Place attachment and pro-environmental behaviour in former collectivized VS non-collectivized rural communities of Romania

Date: February 2012



Front page photo: View of the two communities Lapos at the left and Prohozesti at the right, M. Ardeleanu

Msc Thesis submitted to Wageningen University in partial fulfilment of the Requirement for The Degree of Master in science, Specialisation Forest and Nature Conservation Policy (FNP).

Author: Maria Ardeleanu Student nr: 810326-017-020

Master Thesis: FNP 80439

Supervisors: dr.ir. Birgit Elands; drs. Rosalie van Dam; dr. Jessica de Koning

Examiner: Prof. Dr. B.J.M. Arts



Acknowledgments

Now that I finally see 'the light at the end of the tunnel' and I take a look back to how long and difficult this passage was it makes me think about the great help I had from several people to whom I will like to thank with all my heart.

My gratitude goes to my beloved partner Wiro for living and feeling with me all the 'pleasure and pain' I've been going through all this time. My gratitude goes also to my family, especially to my mother for her continuous prayers she did for me for the whole period of my study.

I am heartily thankful to my study supervisors, Birgit Elands; Rosalie van Dam and Jessica de Koning for their tireless support, encouragement and stimulating suggestions without which I could not have succeed in putting an end to this thesis. Sincerely I thank you all for all your input and expertise and especially thank you for your patience with me considering the long duration of this study.

I am indebted to all my respondents from Romania for accepting to be interviewed. Without their kindness and willingness to share their information with me I wouldn't be able to complete my research. Also I want to thank them for receiving me into their homes and feeding me in the long and cold days when this research took place. To all the respondents from Lapos and Prohozesti I want them to know that I didn't do this research only for myself but also for them and that I am proud I could make their perceptions known far beyond their own communities.

I am obliged to my friends and former work colleagues that showed so much understanding for my situation and they never gave up cheering for me and encouraging me and supporting me with everything they could. I would like to give my special thanks to Karim who corrected the English style and grammar of my thesis.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	2
Summary	6
Chapter 1: Introduction	7
1.1 Rural areas of Romania	7
1.2 Changes in the rural areas of Romania before 1989	9
1.3 Changes in rural areas of Romania after 1989	10
1.4 Problem statement and research aims	13
1.5 Personal motivation	14
Chapter 2: Theoretical framework	15
2.1. Theories on place attachment	15
2.1.1 Functional place attachment	16
2.1.2 Emotional place attachment	17
2.2 Place attachment and changes in place	18
2.3 Place attachment and pro-environmental behaviour	19
2.4 Conceptual framework	21
Chapter 3: Methodology	24
3.1 Research strategy	24
3.2 Study Area	25
3.3 Collecting the data	27
3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews	27
3.3.2 Participant observation	30
3.3.3 Desk study	31
3.3.4 Interviews with key informants	31
3.4 Data Analysis	32
Chapter 4: Findings	33
4.1 Introduction	33
4.2 Findings - The Village	33
4.2.1 Introducing the first spatial dimension, the village of Lapos and Prohozesti	33
4.2.1 Functional attachment to the villages of Lapos and Prohozesti	34
4.2.3 Emotional attachment to the villages of Lapos and Prohozesti	43
4.2.4 Summary of findings on attachment to the villages of Lapos and Prohozesti	46
4.3 Findings - The Agricultural Land Properties (ALPs)	47
4.3.1 Introducing the second spatial dimension, the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti	47

4.3.2 Functional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti	48
4.3.3 Emotional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti	55
4.3.4 Summary of findings on attachment to ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti	63
4.4 Findings - The Forests	64
4.4.1 Introducing the third spatial dimension, the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti	64
4.4.2 Functional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti	66
4.4.3 Emotional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti	75
4.4.4 Summary of findings on attachment to forests of Lapos and Prohozesti	83
4.5 Pro-environmental behaviour	84
4.5.1 People's understanding of natural environment	84
4.5.2 Comparison of the two villages, Lapos and Prohozesti on pro-environmental behaviour	85
Chapter 5: Conclusions and discussion	91
5.1 Conclusions	91
5.2. Discussion	97
5.2.1 Reflection on my empirical results	97
5.2.2 Limitations of the study	98
References	103
Appendix 1 List of respondents with additional information	109
Appendix 2 Interview Guide	111

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework	21
Figure 3.1 Study area maps	27
Figure 4.1 Differences in level of functional attachment to the village of Lapos and Prohozesti	43
Figure 4.2 Differences in level of emotional attachment to the village of Lapos and Prohozesti	46
Figure 4.3 Differences in level of functional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti	55
Figure 4.4 Differences in level of emotional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti	63
Figure 4.5 Differences in level of functional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti	75
Figure 4.6: Differences in level of emotional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti	83
Figure 4.7 Frequency of pro-environmental behaviour in Lapos and Prohozesti.	89
List of Tables	
Table 4.1 Functional attachment to the villages of Lapos and Prohozesti	35
Table 4.2 Emotional attachment to the villages of Lapos and Prohozesti	43
Table 4.3 Functional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti	49
Table 4.4 Emotional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti	55
Table 4.5 Functional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti	66
Table 4.6 Emotional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti	76
List of Images	
Image 1 Waste disposed on green areas of Prohozesti	39
Image 2 Tractor collecting waste in Lapos	39
Image 3 Plastic recycling bin in Prohozesti	40
Image 4 View of a part of the pasture in Lapos	42
Image 5 Differences between agricultural land fields in Lapos and Prohozesti.	51
Image 6 Abandoned land in Prohozesti	60
Image 7. Use of NTFPs in Lapos	71
Image 8 Mountain forests in Lapos region	71
Image 9 A wood loaded cart in Prohozesti	73
Image 10 Use of manure in Lapos VS use of chemical fertilizers in Prohozesti	88

Summary

The poverty that people in rural Romania endure today implies a high dependence on rural and natural resources such as ground water, crops and wood. Rural areas are known to hold rich biodiversity which could be put in danger if rural people continue to over exploit the rural/natural resources. Thus it is important to know what binds people to the spatial dimensions of the community which provides them with the needed natural resources, respectively the village, the agricultural land properties and the forest. These three spatial dimensions had undergone some transformations of varying nature such as the collectivisation of the agricultural land properties and nationalisation of the forests. Although people have recovered their land properties for about 20 years, we may question ourselves if people in these affected areas still maintain a bond with these spatial dimensions after being taken away from them for such long time. But not all rural communities had been collectivized; almost 10 per cent of rural areas were left outside of these process. By comparing the two types of communities we could better understand what role the former collectivisation period had within the bond people have with the agricultural land properties and implicitly the village.

A known concept for understanding people's relation with their place is the concept of 'place attachment' which seems to predict not only the type of bond(functional or emotional) with the place but also people's motivations to be involved in actions thought to help the natural environment also known in literature as 'pro-environmental behaviour'. Therefore the two concepts were used in this study do get a deeper understanding of the attachment of people, living in rural Romania, with their rural community and its relation with their pro-environmental behaviour, and furthermore to understand what the role the former collectivisation system had on attachment, pro-environmental behaviour and in this relationship.

Research has been done using the comparative case study method, using two representative communities, a formerly and a non-formerly collectivized community from East Romania as case studies. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with people from the two communities and with some key informants. The findings of this study suggest that indeed there are differences in the way people are functionally and emotionally attached to the three spatial dimensions when comparing the two communities and implicitly on the pro-environmental behaviour.

For all three spatial dimensions, functional attachment in both communities is formed around a range of social benefits and economic benefits. Due to some spatial transformations that occurred during collectivisation times combined with some differences in local administrative issues and differences in the way people maintain their land properties (people in Lapos kept the traditional way), these benefits are reduced in Prohozesti and hence the differences in functional attachment between the two communities. Regarding emotional attachment people in both communities are bound most to the village and through similar feelings, especially feelings of identity, the village is their home, is the place they are most familiar with and also the place where they feel close to their ancestors. For agricultural land properties and the forest, the types of feelings people express is a combination of feelings triggered by a kinship relationship (the land is inherited and the land should be passed to the children) and feelings that are a consequence of the satisfactory benefits and these are mostly negative feelings. In general People in Lapos express a richer range of positive feelings than people in Prohozesti.

Most pro-environmental activities mentioned by people in both communities are done at village level and they are done rather for the sake of the community and its people than for the sake of nature. For the agricultural land properties and the forest, there was one pro-environmental activity mentioned for each of the two spatial dimensions and these activities take place far more in Lapos than in Prohozesti. What can be concluded from this research is that in general former collectivized communities express lower attachment to the three spatial dimensions and lower participation in activities thought to improve the quality of natural environment in their community when compared to non-collectivized communities.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Rural areas of Romania

Romania is one of the post-socialist Eastern European countries that possess rich traditional cultural landscapes characterized by their high aesthetic value and their unique farmland biodiversity (Oszlanyi et al. 2004; Cremene et al., 2005; Manoleli, 2005). In the World Bank country review (2007) it is stated that Romania is one of the few countries in which traditional farming systems still operate and that 4.8 million ha of agricultural areas are classified as having "high nature value." Besides this, Romania is crossed by a major chain of the Carpathian Mountains which are known for their richly bio-diverse ecosystems which harbour many endemic species and viable populations of endangered species, in particular many large carnivores and herbivores (Ioras, 2003, Oszlanyi et al. 2004). From the total forest coverage, 300,000 ha of it is in the form of extensive areas of old growth forests which add considerably to the nature value of this country (World Bank, 2007).

Despite of the high ecologic and economic potential present in agriculture and forestry, Romanian rural areas today are undergoing difficult times, mainly due to poverty that is triggered by the low level of opportunities for peasants to commercialise their products, the restructuring of the agricultural sector, poor infrastructure, and the aging population (National strategic plan of rural development 2007-2013, p. 26). This aspect is very important to consider, especially because Romania's rural economy is dominated mainly by agriculture, most of which consists of subsistence farms (World Bank, country review, 2007).

It seems that among the rural population in Romania, the poverty rate of peasants is twice as high as the national average. On top of that, peasants have insufficient social security coverage mainly because they own land and are therefore not eligible for income support. The social structure of the agricultural population is unfavourable as it is greying, with 55% above the age of 45 years. In addition peasants have no awareness of, or interest in, regarding or utilising national programs meant for supporting rural development such as *renta viagera* or any other programs (World Bank, 2007). Besides this, peasants use most of their agricultural products (85%) for self-consumption or share them with relatives and only 15% is sold on the market (Rural Barometer, 2006 cited in World Bank report, 2007). It means that as a consequence peasants tend to have low cash incomes, and due to the high level of consumption of self-produced food, an average farmer is highly dependent on their own land for survival.

Dependency on natural resources and its negative effects on the natural environment

The livelihood of a great deal of rural people depends on the available natural resources. For example the forests are important for the provision of fire wood, used for warming the houses on winter time or used for cooking in some places and cropland and livestock are assuring the basic food needs. This dependency on natural resources may lead to degradation in the natural environment, especially when this is not well managed, and furthermore, if the natural environment would get depleted it could become problematic and have a negative effect on people's lives.

One such problematic situation happened in the Trotus Valley (East of Romania), where more than 8000 hectares of small private property forests were cut down, out of a total 13 000 hectares (Oprea, 2006 cited in the local newspaper ''Romania Libera''). This happened shortly after the private property law was admitted. Due to the high deforestation rate in this region, in 2005 floods caused by the soil

erosion occurred and damaged 2114 houses located in the Trotus Valey of which 108 were completely destroyed (source: Ecology Consultancy Centre Galati).

Forests cover 6,4 million ha, which is almost 28 percentage of Romania's total land area. Compared to the total amount, the 8000 ha of deforestation in the Trotus Valley region may seem insignificant but considering that in Romania there are many private forests (one-quarter of all forests) and that the poverty rate is high among those owners, it may be a good indicator of how things can go wrong and therefore a good example to consider. Although harvest rates for wood are currently sustainable with 49 percentage of estimated annual forest growth as they are guided by forestry regulations such as allowance for clear cutting (Law No. 26 of 1996), anyway, it seems that in Romania there are no adequate legal and institutional mechanisms to stop people in doing illegal logging activities. This fact might result in immediate loss of forest cover and furthermore will result in irreversible natural environmental degradation (Strambu et al., 2005). Even more, the general impression about the private forests is that there is a lack of management planning and silvicultural knowledge and also the tendency to prematurely harvest crops (World Bank Country review, 2007). Hence, the most significant environmental problems in Romanian forestry are triggered by the weak regulation of newly privatized lands (World Bank Country review, 2007).

On the other hand, in the agriculture sector, the most urgent environmental problems include erosion, which affects 6.3 million ha of the total of approximately 14 million ha; inadequate nutrient management due to lack of funds and fertilizer storage facilities; deteriorated irrigation infrastructures that result in water loss (up to 50%); and cropland abandonment in high nature value areas rich in biodiversity (World Bank Country review, 2007).

Cropland abandonment seems to be a problem especially in hilly and mountainous areas, and to a lesser extent in plain areas (Lakes et al., 2009). The greatest threat occurs in mountain pastures due to the fact that scrub vegetation dominates over the grasslands (World Bank Country review, 2007). Though there are no available studies to date of detailed scales or for large scale regions, the few findings at regional scale are pointing towards the fact that cropland abandonment is caused by factors like: location (e.g. higher elevations and steep slopes), proximity to other croplands and adverse market access (Lakes et al., 2009). It seems that in plain areas characterized by homogeneous patterns of cropland and environment suitability, the cropland abandonment is lower than in a hilly area which is characterized by sloping terrain (Lakes et al., 2009). In contrast, Muller et al., (2009) found that also in plain areas, besides the location (isolated cropland patches are more likely to be abandoned); the unfavourable topography is also causing land abandonment. On average, up to 10 per cent of cropland out of the country's total agriculture landscape has been abandoned. This situation is a bit ambiguous especially if one keeps in mind that many factories have been closed since 1989 and still there is so much uncultivated land to be found across the country (World Bank, Country Review, 2007).

All these factors indicate that large parts of Romania's natural "treasures" are in peasant's hands as most of the forest and agricultural land areas are bunting with rural communities (villages). Therefore, the village becomes an important research theme in Romania offering valuable information over its significance for the continuity of natural resources in the rural areas (Turnock, 1991).

But there is something that is worth taking in consideration when dealing with the rural areas in Romania. Like many other Eastern European countries, Romania as a post-socialist country that has undergone rapid political, socio-economic and demographic changes. Those changes may be the reason for many of the problems which the rural areas face nowadays, especially cropland abandonment, deforestation and increased logging are factors that may threaten the persistence of

cultural landscapes which in turn may affect the rich biodiversity of the rural areas (Cremene et al., 2005). Therefore is important to consider the historical context of the Romanian rural areas to better understand the changes that have occurred through time and at different levels: the agricultural land, the forest and the village.

1.2 Changes in the rural areas of Romania before 1989

Collectivisation of agricultural land

An impressive number of studies take in discussion the former collectivisation process in Romania and the multitude of transformations that occurred in that time (Kideckel, 1993; Iordachi and Dobrincu, 2009). The whole idea of the socialist path taken by the communist government between 1949 and 1989 was to have a tough control on production in general through central planning (Turnock, 1991). The collectivization program started in 1949, and was aiming at transforming the agricultural land properties in either Gospodării Agricole Colective (GAC; Collective Agricultural Institutions) or Gospodării Agricole de Stat (GAS; State Agricultural Institutions). The peasants involved in this transformation had to contribute to this newly established program not only by giving up their agricultural land, but also giving up their buildings (barns, villas, warehouses, etc.), their farm vehicles and tools, carts and traction animals such as horses.

One important benefit people had during the collectivization time was the access to one single land plot situated beside their house. This plot was used for cultivating vegetables, livestock fodder and fruits which was just enough to ensure "up to three-quarters of rural subsistence needs" (Kideckel, 1993, p. 58). Since the villagers were so dependent on this single plot of land, the state used it as a means of control over the people. The people that would not obey the states rules would be dismissed of this plot (Kideckel, 1993, p.58).

Private animal husbandry was also an issue under the communist regime as households in collectivized areas where allowed to have only a limited number of livestock. One important change to be noticed here is regarding horse ownership which was restricted for a long time, until the 1980s. Only later after 1980, due to the gasoline prices raising the peasants were encouraged to breed horses once again (Kideckel, 1993, p.58).

Not all the Romanian agricultural landscape has undergone this process of collectivisation. Some communities, around 5% of the total rural areas that are situated near the mountains where left out of the collectivisation process (Bordanc, 1995). These where the communities in the mountainous or hilly areas were the topography and widely dispersed settlements did not facilitating the overall crop production, thus were not deemed suitable to be a part of the collectivisation process (Kideckel, 1993, p. 58; Turnock, 1991).

Thus, we have two types of communities in view of collectivisation process: the former collectivized and the non-collectivized also known in literature as the individualist type of community.

The transformation of the village

Agricultural land exists also inside the village, thus the physical transformations applied to the land itself it was also transferred to the village level. Throughout different studies (Kideckel, 1993;

Verdery, 2003) we can find that there were not only spatial and ownership transformations of the agricultural lands but every area of rural life was affected, thus also the village itself. Especially the transformations that occurred in the agricultural sector seem to have influenced much the rural life. For example, social relations, internal household relations, work and labour, people's ideology and future plans were all changed by the interference during the period of collectivisation through the division of labour which practically meant separating peasants from their agriculture lifestyles and sending them to work in industry (Kideckel, 1993, p.91). People were also transformed by "being torn apart by intimidation, distrust and sometimes violence" (Dobrincu, in press), especially when they were refusing participation in forming the collective (Kideckel, 1993, p.91). This observation is sustained by Stoica (2007) who explains how collectivization seriously harmed the 'Romanian village' through the peasant's loss of "independence, dignity and identity"; through the decline in the rural population, accelerated by the high migration rates to the cities as people searched for jobs; and through the fact that families were "wrecked" by poverty.

Nationalisation of forests

Forest nationalization program started in 1948 and basically was aimed at the expropriation of private woodland owners, including many peasants whose livelihood had previously been derived from a combination of agriculture and forestry work (Turnock, 1991). By Nationalization Law no. 119 from June 11, 1948, all privately owned forests (both individually and collectively owned) became property of the state, organized by the normative decisions of the Silviculture Ministry. Thus the state was exercising absolute control over cuts and the deforestation activities, and it seems that during this nationalization process much industrial exploitation of resources occurred and little interest was given to natural environmental aspects leading to a whole series of ecological disasters (Roman, 2009). Due to poverty that people were enduring at that time, peasants, despite their good will and respect for 'mother nature' where forced to act "against their own environment, to rob nature of what was remaining after the 'rational exploitation', exercised by the communist planning" (Roman, 2009, p.59).

In comparison with the collectivisation process for the agricultural land properties, with the forest was different because there were no communities left aside the nationalisation process indifferent of their status or location.

1.3 Changes in rural areas of Romania after 1989

In the previous part we could see some of the transformations that occurred on agricultural, village and level during the former communist period. In this subchapter we will see what happened in rural areas after the fall of communism when a revolution was triggered in 1989, and this period after the revolution is known as the post-communist transition period (Strambu et al., 2005).

The main change that occurred in this transition period was the restitution of agricultural land and forest properties to the former owners. This restitution process was done gradually and was subjective to different laws. Therefore, after the fall of the communist system in 1989, the land ownership status in Romania was influenced by two laws: the Land Use Law (Bill 18/1991) and the Property Restitution Law (Bill 1/2000). In the agricultural sector, the first step was to relocate agriculture land to those people that were engaged for nearly thirty years in the former collectivism system (between 0,25 and 0,5 hectares per person). Later on, the former land owners could claim back all the land

properties they possessed before the collectivisation time. After the land was given back to the former owners, much of the rural landscape became individually owned proprieties and the rural population changed their land use practices, orientating towards the system that existed before the collectivization period, in which is the individual is privately farming.

Although gaining something that was taken away from them for a long time, at first, it had brought much satisfaction to these people, but they gradually lost their enthusiasm and this resulted in the high rates of crop abandonment in the rural areas (Lakes et al., 2009, Muller et al., 2009). As I mentioned earlier, during the collectivisation process, peasants where dismissed not only from the land, but also the buildings, tools to work the land (e.g. ploughs), traction animals and carts, etc. After 1989 they regained the land, but they didn't regain the rest of their belongings. Besides this, for nearly 30 years of the collectivisation period, the peasants where used to working with tractors and other more modern utilities in order to speed up the production process. Nowadays, their possibilities for hiring tractors is limited and other traditional ways of maintaining the land, such as use of horses, is also not an option as there are few who remember the old ways, much of this knowledge is forgotten or those whom remember have not practiced these techniques for decades. Besides, peasants do not dispose of financial resources to invest in agriculture land, although they depend so much on it (World Bank, Country Review, 2007). More than that, the changes brought by collectivisation can be seen nowadays among the peasants as they show high dependence on local facilities, poor information, poor responsibility and poor decisional initiatives (Dobrincu, in press).

As for the forestry sector, the first round of forest restitution was approved by law in 1991, when about 350,000 ha, or 5% of Romania's total forest area was returned to the initial owners. Later on, in 2000, up to 10 hectares has been resituated to individuals, up to 30 hectares to churches, and all forests are being returned to communities, in total about half of the total forested land area in Romania. According to WWF (2005), individual owners own 11% of the forest areas of which part is managed by the individual owners themselves (1 ha up to 10 ha), and part by the owner associations or other forms of group management. Thus, the changes which occurred in Romania's forestry legislation after 1989 directed the shift from an entirely state-owned forest resource to a mixture of private and state-owned forest (Strambu et al., 2005).

Also the rates of illegal logging have increased considerable since the restitution of forest properties to the historical owners (WWF, 2005). Although there is some evidence that the harvesting levels after 1989 were well below the mean annual increment of the forest (World Bank, 2002) and that forest cover and forest fragmentation remained remarkably stable despite the widespread ownership transfers of forest resources (Kuemmerle et al., 2009), some authors like Strambu et al., (2005) are sceptical to such affirmations. We should not underestimate the illegal logging that takes place in Romania like in many underdeveloped countries around the World which cannot be easy monitored and might give errors in results regarding the forest situation. According to WWF (2005, p.11), illegal logging in Romania might be encouraged by "lack of personnel and equipment at the level of institutes in charge with controls at various levels and also corruption generated mainly by those with low salaries levels amongst the foresters, with direct responsibilities related to forest/harvesting area management". The illegal logging might also be triggered by the uncertainty which peasants express about the long-term nature of the changes related to property transfer. Associated with their need for financier resources, peasants wanted to make money from their properties as soon as possible by harvesting and selling wood, without necessarily considering sustainability (Csóka, 2005, cited in Strambu et al, 2005). In addition, it seems that peasants base their claims over forest within the historical rights and conceive

the forest as their main livelihood and do not show interest in values such as the natural environment (Dorondel, 2007).

Another aspect regarding forest restitution is the dissatisfaction among the new forest owners due to many irregularities in the properties distribution. Those irregularities consist of the arbitrary and unequal distribution of the forest parcels, unclear boundaries between properties, large distances to the new plots, a lack of organization and falsity in the arrogation of the forest, seems to make it difficult for the peasants to gain any profit from their lands (Roman, 2009). Plus, like in the case of agricultural land, people lack the funding and mechanized utilities for maintaining their forests (World Bank Country review, 2007).

All these aspects led to a change in attitude that people show nowadays towards the forest comparing with how older generations used to treat the forests, attitude which by some authors is seen as an abusive way of making use of the forest through ownership rights (Sikor, 2006). In an article by Roman (2009, P.58) the author gives a beautiful description of how people used to treat the forest in past times, times before the forest had undergone the nationalisation process and he puts accent on the close relation between the people and the forest:

"In the old Romanian rurality there existed a certain respect for the forest, the forest being "brother" to the Romanian. The Romanian peasant was exploiting as a rule, disorderly the land fund, the communities executing cuts and deforestations, only for covering the strict needs, always taking care to protect the young forest, to ensure the patrimony continuity for the future generations. The village communities were living in full harmony with the environment, aware being that it is exhaustible in the context of brutal changes of the reciprocal relationships. The foresters, the watchmakers were designated by the community to watch to the intact keeping of the bond to the land, in the way the outcomes of it are put into value."

Thus, it is not enough to consider only the spatial changes of the agricultural land properties and the forests brought by the former communist system through collectivization, respectively the nationalization programs, but also the changes in peasants perceptions and attitudes are very powerful tool to consider when dealing with the protection of natural resources existing in rural areas.

By coping with all these types of changes, it means that the peasants have a great responsibility in managing the agriculture lands and forests and implicit they play a key role in the management of natural resources in rural areas and in shaping the rural landscape (Toma, 1999; Harington et al., 2006; Goslink and William, 2010).

Coming back to the two types of community that emerged after the collectivization process, respectively the former-collectivized and the non-collectivized communities, we might think that the attitudes and believes of the people towards the places that were transformed during communism regime, such as the agricultural land properties, the forest and even the village itself, is different in the two types of community. The biggest difference between the two types of community is expected to be in relation to the agricultural land it was directly affected by the former collectivization system. In the non-collectivized communities there was this continuity between the peasants and their land properties, which could mean that these peasants should still have the old mentality mentioned by Roman (2009) while in the former collectivized community's people being deprived for such long time of their properties may experience a kind of rupture in their affinity to the land. This phenomenon is called by some authors (Brown and Perkins, 1992), a "disruptive" effect between the person and the place.

1.4 Problem statement and research aims

By summarizing all the information presented above we can conclude that there is a complex and complicated relationship between people with their place within the Romanian rural areas. Partly, this information suggests to us that in the Romanian rural areas people manifest a decrease in interests, and changes in attitudes regarding their new accounted land and forests properties. Besides, most villagers in Romania, and especially in the Eastern part of Romania, depend very much on the natural resources. Hence, this dependency enhanced by a wrong attitude might lead to more forest and agricultural land degradation together with a loss of cultural landscape and biodiversity (Strambu et al., 2005, Kuemmerle et al., 2008). Therefore, the way the village, the agriculture lands and the forests are perceived by the people in the rural areas is of great importance when assessing towards the benefit of the society and nature.

For my knowledge, there does not seem to be in literature any distinction made between the two types of communities, the former collectivized and the non-collectivized communities, in view of people's perceptions towards the places that undergone transformation during the former communism. If indeed the two communities experienced different levels of change in view of their historical background, than it will be of great importance to assess those differences through people's perceptions towards the three spatial dimensions that undergone the most transformations (the village, the agricultural land properties and the forest) and which are also thought holding important nature values. Through people perceptions, we may understand how people grow attached to a place in the past, and what will help these people to re-establish the old harmony of the human community with the place and implicit with the nature (Roman, 2009). And therefore bringing back harmony to the rural landscape and creating a new symbiosis between man and nature, one that is contextual to the peoples traditional way of life, that is not only economically sound, stimulates the development of place, but also is durable for the future generations.

Nevertheless, I found in literature that the way the natural resources are managed and used by people in a place, is reflected in their 'pro-environmental behaviour' and is in some way related to the degree of attachment that people grow for that place (Williams et al., 1992; Vaske and Kobrin, 2001; Stendman, 2002; Gosling and Williams, 2010). Therefore, I incline to believe that 'place attachment' and 'pro-environmental behaviour' are the right concept in looking into this complicated relation between the peasants and their place in order to understand the reason behind people's attitudes towards their place and implicit towards the natural valuable assets of the place. Consequently, the aims of this study are as follows:

- To get a deeper understanding of the attachment of people, living in rural Romania, with their rural community and its relation with their pro-environmental behaviour.
- To understand what the role of former collectivisation system is on attachment and its relation with pro-environmental behaviour.

In order to achieve my research aims I will do research in two communities from Eastern part of Romania, namely Lapos and Prohozesti. There are several reasons for choosing for the two communities. Firstly, the two communities represent a former collectivized and the non-collectivized community. Secondly, they are situated only 15 km distance from each other which brings similarity

in terms of socio-economic, political and cultural performances which reduces the external variables that could influence the outcomes of the results. Thirdly, I am familiar with the two communities which means will give easy access to collect the needed information.

1.5 Personal motivation

What I hope to accomplish through this research is to find differences in the way people attach to the three spatial dimensions (the village, the agricultural land properties and the forest) and differences in the level of involvement in actions thought to improve the natural environment in their community. I hope as well to be able to relate these differences to some of the changes brought by the former collectivization system to the community involved in this process. Perhaps with my results I could pull an alarm among those who make decisions in natural resources management to take also in account the different historical backgrounds of the areas when making plans for managing natural resources in rural areas.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

2.1. Theories on place attachment

I would like to start this chapter by reminding to the reader that this study is about people and places in two rural regions of Romania. One well known and widely used concept in studying the relation people-place is the concept of place attachment. The concept has been used already for a long time since people where identifying themselves by name and by telling about the place where they come from (Relph, 1997). Lately, the interest in this type of relation has been studied in various disciplines such, community studies (Bow and Buys, 2003), social and behavioural sciences (Raymond et al., 2010), human geography (Tuan, 1975), human ecology (Johnson, 1998), environmental psychology (Altman and Low, 1992; Proshansky et al. 1983), etc. Hence, various frameworks were proposed for understanding the setting (Low and Altman, 1992, Williams et al., 1992, Milligan, 1998, Vaske and Kobrin, 2001, Wiliams and Vaske, 2002, Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006, Teddy et al., 2008, Scannell and Gifford, 2010, Raymond et al., 2010).

The debates around the concept of place attachment depend on the interest of researchers. For example researchers interested in physical dimension of place attachment will put more emphasis on the physical setting as the main driving force in place attachment and use constructs like place dependence (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981; Williams and Roggenbuck, 1989) and others that are interested more in socio-cultural aspects will emphasise more the emotional/affective meanings to a particular place and argues that the physical place only provide the background for forming ideas, feelings and memories but in fact the experiences lived in place influences the attachment (Low and Altman, 1992). Some divergent theory on the importance of physical setting on place attachment is postulated by (Relph, 1976) which is assuming that place attachment is based primarily on relationships with people in the setting rather than the physical aspects of the setting and that the attachment increase with time. This idea is enforced by Stedman (2002) which finds that the strongest effects of environmental attributes on place attachment are accumulated through memories and descriptive meanings and not through the physical settings, the "row material". And this is true knowing that physical settings are changeable, dynamic contexts (Stokowski, 2002), thus they will not stay the same but the memories, the lived experiences, the values, the feelings will stay in that place forever.

But mostly there are mixed constructs in assessing place attachment. For example interrelations between community's characteristics/ social dimension and the natural setting/ physical dimension has proven to play an important role in the attachment people form to a place through the development of identity with that place (Samson and Goodrich, 2009, Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Often place dependence and place identity are used as two-dimensional model of the place attachment (Williams et al., 1992) or even a three –dimensional model including self, others and the environment (Gustafson, 2001). Others would simply collect themes that are often mention in different studies referring to place attachment such as: continuity, distinctiveness, symbolism, attachment and familiarity, and use them together for constructing a new model for assessing place attachment (Teddy et al., 2008).

