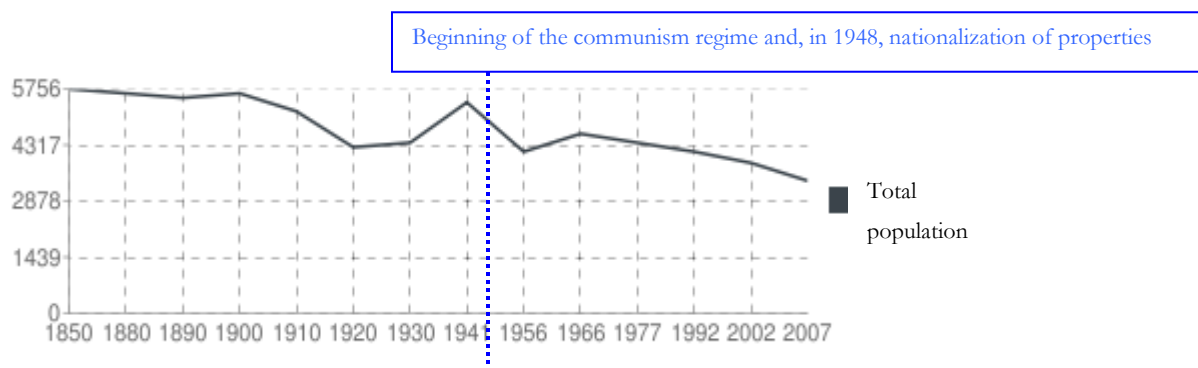
4 Origin settlement: ROȘIA MONTANĂ

4.1 Location and population

Roșia Montană commune belongs to Alba County, being situated at about 80 km from Alba Iulia city (the county capital). In close vicinity, 10 to 30 km, Roșia Montană is surrounded by the small towns of Abrud and Câmpeni.

Roșia Montană is a cluster of sixteen villages: Bălmoșești, Blidești, Bunta, Cărpiniș, Coasta Henții, Corna, Curățuri, Dăroaia, Gârda-Bărbulești, Gura Roșiei, Iacobești, Ignățești, Roșia Montană, Șoal, Țarina and Vârtop, with a total surface of 42 square kilometers and a total population of 3,872 persons (National Census, 2002). After 1966, the commune population has continuously decreased, firstly due to the communist urbanization and industrialization policies, secondly in relation to the post-communist transformations, and thirdly, due to the RMGC resettlement process. Thus, between 2002 (Census) and 2009⁴⁵ the commune stable population diminished with almost 700 persons (from 3,872 to 3,176 persons). The population density decreased accordingly from 66.4 to 54.4 inhabitants/km².

Figure 4 Population dynamic in Roșia Montană Commune 1850-2007 (persons)



Source: http://enciclopediaromaniei.ro/wiki/Comuna_Roșia_Montană. Census data for the period 1850-2002, and current statistics for 2007 (National Institute for Statistics).

⁴⁵ Romanian National Institute for Statistics, *Statistical Yearbook 2010*.

In 2009, the total population included 49% men and 51% women, out of which children (0-18 years old) represented about 20%. The structure of population by ethnicity and religion are recorded⁴⁶ only at census. Thus, in the 2002 census, Romanians accounted for 91%, Gypsy were 7.5%, and Hungarians represented 1.5% of the total population; the others were Germans, Serbians, and Italians. Correspondingly, 86% of the population were Orthodox, 4% Romano-Catholic, and 10% belonged to other religions.

4.2 Cultural patrimony and mining history

Photograph 1 Roman mining gallery at Roşia Montană

Source: <http://apologeticum.files.wordpress.com/2011/01/Roşia-Montană.jpg>

Roşia Montană, the ancient Alburnus Maior, is located in the heart of Apuseni Mountains, as part of the Golden Quadrilateral region of the Western Carpathians, Romania. Roşia Montană is the oldest documented gold mining community in Romania and one of the oldest in Europe, with archeological evidence of mining activities dating back to the late Stone Age.



The most prominent archeological findings are those left by the Romans, which built kilometers of mining galleries, spas, mausoleums, fortified buildings and temples⁴⁷. During 18th century and onwards, there have been records of Germans, Italians, Hungarians or Austrians taking part in gold rush (Richards, 2005); some of them even assigning their own names to Roşia Montană such as ‘Goldbach’ (German) or ‘Verespatak’ (Hungarian).

⁴⁶ Both ethnic and religious affiliations are self-declared.

⁴⁷ Source: www.RoşiaMontană.org.

Throughout these periods, the gold mines were private (family owned) and the exploitation technology was traditional, based on hydro-powered wood machines. Overall, for more than 2,000 years, Roşia Montană's gold attracted lots of foreign attention which left an imprint on the settlement such as 18th century German architecture, the diversity of denominations (Catholic, Pentecostal, Baptist and Orthodox) or cosmopolite lifestyle (in the early 20th century was the only Romanian settlement which had a casino).

In 1948, Romania became part of the communist block and Roşia Montană gold mines were nationalized, the former owners were imprisoned or fled the country and the mines were integrated in the planned economy. The gold mines in Roşia Montană became the main employer for the entire Abrud-Campeni micro-region. Thus, Roşia Montană became a mono-industrial rural settlement.

4.3 The RMGC mining project and the resettlement process

In the post-communist period, in 1996, the Romanian Government initiated the restructuring of the mining industry, resulting in massive lay-offs. As a result, in 1999 the Romanian Government declared Roşia Montană-Abrud micro-region as disadvantaged area due to the high unemployment rates. In 1997, a private Toronto based mining company Gabriel Resources arrived in Roşia Montană and purchased from the Romanian State the mine with the intention of building “potentially the largest gold/silver mine in Europe” (Hickson et al., 2003) based on cyanide-in-leach technology. In partnership with Minvest Deva, a state-owned Romanian enterprise, Gabriel Resources formed Roşia Montană Gold Corporation (RMGC)⁴⁸.

RMGC's project goal is to extract about 300 tons of gold and 1,600 tons of silver⁴⁹. The project area is about 2,800 ha, which includes a buffer for the zone and green belt (Richards, 2005), out of which 1,600 ha include Roşia Montană and Corna Valley. The project plans to

⁴⁸ Gabriel Resources is the major share holder with 80%.

⁴⁹ According to Richards (2005:12) “the RMGC project represents the first major mining investment in Romania in 30 years”.

create a total of 5,300 new jobs, out of which 2,300 will be available during the construction period (2 years) and 3,000 available during the extraction period (16 years). Overall, the time span of RMGC project is estimated at 25 years, which includes 7 years assigned to rehabilitation and closure of the mine.

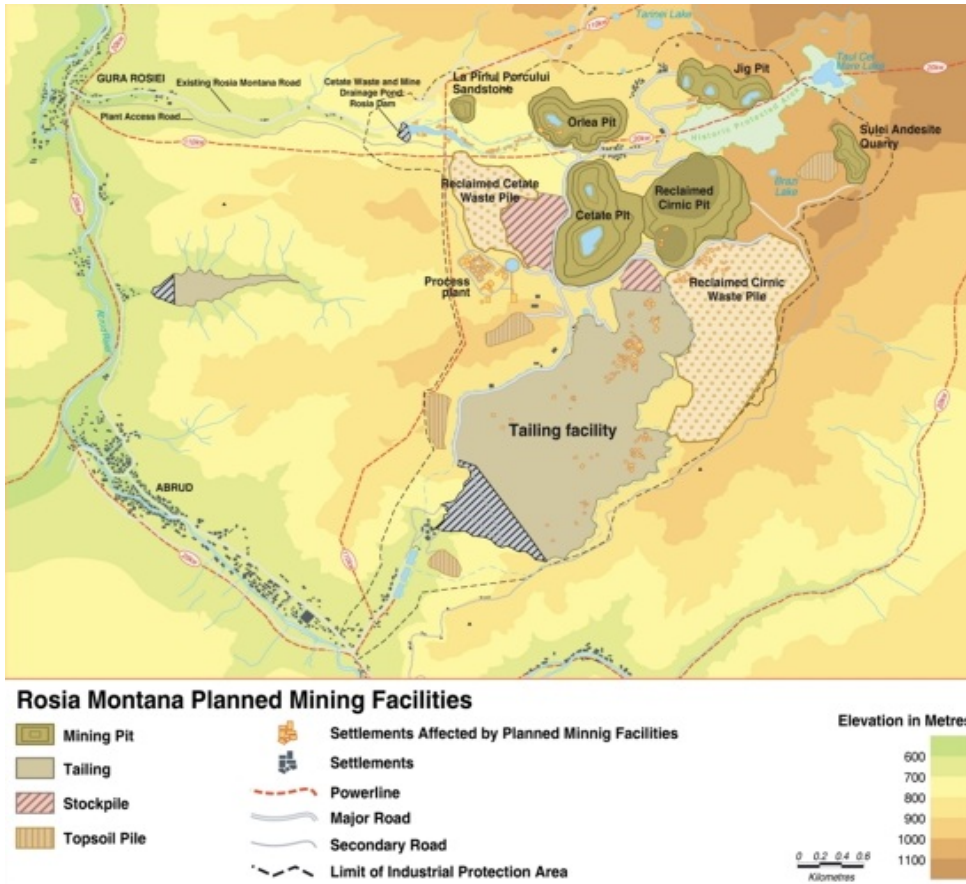


Figure 5 Roșia Montană: mining project plan

Source: <http://maps.grida.no/go/graphic/overview-of-the-Rosia-Montană-planned-mining-facilities-romania>

The mining project requires the relocation/resettlement of 2,064 properties (Hickson et al., 2003), 958 residential households (with 2,156 people), the destruction of ten churches, nine cemeteries, of many kilometers of Roman mining galleries, and the transformation of the Corna Valley, approximately 400 households, into the tailing lake of the future mine⁵⁰.

In order to achieve this, in accordance with the World Bank standards, RMGC prepared the *Resettlement and Relocation Action Plan* (RRAP). This strategic plan states that RMGC will engage the real estate transaction on the basis of ‘willing to sell, willing to buy’ and that all

⁵⁰ The Romanian Parliament, the Deputy Chamber, <http://www.cdep.ro/pls/dic/site.page?id=591>.

negotiations will be carried on one-on-one basis. Furthermore, according to Richards (2005:9) “the RRAP does not include specific provisions for continuing support of the relocated communities, although the Community Relations office provides assistance for the job seeking in the area”.

The RRAP mentions two mechanisms of compensation will be used throughout the uprooting of the affected population: (1) resettlement (defined as the move to a newly built community, with two possible sites: Piatra Albă, yet to be built, and Recea, existing neighborhood in Alba Iulia) and (2) relocation (cash compensations for the properties, where the individual can choose the location where to move to).

Accordingly, the relocation process started in 2002, while the resettlement process started in 2007. Most of those that choose to relocate moved in neighboring settlements such as Gura Roșiei (a village of the Roșia Montană commune) or Abrud town. However, 125 households⁵¹ chose to resettle in the largest city of the Alba County (Alba Iulia city), where the company built the new Recea residential neighborhood. After 1990, this is the only resettlement from rural to urban environment to a newly built residential area which occurred in Romania and most likely in Europe.

4.4 The civil society: pro and against RMGC project

Those that are involved in this debate are governmental departments (national and international), NGO’s (national and international) and community associations from Roșia Montană.

In 2003, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests concluded that the mining project implies the deforestation of about 749 ha of forests and pastures, emphasizing the risk of pollution in the area. At about the same time, the Romanian Orthodox Church stated that the project “from an ecological and social point of view will disfigure the Roșia Montană area and the

⁵¹ This is the official number that RMGC released on their website: <http://en.rmgc.ro/Roșia-Montană-project/community/resettlement-sites/recea.html> (accessed on the 5th of September, 2011).

Apuseni Mountains”⁵². Due to the industrial accident in 2000 at Baia Mare mine⁵³, the Hungarian Government has been skeptic towards the RMGC mining project. International NGOs such as Greenpeace and the International Council of Monuments and Sites⁵⁴ demand the project to stop on grounds such as the ecological impact (the use of cyanide can only pollute the environment) and “the cultural heritage of the old mines that were used from Prehistoric through Roman and Middle Ages, endangers the equipment of the old mining technology as well as the 18th-century architectural heritage of the small mining village” (H@R, 2006/2007:128). In 2006, the Romanian Academy (of Science) released a statement in order “to prevent an environmental and cultural disaster that would propel unacceptable consequences” (2006), emphasizing the fact that the project is not economically, socially and ecologically sustainable.

‘Alburnus Maior’ is the largest community association, which includes about 1,200 local people (from 300 households) members and others 5,000 supporters who signed their petition ‘*Save Roşia Montană*’ against RMGC’s project⁵⁵. Community based associations of Roşia Montană, among which Alburnus Maior, have been fighting against RMGC since the early beginning, opposing the mining project on social, environmental, economic and patrimonial grounds. The most recent objective of the civil society organizations is to register Roşia Montană village as UNESCO site, given the cultural value of the Roman mining galleries.

The debate pro and against the RMGC project is highly emotional and tensed, not to mention, covered in the national mass media, to the extent of the European level⁵⁶. Finally, taking into account all these debates, there is yet to be known whether the mine will open or not (mass media information is rather misleading and subjective to the matter). We can only

⁵² Quote found in one of Save Roşia Montană, Alburnus Maior PowerPoint presentations – Roşia Montană, the way it is (no author, no year and no slide pages mentioned).

⁵³ That used cyanide extraction technology.

⁵⁴ ICOMOS is the official archeological consultant of UNESCO.

⁵⁵ The Romanian Parliament, the Deputy Chamber. Source: <http://www.cdep.ro/pls/dic/site.page?id=591>.

⁵⁶ On January 26, 2010, the European Parliament organized a round table regarding the RMGC mining project.

presume that once the relocation and resettlement action plan is put in motion, like in our case, the probability of the mine to open is high.

4.5 Reinvention of space in Roșia Montană

Based on the group interviews conducted in Roșia Montană, we assessed the community costs and benefits of the RMGC mining project.

Table 2 Main findings: origin community post-resettlement

	Pro	Undecided	Con
Community benefits	Additional household incomes (from selling property, land or house to RMGC).	Majority does not reside in the impact zone of RMGC project, but in Roșia Montană commune. They consider as benefit the potential employment opportunity.	Refusal to sell their properties, as the village will get ‘destroyed’.
Community costs	The depopulation of the village. “Now, that all the neighbors left and I am the only one living on that hill, I feel lonely” (Man, former miner, 70 years).	The depopulation of the village; but more in terms of ‘fact of life’.	The depopulation of the village, with accent on the unfortunate events of resettlers: suicides, health problems or simply, dissatisfaction with current house or garden.

Data: Group interviews conducted in Roșia Montană village, August-September 2010.

For the pro group, the main benefit has been additional household income, especially the fabulous price which they obtained for their properties (significantly higher than the market price). As a matter of fact, before the RMGC project, there was no property market (land or house) in Roșia Montană. Actually, the first effects of the mining project is the emergence of a property market (having one major buyer, RMGC), followed by a steep and sudden boost of the property prices, but only in relation to the impact zone of the project. As result, people with (all or part of the) properties outside the project impact zone feel frustrated and

(many) are against the ‘unfair’ project as RMGC is not been willing buy or interested in those properties.

According to the interviewees, there were three main strategies of maximizing the profit, during the resettlement process.

Photograph 2 Wood hut

Roşia Montană, August 2010.

The first strategy was that of wood huts: “In that time Roşia Montană was a real Hutland” (Man, former mining engineer, 60 years). RMGC provided a separate price for any building found on the property, among which, wood huts similar to the one in the Photograph 2.



As information spread, people built few wooden huts in such a manner that they could be moved from a property to another in a single night. After a property was assessed by the RMGC representatives, in the following night, it was dismantled and moved to another property, which was about to be assessed. In this way, the company purchased one wooden hut several times. Accordingly, in the Abrud-Câmpeni micro-region the demand for both wood and workers skilled in building wooden huts sharply increased.

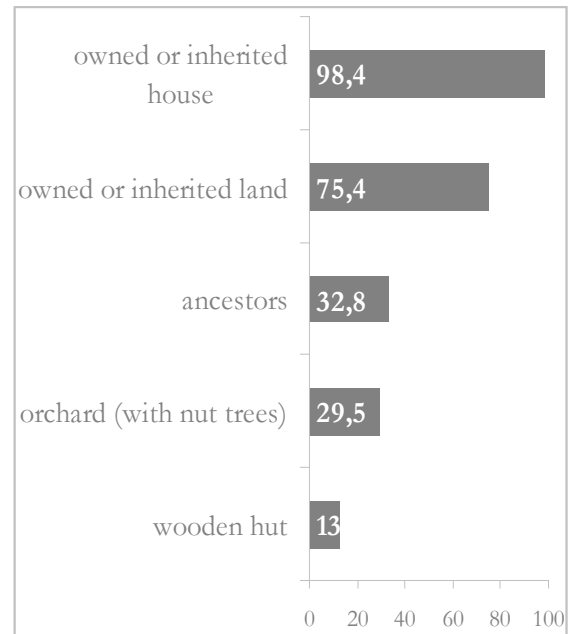
The second maximizing profit strategy referred to young orchards. Orchards represented a well compensated asset, particularly nut trees. Thus, the business of juvenile trees (particularly nut trees) developed both in Roşia Montană and in the Abrud-Câmpeni micro-region. In any assessment of a property, Gold Corporation would pay depending on species from 100-200 dollars per juvenile tree. Once again, during night, they would re-plant the trees into the neighbors’ gardens, who will re-sell the same bunch of trees to RMGC.

The third strategy is related to the ancestors that were buried in the village cemetery. Resettlement applied also to the family ancestors, for which the family received a ‘price’ and were provided moving services by the company.

Figure 6 What did people from Recea sell in the resettlement process (% of households)

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61).

