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-Summary-

Thesis Advisor:

Prof. Univ. Dr. TRAIAN VEDINAȘ

Ph.D. Student

CATARAMĂ DIANA

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Roșia Montană, between local and global

Keywords: *Roșia Montană, theory of cultural change, cultural ecology, conflict situations, mining, cyanide, relocation, resettlement, exhumation, demolition of the area, demolition of houses, lack of jobs, involvement of extra-local forces, community dismantling.*

This PhD thesis aims to outline how a community in a rural area in Romania is related to the mechanisms of modernization and globalization in the contemporary period. We designed and conducted the field research in the Roșia Montană rural community, located in the Apuseni Mountains area.

Members of the Roșia Montană community react differently to the mining project proposed by a company with Canadian majority capital that involves socio-economic changes, as well as changes in the natural environment from the point of view of the social actors' perception of the habitat, changes to the landscape of the area and the space they live in. The identity of the social actor can be defined in this context by belonging to the group consisting of those supporting the RMGC mining project or the group of those who oppose the start of this mining project.

This anthropological approach seeks to describe the fundamental aspects of contemporary life in Roșia Montană, notably how certain significant events are constituted, used, understood and given meaning by members of the community. Thus, we took part in activities and events in the life of community members to identify and analyze the ways social actors act, primarily as a community, and secondly, as members of the community in which they manifest their individuality.

The research issue is pursued on the basis of the qualitative data obtained by applying the specific research methods, consisting of the semi-structured interview and the life story interview. The research data was also enriched by using the focus group and participatory observation on a representative sample of the community population. I have also used the genealogy tree as a method of completing research data.

The interviewed population is made up of members of the Roșia Montană community, they are locals who oppose the project, locals who support the project and locals who are in a neutral position. Therefore, we have locals who are employees of the RMGC mining company, locals who self-sustain themselves financially, as well as members of NGOs, associations and foundation in Roșia Montană, but also locals who are in the process of resettlement.

The interest of the research has naturally been directed towards the locals of Corna, a ridge removed from the map in the proposal of the RMGC mining project and covered with cyanide waters and tailings dumps. Also, in order to have a better look at the functioning of the globalization mechanisms, we have noticed the positions taken by those who come outside the borders of Roșia Montană and Romania, on the occasion of their on-site visits, but also within the various events organized at Roșia Montană in regards to the protection of the environment or the role of civic protest.

Therefore, the problematic situation of Roșia Motană is framed in a political context at national as well as international level. The conflict situations arise when the Roșia Montană opposition has formed and they feel that their rights are being violated, and the resettlement and relocation processes emphasise the forced social change to which the Roșia Montană community has been subjected to. The involvement of international organizations, scientists, Romanian citizens and the international community strengthens the movement of the opposition and keeps the Romanian state in uncertainty which postpones the action of a firm decision when the European Union urges caution in the use of cyanide in mining. The size of the mining project raises issues of environmental and habitat destruction, the use of cyanide in the extraction of gold and silver from Roșia Montană, defilement of the cultural and historical heritage, the downgrading of natural and historical monuments, the employment rate in the area and the risks of poverty.

The thesis is structured on chapters and subchapters where the identified themes are described and explained, after the field work accompanied by relevant fragments of the interviews made in Roșia Montană with the members of the community, as well as on the scientific ideas identified in the specialized works that have the role of shedding a light on the scientific approach.

In the introduction, there is a short overview of the topics describing the problematic situation at Roșia Montană.

In Chapter 1 we describe the context in which we can analyze the case of Roșia Montană, how did a mining community raise the interest of a company with foreign capital in a political and economic context that allowed the company to acquire properties in Roșia Montană for mining the gold-silver deposit using the cyanide extraction method. The mining operations in the literature, such as Ghana's Tarkwa Gold Mine and the OK Tedi copper and Gold Mine in Papua New Guinea, represent cases to be pursued in order to understand what is happening at Roșia Montană. By making a comparison with the RMGC Mining Project, we have identified similarities in the unfolding situations at Rosia Montana. Thus, the desire is to evoke the context in which countries are to be exploited by cheap labor, where environmental standards are not high, the political class functions as a facilitator, and the mining projects proposed by the cross-border companies come to be regarded as the only possibility for job creation and economic prosperity. Also, in this chapter, we made a summary of the relevant papers on Roșia Montană.

Chapter 2 covers the methods and techniques used in the field research, the theories and concepts that constitute the theoretical framework for this work, the research theme, the hypothesis, the research objectives and the research questions. The list of the interviewed people and the codes assigned to them as well as the items of interest in describing them as subjects relevant to the present research are attached to the Annexes.