Through the multitude of approaches in different disciplines, it turned out that place attachment may be influenced or predicted by a multitude of factors or can be correlated to other variables such as: socio-demographic characteristics (Willimas et al., 1992, Johnson, 1998), experience preferences (Payton, 2003), landscape type (Williams et al, 1992), attitudes such as environmentally responsible behaviour or environmental concern (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001, Vorkinn and Riese, 2001), education, community size and residence time (Lewicka, 2005) and residential satisfaction (Tabernero et al.,

2010). And yet many suggestions are proposed for assessing place attachment, there is not a uniform and systematic analysis of place attachment. In this sense, Low and Altman (1992, p. 3,) assert that "place attachment subsumes or is subsumed by a variety of analogous ideas, including topofilia (Tuan, 1975), place identity (Proshansky et al., 1983), insideness (Rowles, 1980), genres of place (Hufford, 1992), sense of place or rootedness (Chawla 1992), environmental embeddedness, community sentiment and identity (Hummon 1992)".

All these types of arguments allow flexibility in the way one may choose to use the concept of place attachment. Knowing that in general people get attached to a place "directly by giving attributes to the physical setting or indirectly through certain memories set in place or through important descriptive meanings to which people are attached" (Stedman, 2002), I decided that in my study I will separate the concept of place attachment in two dimensions: functional attachment similar to place dependence (Stokols and Schumaker 1981) and the second dimension will be the emotional attachment similar to place identity (Proshansky et al., 1983; Williams et al, 1992).

In literature, the two dimensions are often assessed through the use of indicators, and a vast scale of indicators had been proposed (e.g. Stedman, 2002; Vaske and Kobrin, 2001; Gosling and Williams, 2010). The choice of indicators will be difficult in the case of my research as it will include three different places part of the community: the village (residential space), the forest and the agricultural land properties. More than that, I am agreeing on the idea that attachment cannot be quantified but interpreted (Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976). Therefore I decided not to use a fixed scale of indicators for each of the two attachment dimensions but rather to use the literature in general to get an idea of what may be useful to ask the people in order to get some insides of their functional and emotional attachment. This way of dealing with the concept of place attachment has been used by other authors in qualitative studies (Sampson and Goodrich, 2005, Teddy et al., 2008).

In the following, I will briefly refer to literature introducing the two attachment dimensions, functional and emotional and how they have been explored by different authors.

2.1.1 Functional place attachment

Generally speaking, functional place attachment or the place dependency is translated as the functionality or the ability of the resources to fulfil the needs or goals of individuals in terms of quantity and quality (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981). This definition implies two things: first, it is important to know which goals people want to achieve in that place and second, is the place satisfactory enough for the people to complete their achievements. In that sense, Bow and Boys, (2003) suggested that is particularly relevant to investigate individual perceptions of the 'places' ability to meet their needs and goals and to uncover what factors may lead individuals to develop a strong place attachment. There are two ways of how people tend to assess the quality of a place: (i) by how well it satisfies user needs based on previous experiences (ii) how well it satisfies user needs when it compares to other available places (Shumaker and Taylor, 1983; Warzecha and Lime, 2000). Few studies suggest that satisfaction with a setting can predict a sense of place attachment (Lee and Allen 1999; Hou et al., 2005). Both studies had looked at the attachment that tourists express to a certain destination and the result was that actually the level of satisfaction with the sun, sand and the beach (Lee and Allen, 1999) or the satisfaction with the attractiveness of the place (Hou et al., 2005) were predicting the attachment to the destination.

Thus, one related factor to the concept of place attachment is 'satisfaction' with a place, which was tested not only in recreational areas context (Lee and Allen 1999; Stedman, 2002; Williams and Vaske, 2003; Hou et al., 2005) but also in a neighbourhoods and housing context (Fleury-Bahi, 2008). If an individual is satisfied with a place, that person will likely have the wish to spend more time in the place surrounding and consequently will visit that place regularly and even recommend it to other people (Valle et al., 2006). Repeated interactions with the place help people build meanings and values associated with the place (Moore and Graefe 1984; Jorgensen and Stedman 2002). The greater the number and range of needs met by a place; the more positive a person will feel about that place (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981, Milligan, 1998). With other words, functional attachment may be explained by the level of satisfaction through multiple benefits that place have to offer to the users. There is not always a linear relation between place satisfaction and place attachment. For example Stedman (2002) discovered that people residing in the neighbourhood of a lake in Winscosin, despite their low satisfaction with the poor environmental quality in that area, they expressed high attachment to the place. Also having no other alternatives to build a life in another place, like for example because of lacking skills to do a different work in another place, people will feel functionally attached to the place where they can work (Manzo, 2003). As well there is likely to be also a reverse effect, that actually the level of attachment may determine people to be satisfied with the place. This was proved in a study by Scott and Vitardas (2008) were was found that members of a community who feels a strong attachment to their community would see the local services provided by the local government in a more positive light and therefore they feel more satisfied with the place.

In my research, functional attachment will be assessed through the degree of satisfaction people possess with different characteristics of the place in terms of quality and quantity. The more positive satisfactory characteristics associated with the place among people from the two communities under study, the higher the level of functional attachment will be considered when comparing the two communities.

2.1.2 Emotional place attachment

Place is not only a material setting for providing needs and achieving goals, but it is also a part of a person's identity, thereby creating strong emotional bonds between the person and the place (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977; Williams, et al., 1992, Greider and Garkovich 1994; Moore and Graefe 1994;). This personal dimension of place attachment refers to "those dimensions of the self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment" (Proshansky, 1978, p. 155). Not all places or parts belonging to a place are perceived in the same way by the people. It seems that people make choices based on their preferences for certain places or specific attributes of the places to which they create emotional ties (Warzecha and Lime, 2001).

The way people define themselves within a particular place is engaged with how people conceptualize this place, what value or interests or symbolic meanings they relate to the place (Williams et al., 1992). Greider and Garkovich (1994) provide an example about how people with different backgrounds assess a particular place (a field) in the way that best suit their interests. In their example, they show an open field to three people; one hunter, one farmer and one developer and they ask them what they see. And the answers they gave are as follows: browsing grounds for a back, rows of wheat and respectively, new houses. Hence, the way individuals see and value a place is a reflection of self-identity. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, (1996) refer to this aspect as distinctiveness that gives a kind of uniqueness to the place and implicit to the people living in that place who may develop a strong identity with the place.

Personal experiences accumulated over time play a big role in differentiating the individuals values from the group values expressed towards a place. As well, repeated interaction with the place in time conduct to formation of emotional attachment. An good example in this sense is provided by Brandenburg and Carroll (1995) who conducted interviews with rural people living near a forest area and found out that individuals that where frequently visiting the forest expressed different values than their residence group values. For instance a forest which first may appear as an ordinary space, in time through repeated experiences which can be related to work, recreation, ownership, it begins to personalize and get a meaning. For example, different people may give value or show interests for a given forest setting in different ways: it may represent a wild place, a source of income through harvesting its products, an ecological site, a recreational site or a heritage site.

This personal identity or self-identity consists of a broad range of cognitions towards the material setting expressed among others in terms of: feelings, values, personal experiences, memories, and preferences, (Proshansky et al., 1983, p.59). Similarly, Gustafson (2001) characterize the dimension of "self" through: emotions, activity, life path (personal experiences and memories) and self-identification.

Thus, for assessing the emotional place attachment the emphasis is directed on the subjective and symbolic meanings and the expressed emotions associated with the material setting and the personal bonds or attachments people form with specific places or landscapes (Williams and Vaske, 2002, p. 1). Thus, we may think that through expressed feelings, people let show their emotional attachment to the place they inhabit, or the place the visit. Feelings attached to a particular place can be positive such as: contentment, security, but can be also negative such as: avoidance, ambivalence, anxiety (Ahrentzen, 1992) and they may vary in intensity from short term to a long lasting attachment (Tuan, 1974).

In my research I define the emotional place attachment as a mixture of feelings positive and negative through which I will try also to find any traces that people identify with the place (the symbolic meanings). The more positive feelings expressed in relation with the three spatial dimensions (the village, the forest and the agricultural land properties) the higher the level of emotional attachment will be considered when comparing the two communities under study.

2.2 Place attachment and changes in place

Places are dynamic contexts, thus they may be in time subject to different changes (Stokowski, 2002). The impact of change on place is known in literature as 'disruption' to place attachment (e.g. Brown and Perkins, 1992) or 'threat' to place identity (e.g. Bonaiuto et al., 2002). Several such changes have been explored in literature of what may interfere in the bond between the people and the places. Some changes are of social matter such as: involuntary relocation (Boğaç, 2009); displacement from the community (Fried, 2000); racial and ethnic conflicts (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000) others are of a physical kind such as intended development (e.g a proposed hydropower project, Vorkinn and Riese, 2000); ecological change (floods or landslides, Brown and Perkins, 1992) and other changes are of political kind such as changes in ownership type (e.g. post-socialist forest restitution and privatization, Lawrence and Szabo, 2005). Of course different type of changes will result in different type of effects on the people and the place and consequently in the relation between the two. Such effects are found in literature to be: lower level of attachment to the new location (Boğaç, 2009), disruption to social networks (Fried, 2000), negative feelings such as grief and loss (Chow and Healey, 2008), denial of change (Vorkin and Riese, 2000, Stedman, 2000) and even traumatic effects on people (Lawrence and Szabo, 2005). More than this, people from the same group may react differently to the change in a

place they share as it is likely that people give different meanings to the resources in a place and that implies some degree of conflict among different users (Kaltenborn and Williams, 2002).

This kind of information raises a question in my mind: If changes to place may create distortion to place attachment, what if the former collectivization process it has also such effect on the people that had undergone that process? But this occurrence took place more than 20 years ago, it means that many people of young generation may not remember too much of it, or they even have been born at that time. As the process of collectivisation is an event that was collectively shared it means also that there are many things remembered to be the same. Collective memories refer to past events, past happenings within the bounds of social structures such as family, neighbourhood, ethnic groups, or nation (Halbwachs, 1980). It has been argued that collective memories are not necessarily constructed through direct contact with the event but these events may be passed down by older generations and transmitted to the younger generations (Rapaport, 1987). Therefore what we remember depends on the way the information is transmitted through media, history books and lessons, legends and songs and artefacts, family stories and different psychological factors that stimulates people's interest to know about the past (Lewicka, 2008). Easy access to available and trustful sources of information as well some socio-demographic variables such as education, age, length of residence and having older family members born and raised in that place can positively influence the place memory formation (Lewicka, 2008). It means that if people in the former collectivized communities remember this process as being negative, more likely their children will perceive it in the same way. There is also the thing of how much one is willing to know about the past history of the place. Lewicka, (2005) had found that people with a stronger emotional attachment to a place express more interest in the places past events. Also it seems that people tend to remember the most recent events instead of the events that took place in ancient times (Liu et al., 2007, cited in Lewicka, 2008). Thus is likely that the past experiences that people lived in the former collectivized time are also shared among the younger generation which may percept the changes brought by this process similar as their parents.

But of course there may be also events that took place in that time that cannot be transmitted in words, and these are events that marked people's life through strong emotional reactions that occurred in the period of identity formation (Conway, 1997). These are the kind of personal or autobiographical memories and can serve three purposes: personal insight into the meanings of one's past and present, a means to archive a careful description of place, and feelings that are central to self-identity (Chawla, 1992). Furthermore memories cannot be reduced to the physical setting because places are dynamic and often they change in size, shape, colour or layout and therefore "places are reinterpreted to better fit the way people feel things should be, or the way they wish the things had been." (Farbstein and Kantrowitz, 1978, p.19).

Thus, through the theory presented above one must understand the following message: Changes in place may create disruption to place attachment; one such change may be the former collectivisation system and that the changes that occurred at that time are may still be hold within the community by shared collective memories.

2.3 Place attachment and pro-environmental behaviour

Pro-environmental behaviour has been defined as the action of an individual or group that advocates the sustainable or diminished use of natural resources (Sivek and Hungerford, 1989/90). Researchers

have found that place attachment can foresee pro-environmental behaviour (e.g. taking action in cleaning a common natural area in the community, Vaske and Kobrin 2001). The two authors have argued that actually the emotional attachment (the symbolic meanings) is the one mediating the relationship between functional attachment (place dependence) and the pro-environmental behaviour. With this finding, Vaske and Kobrin encourage that cultivating the relationship between people and the resource could encourage environmentally responsible behaviour. Similarly, Williams, et al., (1992) argue that strong emotional ties to resources are influencing people to be involved with and concerned about how the resources are managed and used. This aspect can be also explained by the study of Stedman (2002) about Wisconsin lake, were was found that the people that were attached with the lake, although they expressed dissatisfaction with the natural environment, they were the ones with higher willingness to engage in activities for improving the quality of the lake when compared to those with low level of attachment.

Also other type of activities thought to show environmental behaviour such as lakeside property owners voting for laws that prevent water quality decline (Stedman, 2000) or visitors picking up litter left by others in a park (Halpenny, 2006) were found to be predicted by the attachment to the place object to the activity. Though, there is also evidence that place attachment does not always predict proenvironmental. One such evidence is provided by Gosling and Williams, (2010) who wanted to see if there is a correlation between place attachment and on-farm replanting or remnant vegetation protection. They found that there is not such relation and there are factors of other nature influencing people's (peasants) behaviour such: income, time and equipment. They also draw attention that researcher should make distinction between actual behaviour and intended behaviour as place attachment is likely to correlate more with the second (Gosling and Williams, 2010).

From an emotional point of view, attachment to place and nature seems to expand one's identity or self-definition. This is known in literature as the 'environmental identity' theory and refers to the inclusion of nature into one's self-concept (Clayton, 2003). When people identify with the natural environment as being part of themselves they will develop a sense of concern among the other non-human living beings and therefore an increased willingness to help the nature (Schultz, 2000). Often people tend to self-define themselves by using parts of the natural environment and this fact may be the result of a general attachment to the natural environment (Clayton, 2003). With other words, individuals with strong natural environment identity perform more responsible ecological behaviour (e.g. turning off lights or donating to environmental organisations), than those low in natural environmental identity (Clayton, 2003). Another similar theory is the 'emotional affinity towards nature' (Kals, 1999) which assumes that nature-protective behaviour can be predicted by: emotional affinity (feelings of love towards nature), interests (willingness to gain knowledge about the nature), indignation about insufficient nature protection (complaints about insufficient nature protection) and experiences with nature (time spent in the nature).

From a functional point of view, there are as well a range of factors that may encourage or discourage people in their pro-environmental behaviour. For example, recycling behaviour is very much influenced by the accessibility of recycling bins. This relationship between recycling and convenience can be seen in the study conducted by Brothers et al., (1994) were they found that replacing the recycling bins closer to the workers in an office building, increased the amount of recycled paper with sixty percentage.

Also demographic variables seem to make a difference in the way people behave towards the nature, such as gender (e.g women are likely to engage more often in pro-environmental activities, Stern and

Dietz, 1994); and level of education and level of income (e.g. the higher the income and education level, the higher the involvement in environmental issues and environmental organizations, Pierce et al., 1992).

Thus, through the theory presented above one must understand the following messages: proenvironmental behaviour can be defined through people's participating in actions thought to advocates the sustainable or diminished use of natural resources. Place attachment can be a predictor for proenvironmental behaviour and especially emotional attachment seem to mediate between functional attachments and stimulate people in doing these kinds of actions. With other words, even if people are dissatisfied with the environment, through their emotional bound with the place they will be acting in the favour of that place.

2.4 Conceptual framework

From the theories presented in this chapter we have learned that there are two types of attachment that people can have to a place: the functional attachment which can be looked at through the level of satisfaction and emotional attachment that is expressed through types of feelings. Then we have learned that changes in place (in this research changes brought by the former collectivism) can interfere in the attachment process creating a 'disruption' effect within the bond between the place and the people. Finally, we have also learned that being attached to a place make people involve in proenvironmental actions such as sustainable or diminished use of natural resources, with other words to show a pro-environmental behaviour.

Gathering all the information that had been introduced until now in this research, I came up with the following conceptual framework:

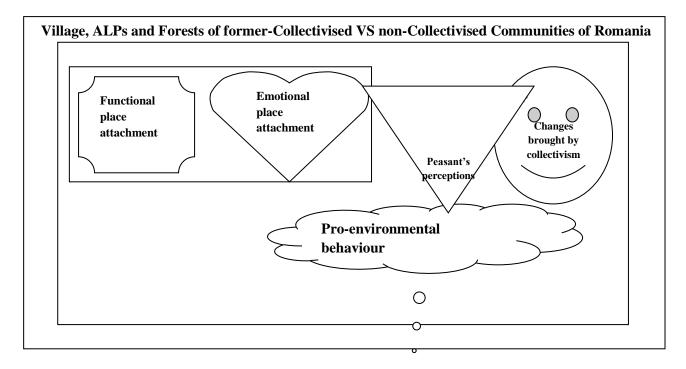


Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework

The best way to check if indeed former collectivization process influenced the attachment to the places by the changes brought directly to the village and the agricultural land properties and perhaps indirectly to the forest, is by comparing to another community which is similar in many ways but without having been part of the collectivization process. Thus, this research takes place in the context of two communities with different historical background and is ought to find differences between the two communities in the level of attachment to three spatial dimensions (the village, the agricultural land properties and the forest) and differences in the level of engagement in pro-environmental actions thought to improve the quality of the natural environment in the community.

All these information will be gained through people's perceptions and I hope in the end to be able to answer the following research questions:

1. Are there differences between former collectivized and non-collectivized rural communities of Romania, regarding people's attachment to the village, the agricultural land properties and the forests? If yes, are these differences in some way related to the changes brought by the former collectivisation system?

Sub-questions:

- **Q 1.1:** How satisfied are people in the two communities with their village, the agricultural land properties and the forests?
- **Q 1.2:** What kinds of feelings are expressed in the two communities in relation with the village, the agricultural land properties and the forests?
- **Q 1.3:** If there are differences in the level of satisfaction (functional attachment) and the types of feelings (emotional attachment) between the two communities, are these differences related to changes brought by collectivisation system to the community that was involved in this process?
- **Q 1.4:** Are there also other variables that may influence the differences in the level of attachment between the two communities beside the changes brought by the former collectivisation system?
- **2.** Are there differences between former collectivized and non-collectivized rural communities of Romania in the way people engage in activities thought to improve the quality of the natural environment in their community? If yes, are these differences in some way related to the changes brought by the former collectivisation system?

Sub-questions:

- **Q 2.1:** How do people understand the natural environment, does their definition of natural environment include parts of the three spatial dimensions under study (the village, the agricultural land properties and the forests)?
- **Q 2.2:** In what kind of activities do people in the two communities engage in order to improve the natural environment in their community?

3. Is there any link between attachment and pro-environmental behaviour?

Sub-questions:

- Q3.1: Does the functional attachment influence people's pro-environmental behaviour?
- Q3.2: Does the emotional attachment influence people's pro-environmental behaviour?

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Research strategy

This study is based on qualitative research using case study design.

Along the years, qualitative research has been at the centre of discussion of many scholars in different study branches (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). What is specific to qualitative research strategies is a focus on natural settings which is also known in literature as 'naturalism'; few cases; an unstructured research design; an extended field work period; an interest in meanings, perspectives and understandings; an emphasis on process rather than the outcome; concern with inductive analysis and grounded theory (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Green and Thorogood 2009,).

The most criticized aspect of qualitative research is the fact that by using only the naturalist model, such an approach cannot produce reliable research knowledge. Therefore data generated in qualitative research depend much upon reflexivity, as a mean for acknowledging that objectivity is impossible and a means of accounting for the subjective role of the researcher during all the steps in the research process (Green and Thorogood, 2009, p. 23).

Since the focus of my research is to understand the informants' perceptions on various phenomena with a 'naturalist' character and my intention is to gain a complete, detailed description of the meaning the participants give to explain their behaviour, how they interpret situations, and what their perspectives are on particular issues, then a qualitative research will be best to use (Woods, 2006). From the multitude of approaches used in qualitative research I chose for the case study design.

Case study

Case study designs are very often used in social research for investigating up to date phenomena that can be found in the real life contexts, without a clear boundary between the phenomenon and the context and is mostly done through empirical enquiry and making use of different sources of data (Yin, 1984, p.23). The sources of data used in the case study can be: interviewing, documentary analysis and observations (Green and Thorogood, 2009, p.46). In using case study design, like many other qualitative research approaches it is important to make a good decision about what is meant by being researched, how it will happen and for what purpose or why this is going to happen (Green and Thorogood, 2009, p. 36). These aspects are very important to consider when using case study approach as "there is no specific logic implied by a case study, nor do they have any specific theoretical or methodological characteristics" (Green and Thorogood, 2009, p.45). Some challenges or limitations when using a case study design are related to how to prove that indeed it is meaningful to find the answer to questions, and this is known in literature as relevance, how to make the reader understand what the statement of the problem is, this is known as precision, another challenge is consistency which shows that there is a relation between the formulation of the problem and the assumptions made in the research (Oost, 2006).

In my research I decided to use a combination of descriptive and comparative case study approach., The reason for choosing this method is mainly because it will give me the possibility first to describe for each of the two case studies (the two communities) the phenomena under study: the place attachment and pro-environmental behaviour and then through the descriptive accounts further to compare and find the differences that may be triggered by the differences in the historical background of the two cases under study. To obtain descriptive accounts I will use people's perceptions as source

of data thus I will be interested to answer questions like "what", "how" and "why" questions and a case study design is the best approach for obtaining the answers to these types of questions (Soy, 1997).

The two cases I selected for my study are selected for the complexity of the experiences people in those areas had to deal with in the past, and which has influenced their present lives. The main reason of selecting those two communities is through the fact that each community is representative for real-life contemporary, human situations dealing with the changes VS no-changes, brought by the former collectivisation system. What is interesting about the two communities and therefore to compare, is that one community had been under the process of collectivisation and this is Prohozesti and the other community, Lapos, had not been under this process of collectivisation.

The results from this descriptive-comparative case study I expect to be thick descriptions of how people are attached to three of the spatial dimensions component parts of the community: the village, the forest and the agricultural land properties and also if these people are involving in activities thought to improve the quality of the natural environment in their community. Through these descriptions I hope to highlight differences in place attachment and pro-environmental behaviour and to be able to link these differences with the changes brought by collectivism in the Romanian rural areas.

3.2 Study Area

Area of interest to conduct this study is located in Eastern part of Romania in the Bacau County of the Moldavian province (see Figure. 3.1). Bacau County comprise of 79 communes, among others including Poduri and Darmanesti. Each of the two communes integrates several villages (communities) such as Lapos which belongs to Darmanesti commune, and Prohozesti is a community belonging to the Poduri commune. The *commune* is the basic administrative unit of the Bacau County, on whose territory rural policy is implemented. The distance between the two communes, respectively the two communities is only 15 km; therefore there are many similarities in climatic conditions, vegetation, and fauna. The climatic conditions are moderate continental, with warm and dry summers and cold winters.

According to the North-East Regional Development Plan, 2007-2013, there are three categories of rural settlements. The first category is represented by plains areas, characterized by cluster-type houses, with agricultural-cereal and fruit tree-vineyards as the basis of economic gain. Within this category we can include the Prohozesti community. The second category of rural settlement are the hill and hillock agricultural areas characterized by scattered houses along the roads, and the basic economic activity is animal breeding and the growing of fruit. This category would include the Lapos community. The mountainous areas belong to the third category.

Both villages are surrounded by mountains up to 1600 meters in altitude. A high percentage of these mountains are forested. The vegetation of the forests consists predominantly of beech (Fagus sp.), conifers such as: spruce (Picea abies) and fir (Abies alba); oak (Quercus sp.) and mountain maple (Acer pseudoplatanus). The lower hills are covered by deciduous or mixed deciduous-conifer forests, whereas the vegetation of the higher mountain areas is made up mainly of spruce forests. The lowlands are intensively used for the production of corn, beets, potatoes and fodder. For Lapos, all the meadows above the valley are used for livestock grazing and hay production. For Prohozesti due to the

fact that there is no direct access to the mountains, as there are other villages in between, the livestock grazing is restricted to the riverbank areas and the green swards beside the roads.

The inhabitants of both study areas, Lapos and Prohozesti, were and in some cases still are workers of (at) the nearby oil wells, coal mines and timber processing mills. At present their level of job security has diminished, and this fact has resulted in an out migration to other countries (especially the young generations) or a return to their peasant lifestyles (especially the older generations). This involves mostly activities in the agriculture and forestry sectors (North-East Regional Development Plan, 2007-2013). Generally in the two study areas, villagers are individual peasants with agricultural land properties divided into more plots located on different distances from their houses. On average, the total surface does not exceed more than two hectares. Rarely there are people who own more than two hectares of agriculture land. Mostly there is a plot situated near or behind the house that is used for gardening and orchards of fruit trees. Vegetables that are grown here are used during the summer time or kept for winter time and constitutes an important source of food. The vegetables, fruits, wheat and animal products can essentially assure the survival of the villagers until the next harvest. The way the food is preserved is by the traditional manner the older generations did it for years and years and this knowledge has been passed down from generation to generation.

For the forests the situation is different. One difference is that not all the people own a patch of forest as they do with agriculture land, either because their ancestors never owned any forest, or because the people who used to have forested land before the collectivisation time did not regained it after the restitution process took place. In both villages, access to natural gas is limited; therefore stoves running on firewood are the only possibilities to keep warm during the winter. For this reason, the local forests are essential for their livelihoods, considering the temperature in the winter time can drop up to -20 degrees.

Although the distance between the two villages is only 15 km and they are separated by a mountain chain, there is something that differentiates the two villages and that is related to their historical backgrounds. During the Communism regime a large area of agricultural land in Romania was collectivized, starting in 1949 and lasting until 1989. Prohozesti was one of the many villages which had to deal with the collectivisation process. The villages situated more towards the mountains, like Lapos (see maps below) were not submitted to the collectivization process. That is why, with a close proximity to each other they have a very different historical context which may be reflected in differing ways people show attachment to their towards their village, the forest and the agricultural land properties in their communities and furthermore may influence people's behaviour towards the natural resources.

More specific information about the two communities is presented in the Findings chapter (Chapter 4) where per community, the three spatial dimensions; the village, the agricultural land properties and the forest will be more in detail described based on information gained from respondents.

In the Figure 3.1 you see two maps: left image shows the country map localising Bacau County; right image shows Bacau County map localising the two study areas, Lapos marked with blue and Prohozesti marked with red.

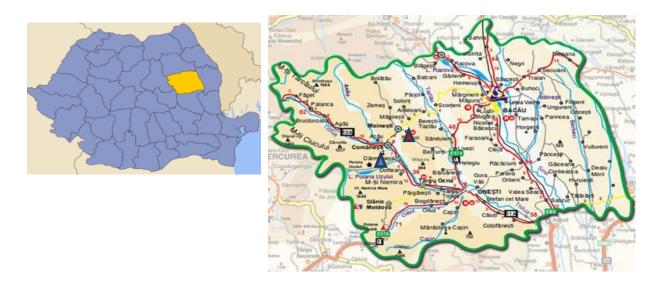


Figure 3.1 Study area maps

3.3 Collecting the data

A key strength of the case study design is the flexibility in using multiple sources and techniques in the data gathering process (Soy, 1997). Due to time constrain I had to limit my data collection methods to few techniques: utilisation of semi-structured interviews, participatory observation and desk study.

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews are the source of the main collected data in this research. There are two main reasons for my choice in using semi-structured interviews. First, it is because I wanted to have structure in the collected data as to allow comparison between the two communities. Second, I wanted to have the flexibility to ask more in-depth information about certain themes that were not directly asked but I was hoping people will talk about (e.g. changes brought by former collectivisation system. This approach, allows more scope for open-ended answers (Woods, 2006). Two aspects are essential when dealing with semi-structured interviews: (i) to develop empathy from respondents and win their confidence and (ii) to be unobtrusive, in order not to impose one's own influence on the interviewee (Woods, 2006). One advantage I had during the field work is that most of the people I interviewed knew me since I was a child. This can bring some advantages such as: easy access and contact with the people, a high degree of confidence and openness from the informants but can be also disadvantageous in the sense that when things are so familiar to you, "it takes a tremendous effort of will and imagination to stop seeing the things that are conventionally 'there' to be seen' (Howard Becker 1971, p. 10, cited in Woods, 2006).

An interviews guide (see Appendix 2) with open-ended and few closed-ended questions was used to direct conversation around the main themes of these study: place attachment and pro-environmental behaviour. In total there were 47 questions grouped by concept and per each of the three spatial dimensions. The interview guide was structured as follows: first set of questions were directed to yield information on place attachment (functional and emotional) for each of the three spatial dimensions. For the agricultural land properties and forest there were some additional questions ought to yield

answers on ownership situation. These kinds of questions were necessary as the informants were randomly selected without any previous information on ownership facts regarding the forest and agricultural land properties. As well, some questions were very general and therefore they yielded answers that were appropriate for one or more attachment indicators either functional or emotional attachment, therefore you will see sometimes in the operationalization table repetitive questions. The last set of questions was directed to yield information on pro-environmental behaviour. During the interviews, attention was also paid to sayings regarding the former collectivization process and the changes brought by this process to the three spatial dimensions under study and to the people themselves that may have interfered in the attachment process. Every time the respondents gave a short answer they were encouraged (probing) to give further explanation which allowed the respondents to give further arguments why they think or they feel that way.

The two main concepts, 'place attachment' and 'pro-environmental behaviour' that I already introduced in the previews chapter will be operationalized through *indicators* which are "events or phenomena that reflect components of the underlying concept of interest" (Green and Thorogood, 2009, p.40). To cover each indicator there are one or more questions that were asked the interviewed people (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 The operationalization of the main concepts

Concept	Definition	Operationalization of the main concepts (indicators)	Corresponding questions (see Appendix 1)
General information on ownership situation regarding the agricultural land properties and the forests.		Agricultural land: Q5, Q6, Q7 Forest:Q26, Q27, Q28	
Functional place attachment	Satisfaction of user needs in terms of quantity and quality of the place (Shumaker and Taylor, 1983)	Satisfactory characteristics of the place in terms of location or other functional meanings (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001).	Village: Q1, Q2 Agricultural land: Q8, Q9, Q10, Q11, Q12, Q13, Q14, Q15, Q16, Q17, Q20, Q24 Forest: Q29, Q30, Q31, Q32, Q33, Q34, Q35, Q36, Q39, Q44
		The quality of the place comparing with other available or known places (Warzecha and Lime, 2000)	Village : Q3 Agricultural land: Q18, Q19 Forest: Q37, Q38
Emotional place attachment "Those dimensions of the self that define the individual's personal		Types of feelings related to the place: negative or positive (Ahrentzen ,1992)	Village: Q4 Agricultural land: Q23, Q24, Q25 Forest: Q42, Q43, Q44
identity in relation to the physical environment" (Proshansky, 1978, p. 155).	Value, interests or symbolic meanings associated to the place (Williams et al., 1992)	Village: Q4 Agricultural land: Q20, Q21, Q22 Forest: Q39, Q40, Q41,	
Pro- environmental	The action of an individual or group that	Defining natural environment.	Q45
behaviour advocates the sustainable or diminished use of natural resources (Sivek and Hungerford, 1989/90).		The type of thought to improve the quality of the elements defined as being part of the natural environment.	Q46, Q47

In each of the two communities the same type of questions were asked and also in the same order with some exceptions when people talked so much around first few questions that yielded answers for more questions. This was done in order to simplify the amount of work when grouping the information when being analysed.