There is no data regarding how many people and families from Roșia Montană used the above mentioned maximizing profit strategies. However, our Recea survey shows that a total of 51% of all households resettled in the Recea neighborhood sold to RMGC either orchard or a wooden hut or removed their ancestors from the village cemetery, on top of the owned or inherited houses and land (Figure 6).



For the undecided group, the accent falls on the fact that Roșia Montană has begun its decline since the beginning of communism, starting with the nationalization process. The mines were nationalized, the traditional technology was ‘politically’ repudiated and forgotten, and the cultural ‘treasure’ was completely neglected for more than 50 years. The current developments are neither ‘good’ nor ‘bad’, because to some degree they do not change anything: people are still poor and the depopulation of the village would have happened regardless, as the young go to bigger cities and just the elderly choose to stay. In the group discussion, one of the participants mentioned: “A lot got destroyed even since Ceaușescu period... when with nationalization, if nothing would have changed it would still be hope to do something, but now is already too late” (Woman, house person, 40 years).

For the *against* (*impotriviști*) group, the emphasis is on the destruction of the community. They see the mining project as ‘poison’ for community, the main reason for which the sense of community is now weak and why families broke apart. When asked if Roșia Montană has

changed, they answered: “It changed a lot. Everyone wants more and more money. Brothers fought with sisters; there are no longer parents or children” (Man, shop owner, 37 years). Their attitude towards those who left Roșia Montană is that of pity and/or despise. Pity because part of the ‘deserters’ went through ‘rough times’, particularly health problems and social integration difficulties. Despise because: “Why did you leave? You are one of us... if necessary leave last” (Man, former mining engineer, 60 years). Thus, they view RMGC’s project as a divide and conquer enterprise and the entire situation as ‘pure war’.

The local administration position towards the mining project is positive as it provides revenues to the local budget and new employment opportunities for the local people. In their opinions “the mining project is a major investment with no community costs, but with many benefits, in present days as well as in the future” (Furdui Eugen, Mayor of Roșia Montană).

The RMGC representative classified the development project as a ‘sustainable mining project’ and a successful resettlement and relocation plan based on the guidelines offered by the World Bank. A whole list of (present or future) community benefits were mentioned, including revenues to the local budget, job creation, but also restoration of the cultural heritage: renovation of few buildings which are cultural monuments, the mining museum, tourists from Hungary, archeological site including the accessible Roman mining galley, and the *FanFest* – a festival for the 2,000 years mining tradition and local cultural assets. The (social and environmental) community costs were completely obliterated from their discourse.

The outsiders, residents of neighboring settlement, specifically Abrud town, consider that the possible new job opportunities “are illusory, they [RMGC] are not going to employ us, they will bring their own [*specialized workers*]” (Man, business owner, 35 years). They also highlight the environmental risk posed by the tailing lake of the mine, which will be positioned directly above Abrud city “and can flood the entire city in no time” (Man, construction worker, 40 years), and the probable negative impact of the mine over the local

touristic industry, which is seen as the main growth engine for the entire Apuseni Mountains region.

Overall, none of the local stakeholders interviewed in the Roșia Montană draw attention to the cyanide-in-leach technology, which is defined as the most dangerous aspect in the national and international debates. Instead, one of the locals claims: “better die of cyanide than of hunger” (Man, former miner, 45 years).

Finally, Roșia Montană still is a gendered community. Throughout our stay in Roșia Montană, we rarely saw women outside the household. The only time when one would see women, would be in the morning, as they would come to the local shop and buy bread. There, they would socialize among themselves for a short while, then continue with their daily routine. For this reason, it was rather difficult to include women in our group interviews (only 3 women participated). Women are mainly bound to the household sphere and very rarely are active in the community life. They do not take part in the ‘war’ between mining and UNESCO site and are reluctant to even express opinions.

4.6 Resettlement effects in Roșia Montană

Currently, Roșia Montană is a depopulated and aged community. As any other aged (Romanian) rural community, Roșia Montană village has a poorly educated population, mainly pensioners (men, former workers in the communist gold mines or in other industrial enterprises from the area), unemployed and house-persons (mainly women). Most local people make a living from pensions, unemployment benefits and other (low level) social benefits, plus home-grown vegetables and livestock. Consequently, almost all interviewed people emphasize the decline of their economic security “*We live at the edge of poverty*” (Woman, house person, 35 years) and the lack of future prospects “*We are too old and, however, there are no jobs for the younger ones. The future is only to die and not to live here*” (Man, former miner, 70 years).

The depopulation of Roșia Montană affected the community to its core. Since the resettlement and relocation process came about, the majority of the village businesses, such

as bars, shops, bakery or butchers collapsed. In addition, social services have significantly shrunk (i.e. the village has no local doctor). New services have no chance to develop as the community is very small, aged, and poor. Consequently, in terms of access to services the situation has considerably deteriorated after 2007 (when resettlement begun).

The physical space depreciated. The majority of houses purchased by RMGC were not classified as cultural monuments. Hence, they were demolished. Only the few classified as cultural monuments were renovated (or included in a long-term plan of restoration). The houses of the local residents are mainly old, poorly endowed and have little value. Most non-residential buildings are in poor condition, and probably will deteriorate or will be destroyed “shortly after the RMGC will do the first explosions in the main gallery”⁵⁷ (which will be in the immediate proximity of the village central square). The depreciation of the physical space deepens the decline of economic security and of access to services as it obstructs, for many years to come, the chances of eco-tourism development or of eco-agriculture, not only in Roșia Montană, but in the entire micro region.

As for social integration, it is best summed up by a local, who states: “All these hills used to full of life, with people and animals. Now, it is really creepy. No human, no soul, no light. All my neighbors left. Only I have remained on this hill. I feel lonely too” (Man, former mining engineer, 60 years). Thus, we consider that for post-resettlement Roșia Montană, social integration becomes social dis-integration.

⁵⁷ Man, former miner, 70 years: This person worked at Roșia Montană mine for more than 30 years, nowadays he is retired. He knows how mine explosions work and when he talked about the future mine, he was rather sarcastic on the issue of preservation of cultural assets (i.e. houses in the village center).

5 The Resettlement Process:

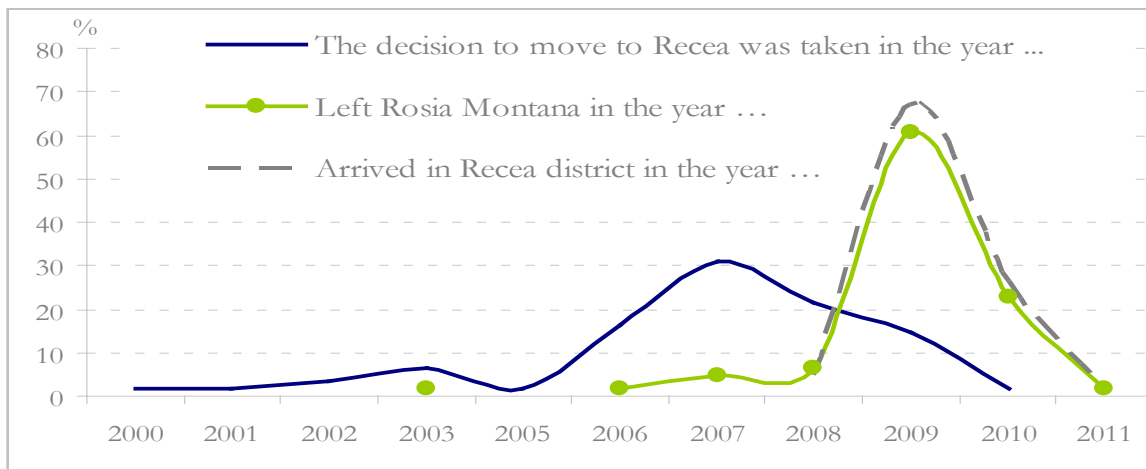
From Roșia Montană to Recea district

This chapter is based on the data provided by the Recea Survey, carried out in March 2011⁵⁸.

5.1 Phases of the resettlement process and the formation of Recea

Out of 155 persons that participated in our study, 142 were born in Alba County, either in Roșia Montană or in neighboring towns from the Apuseni Mountains (particularly, Abrud town). Thus, 37% of Recea's population was born in Roșia Montană and never left the village before resettlement, 54% were born in the vicinity of Roșia Montană, and the other 9% moved to Roșia Montană from a far away location. Consequently, with very few exceptions, nearly all Recea residents spent their entire life (before resettlement) or, anyway, more than 20 years in Roșia Montană.

Figure 7 Phases of the resettlement process (% of households from Recea)



Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61).

⁵⁸ In Recea there are 89 houses out of which 8 houses are out of scope, being empty dwellings (either still in construction or up for sale). The census included all the other 81 inhabited houses. The response rate was 75% (61 households), refusal rate was 15% (12 households) and 10% (8 households) were unavailable as the household was out of Recea for the entire data collection period.

Between 2001 and 2005, only one-two households per year were considering leaving Roșia Montană. At that time, resettlement and relocation was unavailable, but rumors were spreading in the community. As RMGC offers became available, more and more people decided either to relocate in another village or to resettle to Recea. Thus, in 2006, the share of Recea households that decided to resettle jumped to 16%. In 2007, the proportion doubled, reaching 31%. Afterwards, the RMGC revised the policy⁵⁹ and, consequently, the share has decreased to 21% in 2008, 15% in 2009, and 2% in 2010.

As Figure 7 shows, there was a 2-year lag between taking the decision to resettle and leaving Roșia Montană. Accordingly, 61% of households (including 59% of population) left Roșia Montană in 2009 and 3-4 months later arrived in the Recea neighborhood. In 2010, other 25% of households (25% of population) followed the same route. All these households moved directly from Roșia Montană to Recea. Only the households that left Roșia Montană before 2009 (during the period 2003-2008) had to spend some time at relatives or to rent a dwelling in Alba Iulia until their houses in Recea were finalized.

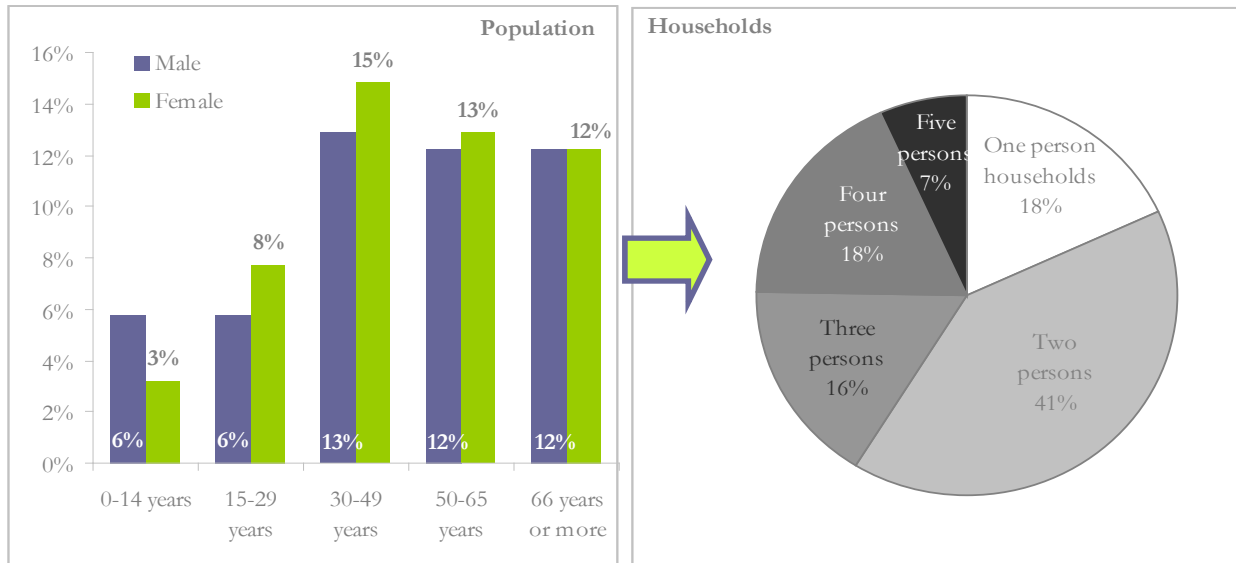
5.2 The resettled population

Recea is a neighborhood of Romanian ethnics (100%). In the 61 households live 155 persons, out of which 76 males and 79 females.

As presented in Figure 8, males predominate among children (0-14 years old), with a share of 64%, while females prevail amongst the young (15-29 years old), with a proportion of 57%, a fact which reflects the local cultural pattern: the young men leave home for work and most young women tend to remain in the parental home. For the population of 30 years and over, the female/male report becomes balanced and similar to the national average, 49% males and 51% females.

⁵⁹ Due to official approvals, namely the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Environment and Forests were postponed and the future investment became uncertain. This uncertainty made RMGC revise their RRAP, thus putting it on hold.

Figure 8 Population by gender and age groups (% of persons) and households by number of members (% of households)



Data: Recea Survey, March 2011. N=155 persons (76 males and 79 females) and 61 households. Sum of percentages by category is 100%.

Half of Recea’s population, men and women, are 50 years or more, while children and young (0-29 years old) represent only about 22%. The average age of the adults (19 years or over) is 53 years, which is much higher than the national urban average of 45 years⁶⁰. Consequently, Recea is an aged neighborhood.

In terms of marital status, 70.3% of residents are married (legally or consensual unions), 18% are never-married, 8.4% are widows/widowers and 3.2% are separated or divorced. Households with two members or more predominate by far, while one-person households represent only 18% of all households (Fig. 8). The majority of the one-person households belongs to widows/widowers or divorced persons, both female and male, of 65 years or more.

⁶⁰ National Institute for Statistics, *Tempo Online* database, data for 2010.

Table 3 Profile of Recea, households by family type (#)

Indicators:	TOTAL	Family type			
		One-person families	Nuclear families (parents+ children)	'Empty nests' (couples of elderly)	Extended families
TOTAL number of households	61	11	10	22	18
Number of persons within the households	155	11	32	44	68
Average size of households	2,54	1,00	3,20	2,00	3,78
Number of children 0-14 years within the households	14	0	7	0	7
Number of children 0-18 years within the households	21	0	10	0	4

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011.

Two types of families predominate in the neighborhood, namely 'empty nests' (elderly couples) and extended families, which consist of one or two elderly persons, one of their adult children married with or without grandchildren (Table 3). Most residents (44%) live in multigenerational extended families. In addition, children are very few (only 14% of the total population as compared to 18% the national urban average)⁶¹ and are distributed half-half between nuclear families and extended families.

5.3 The decision to resettle to Recea

Only one household (with two persons) arrived in Recea through a different path (purchase the house) than RMGC's resettlement plan. All the other residents voluntarily resettled from Roşia Montană.

The decision to resettle in Recea was generally taken consensually within the household. Only in (50% of) the extended households, there was a tendency of the elderly person(s) who owned the property to decide alone (however, under the pressure of their sons and/or daughters). In all other types of families (nuclear and 'empty nest'), over 80% of households took the decision after discussing the possibility.

I do not want to tell you, when we took the decision to sell, together with the wife, the night was coming and we could not sleep... we kept thinking... Is it right? Is it well to do this, or isn't it? However, materially it was good, very good. (Man, shop owner, 40 years, Recea)

⁶¹ National Institute for Statistics, *Tempo Online* database, data for 2010. The national average of children (0-18 years) is 20% of total country population.

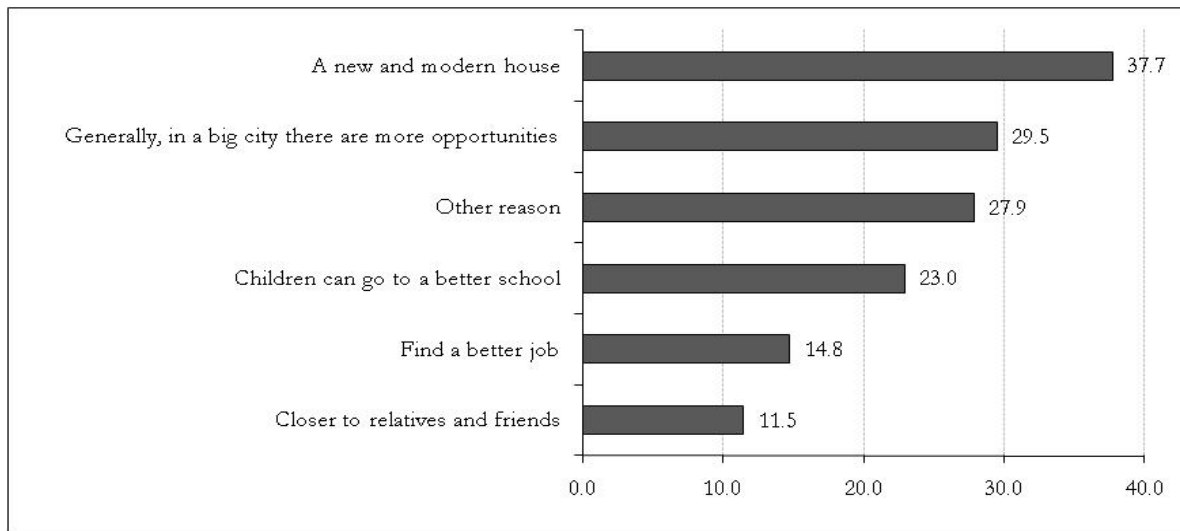
The decision to resettle to Recea neighborhood was based on rather few and/or weak information. 15% ‘did not know anything’ about the advantages and disadvantages of the neighborhood. 33% ‘knew only few’ and 37% ‘did have some information but rather weak’, and only 15% of population considers that ‘we were well informed’. Based on the interviews, we can speculate that only the first ones that arrived in Recea took a well-informed rational decision regarding resettlement. The Recea Survey data, however, indicates that for most residents the decision to resettle was taken under conditions of serious knowledge constraints, it was not based on a cost-benefit analysis, but rather has reproduced a pattern of behavior aiming the preservation of the core support networks, such as relatives, friends and neighbors.

Why did you want to move to Alba Iulia? Couldn't you remain in the village?