Chapter 3 describes the general aspects specific to Rosia Montana, traditions and customs to show how they have been preserved so far, how they have been affected by the mining proposal. The cultural heritage of the locality with a tradition in mining is the basis of the organization at a family and social level. Location-specific holidays and family events make RMGC's representatives engage in the lives of locals to try to get closer to the community and be accepted as community members.

Chapter 4 lists local and national influencing agents, non-governmental organizations, foundations and associations involved in supporting or halting the RMGC Mining Project, describing the political context and the European Union's approaches in regards to human rights and the use of cyanide in mining. The effects of the mining project appeared when relations

between community members deteriorated due to the massive acquisition of RMGC's property and the demolition of houses without having bought all the properties in the industrial perimeter, and the resettlement, relocation and exhumation processes began.

In chapter 5 attention is paid to funeral rituals and exhumations, and then to the delay of the resettlement process that keeps the locals who have chosen to be resettled in the future settlement center at Piatra Albă, in a state of uncertainty. However, due to the stagnation of the mining project due to the local and national opposition, they continue to live in their former homes sold to the company and are rejected by the rest of the Roșia Montană community. And last but not least, the emergence of a small hillside settlement on the Nanu Valley, at the base of the tailings pit of Cetate, shows the social actors' interest to own a property in order to sell it to RMGC for financial gain.

In conclusion, in this paper the Roșia Montană case is investigated in order to identify how a mining community reacted to the mining project proposed by a company with foreign capital and a history of successive capital flows, and which brings the closure of the state mine, resettlement and relocation of the community, exhumation of cemeteries, extension of the mining area, endangerment of the patrimony and the environment, the use of the modern technology of extracting gold and silver based on cyanide.

The field research aimed at studying and understanding how the Roșia Montană phenomenon arose and how social relationships are affected because the mining proposal has separated the community and contributed to the breakdown of family and community relations. Members of the community choose, on one hand, to stay in Rosia Montana and to oppose the project, and on the other hand to sell the properties and to move away from Roșia Montană.

In regards to the hypothesis of this study, the data shows that if a community is in a position to manage the events and decisions that result from putting into operation the mechanisms of globalization and modernization, the adopted positions and how to manage the changes that take place in these decisions differ from one social actor to another. But if studied how each social actor designs his own strategy and develops defense mechanisms, it is noted that these strategies exactly are the mechanisms by which a community reacts to the proposal of

mining at Rosia Montana and they will take action based on the expectations and the strategies built by them.

Analyzing the Roșia Montană case based on Julian H. Steward's theory, we can identify the following: the company changes the way space is organized, there are political interests, conflicts occur locally, nature is undergoing transformation, and cultural identity is used for saving the territory. Roșia Montană, a rural community in a developing country, raises issues in the European Union regarding the right to development and a clean environment, the protection of heritage and raising living standards, the loss of cultural identity and the acceptance of the glocalization phenomenon. Practically, the mining project proposal implies that a community with traditionalist thinking is subjected to a forced social change involving processes of relocation, resettlement or social isolation. But according to the definition of the term "glocalization" and the mechanisms of modernization, global practices are brought to the level of a community that is desirable to preserve its cultural heritage in a modified mining area. Because this is in fact what glocalization is pursuing, bringing global practices used by large corporations, to facilitate access to resources and to modernize communities and spaces that have access to concrete examples of mechanisms for economic and social development to a local level. Until this level, there seems to be no difficulty in globalization and glocalization.

But if this reasoning continues, we can see that the attachment to a place and the symbolism attributed to the place in a changing environment, validated by Julian H. Steward's cultural change theory, urges us to see that cultural ecology would no longer be possible if environmental policies fail to maintain a balance between the individual and the social system. The theory of cultural ecology captures interactions between the community and the environment in which it carries out its activities and develops pro-environment behaviors to ensure the continuity of living in that place.

Relations between family members and harmony among community members have been balanced against the possibility of economic capital that Rosia Montana residents could obtain from their real estate business with RMGC. Resettlement and relocation of community residents affected interpersonal relationships, causing posture and conflict situations in the community. The group of opponents, who had formed in 2001 to oppose the mining project through the

cyanide method, had begun to lose its membership due to the fact that among the first to choose to sell their property and leave the area were members of the the opposition who were even claiming that the people must resist and not give up the pressure of money.

Those who have stayed in Roșia Montană are those who are waiting for the payments to restart for the purchase of properties by the company, those who oppose the mining project and want to live in Roșia Montană still being attached to the place and the sense that this space gives to their life stories, as well as those who are caught in the process of resettlement. The period of this research describes th stagnation phase of the RMGC mining project since 2006, when it seeks to obtain the permits to start building the mine, but it hits the local opposition and citizens' civic spirit.