Sampling approach

In my research I used a combination of opportunistic and snowball sampling for selecting the respondents. *Opportunistic sampling* or 'convenience sampling' is a matter of choosing the nearest and most convenient people to be the respondents in the field work (Woods, 2006). I decided to use this approach only for the first few respondents which where people I accidently meet on the road and further I went on by using the snowball sampling to make sure that I will also include some people that are owing forest and this information I got from the former respondents. The reason for choosing for this sampling approach was mainly because in such small communities, in time people get to know each other very good and I thought using people's advice when searching for new informants was the best way to do. Often happened that after the interviews even without asking, the informants were telling me about other people in the village which could answer my questions. For example, when I interviewed one person who did not possess a forest, this person would lead me to other people in the village which had a forest. Often, those people would also bring me to the house of the next interviewed person, which I thought was helping in trust building which is defined as "the traditional magic key for good field relations, a challenge constantly unfolding during the research process" (Seale et al., 2004, 234).

Furthermore, because at some point I had a long list with potential respondents and also because this research was mainly about people's perceptions, I thought of covering a large variety of respondents by taking into account some demographic characteristics such as: age, gender, social status, type of job, length of residence, etc. This was particularly necessary when dealing with place attachment issues which seem to vary with socio-demographic characteristics (Willimas et al., 1992). The age of the respondents was an important factor to consider because I wanted to ensure that some informants could answer questions related to the past, like 'How were land properties maintained before and during the collectivisation process?'. Considering that the collectivisation process started in 1949, it meant that some of my informants had to be at least 80 years old in order to answer these questions. The gender of the informant was also an important factor to consider because it seems that some activities like forestry are done mostly by the men. I realised this after doing the first few interviews as I observed that the men gave answers related to the forest and women tended to give answers related to agricultural land issues. Therefore, I thought of interviewing both, men and women. The social status I thought was relevant to consider in order avoiding interviewing only rich or only poor people which most probably would have influenced the results. Especially questions regarding functional place attachment gave references to aspects like the possibility to do activities in a place. A rich person most probably will have better capacity in terms of transportation or to hire labour compared to a person from a lower social class that does not dispose so easily to such advantages. The type of job I considered important on the one hand because it can tell us something about the social status of the respondents and on the other hand because depending on the type of job people may have, they have more or less available time to attend their forests or the agricultural land properties which in turn can also influence the attachment formation.

In total 26 respondents from which 13 are from Lapos and the other 13 are from Prohozesti were interviewed one time, thus in total there are 26 interviews. The answers were given individually by one of the household members (the husband or the wife or one of the children). Not all the respondents were forest owners, therefore in some of the interviews a few answers are missing. All interviews were done face to face with the respondents and took place in their homes. Each interview took between one and two hours and it was tape-recorded and transcribed more or less verbatim and translated by the author.

Some steps I followed during the interviews were:

- getting into a cosy environment: this was done by telling them who I am, what I've been doing lately, telling them about my relation with the village (for the ones that didn't recognised me), etc.
- giving recording explanations: explain to the people that because of amount of information I expect to gather from them it was better to record the interview in order to prevent losing some important data.
- giving interview explanations: I gave a short introduction about how the interview would take place, time frame and expected products. I also made sure that the informants understood that submitting this information was not by any means harmful for them.
- giving project explanations: one important aspect in this part was to explain as clearly as possible what exactly this project was about by using appropriate language and avoiding using difficult terms.

Those aspects are important to consider in order avoiding ethical implications of: harm, exploitation, privacy issues and informed consent issues (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 209). Researching former collectivism areas should be done in a sensitive way, particularly when dealing with the changes brought by collectivisation to people's lives. Therefore it was a challenge for me to ask the right kinds of questions especially when these involved information about the past which could trigger negative memories among the respondents of unpleasant moments in the past.

The attitude I adopted during the interviews also helped me to obtain the information more easily. As described in the interviews guide in the Methods, Techniques and Data Analysis for Field Research B (Otsuki and Schipper, 2009) some techniques and attitudes may help the process of interviewing in the right direction. Those attitudes are: expressing interest, repeating, expressing cultural ignorance, restating information terms, incorporating informant's terms, asking friendly questions.

Although, before going into the field I had a predetermined list of questions, after interviewing the first two informants, more questions were added. By talking to the people new questions arose as I gained new information I found I thought of new things to ask. This factor required some skills in the part of the interviewer, such as active listening, avoiding misleading questions or suggesting outcomes.

Some problems that surfaced during the interviews was the fact that repeatedly the informants had the tendency to talk too inconsequentially, or wandered off the subject, or were unclear, therefore, it was a big challenge to keep the conversations focused on the subject being discussed.

3.3.2 Participant observation

The qualitative paradigm aims to understand the social world from the viewpoint of respondents, through detailed descriptions of their cognitive and symbolic actions, and through the richness of meaning associated with observable behaviour (Wildemuth, 1993, cited in Myers, 2000).

Part of my research was to understand people's attitude, their behaviour, the environment and the artefacts that exist around them. Therefore I decided to pay attention and try to understand also by sensing these elements that people referred in the interviews to influence their attachment or the proenvironmental behaviour. The participatory observations I did were not planed, it took place instantly every time there was a good occasion to see in reality and confirm the things that people told about in their interviews. For example, by doing participatory observation I could understand what people actually mean by recycling which was actually sorting the plastic and burn it. Thus, I cannot say how

many of these participatory observations I did in total, perhaps every time I was in one or the other village. Many of my observations I saved in form of pictures from which I will use some in this thesis.

3.3.3 Desk study

Written materials allowed me to explore the literature in this domain, web sides, movies, local reports, articles and books. This research involved a great deal of historical events, such as the changes that occurred in Romania during the collectivisation period and after this collectivisation period. Not all of my informants were of the age that they had any knowledge of dealing with those times; therefore I needed the literature to help me to find out some of the answers to my questions. To some extent, this is was an historical approach which according to Gay (1996, cited in Myers, 2000), "is a systematic collection and objective evaluation of data related to past occurrences in order to test hypotheses concerning causes, effects, or trends within these events that could help to explain present events and to anticipate future events."

Documentation can to help reconstruct events, and reveals information about social relationships (Woods, 2006). The final aim of my research is to be able to find a relation between the three main aspects of my research, 'place attachment', 'pro-environmental behaviour' and 'changes brought by collectivisation'. The data gathered through the field work only allows me to describe how those aspects are perceived by the people but only through literature can I make sense of those perceptions. Furthermore, the desk study was useful when targeting and formulating the questions used during the interviews as well the research questions. Thus in my research I used documents as topic and documents as resource which are two possible ways of using documents in a research (Green and Thorogood, 2009).

3.3.4 Interviews with key informants

Besides the 26 interviews done with the people from the two communities of interest (Lapos and Prohozesti), I additionally interviewed six respondents from two other communities situated in the vicinity of Prohozesti village. Both two communities, called Cernu and Sesuri are former collectivized communities. The reason for proceeding in this way was because during the interviews done in Prohozesti, I often heard about the two communities that there the situation was different in terms of work activities during collectivisation time. Hence, I thought it will be interesting to interview some people from the two communities and see if I get similar answers as I got in Prohozesti. In total I interviewed 4 respondents in Sesuri and 2 respondents in Cernu. These respondents received the same type of questions posted in the interviews guide (see Annex 2). The information I gained through these interviews it was not taken in the results but it was used to validate the answers collected in Prohozesti. As the information I received in the two additional communities is similar with the information I found in Prohozesti, it means that indeed I can generalise these results for other former collectivized communities.

Other two key informants were people working at the city hall in Darmanesti (the administrative commune of Lapos) and city hall in Poduri (the administrative Commune of Prohozesti). The two key informants were asked general information on administrative issues regarding the two villages.

3.4 Data Analysis

This step in my research was the most time consuming as I had to deal with many pages of transcribed and translated interviews. All these data had to be sorted, organized, conceptualized, refined, and interpreted. As defined in the book by Green and Thorogood, (2009, p. 196) it is not enough to focus only on the collected data when analysing but better incorporate the particular findings in a broader context. The same idea is sustained by Hammersley and Atkinson, (2007, p.158-159) who argue that "analysis is not a matter of managing and manipulating data" and in order to be able in connecting our findings with the findings of others it is wise to go beyond the data and find ideas that will help understanding the data. Summarizing, in qualitative research there is a degree of freedom in making choices on the process of analysing the data as long as we, as inexperienced researchers give a descriptive and credible interpretation of the data.

For analysing the data in my research, I used the framework analysis approach, which can be defined as "a content analysis method which involves summarizing and classifying data within a thematic framework" (see Green and Thorogood, 2009, p. 208).

The process of analysing the data was done using the following steps adapted from (Green and Thorogood, (2009, p.208). First, I was *familiarizing* with the data that was transcribed from the recorded interviews. This was the first step in trying to understand what kind of results I had and I started with the interview data because it was the most complex. After reading through the data gathered in the interviews the next step was to find patterns in the responses throughout all the field notes and transcripts. Especially this step was important when dealing with the data on place attachment that was very complex and mixed up. In doing so, I was able to develop a kind of coding scheme for analysing the themes that occurred most. The third step was *indexing*, which means that all the data was labelled with the codes prepared in the coding scheme. The next step I used was *charting* in which means that I had to rearrange the data by theme in a table. And finally, the last step I did in analysing the data was *mapping and interpretation* of the results by looking at relationships between and within the concepts and the typologies developed from them. In this last step I wrote the results in the form of narratives, as I want to describe what I found in the richest way possible and by using the original words used by the people I interviewed.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the results gathered during the semi-structured interviews and participatory observations that are aimed to investigate two phenomena: place attachment and pro-environmental behaviour amongst people from two communities (Lapos and Prohozesti) with different historical backgrounds.

Sections 4.2 to 4.4 deal with findings on functional and emotional place attachment for each of the three spatial dimensions. Each of these sections start with a briefly introduction of the spatial dimension, then the findings presented in form of a table and descriptive accounts and in the end there will be a conclusion per section. Section 4.5 deals with findings on pro-environmental behaviour, first part is about people understanding of natural environmental and second part is about the pro-environmental activities that people in the two communities engage.

4.2 Findings - The Village

4.2.1 Introducing the first spatial dimension, the village of Lapos and Prohozesti

Lapos village

Lapos is a small village in the hills with around 1000 inhabitants. The village is situated on a long hill following the direction to the mountains .The access to the village is by a sloppy country road which connects the village to the main road leading to two small cities, one to the west is Comanesti and one to the east, Darmanesti is also the administrative commune of Lapos and the other villages in this region. The mud track road continues with the main road passing through the village. Along this road there are houses on both sides which are very close packed to each other. Behind the houses are the narrow and long gardens which mostly end in a ravine. From the main roads there are also some side roads left and right off the main road. Some of these side roads cross the river on the left side and parallel with the village where most of the ALPs owned by the people from Lapos are located.

The people in this village lead simple lives, livestock breeders. Usually, the man brings income for the household and the woman raises the children, does the cooking and raises the livestock. The agricultural land work is done by all members of the household who are able to work. The job possibilities in this area are much diminished since the fall of the communist regime and therefore many young men and even women have gone abroad to Italy or Spain to seek work. But it seems that lately many of the young people that left to work abroad are returning to the village and trying to build their life in the village with the money they managed to save while working abroad. The old people, over the age of 50 years-old, on the other hand, are 'pensionari pe caz de boala' (receiving social pension). This aspect is very common nowadays, not only in Lapos, but in most of the undeveloped areas in Romania, where people are in desperate need of money after losing their jobs after 1989, when the communist regime was dissolved (Mariana Bechir, in press).

Prohozesti village

Prohozesti is a small village with around 1000 inhabitants and is situated in a hilly-plane area. The access to the village is from several secondary roads connecting other villages with Prohozesti; the main access is through a principal road connecting the nearest city (Moinesti) with other localities ahead of Prohozesti. The houses are partly located along this main road which is asphalted, and partly along secondary roads which are not asphalted. The houses are situated on both sides of the roads and very close to each other. Behind, and sometimes beside, the houses are gardens which, in many cases, don't exceed 0,25 ha. This is due to one of the structural changes brought to the village during the former collectivization system. After all the private land properties were taken under state ownership, there was some land inside the village that could be used as private property but not more than 0,25 ha per family and only by families that accepted to become members of the collectivism system. In this way, people that had more than 0.25 ha land where forced to give land to the ones that had initially less than this amount. In the case that one of the children would happen to marry and wanted to have their own house, the house would normally be built on the newly acquired land. After people received their land properties back, after 1989, many of them had no possibilities to get back all the land around their house because of the houses that were placed on their land during collectivisation times. Another negative outcome of this aspect is that people that built houses on the land that belonged to someone else, after the end of collectivization regime, ended up with no land around their houses, as it was taken by the original land owners. This brought many conflicts in the village and still this occurs but on a smaller scale than the immediate period after 1989.

The people in this village are simple people, practicing subsistence agriculture which allows them to raise some chickens, pigs and few are raising cows, horses and sheep. As in the previous village, the men are the ones that normally bring income for the household and the woman raise the children and take care of the livestock. The agricultural land work is done by all members of the household who are suitable for work. Like in Lapos, there are few job opportunities in this area since the fall of communism regime and therefore many young men and even women are going abroad to Italy or Spain to seek work. Out-migration, besides the low financial possibilities to work the land, seems to be one of the main reasons that land is abandoned in this area. Similar with Lapos, most of the people over the age of 50 are 'pensionari pe caz de boala' (receiving social pension).

4.2.1 Functional attachment to the villages of Lapos and Prohozesti

Functional attachment regarding the village was expressed through a multitude of indicators (type of benefits) as shown in Table 4.1. The types of benefits are of two types: social benefits (SB) that includes all kinds of immaterial goods that people can obtain from the village and economic benefits (EB) that are all kind of material goods that the village can provide. Furthermore, each of the two category of benefits are divided in other two subcategories, positive satisfactory (PSSB, PSEB) that enhance a high functional attachment and negative satisfactory (NSSB, NSEB) that enhance a low functional attachment. When comparing the level of attachment in the two communities, in the community were more positive satisfactory benefits are mentioned it will be assumed that in that community the functional attachment is higher. In the following I will describe main differences and similarities between the two communities.

 $\textbf{Table 4.1} \ \textbf{Functional attachment to the villages of Lapos and Prohozesti}$

(depicted numbers refers to the amount of responses that counts for each type of the indicators)

32 - Reciprocity*11 (-hardworking and skilled people;- many times my neighbours look after my children people (men) from the village gather in some days and repair the road;- People in this village are close to each other, willing to help and very communicative and thrifty; -the people show lots of interest for the village welfare; - hard workers and serious peoplesometimes I nurse old people from the village; - good and hardworking people that love animals; - everyone works hard; - good people, tidy and thrifty;- I have many friends here; - people in this village help each other much; If I knew that people are busy with cleaning the common pasture I would join them even though I don't have cows, I would do it for pleasure) Valentin, Marius, Mihai, Ionel, Doina, Doinita, Genu, Madalina, Costel, Florian, Geta - Safeness*4 (- protected against floods or any natural calamity; - no danger for floods like happened in other regions; - no conflictsno crop theft; - only a comet could destroy our village, for the rest, nothing) Valentin, Mihai, Doinita; Florian; - Commodity*2 (- good school; - is easy to find wood for sale in our village and also for a good price) Geta, Florian - Recreation*7 (- beautiful location; - wonderful landscapes; - breathing the fresh air coming from the forest that smells like flowers and wood, that feels like	20	- Reciprocity*6 (- no conflicts with my neighbours; - people united and willing to help each other;- I have very good neighbours;- In this village people have been good to me;- I gladly allow people to use the water from my well; - we have good people in this village, helpful, hardworking and caring for each other) Olimpia, Iordache,, Vasile, Dorita, Gheorghe, Stefan - Safeness*1 (- situated far from the main road, the children are safe) Iordache -Commodity *5 (much land around the house;- the bus station is near my home and I have a large backyard where I can raise many poultry;- is located more near to the city than my native village which was much to isolated; - more developed comparing with the regions where there was no collectivisation; - is better located and near the main road comparing with Lapos) Olimpia, Vasile, Dorita, Andrei, Gigel -Recreation*4 (-beautiful natural environment; - more beautiful than my native village; old traditional houses)Olimpia, Andrei, Dorita; Neculai; - Healthiness*4 (healthy life, fresh air, natural food; - river in our village is less polluted than in the past, there is fish again; - waste is managed better than in the past; - the spring water is holly for me) Gigel; Neculai; Busuioc; Ionut,
many times my neighbours look after my children people (men) from the village gather in some days and repair the road;- People in this village are close to each other, willing to help and very communicative and thrifty; -the people show lots of interest for the village welfare; - hard workers and serious peoplesometimes I nurse old people from the village; - good and hardworking people that love animals; - everyone works hard; - good people, tidy and thrifty;- I have many friends here; - people in this village help each other much; If I knew that people are busy with cleaning the common pasture I would join them even though I don't have cows, I would do it for pleasure) Valentin, Marius, Mihai, Ionel, Doina, Doinita, Genu, Madalina, Costel, Florian, Geta - Safeness*4 (- protected against floods or any natural calamity; - no danger for floods like happened in other regions; - no conflictsno crop theft; - only a comet could destroy our village, for the rest, nothing) Valentin, Mihai, Doinita; Florian; - Commodity*2 (- good school; - is easy to find wood for sale in our village and also for a good price) Geta, Florian - Recreation*7 (- beautiful location; - wonderful landscapes;- breathing the fresh air coming from the	20	people united and willing to help each other;- I have very good neighbours;- In this village people have been good to me;- I gladly allow people to use the water from my well; - we have good people in this village, helpful, hardworking and caring for each other) Olimpia, Iordache,, Vasile, Dorita, Gheorghe, Stefan - Safeness*I (- situated far from the main road, the children are safe) Iordache -Commodity *5 (much land around the house;- the bus station is near my home and I have a large backyard where I can raise many poultry;- is located more near to the city than my native village which was much to isolated; - more developed comparing with the regions where there was no collectivisation; - is better located and near the main road comparing with Lapos) Olimpia, Vasile, Dorita, Andrei, Gigel -Recreation*4 (-beautiful natural environment; - more beautiful than my native village; old traditional houses)Olimpia, Andrei, Dorita; Neculai; - Healthiness*4 (healthy life, fresh air, natural food; - river in our village is less polluted than in the past, there is fish again; - waste is managed better than in the past; - the spring water is holly for me) Gigel; Neculai; Busuioc;
clean environment; - beautiful landscape, traditional houses; - beautiful village, there is no other village alike; - everywhere you look, you see the mountains, I would get mad if I had to live in a city, I enjoy being active and living in natural environment. Is very boring living the all-day inside the house like people from the city do) Valentin, Ionel, Doina, Geta, Genu, Madalina, Marius - Healthiness*8 (- the air is clean, is quiet and peaceful being situated far from the main road and the railway; natural environment, the air is less polluted; - the natural environment in Lapos is much cleaner than other villages that are situated near the main road There is no other place in the World that will make me happier; - tasty spring water there is less waste in the village due to the new waste collecting system; - no dirtiness; - tasty water;-very clean; - the environment is very clean here since the new managing waste system and since the oil wells are dissolved) Valentin, Marius, Mihai, Ionel, Doinita, Geta, Genu, Florian		
this village that I am earning some money with maintaining the cemetery; -poor people cannot stand the rich people) Geta, Florian - Missing facilities *3 (Harsh life conditions in the winter due to sloppy road spring water has high solidity; -I want to move to the house I built in the forest region, there I have more space around the house;- no	17	- Social differences * 2 (In the past people where closer to each other because there was no social differences, everyone was equal. Nowadays people are envious, especially poor people that dislike the rich people, that make money abroad; -I find it very demoralizing seeing that people in this village are not united and is a reason for which I might consider to leave this village) Neculai, Gigel Missing facilities*1 (I like more my native village because there we have everywhere asphalt and the village is also closer to the city) Ionut
	environment in Lapos is much cleaner than other villages that are situated near the main road There is no other place in the World that will make me happier; tasty spring water there is less waste in the village due to the new waste collecting system; no dirtiness; tasty water; very clean; the environment is very clean here since the new managing waste system and since the oil wells are dissolved) Valentin, Marius, Mihai, Ionel, Doinita, Geta, Genu, Florian 6 -Social differences*2 (-some people are envying me in this village that I am earning some money with maintaining the cemetery; -poor people cannot stand the rich people) Geta, Florian - Missing facilities *3 (Harsh life conditions in the winter due to sloppy road spring water has high solidity; - I want to move to the house I built in the forest region, there I have more space around the house;- no dispensary in the village) Costica, Doina, Chivuta	environment in Lapos is much cleaner than other villages that are situated near the main road There is no other place in the World that will make me happier; tasty spring water there is less waste in the village due to the new waste collecting system; no dirtiness; tasty water; very clean; the environment is very clean here since the new managing waste system and since the oil wells are dissolved) Valentin, Marius, Mihai, Ionel, Doinita, Geta, Genu, Florian 6 -Social differences*2 (-some people are envying me in this village that I am earning some money with maintaining the cemetery; -poor people cannot stand the rich people) Geta, Florian - Missing facilities *3 (Harsh life conditions in the winter due to sloppy road spring water has high solidity; -I want to move to the house I built in the forest region, there I have more space around the house; - no

	Marius,	-Dirty environment* 11(- in riverine area people are dumping all kinds of waste; - people use to deposit waste along the river; - the riverine area where would be the only possibility to graze the cows is very dirty; - people throw dead animals and smells very bad; - people discard much waste into the river, therefore is very polluted so I prefer to go fishing in other places; - after the revolution was a disaster, everywhere you could see plastic and dead animals, now is a bit better; -I have to keep the garbage bags for months waiting for the tractor to pass by my place; -People throw waste water on the road because there is no sewerage when the waste water get frozen it is even dangerous that people may break their legs; -Our village is like the fifth wheel on a cart: we have water but no sewerage, we have asphalt only half way, everywhere you see plastic on the road) Olimpia, Andrei, Iordache, Dorita, Costelus, Gheorghe, Nicu, Stefan, Ionut, Neculai, Busuioc - Much abandoned land *2(-much of the land that could be cultivated is abandoned which is not that nice to see; - There is nothing to be admired in our village when 50% of the agricultural land in our region is abandoned) Olimpia, Vasile, - Need for pest control*1 (Since people don't have money to apply pest control like on collectivisation time, there are too many snakes and mice on the green areas in our village) Neculai
Attachment indicators	Econom	ic benefits
High satisfaction through economic benefits (PSEB)	10 - Good possibilities for animal husbandry*5 (- pasture is near the village and well maintained; -most of the people are livestock breeders, if you compare the numbers of cows from this village is bigger than other three neighbouring villages put together; - the pasture is also well maintained by some people paid by the city hall; -here we have everything we need: the forest, the pasture, the agricultural land) Marius, Mihai; Doina, Doinita; Genu; No abandoned land* 4 (- people don't abandon the land like in many former-collectivized regions; - in our village there is no abandoned land like in other areas; - no problems, no abandoned land or crop theft like in other villages I know) Mihai, Marius, Ionel, Doinita, - Income possibilities*1 (-There are people in this village which have no time to maintain the cemeteries, so they pay me with money or food products to do this work for them) Geta	a shop and a discotheque; Nicu
Negative satisfaction through economic benefits (NSEB)	- No job opportunities* 2 (- all industry is bankrupt in this region; -all factories are closed in this region, so people return to raising livestock) Chivuta, Costica - No possibilities to sale products *2 (There are many cows in this village but people cannot sale anywhere the milk products, there is no commodity market;- the marketing possibilities are very low) Costica, Marius - Wild boars sometimes destroy the maize fields at the village edge, Valentin - Until 70's the pasture was located in the opposite edge of the village and there the grass quality was better than it is today; Ionel	difficult to find a job, if my health condition would be different I would have searched for a job in another country; - here all the industry is dead, is nothing to do; if I was 30 for sure I would seek for a better place to live; the youth leaves the village seeking for jobs in other countries) Costelus, Nicu, Busuioc -No available pasture*6 (people are forced to feed the cows all year long inside the stable; - I thought of buying a cow but in this village we have no grazing possibilities; - it would be useful to have a pasture closer to the village; - since the people received their land properties back there is no available pasture in the village; - people have

		- Our river is destroying much of the agricultural land, will be necessary a dike; Nicu; Stefan

In the following I will describe the main differences and similarities between the two communities, based upon some of the indicators presented in Table 4.1.

Social benefits: predominant positive satisfaction in Lapos and predominant negative satisfaction in Prohozesti

For both communities there are, in total, five similar types of social benefits (see table 4.1 PSSB) that account for the positive satisfaction with the village: **reciprocity, safeness, commodity, recreation and healthiness** and as well there are a range of negative benefits (see table 4.1 NSSB) that are contrasting these positive benefits and which are different per community. Bellow I will describe mainly the positive benefits and I will mention in parallel the negative benefits that occurred mostly during the interviews and which contribute the most to the differences in the level of functional attachment.

Reciprocity was found as the social benefit contributing the most to the positive attachment to the village among respondents from both communities (n=11 for Lapos and n=6 for Prohozesti). People often referred to the village as being the place where they come in contact with "other people" from the village like their neighbours, friends, or just simply other villagers. Reciprocity was found here to be the ability of place to offer a kind of psychological comfort to the people through the fact that people know, that there are other people in the village that they can rely on. The answers among respondents from both villages were varying, but in general people express the reciprocity function through two aspects: (i) having trust in each other when people talk about having "good neighbours" or that "people are united and willing to help" and (ii) the inspiration people get from each other expressed through expressions like "everyone works hard" or "tidy and thrifty people". The two citations bellow express how important is the 'reciprocity' benefit is for the people from the two villages:

"I feel confident that any time I would be in need for help there are many people willing to do this for me... there where people that will even come at 4.30 hours in the morning to milk the cows for me when I wasn't able to do this by myself." (Mihai, Lapos)

"If you don't have good neighbors, you better move to another place." (Vasile, Prohozesti)

However, not all people are the same and in Lapos and Prohozesti there are few respondents (n=2 per community) telling that people are envious of each other as a response to the difference in social status which is triggered by the opportunities that people got after 1989 to work abroad. In the past people where closer to each other because there was no social differences, everyone was equal.

"Nowadays people are envious especially the poor people that dislike the rich people that make money abroad" (Neculai, Prohozesti).

Gigel, a local that works temporarily in Italy, sees this aspect of 'people being envious' as so problematic that despite his high attachment to the village through other functional benefits, he considered moving permanently to Italy.

Safeness benefit occurred mostly in Lapos where three people mentioned the location of the village as being the main reason that makes them feel out of danger from floods or any other calamities. For example one respondent from Lapos was saying that "only a comet could destroy our village, in rest

nothing". In Prohozesti, the only respondent that mentioned this type of benefit was someone living on a side road and this person considered that living far from the main road it is not dangerous for the children to play on the road. In contrast, for another respondent from Prohozesti his safeness is disturbed by the occurrence of wildlife considered a pest, in the villages green public space:

"Since people don't have money to apply pest control like in the collectivisation times, there are too many snakes and mice on the green areas in our village" (Neculai, Prohozesti)

Thus, safeness in the sense presented above is not triggered by a psychological comfort felt in place but is triggered directly by the physical construct of the place in relation with its location.

Commodity benefits were expressed for reasons that differ more or less per individual. For example, for people from Lapos the availability of fire wood and also a good price for this is a reason to be satisfied with the village. Amongst respondents that have children in the family, having a good school in the village means that they don't need to put extra effort in sending the children to school in a different area.

Having enough space around the house was also found as a reason to determine people to maintain a feeling of closeness to the village or not. For example, Vasile had another house in the past, but immediately after the collapse of the communist system when he got the chance to buy a larger piece of land he built a new house at the edge of the village where he could have more space around the house "to raise poultry". Also in Lapos, although people in general have much land behind their houses, for some like Chivuta, that got the opportunity to build a house in another place with even more space around the house, was a reason to move from the village. But her argument is that she will not move completely because she doesn't want her house from Lapos to become a ruin and also she cares much about the cemetery in the village were all her dear ones are buried (this will be later mentioned as part of emotional attachment).

Other negative elements contrasting 'commodity' is the difficult accessibility to Lapos due to the sloppy road while among respondents from Prohozesti not having asphalt on all roads crossing the village is a reason for people to feel discriminated amongst other villagers that benefit of having asphalt on their road and therefore the negative satisfaction with the village.

Recreational benefits, offered by the village was perceived similarly among respondents from the two villages (n= 7 for Lapos and n=4 for Prohozesti) and comprises of all kinds of elements that are enchanting to see such as "the beautiful landscape", "the mountains around the village", "the old traditional houses".

Opposing the recreational benefit is the "much abandoned land" in Prohozesti which in the view of two respondents, seems to reduce the beauty of the village, thus the recreational function of the village is decreasing:

"Much of the land that could be cultivated is abandoned which is not that nice to see." (Olimpia, Prohozesti)

Healthiness benefits (n=8 for Lapos and n=4 for Prohozesti), for each of the two communities are perceived through three elements in a more or less similar way for the two communities. First of all, the presence of spring water in the village was mentioned as a reason for healthiness offered by the village as people cannot adapt to drink tap water because it is "bleached" and therefore they see the well water as a very "healthy and tasty" alternative. Someone from Prohozesti was even saying that for him the water coming from the well is "holy". Secondly, the village is unpolluted. People from Lapos express their satisfaction through the fact that they believe that because the village is located far from

the main road and the railway there is "no noise", "the air is clean" or "there it is quiet and peaceful". People from Prohozesti showed similar satisfaction through the fact that the industrial areas are far from the village which for them meant that" they leave a healthy lifestyle". Thirdly, the cleanliness of the village seemed very important for people. In both communities it had been many times mentioned but differently perceived, positive in Lapos and negative in Prohozesti. The cleanliness of the village is a very important aspect to talk about because it is the social element that unbalances the level of attachment between the two communities the most. From a total of 17 negative aspects that respondents from Prohozesti see as negative about their environments, 11 referred to the dirtiness of the river area of the village due to poor waste management in the village. The following two images are showing two different spots in Prohozesti were waste was disposed on green areas.



Image 1 Waste disposed on green areas of Prohozesti

In Lapos only one person mentioned the river being polluted by other areas upstream, and no other negative answers were mentioned regarding the cleanness in the village. Nowadays in Lapos there is a tractor which comes once per week to pick up the waste bags which people should place in front of their gates. People in this village said that since this system was introduced 10 years ago, their village is much cleaner: "You don't see any more waste thrown in the old emplacements such as the ravines or the riparian areas". In the following image you can see the tractor that travels through Lapos for collecting the bags with waste.



Image 2 Tractor collecting waste in Lapos

In Prohozesti it is a different story. Many people confirmed that there is indeed such a tractor which is supposed to pick up the waste and for which people pay a certain amount of money. But in fact this tractor does not come often enough. Vasile, from Prohozesti, who works for the regional waste management plant told me what may be the reason for the "improper" waste management in Prohozesti. According to Vasile there was a time when the waste was managed by the regional plant and the tractor used to come once per week and brought the waste to the ecological land fill site. But after a short while the mayor of Poduri Commune got the idea to manage the waste by arranging a tractor from the Public Works to take over this job because he thought that paying the regional service was much too expensive. Since then the waste is very poorly managed. People told that the waste is picked up once in two months in the summertime and in the winter they were not sure, but some confirmed that they didn't see the tractor all winter. Since people do not know the exact day when the tractor will pass by, many are not at home at the right time and miss it, meaning they have to wait other few months. People admitted that this way of managing waste was better than nothing, because otherwise the people would start throwing their waste into the ravines and in the riparian area as they used to do in the immediate period after the end of communist regime. Most of the people from Prohozesti showed dissatisfaction with this waste management system. For example Ionut who has a little baby is very unpleased with this way of managing the waste because "it is not hygienic and may spread infections", he said "should I wait several months with used pampers in plastic bags...this is just insane".