We had chosen to come here because most people came here and it was a compact group of people who moved here. We left after other people had already left; they started to leave in 2002. So, we were the last ones, in 2008, who sold, among the last ones. And I saw other people who went to other places and didn't fit there. Even if they went to the countryside, it depends on what kind of neighbors you have, how the local people receive you. [...] Yes, so this was the idea, to be among people we know, our people ... you can get some help here. If you have a problem you get help, if you are in trouble, you can call people. [...] So, this matters. And it matters when you go out, in the street, and you meet, you know them, you lived together for the last 30-40 years, you are acquainted, you know how to approach, how to talk to someone, with on another... With a stranger, good day, and if he wants he answers you, if he doesn't ... And I was not afraid we will not fit in someplace else, but... it also depends on us and on this integration, however, we considered that here it is closer to the town, for the children. (Man, Baptist priest, 55 years, Recea)

The most frequently mentioned reasons for resettlement were ‘a new and modern house’ and ‘generally, in a big city there are more opportunities’ (Figure 9). On the third position come various ‘other reasons’, which refer mainly to easier access to or better quality of medical services (as compared to the insufficient medical services available in Roșia Montană) and to ‘escape from the mountains, since climbing hills on a daily basis is very hard at our age, not to mention when we have a bag of bread, oil or other necessities’.

Figure 9 Main reasons to resettle (% of respondents)



Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61). Multiple-response question, so the sum of percentages is larger than 100%.

There are no significant differences between women and men regarding the main reasons for resettlement. However, there are significant differences according age. The children related reason ('children can go to a better school') is mentioned by more than half of the people aged 30-49 years and significantly less by other age categories. The population over 65 years of age mentions instead reasons related to easier access and better quality medical services as well as the need to 'escape the mountains', where life is 'very hard'.

Although the decision to resettle was not based on a cost-benefit analysis and although, in interviews, people avoided to discuss about their economic reasons, these cannot be neglected. In the previous chapter (Section 4.5), we have already presented the three main strategies used for maximizing profit in relation to the RMGC project: counterfeit wooden huts, 'over-night' juvenile orchards and relocation of the ancestors from the village cemetery. In Figure 6 (p.43) we showed that before leaving Roşia Montană, 98% of households sold one or more houses (own or inherited from parents), 75% sold land (own or inherited from parents), almost 33% relocated their ancestors, 30% increased their profits with (possible fake) orchards and 13% had or built over night a wood hut. Thus, we consider that the majority tried to maximize their profit by any means possible. In addition, they chose to move to a big city because 'there are more opportunities', but also because in economical

terms this is the most efficient way to convert their village-assets in much more valuable big-city-assets. Taking into consideration that about 50% of them are aged 50 years or more, this represented a life-time opportunity to successfully convert assets not only for a quick win in present, but also for the inheritance to be left to their offspring: “My son convinced me. Everything I own will be his after I’ll be gone. So they will have this nice house in a big city and not an isolated house on a mountain” (Woman, pensioner, 67 years, Recea).

5.4 The actual process and the RMGC role

In order to evaluate the actual process of resettlement (move from Roşia Montană to Recea) and the role that RMGC played, we included in the questionnaire the following dimensions: moving furniture; moving other belongings of the household; arranging the new house; changing the identity papers; concluding the contracts for utilities; transfer the children to a new school; find a new job; registration with a new family doctor; move the deceased relatives and adjusting to the destination city (Alba Iulia).

More than 70% of households needed help for moving furniture (79%), concluding contracts with the providers of utilities (79%), enlisting with a new family doctor (72%) and/or changing the identity papers (71%). Many households also needed help for moving other belongings (57%) and for arranging the new house (51%). A large part of the households with working age members asked help for finding a job (30% of all households) and about a half of the households with children needed help to transfer their children to a new school. Nearly all of them found support, except for 16% of households that are still seeking a job, 15% which still do not have a family doctor and 10% who still need to change their identity papers⁶².

Gold Corporation has played a major role as it provided the moving services (of furniture, other belongings and relocation of the deceased relatives) and it has been the main mediator/negotiator with the private services providers (construction firm, utilities

⁶² The percentages corresponding to the other categories are less than 8% (5 cases).

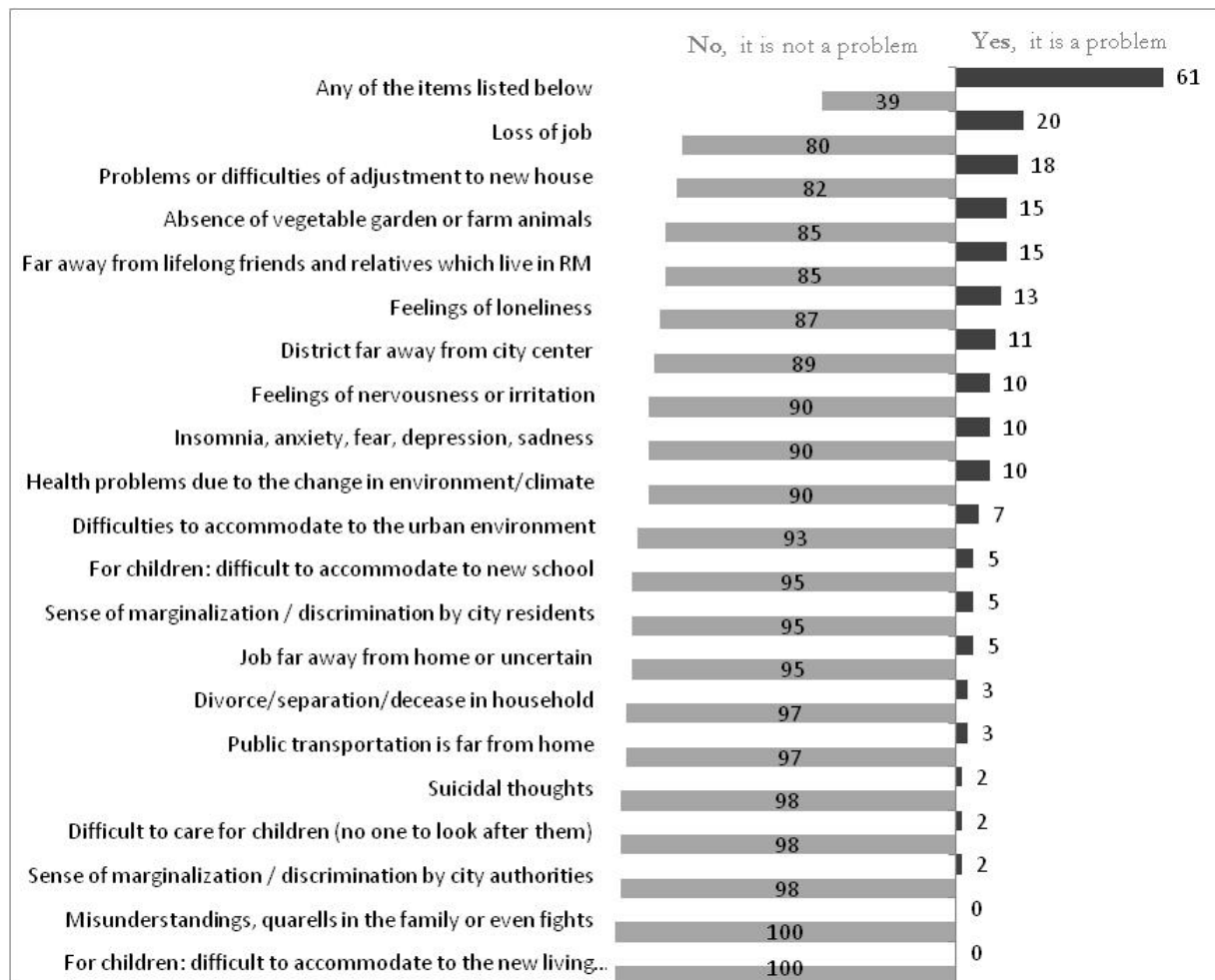
providers). Its role, although active, was less significant in relation to the public institutions (public administration, police, schools, family doctor). Thus, RMGC has assisted only 31% of households to enlist with a new family doctor, 25% to change the identity papers, 7% to find a new job and 5% with school transfers. In these areas, relatives, friends, neighbors and ‘connections’ played a much more important role. However, out of the total 28% of households that needed help for adjusting to the destination city, 15% received support from RMGC, 8% from relatives and friends and 5% still have adaptation difficulties. RMGC has set a scene in Recea, displaced a cluster of natives from Roșia Montană to Recea, actually moved their belongings, has assisted the resettled population in various areas and has linked it with relevant institutional actors at the destination. Specifically because RMGC linked Recea with the destination city (Alba Iulia) and has (will) financed all investments in the neighborhood (future plans include: Orthodox Church, Baptist Church, a playground for children, a cemetery), Recea community is highly organized and participatory (significantly more than a regular Romanian urban neighborhood). Public meetings are frequently held to which residents participate and consult with RMGC regarding both personal and common issues. This arrangement strengthens the community cohesion in addition to the natural factors such as to being a Roșia Montană native (see more in Chapter 6, Section 6.2.4).

5.5 Resettlement related problems and satisfaction with the process

Recea population assesses positively the resettlement process: 25% are ‘very satisfied’ and 51% are ‘satisfied’ of the way in which the process has unfolded (the average score of satisfaction is 3.8 on a scale from 1-‘very dissatisfied’ and 5-‘very satisfied’, with a standard deviation of 1).

Nevertheless, 61% of households mention from one to ten problems associated with the resettlement process (on average, a household faced 2-3 problems).

Figure 10 Resettlement related problems (% of households)



Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61). Multiple-response question, so the sum of percentages is larger than 100%.

Figure 10 shows the incidence of each of these problems in Recea neighborhood. The problems included in the questionnaire encompass house, employment, children education, mental and physical health and the adaptation to the new environment (overall, 20 items).

The most frequent problem post-resettlement, at household level, is job loss. One in every five households has at least a member that lost job due to the resettlement process. When living in Roşia Montană, 79 persons of working age (or 57% of all persons 15 years or more) were employed. By comparison in Recea, only 27 persons (or 19% of the working age population) are employed. In other words, once moved in Recea, 52 persons lost their jobs. Only few became unemployed, while the majority retired. In response to job loss, retirement

was the dominant strategy for ensuring income security, even more so given the fact that many of them used to be workers in the mining industry and, consequently, were eligible for early retirement.

The second problem refers to difficulties of adjustment to the new house, for 18% of households. This problem is due to the poor construction of houses, particularly regarding quality of windows and roof⁶³.

Now, I was dissatisfied with the way they built here... they didn't build how they should have... the workers were not good, did not use the best or even the medium materials... used mostly poor materials. We have problems with the windows and doors. [...]. Had problems with the snow, this winter... took some 2-3 barrows of snow from the garret and this is not normal for a new house. We had a house back in Corna, but never took out snow from the attic [...]. *Did the constructors come and fix it?* Yes, they told the people that the small amounts of snow that get in, the people should clean up themselves. But it was not little, it was a lot. I took out a crate full of snow, about two buckets. Well, it was not too much here. But at the boy who lives down street, there was even more. *Are there many people who are not satisfied with the quality of work for their homes?* Not necessarily in terms of house structure or arrangement, but construction. There were people dissatisfied with the finishing, yes... Now, they kept trying, kept mending... there are almost two years since the people moved in, and they are still working. They should not have to, at a new house when you finished it; 5-6 years normally you should not. (Man, Baptist priest, 55 years, Recea)

The second or third time, put the floor planks and when they finished they noticed it was a bad smell in the room. And then they saw that they drove the nails through the planks right into the water pipe. And the water kept dripping. They came, took the planks out...started again... the second time... two times they drove the nails in other spots. Other people had the same problems, because they send people who did not have the skills. Not craftsmen, they come, fool around, simply fool around. In December, about four-five days they came and changed all the doors and windows, because the wind was howling, you thought it was the devil when the wind was blowing. Now, indeed, there is no more howling... but it was awful. (Woman, pensioner, 75 years, Recea)

However, the large majority of population is satisfied with their houses: “Well... there still are problems, but they are passing, minor, normal at any house... I am satisfied that compared to what it was in Roşia it would be a pity to say otherwise, right?” (Woman, employed, 43 years, Recea).

⁶³ More information about house and house related problems are provided in Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1.

The third problem post-resettlement regards the absence of a vegetable garden or of farm animals for 15% of the households. Overall, 29% of the neighborhood households see the house and the surrounding garden as problematic.

There was a problem with the garden too, because normally the contract stipulated a layer of 25 cm of good fertile soil and we actually discovered a layer of 1-2 cm, little soil where it was, because there were places where there was no soil at all, they seeded lawn grass. Many people bought earth, one two trucks of good soil. So, now if you want to have a garden, you need to bring in soil. (Man, Baptist priest, 55 years, Recea)

The problem, however, is not the garden per se, but the fact that the old mode of production of vegetables and other food products within household is no longer feasible (or is very difficult) in the new environment. The soil is not appropriate for gardening; at least nothing more than turf and decorative flowers. In addition, the geographic location is “too windy for plants to grow” (Woman, pensioner, 75 years, Recea). Nonetheless, people have developed coping mechanism for saving the traditional way of rural life as much as possible. Some brought fertile soil and plan to plant fruit trees and vegetables. One household bought a cow, placed it with a friend in a neighboring village and started distributing fresh milk to the people from Recea neighborhood (as it used to do in Roșia Montană).

In fact, many households have arranged the interior and the surroundings of their houses according to their lifelong rural patterns. In many backyards one can see a hen coop (*coteț*) or a shade (*sopron*) for wood. Their urban villas are decorated inside with peasant furniture, carpets, religious items and candles and no paintings, books or sophisticated video-audio systems.

The efforts to rural-ize the urban space are even higher in the case of people (15% of households) who feel ‘far away from lifelong friends and relatives that live in Roșia Montană’. Furthermore, 26% of households mention as a problem post-resettlement the fact that one or more members have experienced after moved to Recea one or more of the following issues: ‘feeling lonely’, ‘nervousness or irritations’, ‘insomnia, anxiety, fear, depression, sadness’ or have other ‘health problems due to the change in environment/climate’.

The distance⁶⁴ between Recea neighborhood and Alba Iulia city center is considered problematic only by people who depend on others for transportation (11% of households)⁶⁵.

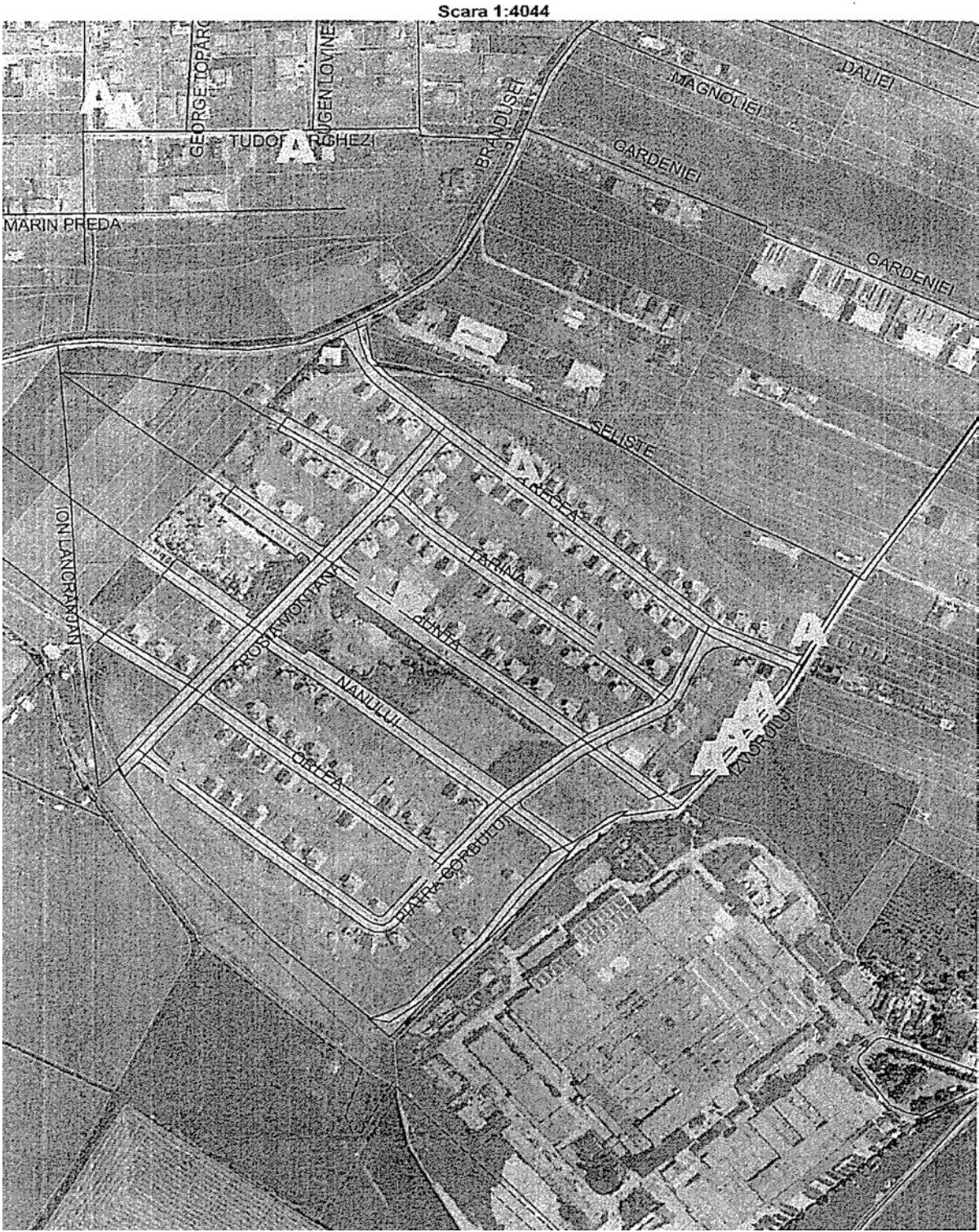
5.6 The emergence and road to Recea

In conclusion, Recea neighborhood came to life in 2009, as a cluster of people who spent their entire life or, anyway, lived more than 20 years in Roșia Montană. The decision to resettle was consensual, and followed the enclave pattern: if one moves, others will follow. Accordingly, the main reasons to resettle in Recea were proximity to relatives and friends, followed by economic incentives. Overall, the resettlement process is assessed as positive. Throughout the process, RMGC supported the people on different matters and is the main link between Recea and host community. However, the main post-resettlement issues were job loss, adjustment to the new house and physical environment, and the loss of old livelihood patterns (e.g. vegetable garden and farm animals).

⁶⁴ This distance is 15 minutes walk.

⁶⁵ All other households own a car or have in the neighborhood a relative or a good friend with car. Hence, the car is the typical mean of transportation in Recea district.

Figure 12 Map of the Recea District



Source: Alba Iulia City Hall, Department of Urbanism

6.2 The re-establishment process: creative adaptation in Recea

6.2.1 Physical space and environment

Once the decision to resettle to Recea was taken, people could choose the plot and the type of house. Expectedly, choices have varied according to the household income⁶⁷. On one hand, people from low and medium income groups made their choices either on utilitarian grounds - ‘the smaller the house, the lower its maintenance costs’ (24% of households) or based on emotional reasons – ‘we simply like it’ (32%). On the other hand, people from higher income groups (44%) had a preference for houses with the same characteristics (size) and with the same neighbors (relatives or friends) as the ones they had in the origin village.

All residents⁶⁸ have owned their houses both at origin (Roșia Montană) and at destination (Recea). In Roșia Montană, they owned rustic houses, poorly modernized with outdoor toilets and only few with tap water, yet with large gardens, agricultural land, farms animals and orchards. In contrast, in Recea they own villa type houses, well endowed with utilities (indoor toilet, tap water, gas, etc.), but with relatively small gardens.

By design, RMGC built in Recea five standard models of houses, which differ in terms of surface of the plot (with big or small gardens), size of the house living area (with 2 to 5 rooms) and cost of building. In the neighborhood, the total area of houses ranges between 65 m² to 200 m². Almost a quarter of houses have a total surface of 110 m², another quarter have 120 m², a third quarter have 150-200 m², and the rest are divided between small houses (of 65-90 m²) and houses of 130 m² (Table 4).

On average, a house from Recea has a total surface of 126 m², which represents about 61 m² per person, a value almost three times larger than the national urban average of 22 m² per inhabitant (Voicu and Voicu, 2006).

⁶⁷ The census questionnaire included the following open question: *Which was the main reason for choosing the house where you are presently living, and not another one?* (only one answer).

⁶⁸ There is only one exception, a household (with two persons) that moved to Recea through a different path than the RMGC resettlement plan (purchased the house).

Table 4 Main characteristics of houses in Recea District

Indicators:	TOTAL	Type of house by total surface				
		65-90 m2	110 m2	120 m2	130 m2	150-200 m2
TOTAL houses - number	61	10	15	14	8	14
- %	100	16.4	24.6	23.0	13.1	23.0
Average surface of house (m2)	126 (33)	83	110	120	130	177
Average surface per person (m2)	61 (32)	55	59	56	55	74
Number of rooms of the majority	3	2	3	3-4	3-4	3-5
Average surface of room (m2)	52 (13)	42	47	56	52	61
Average surface of kitchen (m2)	17 (8)	28	18	14	13	15
% of houses with garage	68.9	40.0	80.0	64.3	75.0	78.6

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011. In TOTAL column are shown both average value and, between brackets, standard deviation. According to a One-Way Anova ($p=.000$) regarding average surface of house, room and kitchen, the difference between the types of houses are significant.

Irrespective of the type, all houses are equipped with bathroom, indoor toilet, attic (used for storage) and basement (except for the small ones). Although initially all houses had had neither outbuildings nor annexes, by March 2011, 69% of them had built garages.

Overall, the houses from Recea satisfy the residents' family needs with respect to the number and surface of rooms as well as with the area of kitchen, bathroom and the storage space available. The dominant opinion index⁶⁹ of satisfaction with house has an average value of 95 (and a standard deviation of 13), which shows that nearly all respondents consider that the house satisfy their family needs on all considered characteristics.

In the previous chapter (Section 5.5), we described how Recea people rural-ize the urban space. Resettlement from a village to a city area forced changes on the relation with space. Hence, people that spend their whole life (or more than 20 years) in a village, once moved to a city, have developed coping mechanism for saving as much as possible of their traditional rural life.

⁶⁹ The index varies between -100 total dissatisfaction and +100 total satisfaction. The index is based on five dichotomic variables (number of rooms; surface of rooms; kitchen; bathroom; storage space), with values 1-satisfy family needs and 2-does not satisfy family needs.

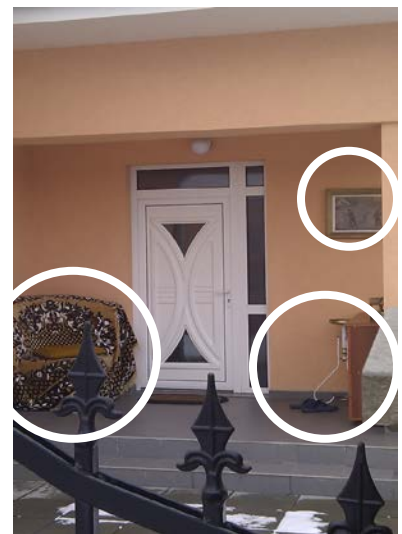
Photograph 3 House Décor in Recea District

Recea, February 2011

Some people ‘brought earth, one truck, two trucks of good soil’ for resuming gardening. Couple bought cows. Many built hen coops (*coteț*) or wood sheds (*sopron*) in their backyards and, at the same time, arranged the interior of their houses in a rural manner. Thus, the urban space with an accentuated appearance of American suburb, from the front stage, is treated in a rural specific manner, in the back stage.

Only three households reported changes to the external look of the house. Nonetheless, while on the field, we noticed that many houses have been decorated with specific rural elements. In the adjacent pictures, one might notice the paintings, the shoes or the furniture (particularly the bench covered with a carpet) placed next to the main entrance of the house.

In the Romanian rural areas from Alba County is rather common to see paintings on the front of the house. These paintings usually depict epic matters with religious or popular values. It is a matter of family status, as only the affluent ones would afford it. Leaving the shoes (outside) next to the main entrance is another example of common rural behavior; as if they would still care for animals and garden and would not want to bring 'dirt' into the house. Finally, having a bench next to the house entrance is also widespread in the rural areas, but in this case the carpet represents the ‘urban improvement’ of the old way of spending leisure time.



The majority received their houses from RMGC, in good or very good condition: 15% of houses were ‘in very good conditions, did not have to change anything’, 20% were ‘good, but needed clean up’, 57% were ‘medium, some investments/changes were necessary’, and 7% of houses were ‘bad, we had to change a lot of things’⁷⁰. Consequently, 69% of households made small adjustments or modifications to the interior and/or exterior of the house:

- 55% of houses⁷¹ were improved in the interior, in terms of: tiles/ceramic tiles (38%) in the kitchen, bathroom or halls; parquet in rooms (13%); and other changes, such as new doors, re-painted walls, re-arranged basements or boiler (21%).
- Just 3 families reported changes to the external look of the house.
- 63% of households⁷² made modifications to the exterior of the house, in terms of: fence (30%); garage (69%); garden and fruit trees (18%); terrace and awnings (11%); and others such as sidewalk, paving, coops or wood storage (7%).

The resettled received their houses fully connected to utilities, such as gas, electricity, running water and TV cable. 35% of houses were connected to internet later by owners. More than 90% of the households are ‘satisfied’ or ‘very satisfied’ with the heating system, electricity and water services; also, with the light during the day, the protection against the outside noise as well as with the location of the house within the neighborhood.

So, overall, moving here was all right?

Yes, of course, I came from the countryside... no water, when it was windy, the electric power was cut off... the water, that was the main problem. Here is much better, we have all utilities.
(Man, employed, 30 years, Recea)

Less than 15% of households reported house related problems including mould on some of the outer walls, water infiltrations from the roof/basement, damp rooms, overheated rooms (in the summer) or cracks in the ceiling of the rooms/roof (see Chapter 5, section 5.5). The

⁷⁰ One person did not answer.

⁷¹ The sum is higher than 55% as some made more than one modification/adjustment.

⁷² The sum is higher than 63% as some made more than one modification/adjustment.

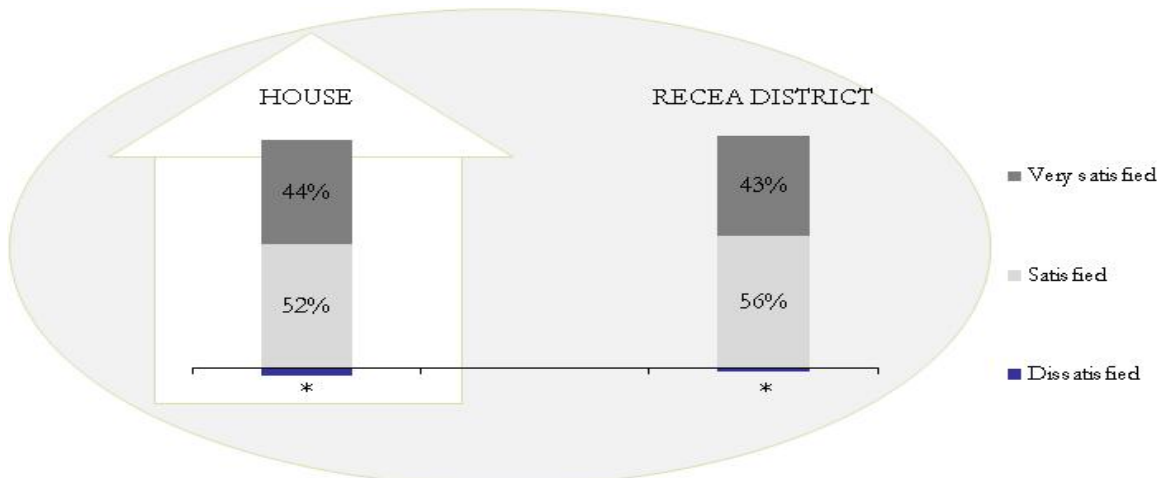
other 85% either have no problem or have ‘little serious’ problems, which do not affect negatively the quality of house.

And are you satisfied with the house, I mean do you have problems... snow in the attic, infiltrations, anything else?

If it is an earthquake you should be dissatisfied that it is an earthquake, if it is a storm, if it would be hail... let us be discontent because it was hail. No, there are some small problems but it is normal... who is building a new house should not say there are no problems, that everything was exactly the way it was planned. Here is very well and this is what it is not normal. (Man, employed, 30 years, Recea)

The houses from Recea are new, ‘beautiful’, spacious, with an average surface per inhabitant three times larger than the national urban average, well endowed with utilities and with rather rare and ‘little serious’ problems. Consequently, more than 90% of the Recea population considers their housing conditions as ‘very good’ or ‘good’ (Figure 13).

Figure 13 Satisfaction with house and with Recea District



Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61). Note: * Less than five cases.

In addition, people are also satisfied with the quality of environment (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3). ‘The air is not so clean as the mountain air from Roşia Montană, but is satisfactory’ and the quality of water is considered rather poor by many local people, however they do not see any source of pollution impinging on the neighborhood quality of life.

In conclusion, for 78% of the population, moving to Recea resulted in ‘better’ or ‘much better’ housing conditions as compared to Roșia Montană. For other 18% the housing conditions have remained the same and only for 4% it worsened. In terms of housing conditions, the satisfaction is high both with house and neighborhood. As a result, the propensity to leave the neighborhood is low. Out of the eight empty houses in the neighborhood, in March 2011, only two were ‘for sale’. The others were expecting newcomers. Accordingly, RMGC and Alba County Planning Department consider Recea ‘a work in progress’, as the mining project will develop and more people will choose to resettle in the district. In fact, RMGC purchased new plots for expanding the neighborhood. Thus, with a low out-migration (flow and propensity) and a high probability to expand, the situation appears stable and the community operates in a favorable physical space.

6.2.2 Access to services

In terms of amenities, the neighborhood has a small shop and an orthodox chapel. The shop opened, two days before our arrival. The owner informed us that he would like to supply the neighborhood with basic goods, such as bread and (non)alcoholic beverages. The chapel was built in 2009. A priest, employed by RMGC⁷³, delivers the religious service every Sunday. In addition, RMGC hosts special events for the residents on special occasions such as Christmas or Easter.



Photograph 4 Recea bus station

Recea, February 2011

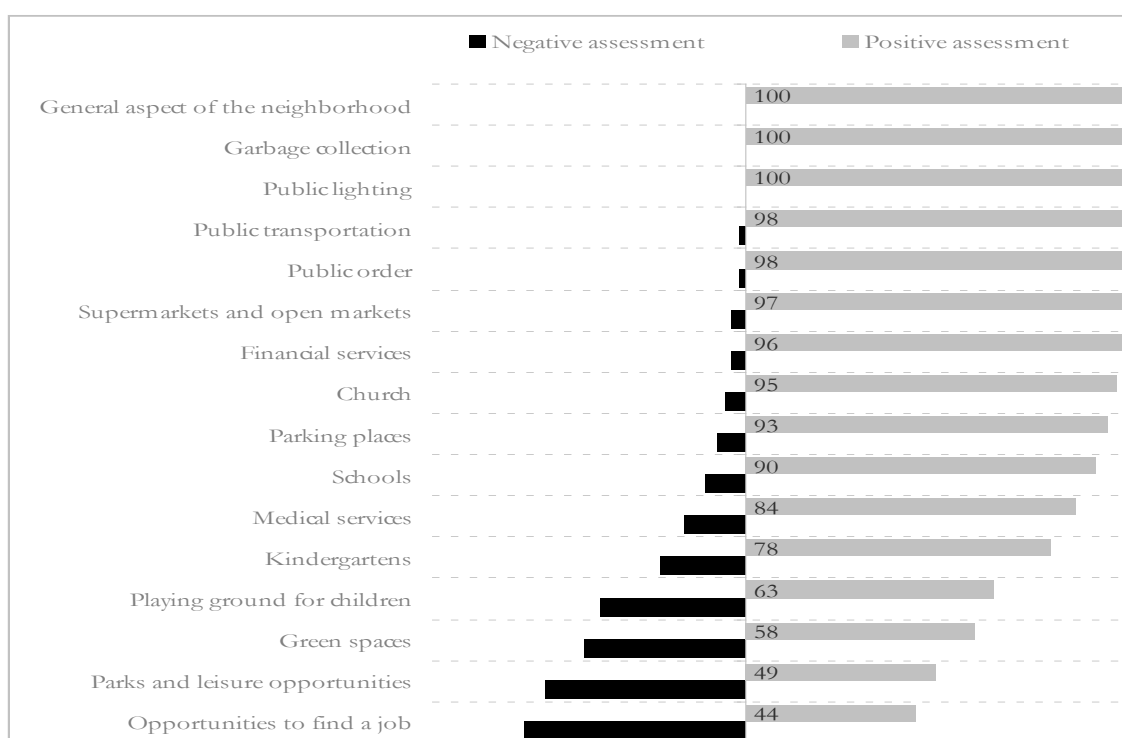
Alba Iulia Municipality equipped the neighborhood with public transportation, so every two hours there is a bus which links the neighborhood with the city center. However, each time

⁷³ Usually, in Romania, the priests are not employed by secondary parties, such as RMGC. Priests are employed by the Orthodox Church, but are primarily state employees. Their incomes are mainly from the state, and a small part from the parish. It is unique and most likely is the only case in Romania, where a priest which has his own parish is employed to carry out services for a different ‘flock’.

we visited the neighborhood, we never saw anyone in the bus station. Even the factory workers from the nearby factory prefer to walk, rather than take the bus. The distance between Recea neighborhood and Alba Iulia city center is a 15 minutes walk. In addition, the automobile is the main transportation mean used by residents as almost 90% of households either own a car (66%) or have in the neighborhood a relative or a good friend with car.

Overall, the supply of services and access to services in Recea neighborhood is assessed as ‘good’ or ‘very good’.

Figure 14 Supply of services in Recea district (%)



Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61). Notes: Positive assessment cumulates ‘very good’ and ‘good’. Negative assessment sums up ‘very bad’ and ‘bad’. Figure 14 shows % from valid cases.

Alba Iulia supplies the Recea residents with ‘good’ or ‘very good’ services (consider 63-100% of them) such as garbage collection⁷⁴, public lighting, public transportation, silence and public order, food markets and shops, financial and banking services, parking places, church,

⁷⁴ Garbage collection as well as parking places is considered ‘rather bad’ in the central neighborhood of Alba Iulia city (Stănculescu, 2010).

schools and kindergartens, and medical services, and all these in a nice looking place. Only three types of services, namely opportunities to find a job ⁷⁵, parks/leisure activities and green spaces, are considered '(very) good' by less than 60% of residents. The lower satisfaction towards green spaces is a result of the move from a rural environment with forests and nicer scenery. With regard to parks and leisure activities it should be noted that in the neighborhood there is no bar/pub and no place where people can meet for a drink and socialize in the afternoons. Also there is no park, but RMGC intends to build a football field and park (at the requested of residents).

The positive assessment of the supply of services is even more relevant as within the neighborhood there is no bank or ATM, food market or supermarket, no school, kindergarten, hospital or clinic, and the playground for children is only in project and not operational. Nevertheless, these are available and well diversified in the city centre, at a 15-minute walk distance.

Overall, the dominant opinion index⁷⁶ of satisfaction toward the supply of services in Recea neighborhood has an average value of 54 (and a standard deviation of 26)⁷⁷ which reflects the fact that the majority of residents assess positively most services. At the same time, the supply of services is much better in Recea as to Roșia Montană⁷⁸ (Figure 15). Compared to the rural origin, at the urban destination there are better schools and kindergartens, better medical services, more job opportunities, better public transport, public lighting, garbage collection, better food markets and supermarkets as well as better financial and banking services. In addition, Recea neighborhood looks better than Roșia Montană. Silence and public order, parking space and church are assessed as the 'same'. Only regarding children

⁷⁵ Recea census was done during the global economic crisis hence the dissatisfaction toward job opportunities; however, is rather general in Romania.