According to Busuioc from Prohozesti, the reason that people had thrown the waste by the river for such long time was because they had no space around the house where they could burn the waste, as there was no other waste management system available in the village in the period after 1989. Busuioc argued that this occurrence had to do with the structural changes caused by the collectivisation system and he uses a very convincing expression:

"During collectivisation, people got only 250 m2 to build a house, it was almost impossible even to build a WC in your garden but to allocate some space for burning the waste..." (Busuioc, Prohozesti)

Another reason for the people in Prohozesti to not be satisfied with their village was related to the plastic recycling bin in the village which was placed for a long time besides a drinking water well used by locals. Iordache believes that the quality of the drinking water was influenced because the plastic bottles were not being washed before being thrown in the bin, so the dirt could reach the groundwater. So again the quality of drinking water had been mentioned. In the following image you can see the plastic recycling bin in Prohozesti and the fact that this bin is not properly used.



Image 3 Plastic recycling bin in Prohozesti

Economic benefits: predominant positive satisfaction in Lapos and predominant negative satisfaction in Prohozesti

The economic benefits identified to influence the functional attachment are of two kinds, some influencing positive the functional attachment mostly identified in Lapos: good possibilities for animal husbandry, no abandoned land or alternative income possibilities and other benefits influencing negatively the functional attachment and among those some are similar in both villages such as no job opportunities, others being different per village such as no available pasture in Prohozesti. The benefits that account most for the differences between the two communities in functional attachment will be discussed in parallel bellow:

For both communities, people admitted that it is very difficult to find a job in the area; especially young people have difficulties in finding a job. This negative satisfactory characteristic of the village is perceived differently in the two communities, in Prohozesti younger respondents are solving this problem by intending to leave the country and seek a job abroad, while in Lapos people try to reorientate to other rural activities which could bring them some economic benefits, such as raising livestock. Valentine told that after the collapse of communist system many people lost their jobs and therefore started raising livestock which could earn a very good income, as was told by most of the respondents from this village. The income is earned through direct products obtained from the livestock but also through incentives from the state. But raising livestock is linked to the **availability of pasture** in the village and this aspect was found as influencing the satisfaction through economic benefits in a positive sense for the respondents from Lapos and negative for the respondents from Prohozesti.

In Lapos, in general, most respondents are satisfied with their village through the good opportunities for raising livestock expressed in words like "the pasture is well maintained" or "pasture is near the village" except one respondent namely Ionel who told:

"Until the 70's the pasture was located on the opposite edge of the village and there the grass quality was better than it is today." (Ionel, Lapos)

The actual pasture from Lapos is maintained by the local people (3 days of maintenance work per cow or horse that attend the pasture), or by paying money to a group of people arranged by the city hall for maintaining the pastures in the whole of Darmanesti commune. Although "there is no commodity market" in the area for the products from the livestock and that people suffer from a loss off maize crops due to the occasional wild boar that attacks the maize fields, almost each of the households in Lapos is able to gain enough fodder to raise "at least a cow, a horse and some sheep". In the following image you can see a view of the pasture in Lapos.



Image 4 View of a part of the pasture in Lapos

In contrast, people from Prohozesti show low satisfaction through economic benefits, and the main reason is due to the fact that in this village there is no available pasture (n=6). There is one communal pasture but it is located too far from the village and therefore the few people that own cows or horses are forced to feed the livestock indoors through the entire year. For example someone from Prohozesti told how she tried to bring the cows to this pasture and after a few months the cows got very skinny and sick for having to walk so long. More than that there is no livestock herder in the village as no people are willing to let the cows walk that far and therefore anyone who wants to must walk the livestock to the pasture themselves.

None of the respondents from Prohozesti who owned cows or horses make use of the pasture; instead they feed the animals all year long indoors or depending on possibilities let them graze in their own garden after the harvesting season has ended.

The unavailability of pasture land has influenced people not to raise livestock, which means that people must pay for the milk and meat products which they would otherwise have obtained from the livestock. For example I found that amongst the young respondents from Prohozesti that people are willing to raise cows tor have fresh milk for their children and they admit that the only impediment to doing this is the unavailability of pasture in their village. During the collectivization period the riparian area was used by the people from Prohozesti as a cattle grazing area. But as I mentioned before, nowadays, the riparian area has become a kind of land fill as people are depositing their garbage in this area and therefore the possibility for grazing in this village is very low. People are afraid that letting the cows graze in such a waste infested place as the riparian, could cause the cow's death. More than that, people also acknowledge the necessity for a dike to protect the agricultural land plots near the river against floods which automatically implies a better maintenance of the grazing patches along the river.

In Figure 4.1 we can see the differences between the two communities in level of functional attachment with the village. These differences are looked upon the amount of positive social and economic VS negative benefits that people in the two communities associate with the village. With this figure we can see that both socially and economically people from Lapos seem to obtain more benefits from their village when compared with people from Prohozesti were these benefits are rather seen negative or they do not exist.

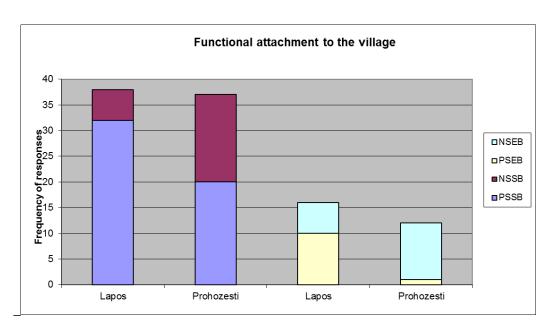


Figure 4.1 Differences in level of functional attachment to the village of Lapos and Prohozesti

4.2.3 Emotional attachment to the villages of Lapos and Prohozesti

In Lapos as well in Prohozesti most people expressed emotional attachment through two types of positive feelings: feelings of identity and feelings of passion and among respondents from Prohozesti also one negative feeling was expressed, namely feelings of concern. In Table 4.2 you will find the range of feelings expressed in each of the two communities.

Table 4.2 Emotional attachment to the villages of Lapos and Prohozesti

(depicted numbers refers to the amount of responses that counts for each type of the indicators)

Village		Lapos		Prohozesti	
Attachment indicators (feelings)	Positive Emotional attachment				
Identity	16	- being born and raised in the village*5 (- growing up in this mountain village gave me the possibility to learn so much about the land, the animals and the forest, everything I know; - I grew up in this village; - the place where you are born and raised is the place you feel the most attached; - here I was born; - here are my childhood memories; - here I went to school) Valentin, Mihai, Doina, Costica, Doinita - Family bond*8 (-I will never leave my place, here are my ancestors, all my relatives, my people; - I am living in my parent's house; my father lives in this village; - here is the cemetery where all the dear ones are buried; here are my parents; - all my relatives are here; - when I was living in the city, I was feeling very lonely; - By living in my native village I show respect and honour to my ancestors) Valentin, Mihai, Ionel, Doina, Chivuta, Madalina, Florian, Genu	12	- being born and raised in the village*5 - the place where I was born; - here I feel at home; - born here and raised here, I am used to this place; - Here I was born; - Here I was born and here I want to die, Where should I go else?) Andrei, Neculai, Costelus, Nicu, Strefan - Family bond*4 (- my family, this is my life; - soon I will be buried together with other 8 souls of my ancestors and my wife;- here are my ancestors;- I never thought of moving again from this village after I settled here with my husband) Vasile, Gheorghe, Nicu, Olimpia - being familiar with the village and the villagers*3 (-I am representing the elderly in this village; - here are my friends; - I lived the biggest part of my life here and I know more people here than even in my native village) Gheorghe, Vasile, Dorita	

		here I know many people;- I am familiar with the people,;- this is my home now after 40 years of inhabiting here) Madalina, Genu, Geta			
Passion	3	- I wouldn't conceive to leave my village not even chased by dogs, Costica -I advised my boys to marry girls from the village; Chivuta - I feel in my own element here. I enjoy the country life style and raising livestock. Marius	3	 - my big passion for raising animals made me come back to the village; Andrei - I like country life style; therefore I decided to come back to my village after I was living in a city for about 24 years; Nicu - I worked hard to build a house in this village; Iordache 	
Attachment indicators (feelings)		Negative emotional attachment			
concern	0		4	- Aging of the population*4(-People are very poor and desperate in our region, men are hanging themselves and women and kids are leaving abroad to find jobs; - I am revolted that the youth leaves the village and I blame the state for this because they don't create jobs for us; - I feel concerned what is going to happen with our village when all the young people are leaving; - youth search for easy work in	

In the following I will describe the main differences and similarities between the two communities, based upon some of the indicators presented in Table 4.2.

Feelings of identity (n=16 in Lapos and n=12 in Prohozesti) were most expressed amongst respondents from the two communities which indicates that this type of feeling mainly accounts for their emotional attachment. People in both communities identify themselves with the village through three factors. First people identify with the village by being born and raised in the village which means that the village contributed in shaping people's sense of who they are as they went to school here or that they could learn land use practices and animal husbandry:

"Growing up in this mountain village gave me the possibility to learn so much about the land, the animals and the forest, everything I know" (Valentin, Lapos)

Second, people identify with the village through the **family bond** (n=8 for Lapos and n=4 for Prohozesti). Especially in Lapos a high number of respondents mentioned their "ancestors", "parents", or "relatives" as being an important reason that they feel attached to the village, as they share the same place. One respondent from Lapos said "here is the cemetery where all the dear ones are buried" and another form Prohozesti said something similar: "Soon I will be buried together with other 8 souls of my ancestors and my wife", which shows that even if the family members are not there anymore, the people still have the mental support of knowing that they are buried in the same village. Another respondent from Lapos expressed the importance of being close to the family by comparing the present times with times when he was living far from the village and he felt lonely:

"The village attracts me because here I was born and because all my relatives are here; when I was living in the city I was feeling very lonely."

Third, people identify themselves with the village through being in a place that they are familiar with the physical aspects of the village but also familiar with the other people from the village. Being familiar with the village is because people spent there the biggest part of their life, either because spent all their life in this place, either for spending a great deal of their life in the village and this is the case of people that married, in the village:

```
"This is my home now after 40 years of inhabiting here." (Geta, Lapos)
```

"I lived the biggest part of my life here and I know more people here than in my native village." (Dorita, Prohozesti)

Feelings of passion (n=3 in Lapos and Prohozesti) arises mostly from the passion people have for the country life style which those people associate with a village:

```
-"I like the country lifestyle; therefore I decided to come back to my village after I lived in a city for about 24 years" (Nicu, Prohozesti)
```

As well the passion that was expressed through the efforts that people make for the village, in order to ensure continuity in the village, by contributing to the physical aspects of the village "working hard to build a house in this village" or contributing to the social aspects of the village:

```
"I advised my boys to marry girls from the village" (Chivuta, Lapos)
```

or just simply being very determined to continue living in the village:

```
"I wouldn't conceive to leave my village not even if chased by dogs." (Costica, Lapos)
```

At the other side, among people from Prohozesti there was also one type of negative feelings expressed **feelings of concern** of the fact that the human population in the village is aging. This has to do with poverty in the area that makes young people seek jobs abroad. The statement of Vasile from Prohozesti shows the serious implications poverty can have for the village:

```
"People are very poor and desperate in our region, men are hanging themselves and women and children are going abroad to find jobs."
```

During the period I was doing interviews in Prohozesti, while I was walking towards the house of someone I had scheduled an interview with, I saw many people agitated in the street and someone told me that a crime had taken place in the village, that a young man killed his father while they were fighting about money issues. The young man who had killed his father was the same person I had scheduled the interview with. This happening and the respondent's answers lead me to think that indeed the level of poverty in this area is a serious problem that brings people to desperate situations. This then makes people from the village frustrated and concerned at the same time:

```
"I am revolted that the youth lives the village and I blame the state because they don't create jobs for us." (Neculai, Prohozesti)
```

Figure 4.2 depicts the occurrence of emotions in the two communities. In this Figure we can see that concerning emotional attachment to the village there are no big differences between the two communities. In both communities people attach emotionally thorough similar type of feelings and that are mainly feelings of identity. The only difference is that in Prohozesti there are few people expressing one type of negative feelings namely concern while in Lapos these type of feeling didn't occurred at all.

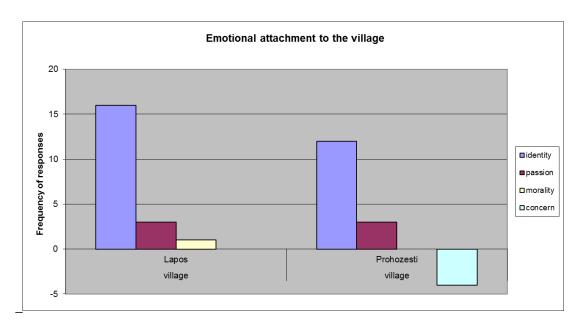


Figure 4.2 Differences in level of emotional attachment to the village of Lapos and Prohozesti

4.2.4 Summary of findings on attachment to the villages of Lapos and Prohozesti

Functional attachment to the village, in both communities, is a matter of being satisfied with both the physical aspects as well social aspects present in the village. By comparing the two communities we can see that people value the village through similar elements but the differences are triggered by the quality of those elements.

In terms of social benefits, what is most important for people is to have is a clean environment in the village, which seems to give them satisfaction in terms of: healthiness and recreation. The difference in the way the waste is managed in the two communities seems to make the differences in people's perception of a clean environment. The amount of positive answers among respondents from Lapos is evidence that an effective waste management system is very important for maintaining a clean environment. But in Prohozesti, besides the poor waste management system there is another factor that adds to the "dirtiness" in the village and that is people's habits of throwing waste in the common green areas instead of sorting it and burning it as most of people claim to do when the garbage is not picked up. Here comes one of the influences of the former collectivization system in Prohozesti. As explained in the results, due to the restructuring of the land properties inside the village during the collectivization period, people don't have the space around their house to burn the waste and therefore they eventually started to dispose it in green areas. Another important element for satisfaction amongst the people from both communities with their village is to have a good relationship with the other people living in the village. And reviewing the large amount of positive answers regarding people's view of other people, we can conclude that this element leads to satisfaction for the people living in the two communities. However, there are also some threats to this element such as feelings of "envy" triggered by the unbalance of wealth created by economic migration, where the ones who remain in the village, are eventually less well off than those returning from working abroad. Other social elements that lead to satisfaction are more a matter of being adapted to the conditions offered by the village: in Lapos people give more value to being at a high altitude which gives them the confidence that they are safe from any calamities, while in Prohozesti, the easy access to the city makes people appreciate the commodities offered through the location of the village.

In terms of economic benefits, we saw that in both communities, the villages are located in a unfavorable area and people suffer from the lack of opportunities to find a job which means they have to rely more on utilizing the land, as a livelihood. In Lapos, despite the fact that there is no commodity market, people find it profitable to raise livestock and this is possible due to the availability of a common pasture. In Prohozesti, although some people express their willingness in raising livestock, this possibility is narrowed by a lack of pasture areas in the village. Moreover, the old location where people used to graze their livestock in the past, respectively the riverine area, is not used anymore because of the presence of waste that many people have thrown there.

Thus, in both communities people seek for similar social and economic benefits but for the fact that in Lapos both types of benefits are more satisfactory compared with Prohozesti then the functional attachment level is inclined more towards Lapos. The reasons that the village of Prohozesti is not satisfying people's social and economic are partly due to the ineffective local administrative system and partly by the structural changes that occurred during the collectivization period.

Emotional attachment to the village for both communities is mostly a matter of leaving in the place that they are born and raised, a matter of being close to their dear ones and a matter of living in a place where they are familiar with the physical elements and a matter of being familiar with the people that inhabit there. These three factors make people identify with the village and seem to create the most profound bond that people have to the village despite the fact that functionally speaking there is room for improvement.

4.3 Findings - The Agricultural Land Properties (ALPs)

4.3.1 Introducing the second spatial dimension, the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti

ALPs from Lapos

In Lapos, being situated at relatively high altitude, the availability of ALP's is limited by the fact that there are many ravines and much of ALP's is sloppy land. Therefore people cultivate mostly fodder such as hay, lucerne, alfalfa and clover and on small scale maize, beets and pumpkins. The fodder is used for the livestock which is to be found in large numbers in this village, as almost all families in this village raise sheep, cows, horses, pigs and poultry. Besides, it is common that people reserve a small plot nearby home for cultivating vegetables for their own use.

Among the 13 respondents from Lapos everyone owns ALP's, which usually is inherited and in some occasions bought. The ALP's are divided into several plots and are located at distances between 200 m and 5 km from people's home. There are some exceptions: people like Madalina and Chivuta possess large inherited hay plots at a distance of 20 km from the village. The land plots are separated by 'haturi' which are native vegetation paths of about 0,5 m and are used to make a clear division between the land properties. Sometimes along the 'haturi' there is also a fence to enclose the plot which is useful in the autumn when people use to bring the cows, horses or the sheep to graze on the remaining fodder after the yielding season.

The maintenance of ALPs is done most of the time by horses, except for ploughing and harrowing the soil which is mostly done with the tractor (except small plots where the horses are used instead). Due to the large amount of livestock in this village, people get enough manure which is used as fertilizer for the ALPs.

AlPs from Prohozesti

The situation in Prohozesti is different from Lapos as it is located on a plain area. As there is more plain land available in general people own more ALP's than people in Lapos do (pers. Comm. Mrs. Popa, rural development department Poduri Commune). In this region the number of cows, sheep and horses has been reduced significantly since the occurrence of the collectivization system; therefore people are used to cultivating maize and other fodder which can be fed to pigs and poultry and not that much for hay cultivation. As in Lapos, people in Prohozesti use a small plot near the house for cultivating vegetables. The ALP's in Prohozesti are also divided into more plots and are located at distances between 200 m and 10 km from people's homes. Because there are not many horses in the village and also no cars, people have to hire tractors for maintenance work and for transporting the yields.

Each of the 13 respondents in Prohozesti owns ALPs, which are usually inherited and in some occasions bought. All the ALPs in this village (except the small plots of 0,25 ha per family that are held as private property), were under the collectivization system between 1962 and 1989. Nowadays people regained their ALPs but there are some changes caused by the former collectivization regime as told by the respondents from this village:

- The "haturi" (a narrow path with native vegetation between two ALPs) are not there as they used to be before the collectivization period; therefore the delimitation of ALPs is done through marks such as stones or poles which can be very easily removed. Once the 'haturi' where destroyed, also the trees that used to grow aside the ALPs were removed, therefore the land fields are very open with no shade.
- The soil is used to the application of chemical fertilizers and after so many years of being exposed to these types of fertilizers in the collectivization times. Because people are poor (average salary is 200 Euro/ person) and the price of chemical fertilizers is high (100 Euro/ha), people cannot afford to buy the chemical fertilizers needed and therefore the crop productivity is much lower compared to what the people were used to during the collectivization period. Besides, in Prohozesti it is hard to find manure because of the low number of livestock (pers. comm. Mrs. Popa, rural development department Poduri Commune).

4.3.2 Functional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti

In the same manner I proceeded in describing the findings for the village, I will proceed also for the ALPs, by classifying the findings according to the attachment indicators as presented in Table 4.3. The positive social and economic benefits (PSSB, PSEB) indicate a high functional attachment while the negative social and economic benefits (NSSB, NSEB) indicate a low functional attachment in relation to ALPs. The more positive indicators among the respondents, the higher the functional attachment at the community level will be considered.

 $\textbf{Table 4.3} \ \textbf{Functional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti}$

(depicted numbers refers to the amount of responses that counts for each type of the indicators)

ALPs	<u>Lapos</u>			<u>Prohozesti</u>	
Attachment indicators		Social I	oene	enefits	
		-Recreation*5 (- working the land makes me feel fit;- I relax being in the garden, the smell of the flowered trees in the spring is unique; - being in the garden and just sitting on the grass and looking around relaxes me very much working the land in claca is a moment of fun; - a walk to check on the land is an extra reason to be away from home on Sunday) Chivuta, Costel, Geta, Madalina, Costel		-Recreation*1 (working the land in claca helps me discard my frustrations) Neculai, -Healthiness* 3 (- what should I eat else, should I buy ecological products; - home-made products and fresh meat are more tasty than what I can buy; - for the healthy food I maintain the land) Andrei, Gigel, Nicu	
Positive satisfaction through social benefits (PSSB)	<u>16</u>	-Healthiness*7 (- food is healthier and tastier; -I can be sure about what I cultivate; -I can live a healthy life; -no comparison term between tomatoes from my garden and the tomatoes from commerce; - you should come in the summer to taste my tomatoes; - eat ecologic food; -food is very healthy and tasty because we don't apply chemicals) Valentin, Marius, Mihai, Doinita, Geta Chivuta, Costica	<u>4</u>		
		-Commodity*4 (near the houseno need for any pest control; - I prefers the land I have today because is compact my parents had everywhere around the village small plots which made it more difficult for them at the time to maintain this land; - satisfied with the land especially because it is compact;- I can see it from my yard) Valentin; Mihai, Chivuta, Florian			
Negative satisfaction through social benefits (NSSB)	<u>0</u>		<u>3</u>	- Harsh conditions*1 (There are only barren hills with no shade; therefore it is very hard to work all day long in the sun) Vasile - Need for pest control*2 (- I am afraid that letting the path ways unploughed there will grow thistle; -I have to buy every year new seeds, - On collectivization time the seeds were treated and was enough to sow once in couple of year, nowadays I must buy new seeds every year and even though grows only weeds) Iordache, Vasile	
Attachment indicators	Economic benefits		nefits		
Positive satisfaction through economic benefits (PSEB)	<u>6</u>	- Source of revenue *6 (- helps my family like many others in this village to carry on our livelihood in a decent way; - all three plots are suitable for producing hay; - receive some incentives from the state, money that I invest in livestock normally; - important source of revenue; - the agriculture land creates the possibility for my family to raise some animals; - all the vegetables we need we produce in our garden) Valentin, Marius, Mihai, Ionel, Doina, Costica	<u>5</u>	- Source of revenue *5 (- satisfied with the quality of land received some incentives for the last 2 years; - the land enables me to raise many livestock;- source of revenue which adds to the income I earn periodically in Italy; - the agricultural land allows me to have a decent life; - important source of revenue) Olimpia, Andrei, Gigel, Gheorghe, Busuioc,	
Negative satisfaction through	<u>10</u>	- Low production of some crop types*9 (- much investment and low profit; - the harvest is not enough through the winter; - need machines and chemicals to	<u>12</u>	- Low productivity* 8 (-need to by extra fodder for the amount of livestock; - I need to buy some extra fodder every year; -You don't fertilize, you get nothing	

economic	increase productivity; - yields are not enough from one
benefits (NSEB)	year until the next year; -suitable for producing hay but
	not for maizeproduction depends on the weather; -
	other crops that are cultivated in this region such as bits,
	potatoes, beans and pumpkins are not enough throughout
	the year; - the yields are not always enough, maize we
	need to buy in some years; - more suitable for hey than
	other crops) Mihai, Geta, Genu, Madalina, Costel
	,Marius, Doina, Costica, Genu
	- Better agricultural land in other places*2 (- In
	Ruginesti during collectivisation there was high

- Better agricultural land in other places*2 (- In Ruginesti during collectivisation there was high production not like here; - here is no land like in south)

Geta, Florian

production, imagine that in the past from the same land plot I used to get ten times more amount of corn.; - such maize, such cabbage on collectivisation time....nowadays you don't get even a quarter of the past production; - don't bring any benefits, rather high investments;- in nowadays is very expensive to maintain the land... half of my land is good quality and half not; - during collectivization there was high productivity, today we get no profit at all; - working the agricultural land is not worthy) Gigel, Iordache, Vasile, Dorita, Costelus, Gheorghe, Nicu, Ionut

- Harvest theft*3 (- all my beans got stolen last year; harvest got stolen on collectivisation time and gets stolen also in nowadays, even from my back garden; there is crop theft occurring in the village, especially from the plots located near the roads) Iordache, Nicu, Neculai
- Better agricultural land in other places* 1(-Comparing with other regions, the land is not that productive but by applying chemicals or manure gives good harvest) Neculai,

In the following I will describe the main differences and similarities between the two communities, based upon some of the indicators presented in Table 4.3.

Social benefits: predominant positive satisfaction in Lapos and poorly expressed in Prohozesti

There are in total 3 types of social benefits: **recreation, healthiness, and commodity** (see Table 4.3 PSSB), all were mentioned in Lapos and the first two were mentioned in Prohozesti. In total, in Lapos social benefits were mentioned 16 times, whereas in Prohozesti social benefits where mentioned at only 4 occasions. In both communities healthiness was most frequently mentioned.

Recreation is the first listed type of social benefits through which people from Lapos show positive satisfaction (n=5) compared to people from Prohozesti (n=1). This type of benefit was expressed in Lapos as a multitude of relaxing activities that people associate with ALPs besides the work. Someone told that working the land is a way to keep fit through maintaining an active lifestyle, and other people enjoy the smell and the view that you can find in the garden. Some people do not have other financial possibilities to visit other places for recreation during non-working days:

"Taking a walk to check on the land on Sunday (non-working day for religious reasons in Romania), is a reason to be away from home." (Costel, Lapos)

But also people like Madalina, who can afford to do other fun activities, claim to enjoy very much working the land especially when more people are joining in claca which for her is a "moment of fun".

In Prohozesti, the only respondent whose answer was included in this category was Neculai who referred to claca while working the land as being a tool to "discard the frustrations" because of the interaction with other people that are willing to listen to his problems. The reason that people in Prohozesti do not see land as a recreational site may be explained by the sayings of Vasile from Prohozesti who explained about the difficult conditions while people work the land. His main

argument is the fact that there are no trees to produce shade and people have to work on open fields, which is not that pleasant:

"There are only barren hills with no shade; therefore it is very hard to work all day long in the sun." (Vasile, Prohozesti)

The reason that there are no trees on the fields is due to what happened during the collectivization period when the main idea was to create as much as possible productive land, therefore the pathways which used to separate the land properties and the trees that were growing along the pathways were taken away:

"I had 12 walnut trees in one place and when collectivization started they came with the tractors and snatch all these trees which were planted by my grandpa." (Gheorghe, Prohozesti)

Another aspect regarding the pathways is that after such a long absence on people's land, is also not easy to re-establish those pathways nowadays because people don't see the utility of it. For example, Iordache from Prohozesti considers that the path ways between land properties are not useful because first they occupy much of the land that could be cultivated and Iordache prefers having "as much as possible arable land" and another reason is that "land owners get in conflict because no one takes initiative to clean those path ways". Iordache is so determined to exclude these path ways from his land property that he even uses the spade to dig the soil that is difficult to reach with the plough. These aspects I mentioned above regarding the pathways give a good example of how the structural changes that occurred on the ALPs during the collectivization period are today influencing the level of satisfaction with the ALPs and therefore lower the level of attachment to ALPs amongst people from former collectivized areas.

In the following double image we can see the differences mentioned above regarding the agricultural land fields. Left side is an image with land fields in Lapos where we can see a clear delimitation between the land properties (path ways) and also shade trees. Right side is an image with land fields in Prohozesti where no delimitation between the land properties (path ways) and no shade trees can be seen.



Image 5 Differences between agricultural land fields in Lapos and Prohozesti.

Healthiness was most frequently mentioned social benefit in Lapos (n=7) and less frequently mentioned in Prohozesti (n=3). The strongest argument among respondents from Lapos is the healthy

food they produce for themselves and for the livestock which is the product of organic farming. By not applying chemical fertilizers, but manure, people believe that they produce "ecological food" and they also believe that by feeding the livestock with self-produced fodder, in turns the livestock will produce also healthy products:

"I am attached to the land because I can live a healthy life. What you eat is what you become, thus better eat chicken with healthy bones to get strong bones yourself." (Mihai, Lapos)

In Prohozesti, some people mentioned the tasty and healthy food as being the reason for maintaining the land, but only one of the three respondents told of the negative influence of the chemical fertilizers on the quality of food and fodder. The other two respondents, although they admit that they use chemical fertilizers, still believe they produce healthy food which in their view it can be comparable to "ecological products".

"For the healthy food I maintain the land, I make pickles, jams... I would prefer manure but I use chemical fertilizers because is very difficult to find manure in the village with few people that raise livestock." (Nicu, Prohozesti)

Commodity is an extra type of benefit that makes people from Lapos (n=4) more satisfied with the ALPs than people from Prohozesti where none of the respondents mentioned this type of social benefit. There are three characteristics of the ALPs that trigger satisfaction among respondents from Lapos.

First, people mentioned the compactness of land, which is referred to as having the land properties as much as possible close to each other. For example, Mihai from Lapos told that he prefers the land as it is today than it was during his parents time. Mihai had the possibility to buy a large plot in one place and even though this land is further away from the village compared with the small inherited plots spread around the village, he claims to feel more attached to the land he bought and the reason is because it is as already mentioned 'the compactness' of the land.

"I prefer the land I have today because it is compact. My parents had small plots all arround the village which made it more difficult for them at the time to maintain this land." (Mihai, Lapos)

Second, people in Lapos seem to be satisfied when having the land located near their homes which gives them the possibility to check up on it often, implying less travel costs, and people can better maintain the land, for example making hay which requires certain drying period and also hay need to be gathered before raining.

"I see my land all the time, is so closed to my home that I can see it from my yard." (Florian, Lapos)

Third, people in Lapos believe that there is no need for pest control which as well implies less trouble with the ALPs, therefore the commodity benefit:

"Here is no need for pest control, there is no such thing in our village" (Valentin, Lapos).

At the other side, in Prohozesti people have rather reasons to feel incommode with their land as it gives them much trouble. One such trouble is the occurrence of crop pests. For example, Iordache and Vasile told about the thistle that grows much in this area since people don't have money to apply herbicides as it was used in the past. Iordache told that that he is afraid that by allowing the pathways to re-establish aside the ALPs, more thistles will grow which will annoy him when weeding the maize.

Economic benefits: predominant negative satisfaction in Lapos and predominant negative in Prohozesti

In general, in both communities people expressed rather negative satisfaction with the economic benefits that can be obtain from the ALPs than positive benefits (see table 4.3, NSEB). In the following, I will present some of the indicators that are the main reasons for the low economic satisfaction with the ALPs.

In Lapos (n=8), there is one main aspect mentioned that make people be negative satisfied with the ALPs and that is that in this village not all crops grow well, especially maize seems to be a problem. Most suitable to be produced in this village is the hay which is the basic food for big livestock mainly cows, horses and sheep, and therefore people prefer to raise those in large number and few pigs and poultry which require greater amounts of maize, pumpkins, potatoes and beets which also don't grow that well in this village. For example, Mihai from Lapos told that he needs, every year, to buy around 3000kg extra maize for the number of livestock he has; nevertheless, he is thankful for what he has. He said that the region is not so favourable for the maize, although if he would have the land he would gladly invest on maize crop. But until now he could manage very well and be able to farm a considerable number of animals: 10 cows, 6-8 pigs, 2 horses, many poultry and many sheep.