⁷⁶ The index varies between -100 total negative and +100 total positive. The index is based on the 16 variables shown in Figure 14.

⁷⁷ The value of 54 is far from 100 (total positive) because about 36% of respondents did not assess schools, kindergartens (they have no child in the family) and job opportunities (they are over 65 years and do not look for a job). In addition, around 20% did not answer to the question regarding leisure time ('we are old so all our time is leisure time') and 15% did not evaluate financial and banking services (as they did not use them).

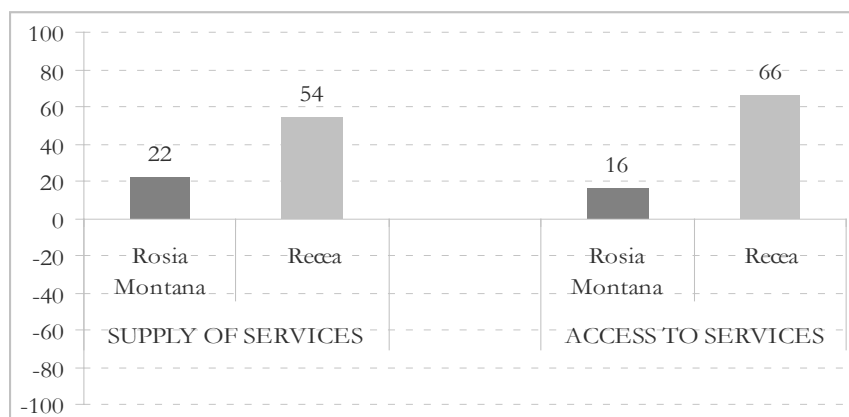
⁷⁸ Opinions regarding the supply of services in Roșia Montană are less positive and much more heterogeneous, with a value of the dominant opinion index of 22 and a standard deviation of 45.

playgrounds, green spaces, parks and leisure opportunities predominates the opinion that the situation was better in Roșia Montană. Thus, through the resettlement from Roșia Montană to Recea, the supply of services has significantly improved.

Figure 15 Supply and access to services in Recea and in Roșia Montană

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011. Notes: The figure shows the average values of the dominant opinion indexes calculated for each dimension and location.⁷⁹

All four indexes vary between -100 (all people assess negatively supply of/ access to all services) and +100 (all people assess positively supply of/ access to all services).



Access to services is also ‘(very) easy’ and much better in Recea neighborhood compared with Roșia Montană for all types of services: shops, supermarkets, farmers markets, doctor, hospital, school, working place, financial services, church and cemetery, public transportation – busses and railways. Access is also ‘very easy’ or ‘easy’ to relatives and friends whom they visit more often. Overall, 74% of population evaluates access to services as being ‘much better’ (23%) or ‘better’ (51%) in Recea than Roșia Montană. On a scale

⁷⁹ Regarding SUPPLY OF SERVICES, we calculated two dominant opinion indexes. First index refers to the assessment of the supply of services in Recea based on the question: *How do you evaluate the situation from Recea district, with regard to ...* the 16 services shown in Figure 14; on the scale from 1-very bad, 2-bad (negative opinions) to 3-good, 4-very good (positive opinions), and non-response (neutral opinion). The second index reflects the comparison between Recea and Roșia Montană using the question: *How is the current situation compared to the situation in Roșia, with regard to ...* the 16 services shown in Figure 14; on a scale from 1-worse (negative opinion) to 2-same (neutral opinion), 3-better (positive opinion), and non-response (neutral opinion).

Regarding ACCESS TO SERVICES, we computed two dominant opinion indexes. First index refers to the assessment of the access to services in Recea based on the question: *How easy is it for you to get from home to the following places, if you need to go...* following 13 services: small food shops, supermarket, peasant market, dispensary/doctor, hospital, school/kindergarten, job, bank/ATM, church, cemetery, bus/public transportation station, railroad station, relatives and friends; on a scale from 1-very hard, 2-pretty hard (negative opinions) to 3-pretty easy, 4-very easy (positive opinions), and non-response (neutral opinion). The second index reflects the comparison between Recea and Roșia Montană using the question: *How is the current situation compared to the situation in Roșia, with regard to ...* the same 13 services enumerated above; on a scale from 1-worse (negative opinion) to 2-same (neutral opinion), 3-better (positive opinion), and non-response (neutral opinion).

Both indexes were determined using the Hofstede’s (1980) formula (see 2.4.2 section).

from 1-‘much worse’ to 5-‘much better’, the average value for access to services is 3.9 (and a standard deviation of 0.85) that is in Recea ‘better’.

For instance, access to the hospital, banks or other services, is it the same, better or worse?

The truth is that in Alba [Iulia] you have more opportunities than Abrud and much more than in Roşia. We came from Abrud. Well, (in Alba Iulia) there is a large hospital, county hospital, cannot be compared with the hospital we had. But for the other, so and so... Only that we have cooking gas which we did not have there. So, this is a great achievement that we don’t need firewood anymore... And now we have a new shop here. It just opened yesterday. Well, it is welcomed. A good deal of the population is just like us, pensioners and... if then a bread, some milk, if they would also bring milk. (Woman, pensioner, 68 years, Recea)

What about for children who go to school?

Yes, those who are learning in the morning leave at 7.30 and at 8 they are at school, and if they are learning in the afternoon, from 12, there is a bus at 11.30; it is just right for the children to get to school. There is no problem. (Woman, employed, 42 years, Recea)

The neighborhood problems are few, ‘not too serious’, and however ‘less’ than it used to be in Roşia Montană. We collected data regarding 13 types of possible problems. Over 85% of residents consider that 11 of these are not problems in Recea neighborhood: vandalism (destruction of property), car or dwelling thefts, violence, conflicts between neighbors or with other ethnic groups, noise (traffic or noisy neighbors), air pollution (noxious matters), improper garbage disposal, and neighborhood sanitation. Therefore, the residents feel secure (in and outside the home) and do not perceive urban pollution as a problem. To sum it up, for Recea residents, the ‘big city’ (Alba Iulia) is ‘the same’ or ‘better’ than the origin village, in matters of criminality and sources of pollution⁸⁰.

Please, believe me... two times I left the car unlocked and I have the GPS in the car, I also left my bag couple of times. So I just left it out, unlocked. Once I left the keys in the contact... in the morning I was looking for the keys... where are the keys, there were no keys. So I left the car with the keys in the contact and unlocked. Nothing happened. (Woman, employed, 42 years, Recea)

⁸⁰ Roşia Montană was an industrial site.

Photograph 5 Stray dogs from Recea

Recea, February 2011



In contrast, stray dogs⁸¹ and quality of drinking water⁸² are considered issues. However, we need to take into consideration that all over Romania, especially in large urban areas, the issue of stray dogs is persistent. As for the quality of water, in most Romanian big cities, people usually do not drink the tap water, but buy bottled water. Furthermore, regarding both issues, the situation in Recea is the ‘same’ (48% for stray dogs; 25% for quality of water) or ‘better’ (31% for stray dogs; 44% for quality of water) than that in Roşia Montană.

Another downside is that all urban facilities are costly. The better living conditions came with higher local taxes, fact which represents a source of dissatisfaction for people who in their origin village used to pay low taxes for houses/land or for community services and no taxes at all for utilities (i.e. sewerage). In addition, in Alba Iulia, as in most large cities from Romania, the local taxes are determined according to the property value and not to the people income.

We had a problem with the taxes here. They charged us very high taxes in the beginning. The town hall people came, talked to them, decreased a little, but not so much. We asked in other parts of the town and we have the highest taxes compared to other areas. [...] They said we have utilities here, they included the land too... they filled in lawn for many people and it is very expensive. So, the same amount you pay for the house, you also pay for the land near the house... But we said, we will make a garden put some tomatoes, seed something, make a bed, do something, because the agricultural land is charged less, the tax is lower. But, in the beginning, you cannot till the plot ... there is no fence to keep the animals out... and so, for many people, they [*town hall representatives*] marked the land as if it was a lawn. [...] The rain which comes we need to pay for it too because it goes to the sewer. And they calculated in the beginning, when they made the contracts, only for the area of the house... then they made some appendixes to the contract which included all the land which you possess, as if the water would go to the sewer. And they calculated a lot... some 16-18 m, 15 m... but you don't consume and not all the water you consume goes to the sewer, as the other wrote. [...] Look at our houses and look there uphill. Can you compare them, those are much bigger... those are villas. *Do you mean*

⁸¹ Stray dog issue: 33% assess it as ‘a problem’; while 49% assess it as ‘a serious problem’.

⁸² Quality of water issue: 21% assess it as ‘a problem’; while 31% assess it as ‘a serious problem’.

the Tulip district (another newly emerged residential neighborhood at the city outskirts)? Yes, yes. You can see that they are businessmen there, people with money. They do not care that they pay a higher tax, or something, because their income is large. But we came here as pensioners, simple people. (Man, Baptist priest, 55 years, Recea)

However, the overall quality of life has improved by moving from Roșia Montană to Recea. The houses are better (Section 6.2.1) and endowed with utilities. The supply of services is ‘good’, access to services is ‘easy’ and neighborhood problems are only few and ‘not too serious’. Consequently, about 90% of residents declared Recea as ‘a good place to live’⁸³.

6.2.3 Economic security

As we presented in methodological model (Figure 3, p.30), for analyzing the dimension of economic security we draw on two attributes: (1) employment and education composition of population and, correlated, (2) household incomes and expenditures.

As presented in Chapter 5, 155 persons from 61 households participated in our survey. The population is gender balanced and includes only Romanian ethnics. The community is aged⁸⁴, as half of Recea’s population, men as well as women, being 50 years or more; children and young (0-29 years old) represent only about 22%. Furthermore, most residents are married and live in extended multigenerational households (44%). The others belong to ‘empty nest’ families (28%), nuclear families with children (21%) or one-person households of widows/widowers or divorced persons, of 65 years or more (7%).

Recea population has an average level of education somewhat lower than the national urban average. Thus, the population from Recea aged 19 years or more, on average, has graduated 11 grades, whereas the national urban average is of 12 grades (corresponding to high school)⁸⁵.

⁸³ *How much do you agree with the statement: Recea neighborhood is a good place to live?* 72% ‘fully agree’ and 18% ‘agree’. In addition, 5% ‘neither agrees, not disagree’ and the other 5% ‘(fully) disagree’.

⁸⁴ The average age of the adults (19 years or over) is of 53 years, which is much higher than the national urban average of 45 years (data for 2010, National Institute for Statistics, *Tempo Online* database).

⁸⁵ Data for 2010, National Institute for Statistics, *Tempo Online* database.

In Recea, as in the entire country, the older the person the lower his/her level of education. Thus, the average number of grades decreases from 13 grades⁸⁶ for the young (19-29 years), to 12 grades for the age category 30-49 years, 11 grades for those 50-65 years, and 9 grades for the elderly.

Table 5 Highest level of education achieved by Recea population, +19 years of age by gender (%)

ISCED levels	TOTAL population	Male	Female
TOTAL persons - number	134	63	71
- %	100	100	100
Primary and first level of secondary (gymnasium at most)	22,4	12,7	31,0
Secondary (vocational schools, including first level high school)	23,1	30,2	16,9
Upper secondary			
- high school	26,9	20,6	32,4
- post high school and technical for foremen	13,4	20,6	7,0
Tertiary (short/ long term faculty, master)	14,2	15,9	12,7

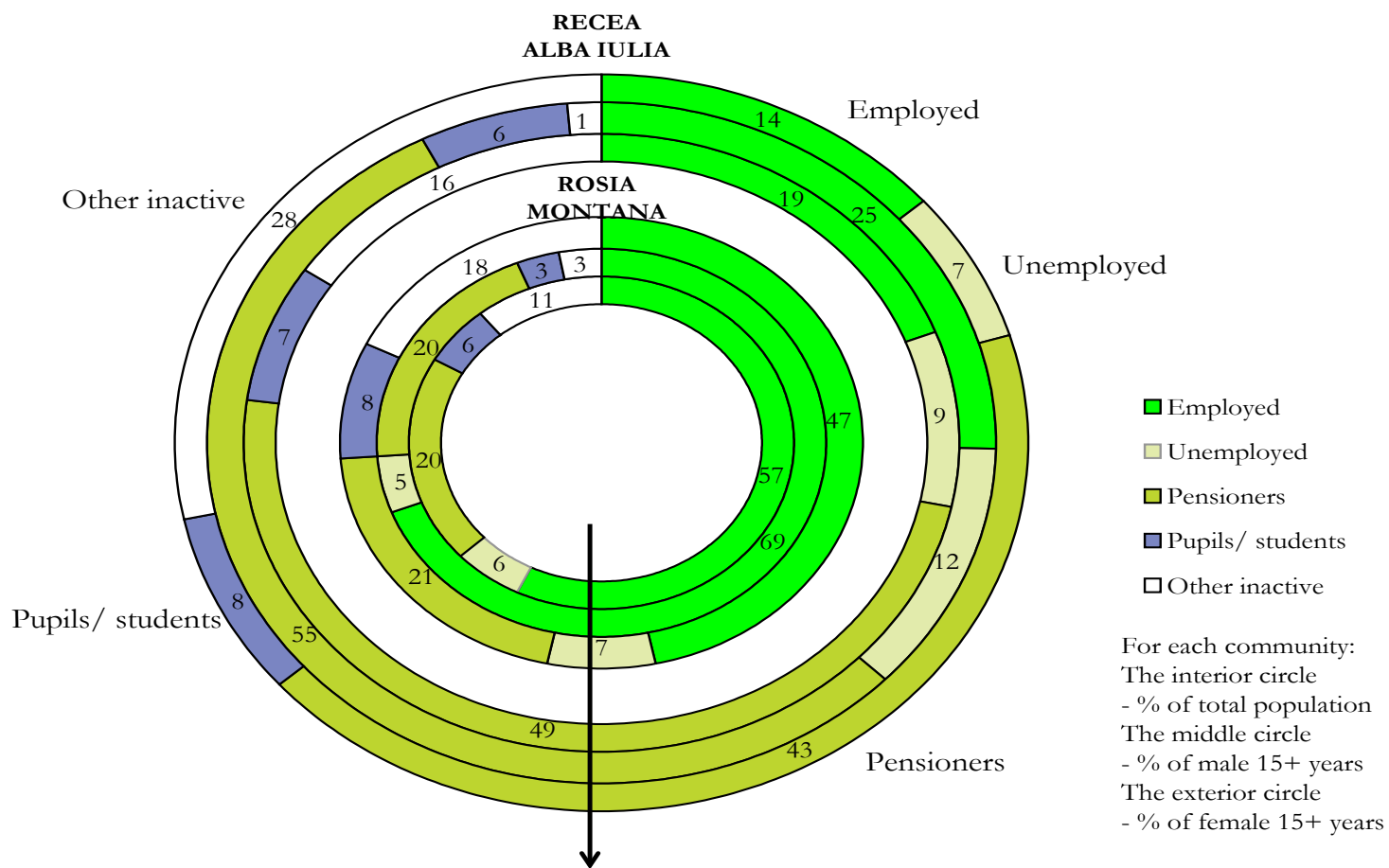
Data: Recea Survey, March 2011. Note: Cell marked in grey show values significantly higher, with adjusted residuals higher than two, Chi-Square significant for $p=.001$.

On average, women achieved lower levels of education compared to men. Table 5 shows that women are over-represented both as poorly educated persons (gymnasium at most) and high school graduates, while men are significantly better represented graduates of vocational training or technical schools for foremen.

As stated in Chapter 5, in Recea, the most frequent problem post-resettlement, at household level, has been job loss. One in every five households has at least a member that lost his/hers job due to the resettlement process. Figure 16 illustrates this drastic change in employment. Just by looking at colors one can easily observe that from Roşia Montană to Recea the light-green segments (employment) severely contracted, while the olive or white segments (pensioners and other inactive) expanded considerably.

⁸⁶ This corresponds to the dominant pattern in all larger cities from Romania. For comparison, the adult (19+ years) population of Cetate central neighborhood (Alba Iulia) achieved, on average, 13 grades. (Stănculescu, coord, 2010).

Figure 16 Changes in the employment situation from Roșia Montană to Recea by gender (%)



Data: Recea Survey, March 2011. Notes: In Romania, 15 years is the legal age for entering labor market. The differences by gender are significant, both for Recea and for Roșia Montană, with adjusted residuals (in absolute value) higher than two, Chi-square significant for $p=.005$.

When living in Roșia Montană, 79 persons of working age⁸⁷ (or 57% of all persons 15 years or more) were employed. By comparison in Recea, only 27 persons (or 19% of the working age population) are employed.

The employment rate of men declined from 69% in the origin village to only 25% at destination city. As result the unemployment rate of men increased from 5% to 12%, but the proportion of retired men ‘exploded’ from 20% to 55%.

Women have faced a similar collapse of employment. The employment rate of women declined from 47% in Roșia Montană to 14% in Recea, while the proportion of housewives increased significantly from 18% to 28% and that of pensioners more than doubled, from 21% to 43%.

All age categories experienced the downward change in employment. The younger residents of 30-49 years suffered substantial job loss. At the origin, 70% of them were employed. Once moved to Recea, only 37% of them still had a job (the majority succeeded to keep their former job), only one person became self-employed (opened a shop in Recea neighborhood), 23% became unemployed looking for a job, 9% succeeded to retire based on health grounds, and as much as 28%⁸⁸ (all women) retreated in the household niche and became housewives.

The age category of 50-65 years simply turned from 56% employees and 28% retired, in Roșia Montană, into only 10% employees (none self-employed) and 77% of them pensioners, with about 8% housewives in Recea. People over 65 years⁸⁹ as expected, retired as soon as they became eligible for a state pension and thus, in Recea, they are either retired (92%) or housewives (8%).

⁸⁷ In Romania, 15 years is the legal age for entering labor market.

⁸⁸ In Roșia Montană, the share of unemployed was 2% and that of housewives was 19%.

⁸⁹ In Romania, the retirement age is 62 years, for women, and 65 years, for men. In 2011, a new Pension Law was issued. Certain occupations, such as mining, have distinct pension regulations. Early retirement, partial pension, social pension, and retirement based on health grounds are available.

All in all, 52 women and men lost their jobs, once moved from Roșia Montană to Recea. Only few became unemployed, while the large majority retired. In response to job loss, retirement was the dominant strategy for ensuring income security, even more so, given the fact that many of them used to be workers in the mining industry and, consequently, were eligible for early retirement.

For the employed population, besides the massive decrease in number, employment shifted from industry and constructions to services (Table 6). However, the composition in terms of occupational groups has remained almost the same.

Table 6 Employment shifted: from industry and construction to services (%)

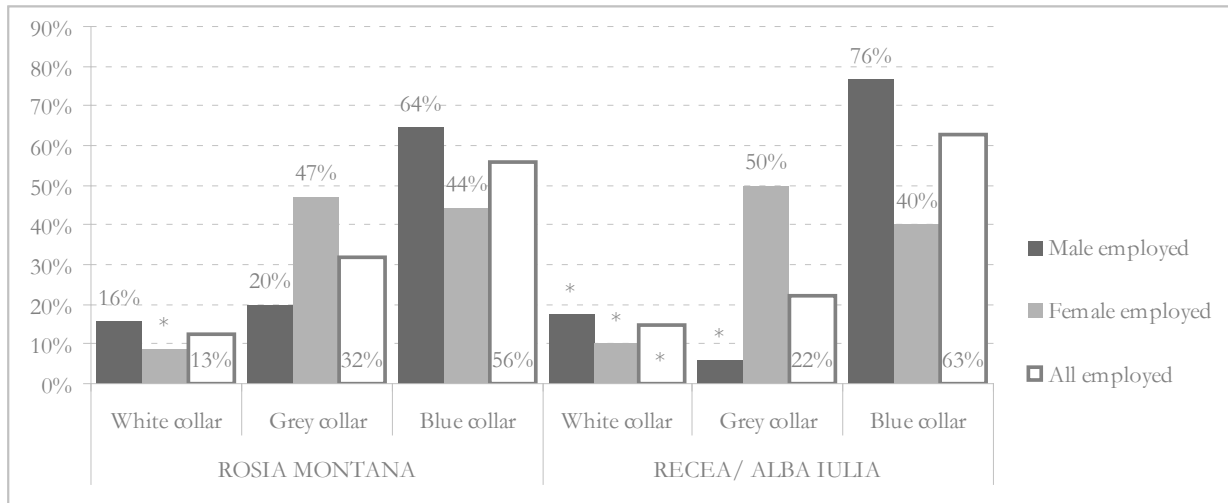
Economic sector	The origin village ROȘIA MONTANĂ				The destination city RECEA NEIGHBORHOOD			
	TOTAL employment	White collars	Grey collars	Blue collars	TOTAL employment	White collars	Grey collars	Blue collars
TOTAL persons - number	79	10	25	44	27	4	6	17
- %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Agriculture	3,8	0,0	0,0	*	*	0,0	0,0	*
Industry and constructions	53,2	*	32,0	68,2	29,6	0,0	*	41,2
Services	43,0	60,0	68,0	25,0	66,7	*	83,3	52,9

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011. 'White collars' include employers, managers, legislators and professionals. 'Grey collars' refer to non-manual occupations, technicians and associate professionals, clerical support workers, service and sales workers. 'Blue collars' contain skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, craft and related trades workers, plant and machine operators, and assemblers as well as elementary occupations (unskilled workers).

This shows that while in the origin settlement more than half (53%) of the employed were active in industry and constructions, at destination city, 67% of those which remained employed are working in services.

Nearly all employed Recea residents are employees, only one is self-employed. The large majority is working either as 'grey' or as 'blue collars' (Figure 17). At origin village, the majority (64%) of male were workers in industry, specifically in the mining sector. Contrasting, the employed women were almost equally divided between 'grey collars' (47%), particularly service and sales workers, and 'blue collars' (44%). At destination city, the difference between the employed women and the employed men accentuated. The share of 'blue collars' among men increased to 76%, while the employed women remained divided between 'grey collars' (50%) and 'blue collars' (40%).

Figure 17 Employment at origin and destination by occupational group and gender



Data: Recea Survey, March 2011. Notes: * Cells with less than 5 cases. The differences by gender are significant, both for Recea and for Roşia Montană, with adjusted residuals (in absolute value) higher than two, Chi-square significant for $p=.005$. ‘White collars’ include employers, managers, legislators and professionals. ‘Grey collars’ refer to non-manual occupations, technicians and associate professionals, clerical support workers, service and sales workers. ‘Blue collars’ contain skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, craft and related trades workers, plant and machine operators, and assemblers as well as elementary occupations (unskilled workers). N= 45 men and 34 women, in the origin village, Roşia Montană. N= 17 men and 10 women, in the destination city, Recea neighborhood.

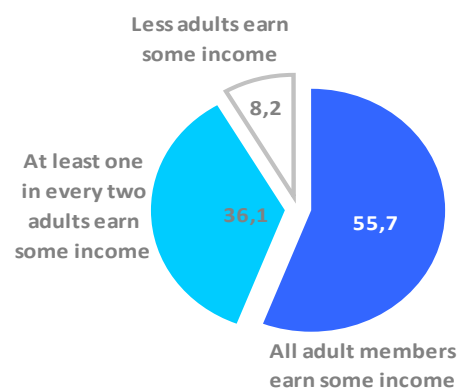
At the origin, more than half (58%) of employed had their jobs in the residence locality. The others (42%) were daily commuters; 60% of the ‘white collars’, 44% of the ‘grey collars’ and 36% of the ‘blue collars’ which had to commute to job on a daily basis. At the destination city, the proportion of daily commuters slightly diminished to 37% for all employed, most being workers in villages nearby the city.

In terms of employment, moving to Recea determined a severe shrink in employment. However, the population is aged and, consequently, most people retired. Thus, Recea is a working class community formed by retired workers in industry and active workers in services.

Household income

Figure 18 Households from Recea by the number of income-earners (%)

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61).



Due to the decline in employment, the work intensity of households decreased substantially. Therefore, in Recea, 67% of households have no member employed. Only in 2 households all adult members are employed. In the other 30% of households, the work intensity varies from 20% to 50%, which means that only one in every five - two adult members are working. However, in most households all adults earn some income.

Out of the total population of Recea neighborhood (155 persons), 62% income-earners⁹⁰ have to provide also for those that earn some low-level social benefit at most, which are 8% unemployed, 12% pupils or students and 18% other inactive persons (babies, house-persons, disabled etc.).

Table 7 Personal income in Recea neighborhood

Type of (net cash) income	% population	Average monthly income (euro)	Std. dev.	Minimum (euro)	Maximum (euro)
No income	21,3	0	0	0	0
Wage	17,4	211	104	74	476
Pension	44,5	217	91	83	405
Social and family benefits*	16,8	33	41	10	131
All incomes	100	139	124	0	476

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=155). Notes: * Social benefits including unemployment benefits, scholarships and the universal allowance for children. Exchange rate: 1 euro=4.2 lei.

As the most common survival strategy was retirement (either old-age or anticipated), the main source of income changed from wage (in Roşia Montană) to pension (in Recea). Thus, most residents (45%) earn an average monthly (state) pension of 217 euro, whilst 17% of residents earn a monthly wage. In Romania, the minimum wage on economy is

⁹⁰ 17% employed persons and 45% pensioners.

approximately 160 Euro, while the average net wage on economy is approximately 340 Euro. Thus, the average monthly net wage of 211 euro from Recea is rather low. In fact, it is almost equal with the average pension of the neighborhood residents (217 euro), precisely because wages in mining industry used to be higher than those in other economic sectors and, hence, the pensions of former miners are rather high in the Romanian context⁹¹.

Given these facts, in Recea, the household monthly disposable income per capita of about 155 euro is medium at the urban population level (Table 8). There are, however, significant differences between households. The ‘empty nests’, usually with two pensioners, have an average monthly income of almost 200 euro per capita. Accordingly, one-person households, which belong predominantly to a pensioner, have an average income of 171 euro per month. The extended households hold the medium position. Significant lower income per person, of less than 100 euro per month, belongs to the nuclear families, which depend on wages (and have children).

Table 8 Household income in Recea neighborhood

Type of household	No. of households	Average monthly income (euro)	Std. dev.	Minimum (euro)	Maximum (euro)
One-person households	11	171	109	0	357
Nuclear families (parents&children)	10	99	44	28	179
‘Empty nests’ (couples of elderly)	22	198	74	54	321
Extended multigenerational families	18	124	73	21	314
All households	61	155	85	0	357

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011. Exchange rate: 1 euro=4.2 lei. The differences between types of households are statistically significant, according to a One-Way Anova significant at $\alpha=0.005$.

The household monthly disposable income per capita is strongly correlated with:

- ∴ Economic dependency of household: the higher the rate of the economic dependent household members (all ages), the lower the household monthly income⁹²;

⁹¹ In Romania, the average old-age pension is about 230 euro. The anticipate pension is much lower, approximately 135 euro.

⁹² Pearson correlation coefficient of -0.63, significant at $p=0.01$ (2-tailed). The economic dependency of household is determined as $(\text{no. dependent adults} + \text{no. children 0-18 years}) * 100 / (\text{no. total members})$.

- ∴ Economic dependency of adults: the higher the rate of the economic dependent household members aged 19 years or more, the lower the household monthly income⁹³;
- ∴ Age of adults: the higher the average age of the household members aged 19 years or more, the higher the household monthly income⁹⁴;
- ∴ Education level of adults: the higher the average level of education of the household members aged 19 years or more, the higher the household monthly income⁹⁵.

On one hand, in Romania (e.g. Tesliuc et al, 2001; Crai et al, 2009), the household income is higher as the share of children is lower, the share of economic dependent adults is lower, and as the education of adults is higher; the same can be said in the case of Recea district. On the other hand, household income is expected to be lower as the age of adults is higher and is expected to be higher as the household work intensity⁹⁶ is higher. None of these statistical laws is confirmed in the case Recea district. Firstly, household income is higher as the age of adults is higher, precisely because, in Recea, pension is the main source of income and, at the same time, pensions are, on average, higher than wages. Secondly, in Recea, household income is not correlated with work intensity, specifically due to the very low proportion of employed in total population. Thus, Recea as an aged community predominated by pensioners and strongly dependent of pensions makes a distinctive case within the general national picture.

In subjective terms, 20% of households assess their income as being ‘not enough to cover bare necessities’, 37% perceive it as ‘enough just to cover bills and basic needs’ and 43% say that their household income is ‘enough for a decent life’. In comparison, the corresponding

⁹³ Pearson correlation coefficient of -0.52, significant at $p=.01$ (2-tailed). The economic dependency of adults is determined as no. dependent adults (19+ years) *100/ (no. total adult members).

⁹⁴ Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.36, significant at $p=.01$ (2-tailed).

⁹⁵ Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.30, significant at $p=.05$ (2-tailed). The average level of education of the adults is calculated as the average number of grades graduated by all household members aged 19 years or more.

⁹⁶ Work intensity is calculated as the proportion of employed members in total number of members (all ages).

proportions at national level⁹⁷ are: 31%, 34% and 36% suggesting that household income is better assessed in Recea than at country level.

Household disposable income is medium at the urban population level and it is better evaluated in relation the household needs than at the country level. Although people suffered significant job loss, they did not experience significant income drop. Their income diminished from wages to pensions, but they have not been exposed to the risk of poverty, even more so, taking into consideration that the value of their properties (house and land) has considerably increased by moving from Roșia Montană village (or Abrud) to the large city of Alba Iulia.

Household consumption and expenditures

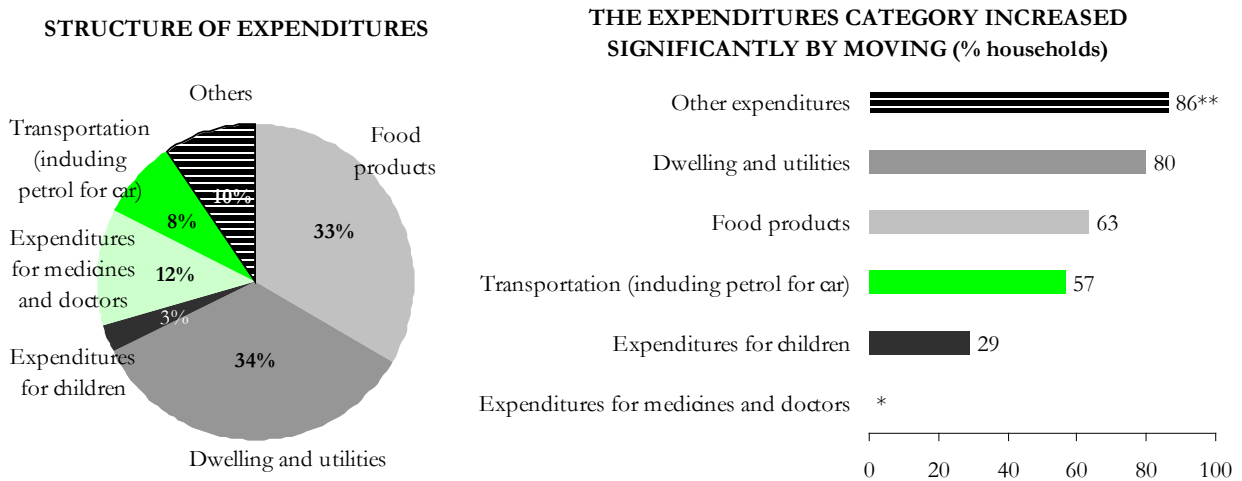
The structure of household expenditures does not vary significantly depending on the type of household. All households spend, on average, 34% of their monthly budget for dwelling and utilities related costs, 33% for food products, 12% for medicines and doctors, 8% for transportation, and 10% for others (Figure 19). Expenditures for children vary, on average, from zero, in childless households, to 7% of total monthly spending, in households with children.

Dwelling and utilities related costs account for more than a third of total household monthly expenditures. For 80% of households, compared to the origin village, this category of expenditures had significantly increased once at the destination. On one hand, the houses are better, are spacious, are modern and are connected to urban facilities (water, garbage collection, gas etc.). On the other hand, access to facilities is not free of charge. The larger houses need more heating, which means higher costs. Tap water makes life ‘easy’ and ‘comfortable’, but also costs, particularly when one uses it for watering the garden. And so on. In addition, unlike in Roșia Montană, even ‘rain water that goes in the sewage system must be paid for’. The gardens with lawns and flowers are nice, but are no longer

⁹⁷ Mărginean and Precupețu (coord.), Calitatea Vieții în România 2010 [Quality of life in Romania 2010]. Research Institute for the Study of the Quality of Life (ICCV), <http://www.iccv.ro/node/190>.

‘agricultural land’ and therefore, associated with higher taxes. As mentioned in Section 6.2.2, the current local taxes are not considered fair by the resettled, ‘simple people’, although they account for much improved living conditions. However, taxes represent a source of dissatisfaction, even more so as, in their origin village⁹⁸ where they used to pay low taxes for houses and land or for community services and no taxes at all for utilities such as sewerage.

Figure 19 Household expenditures in Recea and changes compared to the Roşia Montană



Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61). Notes: Structure of expenditures determined based on average contribution of each category to total expenditures, valid cases. * Question not asked. ** Most respondents refer to local taxes for house and land.

Food products represent the second largest category of household expenditures. Regardless of the numbers of members, number of children, occupation and education level of the household adults, food products account for a third of total expenditures per month. In comparison with western countries where 33% food spending might seem too much, it is less than the regular 40% rate in urban Romania areas.

In Roşia Montană, 82% of households used to produce their own food as they had farm animals and vegetable gardens. Since they resettled in Recea, just 27% of households have continued to produce food in household or receive it from friends and relatives located in countryside, meaning that the majority of food products have been obtained by purchasing

⁹⁸ See page 71.

from the market/shops. Accordingly, the food expenditures increased for 63% of households (Figure 19).

Their current gardens are smaller and lack the proper soil for gardening. In fact, as we have shown in Chapter 5 (Section 5.5), the absence of a vegetable garden or farm animals is mentioned as a post-resettlement problem by 15% of households. Many of them have strived to 'save' the 'old way of life' as much as possible, as they 'brought trucks of good land', 'brought some hens, rabbits', but the lack of garden forced them to change significantly their life style.

We had cows back there (*Roşia Montană*), we were making fresh cheese, sweet cheese, cream... everything. And here (*Recea*), we do not make anything in the household. I bought some hens, rabbits, but... It is not like back there. Yes. [...] we were picking blackberries, we were picking mushrooms, preserved them for the winter... did a lot of things... had potatoes, apples... everything. Now it is a period... we put some trees here too, but it will be some 2-3 years until they start making fruits... Most people have large gardens... There is space, because they are from 500, 600... up to 800... a hand-full have 900m. And the house takes 100, 100 and more, and the rest... the garage, a small parking lot... and in the rest you can seed. So, everybody can have a bed of vegetables by the house, because this is the way we got used and you cannot go for every vegetable to the market... get some lettuce, a carrot, something... because this is the way we are used to... go to your garden and take from there. And you also have some activity, this keeps you... you don't break up completely with the life style you had back there... Here, someone like us, who had a lot of animals and he liked them a lot, poor man, now he goes in the street and wanders around to find people to talk... and he says he cannot stay inside... cannot, I die inside. (Man, Baptist priest, 55 years, *Recea*)

What kind of animals do you have here (*Recea*)? Some hens. Back home (*Roşia Montană*) we had cattle, oxen... Now I have a cat, a dog and some hens. *Do you have land?* About 80 acres or so. *What are you going to put in your garden?* Put some trees... you can put trees in the garden too, but it is not worth it. There is a bad draft from this side. A draft which dries out everything in the garden. The tomatoes, we could not pick almost anything from them. We seeded here in this part and it is draft on both sides. That is life. (Woman, pensioner, 75 years, *Recea*)

In Roşia if you wanted milk you were going to the cow to get it... what do you do in Recea? Do you think that here there are no people? I found someone with fresh milk and he gives me. If we want milk, then we go get some milk... *Where do you find it?* On Pâclişei Street, right there, there is someone who has milk, he owns a cow. And there is someone else here up the street. (Woman, employed, 43 years, *Recea*)

The transportation expenditures make 8% of the total monthly expenditures and increased for 57% of *Recea*'s households. Taking into account that *Recea* district is located at the periphery of *Alba Iulia* city people make use of the public transportation more often

compared to the origin village. Furthermore, although the majority of car owners⁹⁹ use their cars no differently than in Roşia Montană, the petrol price has grown significantly in 2010-2011.