One reason that those crops don't grow well is the poor soil quality which was thought to be better in other regions as told by two who respondents that used to live in other parts of Romania and compared the soil quality in the two regions:

"In Ruginesti during collectivization there was high production not like here." (Geta, Lapos)

"Here is no land like in south, but what we can do, we adapt to what we have." (Florian, Lapos)

The other reason for low crop productivity is the sloping terrain which makes the ALPs more suitable for the hay production.

Although, people from Lapos in general admit that what they produce it is not enough to ensure the necessary food and fodder requirements for the year, they don't see this as a reason to abandon the land, rather they seem adapted to the situation and they continue believing that by "God's will" they will get enough rain, thus enough yields. For example Valentine from Lapos talked about his plum trees which are important for tuica (specific alcoholic drunk) production. Those trees have not yielded fruits in many years but people had patience and hoped that "God will do a miracle". The expected miracle happened last year when:

"The plums trees yielded as many fruits as for ten years and all the following years we received the reward of labour." (Valentin, Lapos)

In Prohozesti (n=12), the first impression I got when listening to the people talking about their ALPs is that the land is not what it used to be during the collectivization period and this can be seen in people's expressions:

"Our soil is used to having chemical fertilizers added after so many years of use during the collectivization period. If you don't fertilize, you get hardly any production. Imagine that in the past, from the same land plot, I used to get ten times the amount of corn." (Vasile, Prohozesti)

"Such maize, such cabbage in during collectivization times....nowadays you don't get even a quarter of the past production." (Dorita, Prohozesti)

With other words, people are used to high production and when they cannot reach the same production levels as they were used to in the past, then it is a reason to not be satisfied and rather to complain that it is "too much investment to maintain the land" or "working the agricultural land is not worthy" or that "today we don't get profit at all".

But not only the low productivity is a problem, a second reason mentioned among respondents from Prohozesti for low satisfaction with ALPs is the **crop theft** on the ALPs near the road and also from people's back gardens:

"Harvest got stolen in collectivization times and gets stolen also nowadays, even from my back garden" (Nicu, Prohozesti)

In Prohozesti people told that during the collectivization period the amount of harvest they received for themselves every year was one quarter of what they were producing and that this was a reason for people to start stealing from the total harvest so they would have enough to eat.

Olimpia told me a story about the collectivization period which exemplifies this remark. At that time Olimpia was maintaining a potato culture. Because the weather was very favourable, she obtained a very good harvest that was above the expected rate. The people that obtained something above the production quota would receive 40% of the extra harvest. When she went home to bring some extra bags some women from the village went to collect the potatoes left unharvest which were not too much, just few kg potatoes. When they finished collecting those potatoes they saw at distance that the guards where approaching and being scared they hid the potatoes in mound of extra potatoes belonging to Olimpia. The guard saw something and got suspicions and when Olimpia returned from home with the bags they started questioning her about the hidden potatoes. Of course Olimpia had no clue what had happened but none the less she got in trouble. She was asked to see the authorities and there they told that she should tell the names of the 3 women from the village who had stolen potatoes belonging to the state and if she wouldn't tell them she would lose the rights to the 40% of the extra harvest that she had harvested. In the case she would submit this false testimony; the women would be put in prison. Then Olimpia told to the authorities that she didn't see anything and she was not going to ruin the life of three families in the village for some potatoes. This example shows on the one side that indeed people learn to steal crops during the collectivisation period but also that despite the sayings in literature that people were turned against each other, this example proves the opposite it true, that people were actually united.

The occurrence of crop thefts was also found to be a problem in other former collectivized communities such as Sesuri (n=4) and Cernu (n=1) were all respondents I interviewed in these two communities confirmed the occurrence of crop theft in the village. Thus, it is a general occurrence that takes place in former collectivized communities and not in the non-collectivized areas. Another possible reason for the difference is the fact that Lapos is situated far from the main road which may imply that the difficult access to the crops is diminishing the crop theft. But people from Prohozesti believe that actually these are villagers that are stealing the crops and not people from other regions. Thus, crop theft that occurs in Prohozesti and confirmed also in other former collectivized communities is a habit that people learned during collectivization times and that nowadays some people in these communities continue to steal and that contributes to the negative satisfaction levels of attachment to ALPs expressed by people in Prohozesti.

In Figure 4.3 we can see the difference between the two communities in level of functional attachment with the ALPs. This difference is looked upon the amount of positive social and economic VS negative benefits that people in the two communities associate with the ALPs. The difference between

the two communities is that in general in Lapos there are more positive benefits associated with the ALPs than in Prohozesti. Although the economic benefits are seen predominant negatively in both communities, in Lapos people are most satisfied with the social benefits offered by the ALPs while in Prohozeti the social benefits are overlooked by the economic benefits.

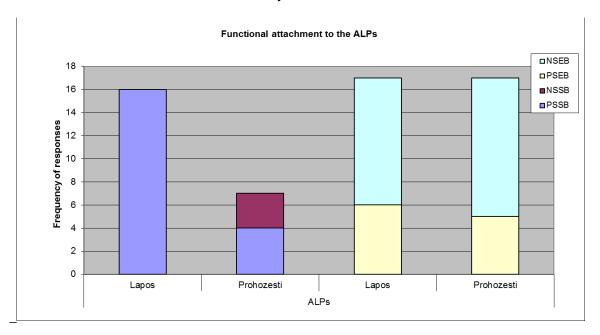


Figure 4.3 Differences in level of functional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti

4.3.3 Emotional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti

The emotional attachment attributed to the ALPs was expressed mostly through verbal feelings of two different categories; some feelings such as: identity, passion and morality are thought to express 'positive emotional attachment' and other feelings such as: concern, inability, and indifference are thought to express 'negative emotional attachment'. In general in both communities 'positive emotional attachment' feelings dominated the answers.

Table 4.4 Emotional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti

(depicted numbers refers to the amount of responses that counts for each type of the indicators)

<u>ALPs</u>		<u>Lapos</u>		<u>Prohozesti</u>	
Attachment indicators		Positive emotio		l attachment	
identity	<u>6</u>	- if you don't work the land you are not a real villager; Valentin; - who really like working the land and raising animals, will never stop doing this kind of work; Mihai - without land it is no point to live in a village; Costica - I want to keep something with me that restores my	3	This was my destiny to work the land, I wasn't an intellectual person who would be able to work somewhere else, and so like a good worker I am devoted to the land; Olimpia. - I was able to buy the land around the house makes me feel very attached to it because is something I worked very hard for: Gigel - I was for a long time the servant on my own land, now I	

		<u> </u>		
passion	11	memories, land is a part of me) Madalina - the land is my origins, my life is built around this land; Genu - from ground I am born in ground I will be buried; Florian Simple attraction* 11 (- really like working the land; enjoy very much being a peasant I am glad that my children show also attachment to the livestock and to the rural life style;- I am attached to the land since I was a kid, is a work I enjoy to do; - The way I am working the land is also the way my parents use to do it with the same passion and interest; - is something we enjoy to do, is in our blood; - I maintain my land with love because it gives me food;- I put all my love and energy to maintain my land; - As long as I live I will love the land and my nation; - even if is a sloppy terrain I like my land;) Valentin, Marius, Mihai, Ionel,, Doina, Geta, Chivuta, Costica, Genu, Florian; -Madalina)	<u>6</u>	Simple attraction*6 (I will stop working the land only when I will not be able to move my legs; I cannot conceive the idea of stopping working the land, - working the land is a hobby; for me is a pleasure to work the land, if there is raining with acid rain I cry; - If I wouldn't like working the land I would have sold it until now; - I enjoy working it) Olimpia, Andrei, Gigel; Neculai, Busuioc, Stefan,
morality	19	Continuity *11 (- I am not willing to exchange it with anotherI regret I sold one plot -value the land for the future generations I rather would like to have more land instead of selling it;- value the land for my children determined to keep the land no matter what; - I want my daughter and granddaughter to inherit this proprieties; - I cherish my land for the children I wouldn't sale it not even for milliards; - I wish my followers to cherish the land the way I did; - I want my kids to have it in the future, therefore I do my best and take care of it I rather borrow money in case of economic crisis; -I would feel bad if the land would be taken away from me; -selling a piece of land for me will feel like a painful goodbye) Valentin, Marius, Mihai, Doina, Doinita, Geta, Chivuta, Genu, Florian, Costel, Madalina) - Heritage *7 (-value the land because is inherited*3; the attachment is transmitted from generation to generationI will never sale my land; - we are attached to the land through the love inserted by our parents; -my father fought for this land in the war; - the heritage makes me very attached to the land) Marius; Ionel, Doina, Doinita, Costica, Genu, Costel Religious thoughts *1 (-God punished me with the death of my son for selling the inherited land) Chivuta	14	Continuity*7 (- I want the land to stay in the family, since I've got my land back, I always fought to keep this land together to not sell it or let it be taken away from me; - We are both from poor families and therefore we want that our children will have a better financial situation; - I will pass the land to my children;- I wouldn't give up my land because I want my kids to have it; - on my deathbed I will pass the land to my children ;-I hope one day my children will return here;- I will keep my land with any price) Olimpia, Gigel, Neculai, Gheorghe, Nicu, Busuioc, Stefan. -Heritage *4 (- the highest value I give to the land is because is inherited; - I am thankful for the sacrifice that my ancestors made for acquiring these land properties; - my grandpa fought in the war for this land; - I learned from my father to appreciate the land) Olimpia, Iordache, Nicu, Stefan Religious thoughts *3(- abandoning the land is a sin; - it is a sin to sale the inherited land;- I have no hard feelings for giving up the inherited land as long as is done by exchange and not by being sold for money) Olimpia, Neculai, Iordache
Attachment indicators		Negative emoti	iona	l attachment
			1	
<u>concern</u>	2	- It is sad seeing the garden different than it used to be in the past; Doinita, - I am afraid that the children will sale everything after I die and then all my hard working was done in vain; Chivuta	7	-Abandoned land *6 (I feel sorrow for the land when it is abandoned; - It is sad to see that people in general don't have the will or the possibilities to work the land as they used to do in the past; - people where more devoted to the land in the past; - I feel sad seeing so much abandoned land; - too much abandoned land in our village, young people left to other countries, who should work the land) Olimpia, Gigel, Dorita, Neculai, Nicu, Vasile -I fear after I will die that weeds will grow as big as the house, no one will care about my land; Stefan

indifference	0		3	-Don't like to work the land and find job more important that working the land*3; Costelus, Ionut, Iordache
inability	1	- Abandon or sale the land*1(- In Ruginesti I had 2 hectares of land heritage from my parents but I sold it because was much to far and because I had no control over the harvest theft) Geta	9	Abandon or sale the land*4 (- I gave up a inherited land plot of 0.5 hectares because was situate to far from home - abandoned one hectare of land that was 10 km distance from home, how should I maintain it, I have no money, no tractorsEU is destroying us, nothing that we produce is satisfying our markets, only imported products are good; - badgers from a neighbouring forest use to come and feed on my maize crop, so I gave up that land It is very difficult to maintain the land nowadays) - For many years I lease one plot to some people that live closer to that land The biggest impediment is the distance) Iordache; Vasile; Dorita, Gigel Give up the land to a land owners association*4 (- I better give my land to an association instead of letting it abandoned; - the solution for overcoming more abandoned land in our village will be an land owners association.; - if an association would bring more profit I will give up my land; - I many times discuss with the people that come to my shop that the solution in this area to overcome more land abandonment will be a land owners association) Vasile, Neculai, Costelus, Nicu, - During collectivization time was much better because we had well-paid jobs and we had tractors to work the land, nowadays we have none of them I would have preferred to have the land how it was on my grandparent's time because it wasn't used with chemical fertilizers, so I could go back to the use of manure) Vasile

In the following I will describe the main differences and similarities between both communities, based upon all the types of feelings expressed by the respondents.

Positive emotional attachment

Feelings of identity was mentioned 6 times in Lapos and 3 times in Prohozesti and were expressed in both communities through some individual meanings that people attribute to ALPs by means of shaping people's sense of who they are.

In Lapos, people see the agricultural land as an integrated part of their peasant existence, something that makes them feel as "real villagers" or as the element that makes sense to the people for them to live in a village: "without agricultural land there is no point living in a village and to call myself a peasant". Madalina sees the agricultural land as a connection with the past, as something that "restores her memories" while she spends a large part of her life working the land or being around her parents when they were working the land. Florian associates the agricultural land with the 'ground' which is the beginning and the end of his life cycle: "from ground I am born, in the ground I will be buried. The most expressive example in this category was given by Genu who sees the ALPs as the central element of his existence:

"The land is my origins; my life is built around this land". (Genu, Lapos)

Also in Prohozesti I found interesting answers which show that the ALPs are shaping people's identity. For example Gigel much appreciates the land he could buy for himself because it wasn't

easily earned, but through "hard work" and therefore the land makes Gigel feel proud of what he is. Then Gheorghe expressed deep feelings of identity by telling how the ALPs changed the way he feels today: "I feel like the master" and how he felt during collectivization times when the land was taken away from him: "I was for a long time the servant of my own land". The third respondent in this category is Olimpia who sees working the ALPs as the thing she knows best how to do and therefore thought of herself as a feeling of identity:

"This was my destiny to work the land, I wasn't an intellectual person who would be able to work somewhere else, and so like a good worker I am devoted to the land." (Olimpia, Prohozesti)

Feelings of passion appeared to be the type of feelings that make people from Lapos (n=11) the most attached to the ALPs while in Prohozesti (n=6) this type of feeling was expressed to a lower extent compared to Lapos. There are two ways people in the two communities showed their passion for the ALPs. Firstly, feelings of passion were described as an attraction people felt for the land expressed in words such as: 'like'; 'love'; 'enjoy'; 'passion and interest' in Lapos, and 'pleasure'; 'hobby'; 'like'; 'enjoy' among respondents from Prohozesti. One expressive saying among respondents from Prohozesti that shows a great passion for the land was Olimpia who told:

"I will stop working the land only when I am unable to move my legs anymore." (Olimpia, Prohozesti)

And here is another example among respondents from Lapos, namely of Marius, which is a good example of how people, through the passion they have for the land, find a way to combine the job they have with working the land, while in Prohozesti I found out that people that have a job don't show any passion for the land, seeing the job as first priority (see feelings of indifference).

"Even though I have a job, I enjoy very much being a peasant, working the land, raising livestock... I would like to have more land... I am glad that my children show also attachment to the livestock and to the rural life style." (Marius, Lapos)

Secondly feelings of passion were expressed through the willingness people have to not depart with the ALPs. In Lapos nine people told how determined they are to keep the ALPs, and even willing to buy more land which together also shows a high attachment to the ALPs among people from Lapos:

"I will never consider selling my land; I would rather borrow money in case of economic crisis." (Florian, Lapos)

"If I would be forced to sell a piece of land, for me it would feel like a painful goodbye." (Madalina, Lapos)

In Prohozesti only four people expresed the same willingness to keep the land and three of these respondents are among the oldest people from the village that were in the possession of the land, also before collectivization times:

"Since I've got my land back, I always fought to keep this land together to not sell it or let it be taken away from me." (Olimpia, Prohozesti)

"I am used to the land and I will keep it with any price." (Stefan, Prohozesti)

The fourth person, namely Andrei owns large amount of land and is among those that also showed high satisfaction through economic benefits, therefore not willing to give up the land:

"I cannot even conceive the idea of stopping working the land. What else could I do if not maintaining the land?" (Andrei, Prohozesti)

Thus, feelings of passion are felt amongst any type of people in Lapos, while in Prohozesti, only the rich and the elderly do.

Feelings of morality

People explained why they would not consider quitting working on the ALPs. People from Lapos and Prohozesti gave quite similar answers, which can be divided in three categories of reason.

The first category relates to the fact that the land is inherited from the ancestors. Seven people from Lapos and four people from Prohozesti see their heritage as a moral duty to take care of the land because in this way people can show their appreciation to the ones that "fought in the war" or "sacrificed themselves" to get in the possession of this land. And again, it is not only the land as an object transmitted from older generations but also the knowledge of the tools and how to work the land, the appreciation for the land, but also the feelings of love for the land and even the attachment to the land:

"In the same way my parents used to maintain the land, is also the way I do it, with love and passion for this land." (Doina, Lapos)

"We are attached to the land through the love inserted by our parents." (Costica, Lapos)

"I learned from my father to appreciate the land." (Stefan, Prohozesti)

The second reason are the **religious thoughts** people believe in, like for example it being a "sin to sell the inherited land", or it being a "sin to abandon the land" or people like Iordache from Prohozesti believes that is not a sin to exchange the inherited land with another as long is not done for money. Another case in this category is Chivuta from Lapos who associates the death of her son as a kind of punishment from God because she sold a plot of the land she inherited from her parents. She says that people that sell inherited land are cursed by the land and sooner or later they have to pay for what they did.

The third reason why people wouldn't consider departing with the ALPs is because they can pass the land to their children, referred to here as **continuity**, which came up 8 times in Lapos and 6 times in Prohozesti. In both communities it is normal that when one of the children gets married, the new couple inherit a piece of land from the parents, therefore for the people it is an important issue to keep the land for their children and in this way a kind of continuity is maintained by the family in passing the land from generation to generation:

"I want my daughter and granddaughter to inherit this land." (Doina, Lapos)

"On my deathbed I will pass the land to my children but I see that my children are not that enthusiastic to have it, they prefer to go abroad to find some work." (Nicu, Prohozesti)

In some way, maintaining the ALPs is giving to people like Busuioc from Prohozesti the hope that the children will appreciate it and they will come back to the village one day and take over the land for which their parents worked so hard:

"If I wouldn't know that my descendants will come back for the land I wouldn't work the land anymore, but I hope one day my children will return here." (Busuioc, Prohozesti)

But not all the people have the same confidence that the land will be taken care of when they will not be there anymore, and these type of thoughts are presented in the following part of this chapter, namely 'negative emotional attachment'

Negative emotional attachment

Feelings of concern resumes partly the aspect I was mentioning in the end of the previous subchapter and that is about the fact that although many people express their wishes to pass the ALPs to their children, some respondents expressed their concern that their children would not take care of the land the way they did it. This aspect was mentioned once in each village:

"I am afraid that the children will sell everything after I die and then all my hard work was done in vain. "(Chivuta, Lapos)

"I fear after I will die that weeds will grow as big as the house, no one will care about my land." (Stefan, Prohozesti)

Another reason to be concerned about the ALPs is due to the high amount of land that is abandoned in Prohozesti, which was expressed by six of the respondents from this village. Some expressed their concern in terms of grief for seeing the land abandoned: "I feel sorrow" or "I feel sad". Others like Nicu and Vasile, admits that there is too much abandoned land but he showed understanding for the ones that abandoned the land:

"There is too much abandoned land in our village. I have only 2 hectares of land and tractors and even then it is difficult to maintain the ALPs, but the poorer people in this village don't have the financial means." (Nicu, Prohozesti)

"Nowadays, only pensioners, rich people and crazy people like me are still maintaining their land, the rest of the young people left to other countries, who should be working the land." (Vasile, Prohozesti)

In the following double image we can see from close up two different abandoned land plots which were showed to me by one of the respondents I interviewed in Prohozesti.



Image 6 Abandoned land in Prohozesti

Not everyone in Prohozesti showed understanding for the ones that abandon their land, rather frustrations and accusations were expressed towards the younger generation who seem to show less interest towards a life working the land and therefore so much land is abandoned in the village:

"People where more devoted to the land in the past, we gathered the stones from the land plots by hand. Nowadays, young people are very lazy; they have other preoccupations and no interest in working hard on the land." (Dorita, Prohozesti)

This last remark was recognized among younger respondents from Prohozesti who expressed feelings of indifference as explained below.

Feelings of indifference were expressed by three of the youngest respondents (Costelus, Iordache and Ionut) from Prohozesti, they expressed their indifference by telling that they "don't like working the agricultural land" and that "having a job is more important that working the land". The same respondents were also found expressing negative answers regarding their satisfaction through economic benefits offered by the ALPs (see table 4.4 NSEB). In Lapos I found the opposite, for example Marius and Mihai (see table 4.4, feelings of passion and feelings of identity) who also have a job, told that it is easy to combine the two activities and explained that is a matter of liking to work the land and there is no excuse for the ones that abandon their land, or finding other excuses to not maintain it:

"Who really likes working the land and raising animals will never stop doing this kind of work." (Mihai, Lapos)

"I am attached to the land since I was a kid, is a work I enjoy to do." (Marius, Lapos)

Feelings of inability_Besides those that expressed feelings of indifference for not liking to work the land, or having other priorities, in Prohozesti there is another category of people (n=6) that would like to maintain the land but they find it difficult to do so and therefore they abandoned some land plots for different reasons:

One reason that was mentioned was the distance to the land. Even people that own horses such as Gigel, 8 km distance from home it is considered too far and therefore he prefers leasing a land plot of 3 ha to someone living closer to that land. Similar situations were presented by Vasile and Iordache who abandoned plots that are too far located from their homes:

"I gave up an inherited land plot of 0,5 hectares because it was situated too far from home." (Iordache, Prohozesti)

Another reason through which people feel unable to take care of their land is due to financial issues, such as that it is too expensive to invest in the agricultural land and because they have no means of transportation (to travel to the plots, to transport the working tools, the seeds, the fertilizers, the harvested crops, etc). These factors seem to narrow people's chances to tend the agricultural land or even lead to them having to give up the land:

"During collectivization times things were much better, we had well-paid jobs and had tractors to work the land with, nowadays we don't have either of them... I abandoned one hectare of land that was 10 km distance from my home, how could I maintain it, I have no money, no tractors. It would be better if the state took back the land." (Vasile, Prohozesti)

When the collectivisation process started there were no tractors. People were forced to give up all their equipment and the traction animals that were used for working the land. The few people that have a horse in this village nowadays are amongst older generations who had enough passion for keeping livestock, which was transmitted from their parents and continued to raise horses despite what happened in the collectivisation period. Among the younger generation, one exception is Gigel, one of the youngest respondents from Prohozesti, who shares the same passion for keeping livestock and raising horses, even though it is not common in this village anymore.

Vasile also acknowledged a serious problem, the fact that people in Prohozesti face is the investment needed for chemical fertilizers, as the land in the former collectivized regions was continuously fertilized in this way during that period. For people that cannot afford buying the chemical fertilizers and with the low availability of manure in this village, people resort to abandoning their land:

"I would have preferred to have the land how it was in my grandparent's time because it wasn't dependant on chemical fertilizers, so I could go back to the use of manure." (Vasile, Prohozesti)

Another reason for making people feel unable to maintain their land is the occurrence of wildlife that produces damage to the crops:

"I was cultivating maize in one place and badgers from a neighbouring forest use to come and feed on my maize crop, so I gave up that land"

One last mentioned reason is the impossibility to sell local products which make people in this village feels like it is not worthy to invest in the land when there is no profit to gain:

"EU is destroying us, nothing that we produce is satisfying our markets, only imported products are good enough." (Vasile, Prohozesti)

Besides the range of reasons for feeling unable to maintaining the land, some people from Prohozesti (n=4) expressed their willingness to give up the land to a 'land owners association' because they believe that this would be the solution to prevent more land to be abandoned in their village:

"I many times discussed with the people that come to my shop about the land abandonment in our village and I also believe like the others that the solution to prevent more land abandonment in this area would be a land owners association." (Nicu, Prohozesti)

Similar answers regarding a 'land owners association' were also found in two other former collectivized communities, respectively Sesuri (n=3) and Cernu (n=1) where all respondents told the same, that only a 'land owners association' would be the solution to overcome the land abandonment.

In Lapos only one person, namely Geta expressed feelings of inability when telling about a land plot of 2 hectares that she sold because it was located in her native place, a former collectivized region, which is much too far from her place now. And also because she told that crop theft had occurred many times in that region. Although most of the respondent's from Laposes ALPs are located more than five kilometre away or even more than 20 km away from their homes, it wasn't considered a reason for those people to abandon the land or to complain about having difficulties reaching the land. Also attacks from wild boars on maize crops mentioned by Valentin or the fact that also in Lapos people have financial difficulties, as mentioned earlier in this research, were not seen as reasons for people to abandon the land as the way people in Prohozesti did. As well as this, no one in Lapos mentioned anything about a 'land owners association'.

Figure 4.4 depicts the occurrence of emotions in the two communities. We can see that in Lapos the richness in positive feelings is higher than in Prohozesti were people express rather negative feelings, which means that the level of emotional attachment among people in Lapos is higher than in Prohozesti. Feelings of morality predominates the positive emotional attachment in both communities while the negative emotional attachment that was mostly expressed in Prohozesti is mainly expressed through feelings of inability.

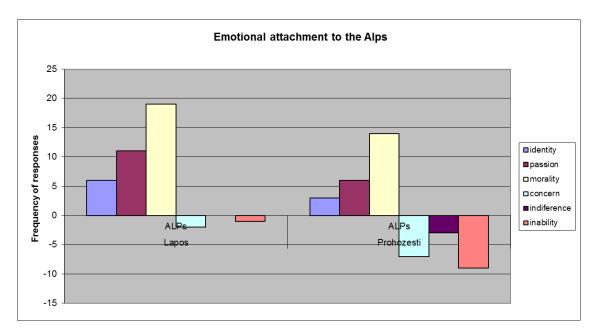


Figure 4.4 Differences in level of emotional attachment to the ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti

4.3.4 Summary of findings on attachment to ALPs of Lapos and Prohozesti

The most remarkable differences between the two communities in level of functional and emotional attachment to place is triggered by the fact that in Prohozesti people value their land properties mainly for the economic gains it brings them, while in Lapos quantity is less important as long as the quality is good enough to satisfy their needs. In Prohozesti as people's common goal is to reach high crop yields and due to the fact that the production in nowadays is not comparable with what they were used to during collectivization times is a strong argument for those living in this village to have a low level of satisfaction with their ALPs and as a consequence show a low functional attachment. There are three main reasons mentioned to negatively influence the way people manage their lands and therefore the low levels of productivity. One reason is the necessity to fertilize the soil with chemical fertilizers because of being used to it during collectivization times and also because is difficult to find manure in the village as there are not many animals that can produce it. The second reason is the fact that people have difficulties with travelling to their land plots because it is not impossible to hire horses (only a few people own horses in this community or to hire tractors (too expensive). Horses were taken away from the people during collectivization times and nowadays only few people in this village have returned to the old habit of raising horses. The third reason is the low financial opportunities people have in this village which implies they have no money to buy chemical fertilizers and also no money to hire tractors.

This low level of satisfaction also triggers negative feelings among the respondents from Prohozesti such as feelings of inability to maintain their land, which leads to land abandonment, if it is located too far away from home, or makes them consider giving up their land to a land owners association. The land abandonment seems to be a general problem in this village expressed through feelings of concern among respondents from Prohozesti.

It was surprising to find that people in the former collectivized community were willingness to give up their land to a land owners association considering their past experiences with collectivization times. This attitude was expressed among younger people but also the elderly respondents who although they

expressed very strong feelings of attachment to the land (see positive emotional attachment), admitted that the land was better during the collectivization times. Giving up their lands to a land owners association seemed the right solution to prevent more land to be abandoned as it would be voluntarily done and for the purpose of achieving mutually shared benefits.

On the other side, in Lapos, people see the ALPs, to a lesser extent important for the crop production but rather they attribute other meanings to them which are more related to the quality of the ALPs such as a clean, friendly and peaceful work environment; the land as much as possible in one place, and most importantly to obtain healthy and tasty food products, which for most of the people is the main reason, which explains their high satisfaction with the ALPs. All these achievements are possible due to the fact that in Lapos people are working the land in the old traditional way by use of horses and fertilizing with manure. All these achievements also triggers a high level of emotional attachment as people claim to develop feelings of passion for the land and also feelings of morality through their wish to keep the land in the family.

4.4 Findings - The Forests

4.4.1 Introducing the third spatial dimension, the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti

Forests from Lapos

The forests that the 13 respondents from Lapos refer to in their answers are either the mountain forests close to the village or the small patches of forests (edges of ALPs) inside the village.

The mountain forests is partly owned by the state and partly by a royal heir who returned from Austria some years ago and claimed back his forest property, and partly by villagers from Lapos and the other villages located in the Darmanesti community. Three of the respondents from Lapos (Doinita, Madalina and Chivuta) own patches of mountain forests. These forests parcels are between 1ha and 4ha and are located abount 5 km from the edge of the village. Access is very difficult as one has to drive along a dust road. There is a better, though much longer route (22 km), along an asphalted road which goes through the mountains.

The mountain forests are a mixture of conifers and deciduous trees and are under the supervision of the forest department called "Ocol Silvic" which ensures the protection and the marking of trees for wood exploitation, for which the forest owners must pay a certain fee every year per hectare. Inhabitants from Lapos and other villages near the mountains are allowed to exploit the wood, but only under a strict forestry regime. They are allowed to exploit only the wood that is marked, for which people must pay a tax per m³ of wood they remove, which is different per wood species (e.g. beech wood, which is most demanded as fire wood, costs around 10 euro per m³). Among the respondents from Lapos there are several people (Mihai, Ionel, Genu, Marius and Costel) who are engaged in logging activities. They use the wood for themselves and also sell the wood in the village to older people who cannot procure the wood by themselves or richer people from the village that prefers buying the wood.

Only a small amount of the mountain forests is owned by people from Lapos. In fact is there are more people in the village who have the legal right to possess a patch of forest of one hectare. These forests were heritage from their fathers who are (were) war veterans and received these forests from the state in 1944 and mastered it until 1948 when the forests nationalization program was underway. Because of this short ownership period people at that time couldn't finalize the official ownership papers. The

only paper that attests their ownership rights are so called "tabelele indreptatitilor", emitted in 1945 that are lists containing the names of the people that had the right to receive the forests. The story is that there was a fire in the archive of the city hall of Darmanesti Commune (Lapos is a village under the administration of this Commune) and the "tabelele indreptatitilor" burned down and therefore people like Genu and Ionel lost any chance to prove their forests ownership rights.

The small patches of forests (edges of ALPs) are located in the village or at the edges of the village. They are exclusively properties belonging to the inhabitants of Lapos. Four Lapos villagers own these types of forests (Valentin, Marius, Chivuta and Florian). The four small forests properties are used primarily for "keeping the soil in place" as in Lapos there is much muddy terrain. Only if people are in great need of money and they cannot afford to buy wood, they make use of the wood from these forests. The wood must be marked by the forests ranger before people are allowed to exploit it. The protection of these little forests properties is ensured by the forests owners.

The answers were given either regarding the forests properties (in case of ownership), either regarding the forests in general, which is the forests that people are used to visiting and where people procure their TFPs or NTFPs. It is the mountain forests that you can find when you exit the village and which is visible when looking from the village.

Forests from Prohozesti

In Prohozesti there are two types of forests properties, the ones situated in the mountains and the isolated forests properties which are not connected to the mountains.

The mountain forests are partly owned by the state and partly by villagers from Prohozesti and the other villages located in the Poduri Commune. Four of the respondents from Prohozesti (Nicu, Andrei, Iordache and Vasile,) own patches of mountain forests themselves. These forests properties are between 1 and 5 ha and are located more than 5 km away from the village. In Prohozesti there is no direct road from the village to the forests; access is through other villages from the Poduri Commune along a road which is asphalted up to "the mayor's forest property". Of the four forests owners, only Nicu and Andrei are making use of their forests. Iordache and Vasile know that they inherited a patch of forest, but they have no interest in getting the legal possession of it. There is another respondent from Prohozesti, Olimpia, whose husband should have inherited 4 ha of forest in another Commune than Poduri. Although Olimpia tried many years to get back this forest property, due to the fact that she doesn't have the right ownership papers, she never got ownership of this forest.