As there are just a few children in the neighborhood, the associated expenditures represent on average only 3% of the monthly total spending. Expenditures for children vary between zero (in childless households) and 7% in nuclear families with children, which is very low. Nevertheless, 29% of all households, which represent 70% of households with children, appreciate that their child related expenditures increased as result of the resettlement. The Alba Iulia city schools are considered better in terms of performance, but are also more expensive. To sum it up, dwelling and food represent the two main categories of household expenditures, and both grew significantly as result of the resettlement.

Durable goods

The resettled, in their move to Recea, accumulated rather than impoverished. They purchased durable goods, such as fridges with freezer, washing machines, microwave ovens or computers (Table 9). For nearly all households the share of durable goods increased, especially 24% of households that bought washing machines and 15% of households which bought fridges. In addition, more of them have now computers with internet access, and 90% have cable TV.

⁹⁹ The majority of the car owners use their car daily (47%) or few times a week (27%) for: shopping, visiting relatives and friends, doctor appointments, driving children to extracurricular activities or other personal matters.

Table 9 Endowment with durable goods (% of households)

Type of household	Roșia Montană	Recea	Change after resettlement
	(%) (A)	(%) (B)	(%) (B - A)
Telephone or mobile phone	96.2	96.7	0.5
Fridge with freezer	83.0	98.4	15.3
Washing machine	69.8	93.4	23.6
Color TV	96.2	96.7	0.5
Video/DVD Player	26.4	29.5	3.1
Microwave oven	39.6	47.5	7.9
Cable or satellite TV	79.2	90.2	10.9
Air conditioning	*	*	*
Computer (PC)	35.8	47.5	11.7
Internet Access	17.0	34.4	17.4

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61 households). Note: * Cells with less than five cases.

Subjective evaluation of the household economic situation¹⁰⁰

Overall, by moving from Roșia Montană to Recea, the economic situation has improved for about 44% of households and it has remained ‘the same’ for 32% of households. For the other 24%, the economic situation got ‘worse’. Most of these households are those that used to produce their own food. Thus ‘getting worse’ refers more to the forced change of their lifestyle than to an income drop: “It’s a pity that we have so much time, because there is no [paid] work, but we need to spend so much of our little money on food instead of doing on our own” (Woman, pensioner, 75 years, Recea). Furthermore, none of the common poverty ‘signs’, such as buying from shops on credit¹⁰¹, hunger, debts or insufficient heating, are present in the neighborhood¹⁰².

¹⁰⁰ Overall, how do you evaluate your household economic situation in present compared to that from Roșia Montană (before resettlement)? Answers: 1-much better, 2-better, 3-the same, 4-worse, 5-much worse. The average value 2.75 with a standard deviation of 0.95.

¹⁰¹ In Romania, in the deprived areas, is common to buy products, such as food or cigarettes, on credit (the shop owner keeps a record of debts).

¹⁰² Only 3 households reported that, during the past twelve months, ‘it happened, but rarely’ to buy on credit from shops. Only 3 households declared that in 2011 ‘it happened, but rarely’ that they ‘had no food to put on table’ and someone from their family starved. Only 2 households reported debts for the utilities fees, cooking gas, electric power or others. While, 5 households said that in the winter 2010-2011 ‘it happened, but rarely’ that they could not heat sufficiently their house and suffered from cold.

Thus, the voluntary resettlement from Roșia Montană to Recea neighborhood cannot be associated with impoverishment. The main income source shifted from wages to pensions, nonetheless, a secure source of income. The income level is medium given the fact that many inhabitants worked in the mining industry and had relatively high wages. The houses are more valuable and better endowed both with utilities and durable goods. The structure of household expenditures has changed, but covers the household needs. For the majority of households, the general economic situation of households has significantly improved.

6.2.4 Social Integration

How to measure social capital (and its forms) is a debate in itself (UK ONS, 2001). Social capital is defined in so many ways that is difficult to measure. However, most researchers use for measuring social capital of a community/ neighborhood a series of items concerning the neighborhood context, characteristics of population, the density of social networks, extent to which residents engage with other in informal, social activities, reciprocal help and trust, satisfaction with life, civic engagement, and active membership in groups and associations. Accordingly, the questionnaire of Recea survey included all these types of questions¹⁰³.

In addition, our questionnaire included few items on media consumption so to measure the individualized leisure activities (specifically, watching television), items regarding health and others concerning the sense of identification with place.

Characteristics of individuals

Recea neighborhood is a Romanian ethnic gender balanced aged community (a half of the population is aged 50 years or more). About 10% of population¹⁰⁴ reported one or more health related problems due to the resettlement, such as loneliness, insomnia, anxiety, fear, depression, sadness, suicide thoughts, nervousness, irritability or problems due to the

¹⁰³ There is, however, an exception. We did not include items on active membership in groups and associations. Many previous studies (e.g. Sandu, 2003) show that in Romania the number of formal groups and associations, is rather small and the membership rate is also very low. Given the fact that Recea population is aged and the associational life in Alba Iulia is rather limited we did not include specific items in the questionnaire. Instead, we discussed this issue within interviews, along with the issue of civic engagement.

¹⁰⁴ Men and women, of all ages, of all levels of education and of various occupations.

environmental/climatic conditions¹⁰⁵. Nevertheless, 45% of population describes their health state as 'good' or 'very good' and other 45% as being 'medium'¹⁰⁶. Overall, the health state is 'the same' (for 68% of population) or 'better' (12%) than in Roşia Montană (before resettlement). The 20% of persons who declared that their health worsened mainly refers to 'feeling old' as all of them are 60 years or over.

Most people are satisfied¹⁰⁷ with their life in Recea and rather optimistic¹⁰⁸, especially men¹⁰⁹. Also, the higher the household income the more satisfied and optimistic the individuals¹¹⁰. There are no other significant differences depending on age, education, employment status, occupational group or satisfaction with health.

Social networks and social interactions

Recea is a community of people who were born, raised and lived all their life (or more than 20 years) in Roşia Montană where as relatives, neighbors, workmates and/or friends. Consequently, Recea is rich in bonding social capital. The neighborhood social networks are very dense. Out of all respondents, only four have neither relatives nor friends or neighbors from Roşia Montană living in the neighborhood. More than half of residents have at the same time relatives, old friends and former neighbors staying in Recea. Irrespective of gender, age, employment status and education, any Recea resident has (besides his/her household members), on average, 4 relatives, 9 old friends and 5 former neighbors (from

¹⁰⁵ Loneliness was reported by 8 persons, insomnia, anxiety, fear, depression or sadness were declared by 6 persons, suicide thoughts by 1 person, nervousness or irritability were mentioned by 6 persons, and other 6 persons claimed problems due to the environmental/climatic conditions.

¹⁰⁶ In fact, 16% of the population declared a chronic illness or disability; cardiac problems, rheumatism and diabetes being the most common. All these persons are aged 60 years or more.

¹⁰⁷ *How satisfied are you, in general, with your way of life (in Recea)?* Answers: 1-very dissatisfied, 2-dissatisfied, 3-neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied, 4-satisfied, 5-very satisfied. The average value 3.7 and standard deviation of 0.98.

¹⁰⁸ *How do you think you will live one year from now?* Answers: 1-much worse, 2-worse, 3-about the same, 4-better, 5-much better. The average value 3 and standard deviation of 1, because 33% were pessimistic (believe that they will live 'worse'), 31% expected their life to be 'about the same', and 36% were optimistic (think that their life will be 'better'). Noteworthy, Recea Survey was carried out during the international financial crisis and, in Romania pensions were reduced as part of the austerity governmental policies.

¹⁰⁹ According to a one-way variance analysis (One-Way Anova) significant for $p=.000$. The average life satisfaction of men was 4 compared to 3.4 for women. The average optimism score for men was 3.25 compared to 2.4 for women.

¹¹⁰ Pearson correlation coefficient between household income per person with life satisfaction +0.36 (2-tailed, $p=.000$), and with optimism +0.33 (2-tailed, $p=.05$).

Roșia Montană) living in the neighborhood. For a population of 61 households, an individual network of an average dimension of 18 households with strong ties denotes a very dense social fabric.

Furthermore, Recea provides a frame for social meaningful relations as it reproduces the familiar environment from the origin village at a smaller scale. Accordingly, the social interactions within neighborhood are ‘good’ and intense. 95% of population evaluate the relationships with neighbors as either ‘good’ or ‘very good’ and consider that the fights/quarrels between neighbors are rare events¹¹¹. About 35% of population spends daily time (leisure) with relatives and friends in Recea. Other 33% do that for a couple of times per week, while 39% are ‘often’ or ‘very often’ talking to neighbors and lend each other money or goods. In contrast, the interactions with the relatives and friends that remained in Roșia Montană have significantly decreased, since just 62% go to visit just once a month or more rarely, especially on holidays or special occasions (i.e. weddings).

Recea people do not ‘trust most people’. In fact, on a scale of trust from 1 (it is better to be prudent in relations with other people) to 10 (you can trust most people), the average score is almost 3 (standard deviation 2.93), which indicates a low level of personal trust¹¹². Nonetheless, they trust their Recea folks: 70% of respondents ‘trust most residents of Recea’ and 75% of them consider that ‘the residents cooperate to improve the conditions of the neighborhood’. In addition, more than half (51%) believe that if they were to lose their purse/wallet on the street, it would be most likely to have the item returned; this is rather different from the majority of urban districts in Romania. The ones which are more skeptical in this respect are the elders (66 years or over).

The civic engagement is high, but only in relation to common issues of the neighborhood. As we have presented in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4), RMGC played a major role in the

¹¹¹ Only two persons declared that in the last years they quarreled with a neighbor.

¹¹² *Generally speaking, would you say that you can trust most people, or that you would be better be cautious in your relations with the people?* Answers: scale from 1 (it is better to be prudent in relations with other people) to 10 (you can trust most people). 57% of respondents selected code 1.

resettlement process. RMGC built Recea neighborhood in Alba Iulia, it organized and managed the resettlement process according to a plan, and linked the new community with relevant institutional actors (private service providers or public institutions) at destination. Once the community was formed, RMGC did not withdraw, but kept its influential position of ‘community voice’ and negotiator and financed all investments in the neighborhood. As result of this arrangement, engagement on public affairs is much higher in Recea than in any regular Romanian urban neighborhood. Recea community is highly organized and participatory. Residents are organized in committees related to various investments or common actions. Public meetings are frequently held at which residents participate and consult with RMGC regarding both personal and common issues. Hence, this arrangement enables high levels of cooperation in order to solve public issues. Nevertheless, the ‘strong’ (dependency) relation between community and RMGC presents serious adverse effects taking into consideration the over weighted bonding social capital. First, engagement in public affairs is high only in relation to the neighborhood affairs, which reinforces the inward focus attitude and the exclusive identity of ‘*Roşieni* moved to Alba’. Second, this arrangement diminishes the community’s opportunities to interact with groups and institutions outside the neighborhood, in order to develop bringing and linking forms of social capital. Any problem is communicated to ‘fatherly’ RMGC that takes care of it. Even the community (Orthodox) priest was hired by the company. Thus, Recea community is trapped in a dependency circle of RMGC.

The bridging social capital is weak and is concentrated in the origin village. In terms of social networks of friends and relatives, the community is focused on Roşia Montană and Recea. Only 13% of the residents declare that they either do not have any relatives/friends or that they have more connections outside the binomial Recea-Roşia Montană (Figure 20). The high intensity of social relations within the neighborhood (or in the origin village) reflects the dominant nature of the community, which is formed mainly of pensioners and housepersons, with only few employed, youth and children. As consequence, they tend to spend most of the time within the neighborhood boundaries and within the social networks established long time ago. Due to the few or rare interactions outside Recea-Roşia Montană,

most residents do not generally trust people, tend to become isolated and de-coupled from the destination city (Alba Iulia), and most importantly, from groups with which bridging should occur in order to produce an ‘increase’ in the community social capital.

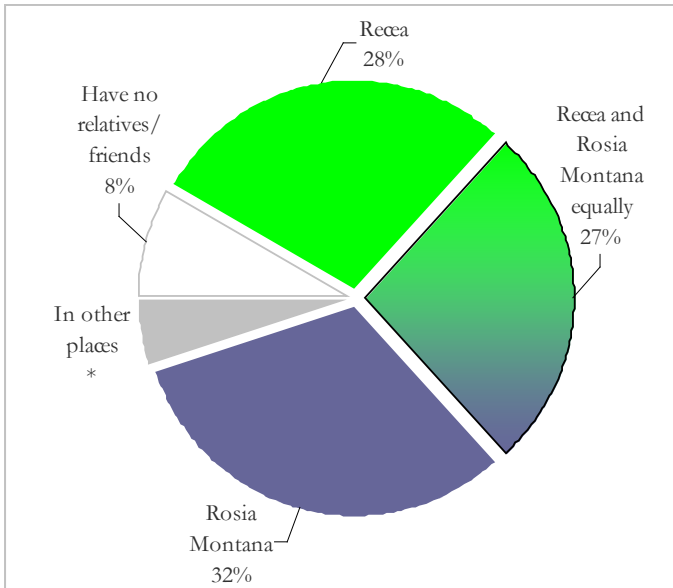


Figure 20 Where do the most of your relatives and friends reside?

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61 households). Note: * Cells with less than five cases.

Compared with the origin village, the linking social capital is weak and declining at destination city. For measuring the linking social capital that enables community members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available within the community we use the index of ‘useful’ connections. This dominant opinion index¹¹³ is based on eight (dichotomic) variables that show if the household has ‘friends/acquaintances/connections who can help solve a problem’ such as ‘medical consultation, treatment, surgery’, ‘in court, with the notary or lawyer’, ‘at the town hall’, ‘at the police’, ‘to get a loan’, ‘to get a job’, ‘to go abroad’ or ‘at children’s school’.

The index of ‘useful’ connections was computed both for the origin village and for the destination neighbourhood. The average value for Recea is extremely low -56 (standard

¹¹³ The response scale of the eight variables: 1=yes (positive opinion), 2=no (negative opinion) and non-response (neutral opinion). The index was determined using the Hofstede’s (1980) formula: $(P-N) * (T-NR) * 100 / T * T$, where P – positive answers, N – negative, NR – neutral or non-response, and T – total number of variables. This type of index varies between -100 (no useful connections at all) and 100 (have useful connections for solving all eight mentioned problems).

deviation of 59), even lower than the average value for Roşia Montană -39 (standard deviation 61, which shows a rather high variance). In the origin village most of them had ‘useful’ connections for solving at least a problem, most often to the town hall, police or medic. Nonetheless, the index is still low taking into consideration that Roşia Montană is a small village, where the geographical distance between institutions is smaller (than in the city) and the chances of having relatives or friends working in local institutions is much higher.

Nearly all Recea residents follow daily one or more channels of information. Figure 21 shows that the main daily activities are watching television (98%), followed by listening to radio (76%). The lower use of internet can be explained by the fact, that majority of households which make use of these are those that have young adults, which use social networking devices as Yahoo Messenger, Msn or Facebook.

Our data for Recea confirm Putnam’s (2000) observation that the low participation/ membership in groups and association that create and maintain bridging social capital is associated with a high incidence of individualized leisure activities, especially watching television¹¹⁴.

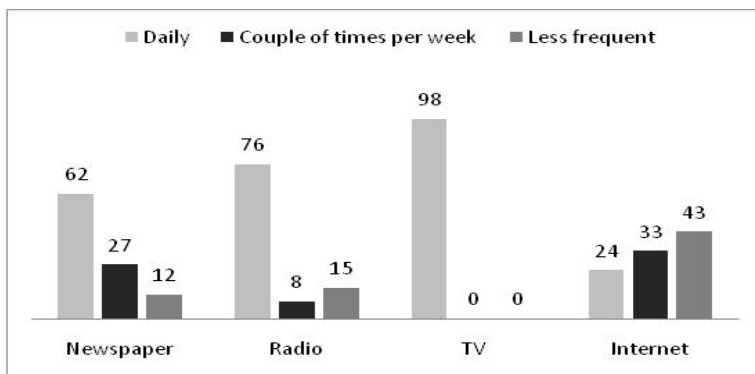


Figure 21 Consumption of mass media in Recea (%)

Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61 households).

Spending few hours every day in front of the TV does reduce the time to socialize, but in the case of our aged community the effects are not so dramatic. On the contrary, taking into

¹¹⁴ In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) named television as the main culprit in the decline of social capital in the United States. While in 1950s, 10% of homes in America had a TV, by 1959 over 90% had TVs and watched them frequently, which left people less time to socialize.

consideration the social isolation tendency of Recea community, mass media, particularly television, provides for many residents the main link with the outside realities. Even though information might be sometimes distorted, many people from Recea learn ideas and the world from formal institutions beyond the community by watching the daily news, which increases their capacity to leverage resources for solving various problems.