The mountain forests are mature forests and are mixture of conifers and deciduous trees and are also under the supervision of the forests department "Ocol Silvic" (who regulate the exploitation of the forests as in Lapos). Owners are allowed to exploit only the wood that is marked by the forests rangers for which forests owners must pay a certain amount of money per year (20 euro per ha for marking and protection services). Within the state forests it is also allowed to exploit wood and this should normally be done under similar circumstances like in Lapos. One of the respondents from Prohozesti (Gigel) is engaged in wood exploitation activities for his own use and to sell in the village to either older people that cannot procure the wood themselves or to richer people from the village that prefer buying the wood. Due to much uncontrolled deforestation in this region the availability of wood decreased in the last years and people like Gigel must travel far to find some wood.

The isolated forestss are located on the plains towards the mountains. Among the respondents from this village there are three such owners (Gheorge, Busuioc and Stefan). Due to uncontrolled deforestsation and wood theft these forestss are "only stubs and sheepfolds". Therefore the three forests owners have no possibilities to make use of the wood from these forests. The protection of these isolated forests properties must be ensured by the forests owners.

The forests that people from Pohozesti included in their answers are mostly the forests properties (where the case) or the forests that people are used to visiting for different purposes such as wood exploitation or picking mushrooms.

4.4.2 Functional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti

Functional attachment to the forests was described as a matter of how people think about the forests, if they are pleased or not with what they can attain from the forests. What benefits forests can give to the people or is the forests seen as better than in other places in a way that determines whether people remain close to the forests. All these aspects where recognized by a range of indicators as we can see in Table 4.5 In the same way as previously shown for the findings on attachment to village, some of the indicators represent a high level of attachment (PSSB, PSEB) and some indicators represent a low level of attachment (NSSB, NSEB).

 Table 4.5 Functional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti

(depicted numbers refers to the amount of responses that counts for each type of the indicators)

Forests		Lapos		Prohozesti		
Attachment indicators	Social benefits					
Positive satisfaction through social benefits (PSSB)	19	-Recreation* 8 (- good energy, good mood for work; quiet and clean, no quarrelling; - harmony, beautiful views; - worries are gone; - sleep well after forest visit;- I rediscover myself;- picking mushrooms; - admiring the nature or even sleeping often in sheepfold; - can see wild life; - do not think about stress or problems; - possibility to relax without much expenditure) Valentin, Mihai, Marius, Ionel, Doina, Doinita, Costel, Costica -Healthiness* 7 (-fresh air from the forest give good eat appetite; our health, the quality of the drinking water depends on the forests; -very important source of oxygen; -through the forest we can breathe; forest gives fresh air; - oxygen and water; without her we cannot live) Valentin, Mihai, Marius, Ionel, Doinita, Madalina, Costica, -Safeness *2 (- the forest is the principal pawn in floods control; - it holds the valley steady) Chivuta, Florian, -Socio-cultural interaction*2 (-'Hramul manastirii'; - 'tarlitul oilor') Mihai, Madalina	8	-Recreation *3 (- wild area with wild animals and fresh air relaxing making BBQ in the forest no thinking about the work and the daily stress; - birds are singing is beautiful; -picking mushrooms is a way to relax) Gigel, Dorita, Ionut -Healthiness * 3 (- a source of oxygen; - the air we breathe; - fresh air) Gigel, Nicu, Dorita -Safeness*2 (- highest value is its ecological functions such as: water retain and erosion control; I am attached to the forest through its ecological function) Gigel, Iordache,		
Negative satisfaction through social benefits (NSSB)	3	Dangers *3 (-dangerous to be alone in the forest due to bad road; if it rains it is difficult to exploit wood; - I encountered a viper and ever since is more careful in the forest) Marius, Mihai, Florian	4	Dangers *3 (-bad roads and the sloping terrain; -because of the moody road I couldn't control the tractor fully loaded and my son which was sitting in the back of the tractor was almost crashed by a log; -I have many times sleepless nights also from thinking too much of the risks I take in the forest) Andrei, Nicu, Gigel Dirtiness*1 (-When I see plastic bottles thrown in the forest that makes the forest being less attractive for me.) lonut.		

Attachment indicators		Economi	c be	enefits
		-NTFPs*6 (-source of revenue through non-timber products;- forest give berries; nuts; hunting meat, gain wild mushrooms;- gain non timber products such as wild mushrooms) Mihai, Costica, Ionel, Chivuta, Madalina, Florian		-NTFPs*1 (Occasionally, I together with my family go to the forest for gaining non timber products such as forest fruits and mushrooms which are abundant in this forest.) Gigel
		-Money buffer*5 (-prefer to buy the wood to keep the forest property as much as possible intact;- forest is the saving for when I will be old;- I don't cut the forest to let it grow strong and beautifu) Valentin, Chivuta, Doinita, Madalina, Marius,		-TFPs* 3 (my forest provides the fire wood I need every year;- working in wood exploitation is profitable due to the satisfactory wood quality, hard wood and soft wood suitable for different needs; - provides part of the annually necessary wood) Andrei, Gigel, Nicu,
Positive satisfaction		-Tourism*1 (often rent my chalet from the forest to tourists) Doinita,		
through economic benefits (PSEB)	21	-TFPs*4 (good wood quality; - possibility to bring the fire wood instead of buying it; - forest is source of surviving; - easy to find wood for sale in our village and for good price) Marius, Mihai, Costel, Florian,	4	
		-Better forests than in other places*5 (- better maintained then Asau; - very good wood quality comparing with other countries, since there is not much state control over the forestss the deforestation rates are increasing, for example the forests owners from Asau region,; - forests are well maintained by 'ocolul silvic'; wood is exploited by rules and not chaotic like happened in Asau;- one principal road access to the forests, therefore the forests survived the uncontrolled deforestation that took place in Asau) Marius, Mihai, Doinita, Chivuta, Costica,		
		-Low wood availability *3 (- shortage of firewood close to village; - wood is limited; - in the past you could find fire wood immediately you exit the village) -High maintenance costs*2 (- I am not happy that I must pay so much for marking the trees; - I cut the trees without asking the ranger to mark them because it is expensive) Genu, Florian,		- Low wood availability *4(price of wood is very high in this region; - lucky enough I have my pension so I can buy the wood but I pay very much (70-80 euro/cart) much deforestation occurred and the wood availability decreased much therefore I had to travel some 30 km to find some wood;-at the other side of the mountains, if the region of Darmanesti the forests are better maintained because is under a more strict forest guarding regime) Olimpia, Ghorghe, Iordache, Andrei
Negative satisfaction through economic benefits (NSEB)	9	-Wood theft*4 (- in the winter I go sometimes to check for wood theft;- most of the mature trees from my forest got stolen;- I was forced to deforest because people started to steal the wood; -I can see the forest from my garden and even though some trees got stolen) Valentin, Marius, Chivuta, Florian,	16	- High forests maintenance costs *5 (- too far from homesituated in a different location; - forest is too fal located and I have no transportation, also the access to extract the wood is very difficult and is costly to arrange with the forests ranger to mark the tree; -forest is too fal and I have no money and no transport to maintain it; cost too much to mark the trees and to pay someone to bring it home for me; - to high costs for marking and protecting the forests) Andrei, Iordache; Vasile Gheorghe, Nicu,
				- Wood theft *5 (- If there were some people which didn't want to deforest, then the chance that other people would steal the wood was very big; - if it was my forest it would be deforested in now time by wood thieves, -the people living near the forests, during the night they go and steal the wood; - people didn't receive the forests so the old emplacement and therefore people didn't care about the fate of the forests, they stole everything was be the hand; - the forests are stolen more than half in this region) Andrei, Vasile, Gheorghe, Busuioc, Stefan,
				- Ineffective forests management regime*2 (- no satisfied with the trees that the forests ranger is marking and he also do not assure a good guarding of the forests - the police doesn't do their job and 'ocolul silvic' rely on the police's service there are sheep grazing on the



Social benefits: predominant positive satisfaction in Lapos and predominant negative satisfaction in Prohozesti

There are in total 5 types of social benefits: **recreation, healthiness, safeness, commodity and socio-cultural interaction** (see table 4.3-1 PSSB), the first three have been mentioned in both communities, whereas the last two mentioned only in Lapos. In total, in Lapos social benefits were mentioned 19 times by forests and non-forests owners regarding **recreation** and **healthiness,** scoring the most (seven and eight times), whereas in Prohozesti social benefits where mentioned in total only 8 times and only by respondents who maintain contact with the forests, either through wood exploitation or visiting relatives who live in the forests area.

Recreation among respondents from Lapos was expressed through a wide range of associations by which the forests gives people high levels of satisfaction: pure enjoyment (people like to see the forest for its beauty), positive energy (people claim to work better or to sleep better after being in the forest), unique views (wild animals, different view over the villages down the mountain) and unique sounds (birds singing), solitude, freedom and no worries, *etc.* One aspect mentioned by many of the respondents from Lapos is that when they are in the forest, "se regasesc". When translated, this expression says that forest helps people to rediscover themselves, through the fact that in the forest they feel disconnected from the outside world. Here I present some of the citations comprising the meanings people give to the forests regarding the recreation benefits:

"When I am in the forest I do not think about any of the stress or problems I normally have, there I feel carelessness." (Doinita, Lapos)

"I can find my harmony in the forest, I like to saunter in the woods, I like very much to whistle and the forest is the perfect place to do so....Also the preoccupations and the worries I normally have, they are gone when I am in the forest." (Marius, Lapos)

Besides, the forest seems also to be a good alternative to relax without too much expenditure as it is located near the village and it doesn't cost people money to enter the forest.

There is also a tendency among the respondents from Lapos to express satisfaction towards the forests specifically through some preferred spots in the forest that seem to offer more satisfaction than other parts of the forest. For example Doinita from Lapos is telling that nothing relaxes her more than being in the forest which she owns near the lake and "to drink the coffee under the birch trees".

In Prohozesti, recreation appeared only 3 times, expressed as visual and audible enjoyment of scenery ("is beautiful and birds are singing"), or activities such as making BBQ in the forest (I enjoy having BBQ in the forest, this helps me disconnect from thinking about the work and the daily stress)

Healthiness in Lapos was mainly described through the forest's ecological functions such as: remediation of drinking water (the quality of the drinking water depends on the forests) and as a source of fresh oxygen (forests are very important source of oxygen: if we don't cherish the forests then it means that we despise ourselves). Two respondents found this type of benefit to be of such importance to describe it as: "without forests we cannot live" or "forests are the centre of the Universe, due to the forests we can breathe, otherwise we will die earlier and because of the forests it rains on time"

On the other side, in Prohozesti, healthiness was mentioned only 3 times, and referred to only one type of ecological function: source of fresh oxygen (*forests gives us the air we breathe*). In contrast, one respondent from Prohozesti namely Ionut, expressed low satisfaction with the forests (see table 4.3-1 LSSB) because he sees it as a dirty place due to the plastic bottles thrown in the forests.

Safeness was mentioned 2 times in each village and expressed through the forest's ability to prevent soil erosion and through flood control.

"We must consider the importance of forest in terms of ecological aspects: water retention and erosion control." (Gigel, Lapos)

"The forest in this region is the principal pawn in flood control especially because in our region there is a big water dam situated at the edge of the forest." (Chivuta, Lapos)

But a forest is not always a safe and pleasant place to be (see table 4.3-1 LSSB). In each village there were some respondents, mostly among those that are exploiting wood, who referred to the dangers that they encounter in the forest. Mostly, people face dangers in the forest due to the bad roads which makes access to wood difficult especially when is rainy. One such dangerous situation was encountered by Nicu from Prohozesti who said:

"Because of the muddy road I couldn't control the tractor fully loaded and my son who was sitting in the back of the tractor was almost crashed by a log.".

One important aspect mentioned here is regarding the way people can avoid dangers in the forest and that is by means of joining in 'claca'. Claca is a form of reciprocal work activity when people gather in groups and help each other out with accomplishing a certain task. Among respondents from Lapos that exploit wood from the forest, all of them claim to join in claca. According to those, making claca in the forest it is a very useful tool as people help each other out in preparing and loading the wood in the carts or for coupling more horses to extract logs in the difficult accessible places. Another reason to join in claca is that not everyone possesses a chainsaw and therefore more people join at once in the forest in order to use the same chainsaw. Ionel from Lapos said that making claca with other people in the forest depends on how difficult will be to extract the logs from the forest and carry them to the nearest road. But in principle 3-4 people together with their horse cards join in claca and so the the work is done more quickly and also it is safer for the people to work in group.

In Prohozesti I found a similar situation, as Gigel, the only "caraus" in Prohozesti among respondents from this village told that he never goes alone to the forest. He joins with more villagers from Prohozesti and other communities and they help each other extracting the wood and loading the logs on the cart which is tough work to do alone and especially for people that do not have tractors or other wood extracting machines. But also those that own tractors in Prohozesti such Nicu and Andrei, told that they depend much on the people who own horses because tractors cannot easily reach some places that horse can, but they told that they do not form a claca, rather they are paying people to help them.

Commodity was expressed by 2 respondents from Lapos through the easy access to the forest by being close to people's homes and a low-cost type of leisure offered by the forest (*forest give the possibility to relax without much expenditure*).

Socio-cultural interaction I found out that for people from Lapos, forest is also a place where socio-cultural processes take place which are thought to encourage socio-cultural interaction.

One such socio-cultural process mentioned by Mihai is the 'hramul manastiri' which is the commemoration day of the monastery which was the first settlement in this region. This commemoration takes place once per year in the forest at the old location of the monastery. People

from Lapos make food and they bring it to the forest to feed all the people that attend this event including the priest who celebrates the religious commemoration. People travel to the forest in groups mostly using the horse cart.

Another socio-cultural process that takes place in the forest and where people from Lapos are taking part, is an event called 'rascolul oilor'. This event was mentioned by Madalina from Lapos, she told that this is one of the most beautiful events that take place in this region. 'Rascolul oilor' takes place once per year and is related to the counting of the sheep. In Lapos almost all people own sheep and the sheep are taken to the mountains by the shepherds from early in spring until late in the autumn. Somewhere in the beginning of the summer the sheep owners are invited by the shepherds to come to the mountain and check on the sheep condition (e.g. if they are well fed) and also for wool shearing which is done manually by using scissors. Such an event brings the people from the village together and at the same time it is an extra motive to make contact with the forest.

In Prohozesti, there are only a few people that own sheep. One of my respondents, namely Gigel who owns a few sheep told that he prefers to bring the sheep to Lapos because he thinks that the shepherds in Lapos make better cheese than the shepherds from his region.

Economic benefits: predominantly high satisfaction in Lapos and predominantly low satisfaction in Prohozesti

There are few types of economic benefit that people mentioned as satisfying their needs: Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs), money buffer, tourism income and Timber Forests Products (TFPs) (see Table 4.4 PSEB) and others that didn't satisfy their economic needs: low wood availability, high forest maintenance costs, wood theft and ineffective forest management regime (see Table 4.4 NSEB).

Positive satisfaction

NTFPs In Lapos and Prohozesti people do not make much use of the NTFPs but they are aware of the NTFPs benefits that the forest can offer to them.

In Lapos, six people (forest owners and non-forest owners) say they use the forest for NTFPs. Especially picking mushrooms seems to be a common activity done in the autumn in Lapos when people (family, neighbors and friends) join together and go to the forest to pick them. Picking mushrooms is something they are used to doing as part of the village culture and people combine the pleasure of picking the mushrooms with the utility of these goods offered by the forest.

"I go every year to pick mushrooms and conserve for the winter time, I enjoy it very much especially because we go in a group" (Chivuta, Lapos).

In the following images we can see two of the NTFPs that people in Lapos can obtain from their forest. In the left image is one of the respondents from Lapos using twigs for making a broom. In the right image we see wild mushrooms collected by another respondent last summer from the forests in Lapos surroundings.



Image 7. Use of NTFPs in Lapos

In Prohozesti only one respondent showed satisfaction through this type of benefit and he mentioned that "mushrooms and forest fruits are abundant". One respondent (Nicu) from Prohozesti told me that his forest (private property) is a mature forest and therefore no berries grow which is the reason for him to not be interested in this kind of activity in the forest. Another respondent from Prohozesti (Iordache) told that the distance to the forest is too big and therefore he does not attend the forest. Thus, in Prohozesti, satisfaction through the NTFPs is a matter of resource availability and a matter of possibilities to reach the forest in terms of time and transportation availability.

Money buffer_was mentioned five times among respondents from Lapos who owns either mountain forests or little forest patches in the village and was expressed through people's willingness to "keep the forest as intact as possible" or "letting the forest grow beautiful and strong" or to save it as a " a guarantee for old age days", which shows that in people's view, the forest holds long-term economic benefits, a kind of fund in 'nature'.

Tourism income was mentioned only by one respondent from Lapos, namely Doinita who expressed her satisfaction of being able to earn money with a wooden chalet that she built at the edge of the forest she owns.

In the following double image we can see the view of the mountain forests (left picture view from the lake side and right picture view from the village side) were three of the respondents from Lapos (Chivuta, Madalina and Doinita) have located their forest properties.



Image 8 Mountain forests in Lapos region

TFPs The satisfaction through this type of benefit was mentioned as product of two aspects: the quality of the wood and the quantity of the wood.

In general, in both communities (N=9 in Lapos and N=3 in Prohozesti), people showed positive satisfaction with the quality of wood, which is also the reason that some respondents, mainly 'carausi' such as Mihai, Marius, Costel from Lapos and Gigel from Prohozesti consider it being profitable to bring wood for themselves and also to sell wood in the village: "working in wood exploitation is profitable due to the satisfactory wood quality, hard wood and soft wood suitable for different needs". Nevertheless, I found out that the price that the 'carausi' sell the wood for is different per village; in Lapos, the price of the wood is half the price of wood in Prohozesti which is a reason for being satisfied among those that buy the wood instead of bringing it by themselves such Florian: "It is easy to find wood for sale in our village and for a good price".

Another way to express their satisfaction with the forest by assessing the TFPs among respondents from Lapos is by means of comparison with other available forests, namely forests from Asau region (Trotusului Valey). What people from Lapos say, is that the forests from Darmanesti Commune are in better condition than the forests from the neighbouring commune of Asau and there are three reasons mentioned for this: the forest in Darmanesti is well maintained due to the strict rules imposed by 'ocolul silvic' for wood exploitation and "not chaotic like what has happened in Asau"; the second reason is the fact that "there is only one principal road access to the forest" which means better control for wood theft. The third reason is because in Darmanesti there are only few private forest properties while in Asau most of the people in that region received a patch of forest and "since there is not much state control over the forests, the high deforestation rates that occurred in Asau".

One very expressive narrative which approve that there is difference in amount of forest between the two areas Lapos and Asau is told by Mihai when asked to share some memories related to the forest:

"Another time I saw a wolf searching for food and I could see him for a long time since the wolf was roaming the barren hills to the other side of the mountains which belongs to the neighboring villages of Asau commune where are no forests anymore." (Mihai, Lapos)

In Prohozesti, besides Gigel, only the two mountain forest owners, Nicu and Andrei, told that the TFPs obtained in their forest seems to be very satisfying as it can provide "in totality" or "partly" the necessary fire wood needed each year. But when comparing with other places, Andrei admits that the forest from Poduri commune are not so well maintained like the forests belonging to Darmanesti commune and the difference is caused by the "more strict forest guarding regime" in Darmanesti commune. In the following image we can see Gigle's horses cart loaded with wood from the forests in Prohozesti surrounding



Image 9 A wood loaded cart in Prohozesti

There was also a significantly high amount of answers (N=17) in Prohozesti as well a considerable amount of answers (N=9) in Lapos indicating negative satisfaction through economic benefits.

<u>Negative satisfaction</u> was expressed mainly through following: low wood availability, high forest management costs and wood theft, all three aspects mentioned in both communities and there was an extra aspect mentioned only in Prohozesti and that is the ineffective forest guarding regime.

Low availability of wood

In Lapos this aspect was mentioned by three of the 'carausi' who assess the decrease in wood availability by looking at the distance between the village and the forest:

"In the past you could find fire wood immediately you exit the village, nowadays I must travel 10 kilometres further from the village to find some wood" (Genu, Lapos).

Marius from Lapos gives an explanation for the "shortage of wood closed to the village" and in general for the high deforestation rates that increased since the end of the communism system:

"The bad economic situation pushed the people in desperate situations like uncontrolled deforestation. In the past the wood industry in the area was very good developed due to timber and furniture factories that use to ensure the job for 8000 people, but since this company doesn't work anymore many people lost their jobs and therefore the poverty that exist in the area." (Marius, Lapos)

In Prohozesti, there were three people, two among those that buy the wood from the 'carausi' who expressed low satisfaction in terms of economic benefits regarding the forest by claiming that they pay too much for the wood:

"I can buy the wood but I pay very much, 300 RON (70-80 euro) for one cart." (Gheorghe, Prohozesti)

and the third one is someone that used to work as 'caraus' but due to the low availability of wood he stopped as it wasn't profitable to work with that:

"After 1993 I stopped working in wood exploitation due to the fact that much deforestation occurred and the wood availability decreased much therefore I had to travel some 30 km to find some wood".(Iordache, Prohozesti)

High forests maintenance costs were mentioned two times in Lapos and five times in Prohoesti. In Lapos people think that the price for marking the trees is much too high and this was told by respondents among 'carausi' such as Genu: I am not happy that I must pay so much for marking the

trees, and was also told among respondents that owns little patches of forest in the village which apparently they are also oblige to mark the trees they want to cut but this is not always the case:

"I cut all the trees that were easy to be reached by wood thieves but I cut them without asking the ranger to mark the trees because it is expensive." (Florian, Lapos)

In Prohozesti (N=5) the following reasons were mentioned as implying high costs regarding the forest: forest is "far located from home" which for the people means "high transportation costs", "access to extract the wood is difficult", "cost too much to mark the trees", "cost too much to transport the trees", "too high costs for guarding the forest".

Wood theft

Wood theft was also a reason for low satisfaction in both communities, but in Lapos (N=4) in comparison with Prohozesti (N=5) it takes place at a much smaller scale (i.e. Lapos: 'some trees got stolen', Prohozesti: 'they stole more than half the forest in this region').

According to the respondents from Lapos, in this village only easy accessible individual trees from the little forest properties situated around the village are subject of theft. It seems that in Lapos the thieves are people from the village, especially young guys that have no jobs. Whereas, in Prohozesti, the isolated forests which are not integrated in the mountains like the ones owned by Busuioc, Stefan and Gheorghe and the forests that Vasile and Iordache supposedly inherited have been heavily subject to wood theft by "the people that live near the forest who during the night go and steal the wood". The forest properties situated in the mountains are less subject to wood theft because they are better guarded by the forest department which demands a certain amount of money every year to ensure this service. How much difference it makes to pay for the guarding or not was expressed by Andrei who also had a patch of isolated forest besides the four hectares of forest in the mountains. He tells about the one hectare he was forced among others like Stefan, Gheorghe and Busuioc to deforest because otherwise: "If there were some people which didn't want to deforest, then the chance that other people would steal the wood was very big" and therefore many people in Prohozesti ended up by having "forest with stumps instead of trees".

But not all the people can offer to pay this money for guarding the forest or they live too far from the forest to ensure the guarding by themselves, thus they rather abandoned the forests like the case of Iordache, Vasile, Costelus and Gheorghe in this way expressing feelings of indifference (see findings on emotional attachment to Forest). **Ineffective forest management regime** is the fourth aspect mentioned only in Prohozesti (N=2) and there are two aspects put in evidence: first is that the forestry department (ocolul silvic) in this region cannot ensure a good management of the forest therefore Andrei is not satisfied with "the trees marked by the forest ranger" and Stefan fears that "there is no chance for natural regeneration" in his forest due to the fact that sheep are grazing there. Second is the fact that the guarding ensured by 'ocolul silvic' is not properly done: "the police don't do their job and the 'ocolul silvic' rely on the police service".

In Lapos no one mentioned being dissatisfied with the forest management regime in their region, rather they expressed high trust in the work done by 'Ocolul Silvic' by means of comparing the forests in their region with the forests in other regions such Asau as we could see above (see TFPs).

One remark I need to add in this part of the chapter is that the social and economic benefits associated with the forest, in people's view can be obtained in combination or separately. For example it was mentioned that picking mushrooms it is a way to relax and also gaining economic goods. In contrary, during wood exploitation people say that their mind is completed set on this activity without having time to admire the beauty of the forest. This shows a relative interconnectedness of both types of

benefits, social and economic related to the forest and is very much depending on the type of activity that people do in the forest.

Figure 4.5 depicts the social and economic benefits of the forests as perceived by the people of the two communities. We can see the difference between the two communities in level of functional attachment with the forests. This difference is looked upon the amount of positive social and economic VS negative benefits that people in the two communities associate with the forests. With this figure we can see that both socially and economically people from Lapos seem to obtain more benefits from their forests when compared with people from Prohozesti were these benefits are rather seen negative.

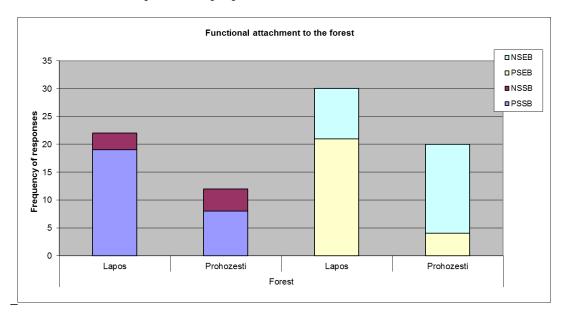


Figure 4.5 Differences in level of functional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti

4.4.3 Emotional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti

The emotional attachment attributed to the forest was expressed mostly through verbal feelings but also through non-verbal feelings: facial expressions, crying, angry tones. The verbal feelings thought to express what the forest symbolizes or stands for in the view of the respondents from both communities will be classified in 'positive emotional attachment' and 'negative emotional attachment'.

 $\textbf{Table 4.6} \ \textbf{Emotional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti}$

(depicted numbers refers to the amount of responses that counts for each type of the indicators)

Forests		Lapos	Prohozesti						
Attachment indicators	Positive Emotional attachment								
identity	3	- I am like the child of the woods; Chivuta - People that are born in mountains area like me are strong and hardworking people; Genu - Forest is part of my life, Costel	1	- I feel proud being able to provide fire wood from my own forest; Andrei					
passion	2	 I was borne in mountain area therefore I love the forest and any tree; Genu I love the forest, being there in the spring time feels like I am reborn again, Madalina 	0						
morality	9	- Continuity*3 (-I value my forest for my children to have it in the future- we cannot pass to the next generations barren hills; - very hostile in my decision to pass the forest to my children; - I am very hostile in my decision to pass the forest to my children; -)Valentin, Mihai, Chivuta, Heritage*3 (- This forest is inherited and inherited land shouldn't be alienated; -From father to son I learned to appreciate and love the forest; - my father taught me how to appreciate and to trust the forest.) Valentin, Genu, Chivuta -Reconciliation with the nature*3 (- forest gives and forest takes; -When wild animals will come to the village, that would be a sign for difficult economic time; - the only animal you should be afraid in the forest is the mankind) Valentin, Chivuta, Madalina	6	-Continuity*3 (I want my daughter to inherit this forest; - I would have liked my children to inherit the forest) Andrei, Nicu, Busuioc Heritage*3 (- it used to be the belonging of my family;- my grandfather would twist in his grave if I will not take care of the forest; -If I had a forest I would know how to take care of it like I learned from my father) Andrei, Nicu, Neculai					
Attachment indicators		Negative emotional attachment							
concern	11	-Private ownership is not good*6 (- private ownership will increase deforestation e.g. Asau;- private ownership is the cause of massive uncontrolled deforestation;- if the forest wouldn't be under the state ownership would be chaos; - I know from older people that the forest was better when was totally the property of the state; - in Asau people devastated the forest when they received it back from the state; - the state owed forests much better quality wood and of course it is much more cheaper than in the private owned forest.) Marius, Doinita, Costica, Costel, Florian, Mihai - Forest is changing*5 (- forest less dense due to more logging taking place comparing with the past;- the roads are worse and much erosion occurred lately; - until 90's the forest was intact with destroying our forests we destroy our lives; - without forest we will freeze in winter) Valentin, Marius, Mihai, Ionel, Genu	10	-Private ownership is not good*5 (- a trading wood company convinced the new private forest owners to sell the wood to them for a very cheap price you talk about hundreds of hectares that disappeared in no time; - on communism system the forest was the property of the state and was very well maintained and protected;- It was better to have the forests the way it was on communistic regime; the forest was better under the state ownership and not like it is today, destroyed, -the good wood was stolen by the thieves after the revolution) Andrei, Vasile, Costelus, Busuioc, Stefan -Forest is changing*5 (- during my grandparents time, the forest was much better maintained; - people cut down all the available trees without thinking about the consequences; - nowadays there is chaos in our forest; -the forest was cutted in chaos without any respect or love for the ones that planted these forests; - our forests are disappearing overnight)					
inability	0		3	Andrei, Iordache, Vasile, Neculai, Nicu Helplessness* 3 (- don't hope getting the forest property back; - the state doesn't help me at all and my children show no interest;- I know the wood gets stolen but what can I do when even the police don't do anything) Olimpia, Busuioc, Stefan,					
deprivation	3	- Deprived of forest benefits*2 (- If they catch you taking one mushroom from their forest, they will put the trigger	4	Deprived of forest benefits*3- (It is unfair that my children must spend lots of money every winter to buy fire wood when					

		on you; - Every day I see how fully loaded trucks are bringing wood away from the forests that me and many people from this region planted with our hands) Costica, Chivuta, - Deprived of ownership rights*1 (until now we got only promises around the election times) Ionel		actually we should have the rights to take wood from our forest- Who had tractors and chainsaws took advantage of the situation, all the others just watched and suffered; - there are few chances that the forest will ever recover from this status) Olimpia, Stefan, Busuioc Deprived of ownership rights*1 (- Only elite people receive their forest properties, such as the mayor who got 10 hectares of forest without any ownership rights) Vasile,
indifference	0		5	- I see there is much deforestation taking place in our region but I don't care because is not my forest; Dorita Forest abandonment*4 (- I don't intend taking over the forest from my parents in law; - I have a forest, but who ever saw it; - I have no idea and no interest to know what happened to my parents forest; - I didn't see my forest for years, I gave it to someone living closer to the forest) Iordache, Vasile; Costelus, Gheorghe,
impoverishm ent	0		1	- If the forest was under my name I had to pay taxes starting with next year, as it will be considered abandoned land; Vasile,

In the following I will describe the range of positive and negative attachment feelings which were also listed in the table above.

Positive emotional attachment:

Feelings of identity were expressed three times in Lapos and one time in Prohozesti and encompass few of the attributes that ties the place to respondent's sense of who they are as individuals. For example Chivuta from Lapos feels like she is "the child of the woods" for the fact that her father used to be a shepherd and Chivuta being the only child who was permanently helping him by taking care of the sheep, therefore she basically spent most of her childhood in the forest. The other respondent from Lapos, namely Genu sees himself as "strong and hardworking" which he believes are characteristics that belong to people that are born in mountainous areas. In Prohozesti, the only respondent that expressed this type of feeling is Andrei who claimed that being able to provide fire wood from his own forest is a reason to make him feel proud.