Sources of common identity and sense of identification with place

The residents of Recea neighborhood define themselves first of all as ‘*Roșieni*’, Roșia Montană natives. The second source of common identity is their belonging to the mining working class. They speak with much pride about their ‘respectable’ work in industry, particularly those who worked in mining, ‘the queen of all industries’, and regret their actual status of inactivity. The third source comes from their rural way of life defined by a special relation with land and animals, ‘working the garden’, ‘producing own food’ because only by doing so one can be praised as being ‘*gospodar*’¹¹⁵. The fourth source is a consequence of the public controversy around the Roșia Montană project as they have to face the demeaning labels of ‘traitors’ or ‘deserters’ applied by those who remained in the village (see Chapter 4, Section 4.5).

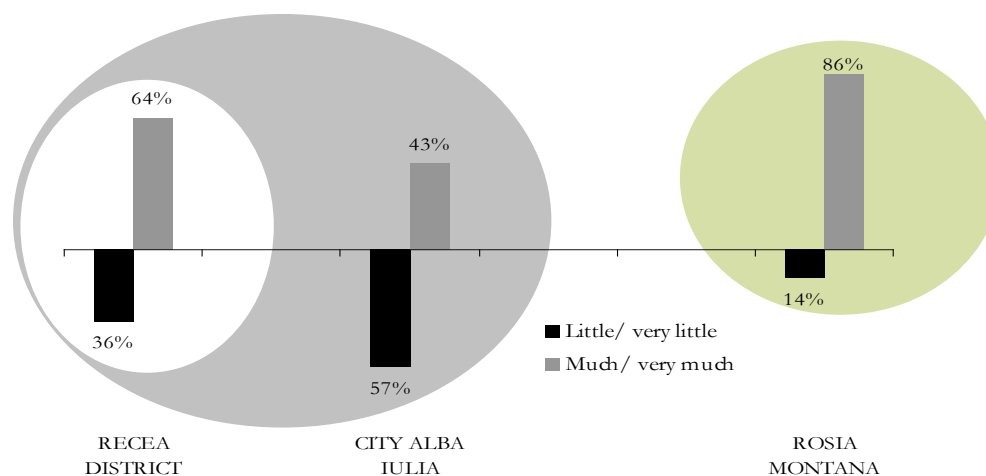
The sense of identification with place is shaped by the sources of common identity and reflects the community social capital. The sense of identification with place is measured based on the question *How attached (‘legat sufletește’) are you to ...?* with a response scale from 1- ‘very little’ to 4- ‘very much’, which was applied regarding Alba Iulia city, Recea neighborhood and Roșia Montană.

As it can be observed in Figure 22, 86% of population still feels attached to the origin village in which they were ‘*gospodari*’ and ‘good *Roșieni*’¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁵ This word has no exact translation in English. However, it implies a person who takes good care of the household and a respected hardworking member of the (village) community.

¹¹⁶ Regarding Roșia Montană, the average score of identification with place is of 3.36 (standard deviation 0.89) on the scale from 1-very little attached to 4-very much attached.

Figure 22 How attached do you feel to the following places?



Data: Recea Survey, March 2011 (N=61 households). Besides the three places included in the graphic, the questionnaire included also other 'places in which you lived', that was not included due to insufficient number of cases.

After about two years living in Recea, only 64% fell attached to the neighborhood, although it is 'new', 'modern', 'much better endowed', 'urban', 'a good place to live' and it tries to replicate the atmosphere of the origin settlement. More than a third (36%) of residents still perceive Recea as an 'alien place' because it is associated with 'job loss', 'becoming old', 'change of the life style', and status of 'traitor'¹¹⁷.

Furthermore, the sense of identification with the destination city is even weaker as social interactions outside the neighborhood are few and 'in general, people cannot be trusted'. Only 43% of Recea residents feel attached to Alba Iulia¹¹⁸.

Connection to Alba Iulia is positively correlated¹¹⁹ with identification with Recea and negatively correlated¹²⁰ with attachment to origin village. There is no significant correlation between how people feel of Recea and of Roşia Montană. On the one hand, a person

¹¹⁷ Concerning Recea neighborhood, the average score of identification with place is of 2.76 (standard deviation 0.88) on the scale from 1-very little attached to 4-very much attached.

¹¹⁸ Regarding Alba Iulia city, the average score of identification with place is of 2.39 (standard deviation 0.83) on the scale from 1-very little attached to 4-very much attached.

¹¹⁹ Pearson correlation coefficient +0.48, significant at $p=.000$ (2-tailed).

¹²⁰ Pearson correlation coefficient -0.27, significant at $p=.05$ (2-tailed).

strongly attached to the origin village might identify much or little with the destination neighborhood, but tends to feel ‘little’ or ‘very little’ attached to the destination city of Alba Iulia. On the other hand, the more a person identifies with the neighborhood, the higher the probability to feel more attached to the entire city. In addition, the sense of identification with place does not vary significantly according to the respondent’s age, gender, education, employment status, number of years spent in Roșia Montană or Recea, satisfaction with life or generalized trust in people.

Attachment to Recea neighborhood is, however, higher as the household income is larger¹²¹, the number of children (0-18 years) in the household is smaller¹²², satisfaction with house is higher¹²³, most friends and relatives live in the neighborhood¹²⁴ and more ‘useful’ connections they have¹²⁵. In other words, people feel better integrated and more attached to the destination place if their economic situation is better, their responsibilities for growing children are lower, they feel more satisfied with their new houses and have higher bonding and linking social capital.

Regarding Alba Iulia city, the sense of identification with place has a unique correlate (although all abovementioned variables were tested), namely the dimension¹²⁶ of personal social network within the neighborhood. Accordingly, the number of relatives, old friends and former neighbors who moved to Recea is what makes the difference: the larger the number of relevant others that resettled the stronger the attachment to Alba Iulia.

¹²¹ Pearson correlation coefficient +0.32, significant at $p=.05$ (2-tailed).

¹²² Pearson correlation coefficient -0.31, significant at $p=.05$ (2-tailed).

¹²³ Pearson correlation coefficient +0.33, significant at $p=.01$ (2-tailed).

¹²⁴ According to a one-way variance analysis (One-Way Anova) significant at $p=.01$. The average level of attachment to Recea is 3.24 (‘much attached’) for people with most of their relatives and friends living in the neighborhood, 2.73 for those with networks equally distributed between the origin and the destination, and only 2.22 (‘little attached’) for residents whose most relatives and friends remained in Roșia Montană.

¹²⁵ Pearson correlation coefficient +0.28, significant at $p=.05$ (2-tailed).

¹²⁶ Pearson correlation coefficient +.30, significant for $p=.05$ (2-tailed). Dimension of personal social network is a continuous variable determined as sum of the number of relatives, old friends and former neighbors living in Recea.

6.3 Re-establishment in Recea neighborhood

Recea is a small and aged community situated on the outskirts of Alba Iulia city. From the urbanism and architectural point of view, the neighborhood is atypical in Romania as it is similar to the American suburb image.

Economic security for the resettled population improved. However, resettlement to Recea determined a severe decline in employment. In response to job loss, retirement was the dominant strategy for ensuring income security. Their income diminished from wages to pensions, but they are not exposed to the risk of poverty. In addition, in the new urban context, employment shifted from industry and constructions to services, but in terms of occupational groups, nearly all employed people have remained 'grey collars' or 'blue collars'. Recea is a working class community formed by retired workers in industry and active workers in services. Consequently, the general economic situation of households has improved for the majority of resettled, taking into consideration the endowments with durable goods and the value of their properties (house and land) considerably increased by moving from Roșia Montană village (or Abrud small city) to the large city of Alba Iulia.

Physical space and environment has improved for the resettled. For the majority, moving to Recea resulted in 'better' or 'much better' housing conditions as compared to Roșia Montană. Houses from Recea are new, beautiful, spacious, with an average surface per inhabitant three times larger than the national urban average, well endowed with utilities and with rare and 'little serious' problems. Consequently, more than 90% of the Recea population considers their housing conditions as 'very good' or 'good'. The resettled are satisfied with the quality of environment from the destination city. In their opinion, Recea neighborhood is 'the same' or 'better' than the origin village, in matters of criminality and sources of pollution. Furthermore, the propensity to leave the neighborhood is low. So with a low out-migration (flow and propensity) and a high probability to expand, the situation is rather stable and the community operates in a favorable physical space and environment.

The quality of life improved by moving from Roșia Montană to Recea. The supply of services significantly improved. Access to services is '(very) easy' and much better in Recea neighborhood compared with Roșia Montană for all types of services. The neighborhood problems are few, 'not too serious' and 'lesser' than those from Roșia Montană. Consequently, about 90% of residents declare Recea as 'a good place for living'.

Recea provides a frame for social meaningful relations as it reproduces the familiar environment from the origin village at a smaller scale. The bonding social capital is very high. The inside social networks are very dense, social interactions within neighborhood are intense and positive. Trust in the neighborhood residents is high. The community is organized and participatory and civic engagement for common issues of neighborhood is high. From the sociological point of view, the community is over-glued. In contrast, bridging and linking social capital are frail. Social networks are underdeveloped and concentrated in the origin village. Generalized trust in people is extremely low. Accordingly, civic engagement outside the neighborhood problems is low. RMGC (as mediator between community and institutions) and the media (especially television) are the only connectors to the outside world (excluding Recea – Roșia Montană tandem).

The sources of common identity are linked to the original place – Roșia Montană. Consequently, 86% of Recea population still feels attached to the origin village in which they were 'respectable workers', '*gospodari*' and 'good '*Roșieni*'. Attachment to Recea is lower: 64% of residents feel attached to the neighborhood. The sense of identification with the destination city Alba Iulia is even weaker. People from Recea, mostly pensioners and housepersons, with only few employed, youth and children, tend to spend most of the time within the neighborhood boundaries and within the social networks established long time ago. Specifically because the residents spend so much time away from places and groups that build bridging or linking social capital, the over-glued Recea community tends to isolate itself from the destination city.

7 Conclusions

In order to answer our question of research, as presented in the introduction (p.2), we collected both qualitative and quantitative data, from both origin and destination settlements. Our field research was extensive as we traveled to both locations, and meet with representatives of all parties implicated in RMGC's mining project and resettlement. In Roșia Montană we collected group interviews, while in Recea we held the first ever neighborhood representative survey with the accord of Alba Iulia City Hall and support of the Alba County Office of the National Institute for Statistics. We submit essential information regarding re-establishment processes, in its incipient stages. However, our study is bound to general limitations, such as the subjectivity of the participants, which would explain their sturdy attachment to the origin settlement or declaration of income. This might be the reason for which we did not encounter in our analysis any dramatic jumps and declines in the values. However, the main limitation of the study is the issue of time – the time span of the re-establishment process. As Clampet-Lundquist (2004:441) reveals, in short term “relocation appears to have winners and losers [...] respondents often became outsider, rather than insiders, in the community”. Basically, change does not come over night, and it is even less probable to occur in speedy manner in cases of development induced resettlement. People need time to adjust, whether through reinvention or creation to the new situation. For this reason, we suggest as future research longitudinal study regarding Roșia/Recea resettlement case. It would not only be interesting, but also extremely valuable to assess the main stages of re-establishment on a wider timeline in order to help improve the current resettlement policies. Or, taking the four researched dimensions (economic security, access to services, physical space and social integration) as research objectives it would be thought-provoking to observe and analyze the manner in which they interact and fluctuate throughout time.

Roșia to Recea: reinvention and adaptation

RMGC's mining project has disruptive effects on Roșia Montană, an aged and depopulated community. Economic security declined as the population is dependent on pensions, social

benefits and (sustenance) agriculture, while there is no certainty of job opportunities (regardless of whether or not the mining project commences). The supply and access to services diminished, as RMGC purchased local properties, the majority of local businesses collapsed and social services shrunk. The physical space is under risk of deterioration as houses were and will be demolished in order to make way for the mining project, leaving local residents without neighbors or access to common resources (such as pastures for animals, directly affecting their way of life). Non-residential buildings are in precarious condition due to poor patrimony policies and will not survive the first wave of mining shootings (explosions). Furthermore, once RMGC prepares for extraction, the biogeophysical environment will completely change, as landscapes will become industrial playgrounds. This voluntary resettlement brought social disintegration, as informal networks (kin, friends or neighbors) of the community scatter and the level of social cohesion drastically shrinks. According to Warren's (1978) typology, this community is anomic, given that it is a fragmented village divided by a tensed public controversy, with weak interpersonal relationships, with a destabilized collective life and a diluted identity. In addition, all these resettlement effects are in accordance with Cernea's theory which treats the troublesome character of development induced displacement.

The decision to resettle in Recea presented an enclave-like pattern based on the principle: if one moves, others will follow. Accordingly, the main reasons to resettle in Recea district were proximity to relatives/friends and economic incentives. Overall, the resettlement process is assessed as positive, although RMGC represents the main link between Recea and host settlement, which once again suggests a predisposition of enclavization.

Recea neighborhood came to life in 2009, as a cluster of people who spent their entire life, or, anyways lived more than 20 years in Roșia Montană. Economic security of the resettled population has improved, as for majority of the households the properties are more valuable, houses are better endowed (goods and utilities) and incomes are stable (mainly state pensions). The supply to services has significantly improved as Alba Iulia city is better equipped in comparison to Roșia Montană village. Furthermore, although the physical space

improved and is ‘elderly friendly’, it forced the resettled to change their previous lifestyles. In terms of social integration, Recea community presents high levels of bonding social capital, while bridging and linking are almost missing. As a consequence, the enclavization tendency is noticeable, as the resettled present strong propensity to isolate from the host community; while at the same time maintain strong bonds and connections with Roșia Montană. Based on these facts, in accordance to Warren’s (1978) typology, Recea is a parochial community, as trust between residents is high and civic engagement takes place primarily on neighborhood issues. Moreover, during our interviews, the majority of the participants explained that they plan to build a church (with the support of RMGC) despite the fact that they have the biggest regional orthodox cathedral at 15-20 minutes walking distance or less than 10 minutes by car. Once again, the community presents an enclave-like behavior, expanding within and not beyond the borders of their district, while at the same time trying to recreate their own version of ‘Roșia Montană’. Destination-wise, we consider that this voluntary resettlement case cannot be associated with impoverishment as presented in Cernea’s resettlement theory on development induced displacement.

Recommendations

The resettlement case of Roșia Montană puts in perspective: 1) the local community implication in the development project negotiations, 2) the importance of the state’s implication in the process and 3) that development induced ‘anything’ bares negative effects on isolated and poor settlements. Firstly, we recommend future (private) developers and investors to prepare communities for what is to come, in the sense of holding some sort of meeting regarding their future projects previously to setting up office in that community. We find the current reality of international development reckless, as in theory, they odd to be planned and integrated within the context it takes place, rather than in practice, where the decision to ‘develop’ is taken in skyscrapers, in fancy conference rooms. Now, it is time to get communities involved from the get-go, as they should have the option to choose their future or at least to plan for whatever changes will occur (i.e. resettlement). Secondly, as presented in Chapter 2, we had some difficulty assessing whether we are talking about

involuntary or voluntary resettlement. In our case, this is due to the muddy role of the Romanian government, which is active-passive regarding RMGC's mining project. On one hand, the state will obtain some profits if the mining project is carried out (active), while on the other hand, the state does not take any responsibility in the resettlement process (passive). The state should accommodate investors and encourage international development, but not at the cost of any already deprived community. Lastly, financial rewards should come second in any type of development project which will affect (especially poor) communities. In our case, Downing (2002) explains the role of mining companies is to make profit and not to solve social problems. However, in most development induced resettlement cases the affected population stands to lose more than it gains. Maybe, we should not use 'development' as excuse for grabbing the golden pot at the end of the rainbow and plan development projects (including any adjacent resettlement process) more carefully.

The resettlement case to Recea district points out the degree of involvement of the developing company within the process. In our case, RMGC's post-resettlement support and implication in Recea neighborhood affects the way people socialize and adjust to their new life and environment. Their resettlement plan was built upon the international World Bank handbooks, thus, we concur on their good intentions and responsible planning. RMGC is not the sole cause of the enclavization pattern noticeable in Recea community. We expect the age of the resettled population to play a significant role in this matter. We can only presume that given a younger resettled population the situation would have been different, and then residents would present more bridging and linking capital. Therefore, this essential 'parenting' capacity of any company which plans to resettle or displace or relocate, needs to be closely monitored in order to escape this potentially negative dependency trend.

Discussions

On one hand, Roşia Montană scored minus on all four chosen dimensions. As present in our conceptual model (p.15), we consider that for Roşia Montană the social re-establishment is a reinvention of space process. In our case, reinvention of space can only be assessed as a

negative process through which a community ceases to function and, eventually, disintegrates. Lastly, this resettlement process failed to contain the negative effects at the local level as the whole micro region is affected by unstable housing markets or, as in the case of Abrud residents, the fear of a major disaster due to the future tailing dam which will be located directly above the town.

On the other hand, Recea district scored minus just on the social integration dimension, while for the others the data provides only improvements. Given our conceptual model, we considered that Recea being such a ‘young’ settlement experiences social re-establishment through a creative adaptation process. However, this creative adaptation is not as creative as we expected, but rather static as the community mainly looks inwards for socialization and still maintains old beliefs and behaviors as in Roșia Montană. As previously mentioned, this static adaptation is part result of the aged resettled population which cannot be molded easily in this new urban environment. Regardless, we reflect on the process of (creative) adaptation as positive, since the improvements are evident throughout the analyzed data.

In conclusion, Cernea (1995:260) states re-establishment is a “long, slow, arduous, unspectacular travails of rebuilding livelihoods”. It takes time and resources to successfully carry out any re-establishment process. Actually, one might wonder if any re-establishment process is ever over, or maybe it is just a matter of when a community reaches the point of ‘social stability’. Ideally, we expect that Roșia Montană will once again (eventually) become a socially functional community, and that Recea district will slowly but surely loosen its connections to origin and develop meaningful relations in Alba Iulia city (giving way to some healthy bridging and linking capital).

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