Feelings of passion appeared only among respondents from Lapos and was mentioned two times as an expression of love through the cycle of life:

"I was born in the mountain area, therefore I love the forest and any tree" (Genu, Lapos)

and love through the cycle of seasons:

"I love the forest, being there in the spring time it feels like I am reborn again" (Madalina, Lapos)

Feelings of morality

When asked people to explain if they would consider to sell the forest (only for forest owners) then the most common reasons in both communities (n=6) for not departing with the forest was because of family connections: for giving the possibility for the children, translated here as 'continuity' and the second being the 'heritage' aspect. Besides in Lapos there was a third morale aspect mentioned and this is 'reconciliation with the nature'.

In Lapos there were three people that considered the 'continuity' aspect was important and among those, Chivuta is the one that sounds very convinced in her thoughts:

"I am very hostile in my decision to pass the forest to my children and hopefully I will not be forced to deforest too much for myself." (Chivuta, Lapos)

One important finding in this part of the chapter is that in Lapos even the people that do not possess a forest have the same kind of thoughts, they consider it a moral thing to pass the forests to their children in good condition so that they can also benefit from the same social and economic goods as their ancestors did.

"We cannot destroy our forests and pass barren hills to the next generations. People should be responsible for their actions. Our health, the quality of the drinking water and the landscape beauty depends on the forests." (Mihai from Lapos)

In Prohozesti I also found that people find it important to pass the forest to the children and there are three respondents which affirmed this, among those (Andrei and Nicu) that have the forest in their possession not only by name but also in reality:

"I want my daughter to inherit this forest" (Andrei, Prohozesti)

and among those that possess the forest only by name, as there are no trees anymore:

"I would have liked my children to inherit the forest" (Busuioc, Prohozesti)

As mentioned above, 'heritage' was also found as a moral aspect for not departing with the forest, mentioned three times in Lapos and three times in Prohozesti. People say that because the forest was once in their parent's possession, it is an important reason to be attached to it and that it is their moral duty to take care of the forests and to ensure the continuity of the forest.

"This forest is inherited and inherited land shouldn't be alienated" (Valentin from Lapos)

"The forest I have is heritage from my grandfather; he would twist in his grave if I will not take care of his forest" (Nicu, Prohozesti)

One important aspect to be mentioned here and is valuable for both communities is that not only the forest as a material thing was transmitted to the people but also the norms, believes and the attitudes that the ancestors once had towards the forests:

"From father to son I learned to appreciate and love the forest" (Genu, Lapos)

"If I had a forest I would know how to take care of it like I learned from my father. He taught me to cut the trees only when is full moon because then the trees are not in sap and to cut only crooked and old trees." (Neculai, Prohozesti)

"I used to go with my father to the forest and he was telling me: do not cut this tree because is too straight, cut the ones are crooked and do not cut the trees that hold the ravines on place." (Stefan, Prohozesti)

The third morale aspect was 'reconciliation with the nature' and was found among three respondents from Lapos. 'Reconciliation with the nature' was expressed here as a form of easiness in accepting losses caused by natural occurrences such as attack of large carnivores on livestock and people, or wild boars that destroy the maize crops. For example Valentin from Lapos was telling about "tarlitul oilor" which is something specific for Lapos village, when in the autumn the shepherds that returned with the sheep from the mountain they would stay a while outside the village on someone's land parcel to fertilize the soil and at the same time a day would be organized when the sheep owners are asked to come to the place and take their sheep home for the winter time. In this village almost everyone owns sheep. It may happen that when the summer ends some sheep are found to be missing

from the flock and the shepherd has to justify what happened to the sheep. Normally they do this by bringing the sheepskin which will show signs if the sheep was eaten by a wild beast or by the shepherd. In any case, it seems that the people from the village show much understanding and they do not complain about losing some of their sheep, even if the shepherd is not able always to find back the skin or remains of the eaten sheep. As Valentine argues, people in Lapos guide themselves by the principle that: "padurea ne da si padurea ne si ia", it means "forest give us, forest takes from us". This attitude of accepting with ease the damage caused by wild animals I identified among people from Lapos when they talked about wild boars destroying crops, or wolfs attacking the sheep or horses left unattended to graze on the village' pasture situated at the edge of the forest.

There was another case that ratifies the idea of 'reconciliation with the nature'. Chivuta from Lapos told about a scary happening that took place not long ago. Her older son and her grandson where bitten by a wolf infected with the rabies disease. The same wolf attacked more people in the same day and this was his last stop because it finally got killed by Chivuta's grandson trying to save his father. The sad part of the story is that the son of Chivuta died following this tragic accident. This happened on the forest property of her son. Chivuta, although feeling very sad and she could stop crying telling about this event, seems to accept the situation and she believe that this is a sign from God that her son was killed by the "thing that he loved the most, the forest". Her story is also confirmed by many newspapers, one can be read (Romanian language) on (http://www.presaonline.com/stiri/stirilocale/atacati-de-lup-la-darmanesti-337318.html). More than that, Chivuta talks also about the occurrence of wild life in the village which she associates with "a sign for difficult economic times", which is an expression often told by her parents and grandparents and which in her opinion is well justified when looking todayat how much poverty people have to endure. The third person who added an extra answer in this part is Madalina who told that she often experienced being in the forest during the night and that she learned that the forest with all the wild beasts could not harm her and rather she believes that "the only animal you should be afraid of in the forest is mankind".

In Prohozesti I found a different attitude towards the occurrence of wildlife in people's surroundings: Dorita from Prohozesti complained that the badgers come from the forest and destroy the maize crops and that it is one of the reasons that she abandoned that land plot (this result will be included in the chapter regarding attachment to ALPs)

Negative emotional attachment

Feelings of concern were expressed in both communities as an attitudinal disagreement for some occurrences regarding the forests such as: the private ownership and the fact that the forests is decreasing.

The first aspect mentioned in both communities (n=6 in Lapos and n=5 in Prohozesti) to bring concern regarding the forests is **the private ownership**. For respondents from Lapos, the occurrences that took place in Asau is seen in the first place a consequence of private ownership were the state didn't have control over the deforestation rates and therefore the 'disasters' that happened there:

"Much forest is deforested nowadays; did you hear what happened in Asau? People devastated the forest when they received it back from the state." (Florian, Lapos)

People from Lapos express their concerns in terms of negative outcomes to the forest that may be caused by private ownership such as: 'increased deforestation', 'massive uncontrolled deforestation'; 'chaos'; 'forest devastated' and people approve that the state is best in managing the forest: "forest

was better when was better the property of the state". There was also one particular example showing also the positive side of state ownership but this time by comparing it with the situation created by the newly installed royal heir forest owner:

"If you for example want to buy some wood from the privately owned forest, you would pay 150 RON for one cart and there is a big chance to get only rotten wood. From the state owned forests near the village you pay 70 RON and the forest ranger will mark for you much better quality wood and of course it is much cheaper than in the privately owned forest. "(Mihai, Lapos)

In Prohozesti, people also showed concern regarding private ownership but not by referring to what happened in other places as the people from Lapos referred, but rather by personal experiences with private ownership. One such example is Busuioc, from Prohozesti, who is very convinced that private ownership was not a good idea:

"the forest was better under the state ownership and not like it is today destroyed" (Busuioc, Prohozesti)

Andrei from Prohozesti gave some details of what happened when the forests were given back to the people:

"There was a period of time when some Albanian wood trading company came to this area and convinced the new private forest owners to sell the wood to them for a very cheap price. If there were some people who didn't want to deforest, then the chance that other people would steal the wood was very big. Therefore the deforestation was done anyway and you talk about hundreds of hectares that disappeared in no time" (Andrei, Prohozesti).

The second aspect which is very much linked to the first, for which respondents in both communities showed concern (n=5 for each village), is the fact that the **forests are decreasing**. Although in Lapos deforestation is relatively under control, people from this village show a great concern for the fate of the forest, by comparing the forest today with how it used to be in the past and also by the alarm of what happened in Asau. They noticed that the forests are deforested at a higher rate than it used to in the past and they acknowledge that this is not a good thing. I saw people crying (Ionel from Lapos) or swearing (Genu from Lapos) or having an angry tone in their voice (Mihai from Lapos) when asked to talk about the forests. And they all said the same thing, that the forest is no longer what it used to be and that the older generations knew better how to cherish the forest:

"When I see the barren hills it breaks my heart. The forest is 80% destroyed (here he refers to the forests in Asau). The older generations knew how to really appreciate the forest. Until the 90's the forest was intact, with massive trees, and when you look nowthere is nothing of what there used to be, there are now meadows instead of woods." (Ionel, Lapos)

One respondent gives a chronological mark of when things started to go wrong with the forest:

"In the last 20 years, since the fall of the communist system there is too much deforestation taking place and too little trees planting." (Mihai, Lapos)

Another respondent showed a deep concern that he may face a period when there will be no forest anymore and then:

"If there is no forest anymore, we are going to freeze in the winter" (Genu, Lapos)

In Prohozeti as well people tend to compare the forest from the past with the forest as it is today and acknowledge that today the forest is not treated in a responsible way as it used to be in the past:

"During my grandparents' time, the forest was much better maintained. There was no need for the trees to be marked by the ranger, people knew how to be selective when logging trees and they were doing it in a responsible way." (Andrei from Prohozesti)

and also nothing is done in return as it used to be in the past:

"My forest was only towering oaks when nationalization process came. They cut down absolutely all the oaks because they needed them for making electric power poles but at least they (the communists) planted acacia instead. Today nobody plants anything anymore" (Busuioc, Prohozesti)

Someone else told how sad it is too see every day "the fully loaded trucks" and he fears that the 'forests are disappearing overnight", and another respondent states that forest is cut chaotically and by doing this people don't show

"any respect or love for the ones that planted these forests" (Neculai, Prohozesti)

Feelings of inability_were expressed among three respondents from Prohozesti and none in Lapos. An emotional case for this situation is Olimpia who told me that she and her husband felt too old and powerless to fight for the forest property rights. They regret that they couldn't pass the forest to their children. The man said the forest that he planted when he was young had now become very beautiful and the trees are very big in diameter. More than that, this forest has a really special meaning for Olimpia's husband because as young boy for him and his siblings, forest was the only means of surviving when both their parents died at an early age.

On the other side we have Busuioc and Stefan from Prohozesti who express this type of feeling through the fact that they cannot do anything to change the situation regarding their forest which is in a similar situation, subject to wood theft and the forestry state department, the police and even their own children don't show any willingness in helping them out: "the state doesn't help me at all and my children show no interest".

Feelings of deprivation People that expressed this type of feeling (n=3 in Lapos and n=4 in Prohozesti) are of two kinds, the ones that feel deprived of forest benefits and the ones that feel deprived of ownership rights.

The reasons for feeling **deprived of forest benefits** are found to be different for the two communities. In Lapos this type of feeling was mentioned two times and is triggered by the restricted access since the forest was claimed by the Austrian royal heir, who became forest owner "overnight". The seriousness of this newly installed forest regime can be seen in the following expression:

"If they catch you taking one mushroom from their forest, they put the trigger on you". (Costica, Lapos)

For the same reason, Chivuta from Lapos expressed similar feelings but for a more materialistic point of view:

"The new Austrian owner doesn't allow you to take a mushroom or one wooden stick. Every day I see how fully loaded trucks are bringing wood away from the forests that me and many people from this region planted with our hands" (Chivuta, Lapos)

In Prohozesti, deprivation of forest benefits was expressed by three people. One respondent, Olimpia which didn't succeed in getting possession of the forest inherited by her husband, considers that it is unfair that she and her children must spend lots of money every winter to buy fire wood when actually they should have the rights to take wood from this forest. The other two respondents (Busuioc and

Stefan) from Prohozesti feel deprived of the forest benefits through the fact that there are no trees anymore in their forests: "there are few chances that the forest will ever recover from this status" and that other people had gained benefits from their forests:

"Whoever had tractors and chainsaws took advantage of the situation, all the others just watched and suffered" (Stefan, Prohozesti)

The second kind of deprivation feelings includes the people that feel **deprived of ownership rights.** There is one per village and both have the same meaning that is unfair that they didn't receive the inherited forest for different reason, either because of some administrative complications: " Darmanesti is the only region where the city hall didn't find the right papers to help the people get their forest properties", either because some other people had higher priority "Only elite people receive their forest properties, such as the mayor who got 10 hectares of forest without any ownership rights."

Feelings of indifference stated five times among respondents from Prohozesti and none in Lapos.

The indifference was expressed once by Dorita from Prohozesti who told that she knows about the deforestation rates that take place in the area but she doesn't care as long as this is not her forest. This attitude expressed by Dorita comes in contrast with the attitude of those expressing feelings of care.

The other four respondents expressed their indifference towards the forest by not having the willingness or the interest in maintaining the forest like the case of Gheorghe; or showed no interest in taking over the forest they should normally inherit from family relatives (e.g. Vasile, Iordache and Costelus)

"I didn't see my forest for years; I gave it to someone living closer to the forest." (Gheorghe, Prohozesti)

"I have no idea and no interest to know what happened to my parent's property in the forest." (Costelus, Prohozesti)

Feelings of Impoverishment

This type of feeling was expressed only by Vasile from Prohozesti who sees the forest properties of his father more as a burden through the taxes that he would be obliged to pay in the case he would become the official owner:

"It is better that I didn't claim the forest property inherited from my father because if it was in my name I would have to pay taxes starting next year, as it will be considered abandoned land. There is this new law coming next year and all land owners will be forced to maintain their properties, otherwise they will pay taxes. Thus better like this for me." (Vasile, Prohozesti)

In Figure 4.6 we can see that in Lapos the richness in positive feelings is higher than in Prohozesti were people express rather negative feelings, which means that the level of emotional attachment among people in Lapos is higher than in Prohozesti. In both communities the feelings that dominated the emotional attachment are similar, respectively ''feelings of morality' accounts most for the positive attachment and 'feelings of concern' account most for the negative attachment.

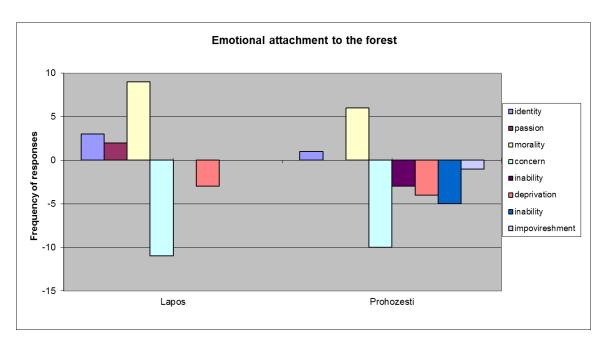


Figure 4.6: Differences in level of emotional attachment to the forests of Lapos and Prohozesti

4.4.4 Summary of findings on attachment to forests of Lapos and Prohozesti

The first outcome of these results is that it seems a forest is not only a place to get wood, although people in the two communities depend very much on wood especially for warming their houses in the winter. The forest is more than that, it offers a large range of social benefits: is a source of health, a source of recreation, a source of safety, a socio-cultural site and it is also a source of income through other economic benefits besides obtaining wood. All these types of benefits cause people to form a functional attachment to the forest but to a different degree between the two communities. This difference is triggered in first place by the fact that in Lapos people see the economic benefits offered by the forest on a long term basis and they also seem to value the forest mostly for its social benefits, while people in Prohozesti are concerned in first place with the economic goods and they tend to make immediate use of the benefits, especially TFPs. When talking about the social benefits, it is clear that in Lapos people have a brighter view than people in Prohozesti of what the forest can offer to them besides the wood. They especially give value to the benefits to health the forest gives to their body and soul while in Prohozesti these benefits are rarely mentioned. This difference in viewing the forest may be explained by the direct road access and smaller distance to the forest in Lapos which increases interaction with the forest. As it is told in literature, repeated interaction with a place increases attachment to that place. This aspect may also explain the higher range of positive feelings associated to the forest amongst respondents from Lapos. The expressed feelings, identity and passion among respondents from Lapos show that people in this village often interact with the forest. Their relation is so strong people use the word 'forest' or 'mountains' or 'woods' as a way of expressing their own identity. Further evidence that interaction with the place increases the attachment is the fact that amongst respondents from Prohozesti, the few social benefits and positive feelings associated with the forest were mentioned by people that come in contact with the forest either because they are forest owners, or because they are involved in logging, or visit family that live in the mountain areas. When talking about the economic benefits, the difference in levels of attachment is triggered by two factors, the way forest is administrated (better administrated in Lapos than in Prohozesti) and the way people make use of the economic benefits (in Lapos long term benefits and in Prohozesti, short term benefits).

This difference in mentality could be also the result of the former collectivization system when people were thought to be production oriented.

With some exceptions, in both communities forest properties (either located in the mountains or isolated) are too small to ensure the needed amount of wood, thus people are depending on the wood from the state forest. This dependency makes people feel concerned with the visible decrease in the amount of forest and as the people from Lapos had seen in other areas (e.g. Asau) and people in Prohozesti experienced themselves, private ownership is the main reason for the decrease of forest. In such, even forest owners are facing the fact that they are not able to take care of their forest plots, admit that introducing the private ownership was not a good thing and that the state is best at managing the forest. These people in Prohozesti are very dissatisfied with all the factors that brought about the bad state of the forest. About the people that originally promoted the private ownership law, to the city hall for not taking any initiative to improve the condition of the forest, the police department for being corrupted and not doing their job in stopping the wood theft that occurs much in these areas. They also blame the state for not creating job opportunities for the young generations, which is also the main reason that so much wood is subject to theft. Feeling unable to take care of their forest parcels, eventually people from Prohozesti, started abandoning their forests (see feelings of indifference), while in Lapos even those that are not satisfied with their forest properties are keeping the forests and this can be again explained by the range of positive feelings expressed by this community (see emotional attachment).

4.5 Pro-environmental behaviour

The second main question in my research was regarding people's engagement in activities that are thought to improve the quality of the natural environment referred here as the pro-environmental behaviour. The reason for finding answers to this question was to discover if the general level of attachment per village is also corresponding with the level of pro-environmental behaviour. First step in finding these answers was to see what is people understanding of natural environment. Second step was asking people if they do any activities to improve the quality of these aspects mentioned by them to be part of the natural environment.

4.5.1 People's understanding of natural environment

When asked people about to give a definition of natural environment their first reaction was being very shy and didn't have the courage to make a definition. Then I understood that the word 'definition' was actually scaring them. Then I start avoiding the word 'definition' and instead asking about what does natural environment represent for them. I saw that asking in this way people felt more free to talk about it and below are some of the 'definitions' of how people in the two communities perceive the natural environment:

"Nature is in first place in our lives. If there is no oxygen, the forest and the creatures, and if the people do not keep the nature clean how would people survive? Waking up in the morning and breathing the fresh air coming from the forest that smells like flowers and wood, that feels like clean environment". (Ionel, Lapos)

"Environment is everything around us; it is the nature in which we live including the trees, the soil, and the atmosphere." (Doina, Lapos)

"Environment is everything we breathe, everything that is around us that is important to be kept clean, unpolluted." (Valentin, Lapos)

"Environment is the atmosphere where we live and which is important to keep clean." (Iordache, Prohozesti)

"Everything that surrounds the village: the green areas, the trees, the rivers, etc." (Andrei, Prohozesti)

One person also included the build environment like the yard and the social environment such as the neighbours as being integrative parts of the natural environment, a kind of holistic vision which refers rather to the community as a whole.

"The yard, the neighbours, the air and the water are part of the natural environment." (Marius, Lapos)

Another person defines the natural environment as being something supernatural that comes from above:

"Nature is something from God, something clean, healthy." (Dorita, Prohozesti)

And there are some people that couldn't define natural environment as a clear definition but indirectly they gave the impression that they knew what it means: "I don't know, ask my daughter, she is studying ecology" (Florian, Lapos) or "Chernobyl destroyed our health" (Neculai, Prohozesti).

What we can conclude from this few definitions is that people in both villages are aware of the natural environment. People construct their definitions around a multitude of terms that point out parts of the environment that they can sense, thus the nearby environment. Among these terms the most are referring to natural resources that are important for their lives such as water, oxygen, the trees, the forest, the soil, the rivers and the green areas. Another term often used in these definitions is the word 'clean' which expresses people's desire in maintaining those elements of the natural environment in good condition.

Thus the next question was to ask the people from both villages about their level of engagement in activities that may improve the quality of those elements they had included in their definition of natural environment. The types of answers to these questions are given in the next subchapter.

4.5.2 Comparison of the two villages, Lapos and Prohozesti on pro-environmental behaviour

There are five types of pro-environmental activities mentioned in both communities. First three activities are directed to improve the natural environment in the village itself, the second activity is regarded to the agricultural land properties and the fifth activity is concerning the natural environment in the forests.

First pro-environmental activity includes a range of activities that people from the two communities claim to do to maintain private and common green areas of the community such as: cleaning the gardens, the forests properties inside the village, the agricultural land properties, the perimeter surrounding their house, the ravines situated near their house or the pasture or other grazing areas belonging to the village. Most of these cleaning activities imply gathering all the waste such as plastic or other materials and dry leaves, dry grass, make a pile and burn it.

An important aspect to mention regarding the activity of showing pro-environmental behaviour is that in both communities, people keep these parts of the natural environment clean for the sake of the community and to please the other people in the community and not because they are aware of improving the quality of the natural environment. Some of the examples of such activities are presented below:

"Like many other young couples in the village I built a bathroom in the house. Not having a drainage system like many houses in this village, the waste water flows all over the road. I am conscious that this fact can create conflicts with the neighbours which use the same road because the waste water smells very bad. I intend as soon I have the money to build a septic tank." (Iordache, Prohozesti)

"I asked my neighbours to help me with cleaning the ravine opposite of my house, for many years this ravine was used as waste dump and it smelt very bad and it was ugly to see all that waste. After cleaning all that waste, together with my neighbours we also made a fence around the ravine and since then it is kept clean." (Doinita, Lapos)

"Around our village there are many fresh water springs that are maintained by people from the village because the livestock from the village when passing by every evening after grazing can drink fresh water." (Geta, Lapos)

This aspects shows that people through their care of the physical aspects of the village or through their care about the livestock, they also engage in pro-environmental actions even though they are not always aware of it.

Sorting the waste such as plastic or iron was mentioned as the second pro-environmental activity in the village context and was mentioned by almost all the respondents from Lapos and Prohozesti. It is very common in these two communities that the plastic that cannot be recycled (re-used for bottling wine or milk) is burned together with other waste that can be burned. It was interesting to hear that people call the burning process of the plastic "recycling", and not the fact that they re-use the plastic bottles or plastic bags. Again people engage in pro-environmental actions such as recycling but they are not aware of it.

"I prefer to burn the plastic and any other materials that can be burned because in this way I use less waste bags." (Doina, Lapos)

In both communities there are also plastic recycling bins installed in the village but the problem is that these bins are located from place to place and people consider the distance too far, therefore they prefer burning the plastic. But also people that possess a car or people that live near these collecting points don't make use of these. Thus it seems that burning the plastic is more a habit that people learned since the time before these plastic bins were installed in the village and nowadays when they have the opportunity to deposit the plastic they don't do it. When asking people if they were aware of the air pollution they created by burning the plastic, none of the respondents from either village responded affirmative.

Another way of sorting the waste common for both villages is by not throwing corpses of dead animals with the common waste but instead burying them in their own gardens. People's explanation for this action is that they are afraid that the dead animals would spread diseases.

"I never throw dead chickens, I bury them deep in the ground so that dogs cannot dig up the corpse and I bury them also far from the water well." (Stefan, Prohozesti)

A third pro-environment action mentioned by few people from Lapos only and not mentioned at all in Prohozesti is **planting trees** but again the reasons they do this is not that people are necessarily aware of the benefits they bring to the nature but rather to the benefit they bring to themselves and to other people in the community:

"I planted 50 acacia in the ravine situated at the edge of my back garden, I was afraid that the valley would run off otherwise. The acacia flowers give so much perfume during the summer and I see that my neighbour's bees also like my acacias, I see them many times crossing the road in swarms." (Geta, Lapos)

"The land is embellishing the environment, therefore is important to maintain it well and to cultivate and plant a high diversity of crops and trees....I planted 100 trees near the forest I have under my supervision." (Mihai, Lapos)

"I planted 400 pine trees and many acacias on a patch of land where nothing was growing and where it was difficult to produce hay because of the sloping terrain." (Doinita, Lapos)

The forth pro-environmental action is by showing **responsible behaviour** in the way people treat the forests. This type of activity was mentioned five times in Lapos and one time in Prohozesti as following shows:

"It takes at least 20 years for a tree to grow and only few minutes to cut it down, so I prefer to let my forest grow." (Doinita, Lapos)

"We must differentiate between what can be cut and what not (Mihai, Lapos)

"I don't like people throwing garbage in the forest; I often have fights with these kinds of people." (Madalina, Lapos)

"I contested a false announcement about high deforestation in the Lapos region." (Chivuta, Lapos)

"Healthy trees I let grow to produce seeds." (Costel, Lapos)

"We cannot cut all the forests for our economic needs...I never cut trees randomly." (Gigel, Prohozesti)

This type of behaviour shows that on one side people have knowledge about the growing process of the trees and also that they use this knowledge in a positive way, by means of protecting the forests.

Finally the last pro-environmental activity that was found mostly in Lapos (n=9) is about the critical and responsible attitude to approaching the agricultural land properties through **non-use of chemical fertilizers** and using manure instead. The reasons people in Lapos don't use chemical fertilizers can be classified as follows:

i) chemical fertilizers negatively changes the quality of the soil and consequently, it changes the quality of yields:

"Chemical fertilizers are weakening the soil, one year you get very high production, next year you get nothing if you don't use it again." (Mihai, Lapos)

"If you use once, you must use it every year, if I use natural manure it is enough to fertilize once in 3 years." (Costica, Lapos)

"I only used once chemicals and never again. I burned all the onions except few at the edge of the culture which grew huge and without taste." (Doinita, Lapos)

ii) chemical fertilizers are seen as dangerous for people's health and the health of the livestock:

"During the communist system, chemicals were applied heedlessly on the common pasture of the village, and the poor cows had to eat that grass which looked more as metal wire than grass." (Ionel, Lapos)

"I don't use chemical fertilizers because I used to work in a chemical institute, so I know how poisonous they are for our health and for the nature." (Genu, Lapos)

iii) chemical fertilizers have a destructive effect on nature:

"Chemical fertilizers are influencing the plants breeding process. I know some place where chemical fertilizers were applied in the past, and there the good quality grass disappeared and today weeds grow there instead." (Ionel, Lapos)

In Prohozesti I found quite the opposite reaction from respondents. People in this village don't seem to be concerned about the negative effects of chemical fertilizers but rather they consider the chemical fertilizers as a necessity to satisfy their needs by reaching high crop production.

Except one person, namely Gigel who acknowledged that chemical fertilizers "are dangerous for the health of the people and the livestock" in Prohozesti all the other respondents are favouring chemical fertilizers:

"Chemical fertilizers involves less work to applyt and also you do not requires a horse cart for the transportation like in the case of manure." (Olimpia, Prohozesti)

"People also used chemicals during collectivization, why should this be wrong to use? As long as you know when to apply them, there is no problem with using them". (Andrei, Prohozesti)

"If I would have the money for sure I would use chemical fertilizers to get double production." (Neculai, Prohozezti)

"Our soil is used to chemical fertilizers after so many years of being used during collectivization times. You don't fertilize, you get nothing produced." (Vasile, Prohozesti)

Thus for the people in Prohozesti, the use of chemical fertilizers is a matter of convenience as it implies less work than using manure and a matter of habits learned in past collectivisation times. Through their motivation to use the chemical fertilizers, people from Prohozesti except Gigel, don't seem to take in account the harm they may cause to nature, to the livestock and to themselves as the people in Lapos do.

In the following two images we will see in the left a land field in Lapos where manure is used as fertilizers and in the right image we can see some onions grown in Prohozesti with the use of chemical fertilizers. These two images are put together to show the contrast of the different views people in the two communities have regarding use of chemical fertilizers respectively quality in Lapos VS quantity in Prohozesti.



Image 10 Use of manure in Lapos VS use of chemical fertilizers in Prohozesti

As well in both communities there are also people that do not involve in pro-environmental actions and the reasons differ per community. In Lapos people told that is a matter of time availability, while in Prohozesti is a matter of dependence on other people's initiative:

"I don't have too much time due to my job; otherwise I would involve more in these kinds of actions because I consider that by helping the natural environment, I help myself." (Madalina, Lapos)

Now after giving an overview of the type of answers I received from the people of the two communities, the next step is to show you the prevalence of answers found in both communities which I will present in Figure 4.7. The prevalence of answers was done by counting in each community all the respondents that told they were involved in the pro-environmental actions mentioned above.

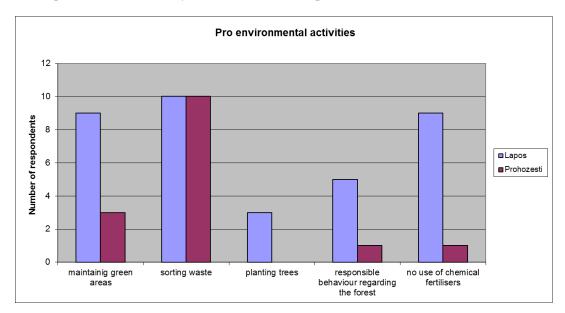


Figure 4.7 Frequency of pro-environmental behaviour in Lapos and Prohozesti.

Figure 4.7 lets us see that in Lapos people engage more often in pro-environmental actions compared with the people from Prohozesti. Especially, people from Lapos spend more time maintaining the common green areas of the village, and they also involve more often in pro-environmental actions thought to improve the quality if the forests and agricultural land properties.

4.5.3 Summary of findings on pro-environmental behaviour in Lapos and Prohozesti

The results in this chapter are telling us that in both communities people have knowledge of the natural environment but their knowledge is restricted to the elements of the environment that they can sense and that are important for their lives. When is about the activities that they involve in improving the quality of the environment it seems that their motivation is more a matter of doing something useful for the community and its people rather than for the environment itself. Actually people help the natural environment but they are not aware of it. This could also explain the fact that three of the five activities are directed to improve the natural environment inside the village while for the forests

[&]quot;I don't involve in pro-environmental actions because I wasn't solicited to do so, no one takes initiative in our village." (Costelus, Prohozesti)

and agricultural and properties there was only one activity mentioned and most of all by people from Lapos. Furthermore, when is about the differences between the two communities as we could see also in fig, more people in Lapos are involving in pro-environmental activities than people in Prohozesti which means that on community level in Lapos there is a higher pro-environmental behaviour than in Prohozesti.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and discussion

5.1 Conclusions

This thesis was aimed at getting a deeper understanding of the attachment people have, living in rural Romania, with their rural community and its relation with their pro-environmental behaviour and to understand what the role of the former collectivisation system has on attachment, pro-environmental behaviour and its relation. For this purpose three main questions were researched and they will be answered one by one in this chapter.

1. Are there differences between former collectivized and non-collectivized rural communities of Romania, regarding people's attachment to the village, the agricultural land properties and the forests? If yes, are these differences in some way related to the changes brought by the former collectivisation system?

In general people in the non-collectivized community (Lapos) show a higher functional attachment through being more positively satisfied with the benefits (social and economic) offered by the village, agricultural land properties and forests, than people in the former collectivized community (Prohozesti).

In the village context, people in both communities have similar desires to benefit from their village: they want a good relationship with the other villagers, they want a clean environment and some facilities such as a pasture to be able to raise livestock as other economic gains are not easy to achieve in their village. Despite the critics in literature that in collectivism people were "torn apart by intimidation, distrust and sometimes violence" (Dobrincu in press), it seems that nowadays at village level people are maintaining good relationships and this is no different from a non-collectivized community. On the other side, the other two desired benefits, a clean environment and availability of a pasture are found positive satisfactory in Lapos while in Prohozesti negative satisfactory. There are several reasons for these differences in perceiving the two characteristics of the village differently. First, the fact that the environment in Prohozesti is not satisfactory for the people and the fact that there is no available pasture is because of local administrative matters that are different from Lapos. Second, it is a matter of habit to dump the waste in green common areas such as the riverine area. This habit seems to be learned from collectivisation times when due to the spatial land changes that occurred inside the village people had very little space around their houses which didn't allow them to burn the waste so they had to search for different alternatives. Third, because the waste is dumped by the river it has also had an implication on the grazing possibilities in the village. In the past people used to graze their livestock in the riverine area that was a good alternative for the unavailability of a pasture in the village but because of the dumped waste, people stopped using this area for grazing their livestock and the few people that still practice this habit are forced to feed their animals indoors. All these aspects put together make people in Prohozesti express a negative satisfaction towards their village and therefore the lower functional attachment to the village when compared to Lapos. But despite the differences in functional attachment, no big differences were found in the type of feelings expressed in relation to the village amongst people from the two communities. In both communities, people's emotional attachment is triggered in first place by feelings of identity, village is their home, is the place they are most familiar with and is the place they feel connected with their ancestors. I would say, on village level, emotional attachment has a bigger influence than the functional attachment in making people stay close to their village.

In the ALP's context the differences between the two communities on functional attachment are triggered by the fact that in Lapos people appreciate more the quality of the crops and are less focused on production, while in Prohozesti the main concern is the productivity of the land. Although in Lapos the land cannot satisfy in totality peoples economic needs, due to the fact that the soil is not very suitable for some crops like maize and potatoes, people continue cultivating their lands none the less with the strong belief that what they cultivate is tasty and healthy for them and for the livestock. What makes it possible for these people to maintain their lands, despite the poverty in the area is the fact that they still use the traditional way of land use practices by fertilizing with manure that they produce by raising livestock and also by using the horses for the work activities. As the village facilitates animal husbandry through the clean environment and the availability of a pasture, people in Lapos have enough possibilities to continue this way of living with their ALPs. Their positive satisfaction with the ALPs is also enhancing positive feelings such as identity, and passion for the land and also allows people to accomplish their wishes to pass the land to their children and pay respect to their ancestors as these two are the main wishes expressed through feelings of morality.

On the other side in Prohozesti, people lost this traditional way of maintaining the land, once the land was taken away from them when collectivisation came and people were taught to use chemical fertilizers and pesticides and use of mechanization. Nowadays, these facilities are not there anymore, people have no money to buy the fertilizers or the pesticides, don't have the money to hire tractors and the soil has become dependent to the use of these kinds of treatments for such long time. Thus, it is no wonder that the crop yields are much lower than what people were used to having in the past and this triggers a low functional attachment to the agricultural land among people from Prohozesti. Another reason for people in Prohozesti to complain about the low crop productivity is through the fact that crops get stolen every year. This habit seems also to originate from collectivisation times when people used to take crops from the collectivized land to supplement their need for food. More than this, the two functional characteristics of the village that were found to influence the level of attachment the most, the non-availability of a pasture and reduced grazing possibility by the river has led to a low number of livestock in Prohozesti. Low numbers of livestock implies low availability of manure and also fewer transportation possibilities like the horses that can be used for maintenance and harvesting work which further has implications for the low levels of satisfaction with ALPs amongst people from Prohozesti. This is one example showing that the characteristics of the spatial dimensions within a community may influence each other and in turn may contribute to the level of functional attachment.

Due to the reason that people in Prohozesti cannot get from the land what they used to get in the past, they start expressing negative feelings such as 'feelings of alienation' by abandoning the land properties or having thoughts of giving the land to a land owner association. On the other side, abandoned land enhances other types of negative feelings and they are 'feelings of concern' through which people show that indeed land abandonment is a serious issue in this community and also in other former collectivized communities in this region. Besides feelings of concern, land abandonment makes some people become negatively satisfied with the village as it is considered by those that abandoned land as not nice to see. As it was found in Lapos, in Prohozesti many people, through 'feelings of morality' expressed their wish to transfer the land properties to their children and to keep the land within the family as a way to pay respect to their ancestors. Thus, on one hand, despite the low functional benefits, people want to keep the land which shows that they are emotionally attached to it but on the other hand people are feeling so helpless that they are willing to get rid of the land.

Thus generally we may say that changes produced by the former collectivisation system such as land spatial changes in the village, change of soil quality, changes in people's habits and people's

orientations combined with the low financial opportunities are the main reasons influencing the functional attachment to agricultural land properties among people from Prohozesti.

In the forests context there are differences and similarities between the two communities in both functional and emotional attachment. The main difference regarding the functional attachment is that people from Lapos value the forests not mainly for the TFP like people in Prohozesti do but mainly for the social benefits and for the economic benefits that they can receive in the long term from the forests. Through the rich range of social benefits mentioned by people from Lapos we can deduct that there people have a brighter view of what a forest can offer beside the economic goods. This aspect can also explain the richness of positive feelings expressed among people from Lapos in relation with the forest such as identity, passion and also feelings of morality regarding people's easy acceptance of wild life in their surroundings. These types of feelings don't show only a high emotional attachment but also that people identify themselves with elements that are part of the natural environment that they come in contact with.

In Prohozesti people are less concerned with the social benefits and focus on immediate economic benefits especially to gain the wood that they need in the winter for personal use or for sale. As only three respondents can satisfy these types of needs, two that own forests in the mountains and the other working in wood exploitation, while the rest of the respondents that own forests are negatively satisfied, that is why the level of functional attachment is higher in Lapos than in Prohozesti.

In both communities people are dependent on wood, so the forests became the income source for many people that have no other means of surviving. This fact contributed to the decrease of forests in the amount of trees and is a reason for people in both communities to be negatively satisfied with the economic benefits of the forests but also to express feelings of concern as people are seeing the decrease of forests as a threat to their lives. But yet, although the reasons for the decrease of forests are similar in both communities, they operate on different scales when comparing them which could explain not only the differences in perceiving the economic benefits but also the feelings triggered by these perceptions.

First of all, it seems that the decrease in forests is a consequence of private ownership. This we can conclude based on a range of facts told by the respondents from both communities. In Lapos as well in Prohozesti people admitted that the forests private ownership system was not the right thing to do and they admit that only the state can have good control over the forests. This aspect was confirmed also in other areas of Romania (see Lawrence and Szabo, 2005).

The fact that in Lapos people sees the forests as better maintained than other areas is mainly due to the fact that here not many people received their forests properties after 1989. Although this fact make some people feel deprived of their forests ownership rights, most of the respondents favour the state ownership above all. It seems that the high deforestation that occurred in Asau as a consequence of private ownership and was a good lesson for the people in Lapos. Many times in their answers people from Lapos referred to Asau as a negative reference point when they were trying to tell of the good quality forests in their region. The people of Prohozesti, however, faced directly the negative effects of private ownership system.

Secondly, the different applied forests management regimes to the isolated forests compared with the mountain forests gave way to much wood theft especially in the isolated forests owned by people from Prohozesti were these forests are located far away from the village compared to Lapos were the isolated forests are located in the village. As such, people in Prohozesti are not able to ensure a proper

security and therefore these forests were completely deforested by other people living nearest the forests. More than that, it seems that a natural regeneration of the forests is not possible because shepherds are grazing their sheep in these deforested places. These aspects combined with the fact that people have no money to invest in maintenance of the forests and also don't have the confidence that these forests will get the chance to recover, make people express negative feelings about the forests such as feelings of helplessness, indifference and impoverishment. In Lapos, the isolated forests are also subject to wood theft but on a smaller scale, in such that people talk about individual trees that are stolen and not the whole forests like told by people in Prohozesti. This could explain the fact that people in Lapos didn't express the negative feelings expressed by people in Prohozesti.

As the forests were not part of the collectivisation system but of the nationalisation system that included forests from Lapos and Prohozesti, we cannot assume that the differences between the two communities in level of functional and emotional attachment to forests are influenced by the former collectivisation system. It is more likely that they are influenced by other variables as presented above. Thought, people's inclination to value more the economic benefits that the social benefits, which were also found in the case of the agricultural land properties, could be related to changes of people's habits to be production orientated and overlook other types of benefits. But as well, it may be that because people in Lapos have a direct access road to the forests while in Prohozesti the access is done by passing several other villages may be the reason for the people to not visit often the forests and therefore people have narrower views of what the forests may offer them besides wood. These types of questions may be the object of a further research in this area.

Generally speaking, concerning the emotional attachment, among people from both communities, positive emotional attachment it is triggered for all three spatial dimensions mostly by a sense of kinship with family members. For example the attachment to the village is formed mainly due to the fact that people identify with the place that used to be inhabited by their ancestors and that in the village they are familiar with it and in the village is where their family and friends live. Then for the forests and agricultural land properties people in both communities expressed their wish to keep these properties in the family from a wish to pay respect to their ancestors and also the willingness to pass the properties to their children. But there are also a rich range of negative feelings expressed in both communities and these feelings are born from the negative aspects of the place at functional level. With other words, the negative satisfactory benefits in place triggers negative feelings towards that place. As in Prohozesti in general the functional attachment was found lower than in Lapos, these could explain also the higher occurrence of negative feelings in Prohozesti than in Lapos. As well we have found in Prohozesti that positive and negative feelings expressed for the ALPs found are conflicting as in one side people want to keep the properties expressed (see feelings of morality) and at the other side they want to give up the land properties expressed through feelings (see feelings of inability).

2. Are there differences between former collectivized and non-collectivized rural communities of Romania in the way people engage in activities thought to improve the quality of the natural environment in their community? If yes, are these differences in some way related to the changes brought by the former collectivisation system?

The results gained in this part of the study convey two main messages: First is that in both communities people have knowledge of the natural environment. Their knowledge is acquired through life experience, through the things they see, taste, hear, smell or touch. Therefore people define the natural environment through a range of natural resources that they find important for their lives. Second, is that in both communities' people were involved in activities thought to improve the quality of the natural environment that they are most in contact with. In such, three of the five activities are

directed to improve the natural environment inside the village while for the forests and for the agricultural land properties there was only one activity mentioned in relation with these two spatial dimensions. At the village level, the activities people from both communities do it is as a matter of doing something useful for themselves, for the community and its people rather than for the environment itself. In other words, people help the natural environment but without being aware of their contribution to it. For example sorting waste is an activity that people do partly for themselves when burning the plastic so that they can save garbage bags or to save time in bringing the plastic to the garbage facility, partly for the sake of the community as people bury animal corpses to avoid the spreading of diseases. This activity is done by most by the respondents from the two communities but the other two activities, respectively maintaining common used areas and planting trees are done more often in Lapos. The reason why people in Prohozesti are involved less in these two activities is a matter of taking initiative. They are willing to do these activities but someone must ask them to do so while in Lapos people take the initiative by themselves. As it was found that in former collectivized communities the peasants show high poor information, poor responsibility and poor decisional initiatives (Dobrincu, in press) we may argue that the differences between the non-collectivized communities and the former collectivized communities in the way people engage in pro-environmental behaviour it is linked to the changes in people's habits that are brought by the former collectivisation system.

Concerning the agricultural land properties there is only one activity found to show pro-environmental behaviour at this level and that is the use of manure instead of chemical fertilizers. Regarding this activity there is a clear difference between the two communities, in Lapos almost all respondents are totally against using chemical fertilizers while in Prohozesti except one respondent all the others are pro using the chemical fertilizers. Among the respondents from Lapos their motivation in acting in this way is a mixture of being concerned with the harm that chemical fertilizers can inflict on the soil, to the livestock to themselves and to nature. On the other hand in Prohozesti, people's only thoughts when using the chemical fertilizers are concerning the high crop productivity that they can gain and overlooking the negative effects. This difference in mentality is obviously related to past experiences as in Prohozesti, usage of chemical fertilizers is something they learned from collectivisation times. Concerning the forests, again we have only one type of activity that shows a pro-environmental behaviour especially among people from Lapos was it was most mentioned. This type of activity is actually a combination of facts that people consider they do in order to improve the regeneration of the forests, or to maintain the forests cleanliness, etc. These activities are told to be done by people that are maintaining contact with the forests such as forests owners or people that work in wood exploitation. It means that by maintaining contact with the forests, people gain knowledge of what it takes for a forest to be in good condition and so they can act in a responsible manner.

As a general conclusion, when comparing the two communities on the way people engage in these activities thought to help the natural environment, it is clear that more people in Lapos are involved in pro-environmental activities than people in Prohozesti which means that at the community level in Lapos there is a higher degree of pro-environmental behaviour than in Prohozesti.

3. Is there any link between the pro-environmental behaviour and attachment?

The response to this question cannot be answered directly from the empirical findings but by combining the findings on place attachment and the findings on pro-environmental behaviour, thus

combining the conclusions of the previous two research question. More than that, previous literature describing this type of relation was also used to make sense of these findings.

What we have found in general is that in the community were higher functional and emotional attachment occurred, thus Lapos, the higher people's engagement in pro-environmental actions. As functional attachment was looked upon the satisfactory characteristics of the three spatial dimensions and emotional attachment was looked upon the types of feelings, we may say that the higher people are satisfied with a place the more positive feelings attributed to a place, the more they will involve in actions for improving its environmental quality.

Thought, in literature it has been found that actually people will involve in pro-environmental actions when they will recognise that there are risks attend to the environment (Stedman, 2002). However we have found that this relation is different per spatial dimension.

In the village context we have found that were people perceive more threats to the environment (in Prohozesti), by means of dissatisfaction with the cleanness of the green spaces, they also involve less in pro-environmental. In contrast, in Lapos were people perceiving fewer risks to the environment in the village they also take more actions in protecting it which means that my findings don't support the claim of (Stedman, 2002). But there may also be a reverse relation in this conclusion. If people involve more in activities to improve natural environment, it means that the natural environment became less at risk thus more satisfactory for them which means a higher functional attachment. With my research I only can say that higher functional attachments foresee higher pro-environmental behaviour but I cannot say which influence which. For that a more detailed research would be necessary. At the other side we saw that at the village level, in Lapos and Prohozesti, people involve in pro-environmental activities, not necessary being aware of the benefits they bring to the environment but rather to the community and its people. With these findings we may argue that even if people perceive the environmental risks like in Prohozesti or do not perceive any risk, people will anyway involve in proenvironmental behaviour for the sake of the community and its people. As 'other people' were often mentioned in the emotional attachment to the village (see feelings of identity), we may also conclude that emotional attachment foresees pro-environmental behaviour.

In the forests context, in one side the affirmation of Stedman (2002) is supported. As we could see in the findings on emotional attachment to the forests in both communities' people express many feelings of concern for the fate of the forests as a result of uncontrolled deforestation and wood theft. Thought, people in Lapos expressed a higher level of pro-environmental behaviour in relation with the forests than people from Prohozesti. These could be explained by another theory found in literature which is supported by my study and which refers to the environmental values as being predictors for the proenvironmental behaviour (Stern et al., 1995; Schults et al., 2000). What we could see in the findings regarding the functional attachment to forests and the findings regarding the functional attachment to ALPs is that although people from Lapos cannot satisfy much their economic needs, they are more oriented to the social benefits especially 'recreation' and 'healthiness'. These two types of benefits are defined by the people through a multitude of values (e.g 'healthy', 'fresh', 'beautiful') that reminds of the natural environment. As people from Lapos expressed higher interest in these sort of values when compared with people from Prohozesti who are mainly concerned with the economic benefits, this difference may explain the difference in pro environmental behaviour in forests and ALPs context that was found greater in Lapos. As values are normally shared among community members, attachment through the social benefits of the place may predict pro-environmental behaviour. Future studies may consider the social benefits as a mediator between functional place attachment and pro-environmental behaviour.

5.2. Discussion

5.2.1 Reflection on my empirical results

We have seen that people from the two different communities, with different historical backgrounds but also other backgrounds, attach and act differently to different spatial dimensions within the same community. In this study we have assessed three spatial dimensions: the village as a residential place, the forests surrounding the village and the agricultural land properties as well as two types of attachment functional and emotional and pro-environmental activities. Although in general we saw that people feel attached to the three spatial dimensions and there is also pro-environmental behaviour in the two communities, the comparisons in this study yielded some findings which would be interesting to discuss.

First, a village is a social concept as much as a physical one. Within the functional attachment to the village there is interplay of social and physical contexts that contribute to people's attachment, while emotional attachment is triggered by deeper meanings such as 'identity'. But we cannot say the same about the ALPs and the forests. For these two spatial dimensions, only the physical context counts for the functional attachment while emotional attachment is positively enhanced by a sense of moral duty to keep the land within the family. It means that indeed like some authors had agreed (e.g. Moore and Greefe, 1994; Vaske and Kobrin, 2001) and others had disagreed (e.g. Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Stedman 2002), functional and emotional attachment are two sub- dimensions of place attachment that can be assessed separately although sometimes it is difficult to decide what belongs to which part.

Second, changes in the physical context combined with different past experiences lived by people in that place make people be less satisfied with the place and therefore have a lower functional attachment. The low functional attachment towards the ALPs in Prohozesti was found to be influenced by the physical changes that had occurred during collectivism times such as changes in the soil quality and also due to what people experienced at that time in terms of crop productivity. Low and Altman (1992) argue that the physical place provides only the background for forming ideas, feelings and memories on place and that actually the experiences lived in place influences people's attachment to that place. With my findings I can say that attachment is a dynamic process and can be influenced by different experiences lived in a place but also by the physical transformations. When a place is subject to a transformation that may interfere in the attachment process it is called in literature 'disruption' to place attachment (Brown and Perkins, 1992). My findings regarding the interfering effect of the former collectivization system within the attachment to the ALPs may be added to the row of 'disruption' causes to place such as: relocation, landslides or burglary, racial or ethnic conflict (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Dixon and Durrheim, 2000; Bogac, 2009; all cited in Devine-Wright and Howes, 2010).

Third, a high number of studies have found that place attachment is greater for physical settings wherein people's goals have been achieved (Proshansky et al., 1981; Moore and Graefe, 1994; Kyle et al, 2004). My findings on attachment to the forests and ALPs in context to the non-former collectivized community have proven the opposite. When the communism system ended, the most ardent goal for those deprived of their property rights due to the former collectivization of agricultural land and nationalization of the forests, was to get these properties back. This goal was so important for these people that even killings occurred at the time the land was received back and shared among the siblings (Verdery, 2003, p. 163). Nowadays these people acknowledge that they are not able to manage these properties by themselves either for financial reasons, for not being able to keep control of the crop theft and wood theft that occur in the area, for not having any support from the local

authorities, or they feel too old and powerless to work the land, etc. Thus the goal was achieved but not the satisfaction and therefore people started abandoning their lands or they are talking about giving the land to a land owners association. It means that not always does the achievement of a goal on a setting; also increase ones attachment to that setting.

Fourth, some of my findings on functional attachment to the forests do not agree with findings of Scannel, (2008) that place attachment is associated with perceptions of current, but not future conditions. I found that people in the non-former collectivized community don't value their forests properties for the direct needs but rather they value it for its anticipated future condition.

Finally, the community with higher level of place attachment towards the village is the same community where people expressed higher involvement in pro-environmental activities. However, this relationship is not based on statistical predictions therefore I only can say that in communities where people express more positive answers about the village, the forests and agricultural land properties, also expressed a higher pro-environmental behaviour but I cannot say how much the attachment to the place accounts for people's behaviour in the place. These finding are in line with other research finding (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001) who indicated that place attachment is significantly related to pro-environmental behaviour and it doesn't support the finding of Uzzell et al. (2002) who found the opposite of this relation.

Though, there is a considerable multitude of variables that could affect pro-environmental behaviour besides the attachment to the place such as: unawareness of such activities, a lack of time, family obligations, the elderly age or one specific for Prohozesti was conflict avoidance with other people from the village.

5.2.2 Limitations of the study

Although the above explanations help to make sense of the findings in this study, they remain speculations based on the richness of positive answers versus negative answers about each of the three spatial dimensions under study. Several limitations of this study should be addressed related to the methodology used and the theoretical construct.

The methodology

First, besides the qualitative approach I have been using in my study, a quantitative method would have been better to underline the differences in the level of attachment despite the fact that some authors affirm that place attachment cannot be quantified but interpreted (Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976). A fixed set of indicators would have been useful in collecting and structuring the data which would have made the comparison more systematic. For example regarding the results on place attachment I could also say besides this that there are also differences and how big these differences are between the two communities. Only with the data I have collected through in-depth interviews that is not possible, this data is only a start in showing that there are some differences in the way people perceive (positively or negatively) the three spatial dimensions.

Second, due to the large amount of questions in my interview guide, I ended up with way too much information and as also there was time limitation I had to leave some questions out without analyzing them. With so many questions to ask, during the interviews I rushed some of the answers which perhaps would have been needed in a more in-depth explanation. Therefore, during analyzing the findings it was sometimes difficult to decide whether some answers could be placed under functional

attachment or emotional attachment. Such an example is "I feel in my own element here" when someone expressed his attachment to the village. In my opinion this saying could mean that he feels comfortable living in such a village and such answer could be placed under functional attachment but could be also placed under emotional attachment as a feeling of identity as a expression of accomplishment of what he became in this village.

Third, questions had to be better validated before starting with the interviews. This could be done through a better pre-testing procedure of the questions which would have been useful in eliminating the ambiguity in the construct of the question and also eliminating the questions that yielded similar answer. As in my interviews I was dealing with forests owners and non-forests owners, I should have made different sets of questions. As I didn't have them, some questions couldn't be properly answered. This fact brought confusion while analyzing the data, as I couldn't always discern if people referred in their answer about the forests in general or about the forests as a property. This aspect may bring misrepresentation in the results regarding the forests. For further research I will suggest that is important to discern between questions referring strictly about the forests as properties and forests in general.

How representative are the two selected case studies for the rural population in general?, I would say in the view of Becker (1998, p.67, cited in Silverman, 2009) who said that "every scientific enterprise tries to find out something that will apply to everything of a certain kind...We need the sample to persuade people that we know something about the whole class", I would say that indeed by researching the two communities I found out 'something' that wasn't known until now. More than that, the fact that per community I found many similar patterns in answers among the respondents, and as the selection of the respondents was randomly done, this may say something about the homogeneity of the selected population and its representativeness for the selected case study. As there is not such a study done before in similar areas, I cannot compare my results with similar results to be able to prove the representativeness of my case study. Thought, until another study will prove the contrary of my study and considering the relative flexibility of qualitative approach that allow us to include new cases after initial findings are established (Silverman, 2009, p. 149) I may say that indeed the results in my research can be generalized for the rest of the communities of rural Romania sharing similar historical background to the ones in my study.

The theory

The existing theory, at least the theory I came across was partially useful for my study because using such a concept which is so flexibly defined, it takes much understanding and especially when used for comparison means. The vastly accepted theory on the concept of place attachment is confusing and therefore I had difficulties in constructing the right interview guide to properly assess the two dimensions of attachment, functional and emotional which would have been fitted to all three spatial dimensions. But considering that such method doesn't exist (for my knowledge) I found it wise to simplify and use the theory in general and selecting one indicator item for each type of attachment, respectively the degree of satisfaction for functional attachment and types of feelings for the emotional attachment. On the other hand this simplification in indicators brought also difficulties in

indexing the data. For example the main difficulty I had to deal with while analyzing the data about the village was when I got many answers about the social interaction that occurs in a village. Perhaps, an additional concept such as 'social capital' would have been more useful in making sense of this kind of data.

5.3 Practical Recommendations:

This study has not involved exploring specific interventions to promote place attachment in either of the two communities, nor has it been possible to explore the causes or effects of promoting place attachment through positive satisfaction or positive feelings and the consequences that these factors may have on pro-environmental behaviour. Nevertheless, in literature promoting place attachment it is seen as desirable in the context of natural resources management context, therefore my motivation in drawing some general recommendations about the kinds of practices that are most likely to be beneficial in the rural areas of Romania. These recommendations will be given in part for each of the three spatial dimensions.

In the **village context**, people in both communities showed functional attachment through similar factors, but the degree through which these factors are satisfying people's needs are different. These two factors are the cleanness of the common green spaces in the village and the availability of a pasture. It was proven in this study that both facilities if they are positively perceived (like in Lapos), raises the level of functional attachment. We also saw that what contributes to these facilities to be positive perceived is a combination of factors such as local administrative facilities (in Lapos there is a better waste management system which ensure the general cleanness of the village and also the availability of the pasture is due to the local administration system) but also due to different habits the people have in the two communities (people in Prohozesti learned from the past times to deposit the waste in the common green areas. At the other side, level of emotional attachment is lowered in Prohozesti by the age profile of the population due to the fact that many young people go abroad in need for a job. Thus my recommendations regarding the village are:

- The local administrative authorities in Prohozesti should take serious account of people's protests regarding the waste management system and the unavailability of a pasture. Facilitating these two factors will not only make people in Prohozesti think more positive about their village but has also implications for the functional attachment to the agricultural land properties, as the availability of grazing areas (in the common green spaces, or through a pasture) will increase the availability of manure that can be used for fertilizing the soil and those a higher crop production.
- People in former collectivized should receive some information over the harm they may produce to the natural environment, implicit the natural resources that are important for their lives, when continuing to act the way they learned from the past. More than that, people in these areas are not taking easily initiative in improving the quality of the common green areas like the people in the non-collectivized areas do. Hence, an educative program to teach people to be more independent of other people's initiative may stimulate these people to involve more ofthen in actions to improve the natural environment in their village.
- Stimulating more balanced communities with mixed younger and older members may bring a double benefit to the community: firstly, will stimulate people to grow positive feelings about their village; secondly, will increase the labour force in the village which may diminish the

amount of abandoned land which was found responsible also for the negative emotional attachment to the ALPs.

In the **ALPs context**, besides the recommendations that are tied to the recommendations at the village level, there are some particular aspects that we have learned from this study. One aspect we have learned is that in former-collectivized communities people are more production wise than people in the non-collectivized areas. Being production oriented it has to do with their experiences from the past since the former collectivization system. But nowadays things changed, people cannot obtain the same amount of crops as they have no money to invest, no mechanization and also don't have the traditional skills in working the land and therefore they are abandoning the land or willing to give it to a land owners association. At the other side, we found that in Lapos people still work the land in a traditional way, and even though some crops don't grow that well in this area, they still maintain their attachment to the ALPs and don't abandon it like people from Prohozesti do. The way I see it, there are three ways possibilities to solve this situation:

- One way is 'to go back' to the traditional way of working the land, which means people should learn to raise and work with horses and raise other livestock for producing manure, but this facility will also depend much on the facilities that the local administration could arrange at the village level (see recommendations in the village context). Although, people from the former collectivized communities see this type of working the land as being old fashion, it is proven in the non-collectivized communities to be very efficient and make people stay closed to their lands and not abandoning it. With other words, also the habits and the mentality among people from the former collectivized communities must be changed, in such that they will value the land not only for the quantity of crops but also for the quality like people from the non-collectivized community know to appreciate.
- The other possible way, is 'to go front' which means that the local administrative authorities should help people with chemical fertilizers, mechanization and money to help them achieve their main goal regarding the ALPs and that is the high crop production. But most probably this is an ideal situation for these people and by listening to how little help they get in general; it will be probably not realistic to talk about such solution.

The third way, is regarding the solution that people see as being the only way to get out of these situation and to stop people from abandoning their land and that is 'a land owner association'. What is interesting to mention is that not only in Prohozesti people are talking about this solution but in all the other former collectivized communities the people I interviewed told the same. It seems that people had heard about such 'association' that is already put in practice in other regions from the country and it seems that works well. During a talk I had with someone who works at the City Hall in Poduri and who is in charge with the rural development in this region, I came to know that these she didn't know about people willing to give their land to a 'land owners association' and that indeed his may be a solution to overcome more abandoned land in the area. Thus there is a lack of communication between the local people and the local administrative authorities and this may be understood as one of the respondents from Prohozesti mentioned: "The collectivization didn't change the relationship between us the villagers; it changed the relationships between the villagers and our superiors." It means that in the former-collectivized communities there is a lack of communication between the villagers and the administrative authorities, and my suggestion is that by encouraging people to talk about their frustrations and wishes may help people in former-collectivized communities to find a solution for their problems of not being able to maintain their ALPs.

In the **forests context**, findings in my study suggest that it is important for the sake of the forests in these former collectivized and non-collectivized communities to listen to people's perceptions about the changes in ownership from state to private and their strong believe that the forests where better under state ownership. The difference between the two communities is that in Lapos people acknowledge the negative effects of the private ownership by having the example of the neighbouring area of Asau but they fear that this may also happen to their forests if more people will receive their properties, while in Prohozesti people experienced themselves these negative effects. By comparing the situation in the two communities, we have found that in Lapos where only few people are forest private owners, there the forests are seen more positively that in Prohozesti where almost all the people received their forest properties back As people in Prohozesti don't have the money to afforest the bare hills that once where forests and also because there is no possibility for natural regeneration as sheep are grazing these areas, it may happen that in the future people will lose all interest in those forests.

With some exceptions, the forests properties in general are too small to ensure the wood that people need every year to be worthy to maintain ownership of the forests, thus finally they depend on the state forests to procure the needed wood. Thus, what makes people attached to the forests is its integrity which can be ensured only by a proper governance system and which people on their own cannot ensure as they don't have the knowledge, the financial means and the power to maintain their forests or to stop the uncontrolled deforestation done by others. In such, people are leaving witnesses of the transformation of the forest, and they recognise that the forest is decreasing since the private ownership system and they can say this by a simple measurement, the distance between the village and the closest available patch of forest for wood exploitation. I find this a very accurate measurement as these people are attending the forest for years and years and as often as possible, even four times per week.

Most of the recommendations mentioned above where given mostly in relation with the functional aspects of the three spatial dimensions. Thought, the findings of this study suggest also that people in both communities form strong emotional and even spiritual bonds with the three spatial dimensions that are unconditioned by the functional aspects as we saw in 'feelings of identity' and 'feelings of morality' but these emotional bonds may be sometimes in conflict with negative feelings triggered by functional aspects of the three dimensions. Thus, what is important to understand is that when decisions are made, those involved in the decisions must consider that there are functional meanings attributed to the place but also emotional meanings and sometimes there is an interconnection between the two. Hence, recognizing the less tangible meanings that people associate with a place may bring new inside of why people despite their negative satisfaction with the place they still continue to stay closed to the place while recognizing the more tangible meanings may bring new insides of why people despite their strong emotional attachment decide to abandon the place. Thus, it is advisable, that in decision making processes, both functional and emotional dimensions must be taken in account.

References

- Ahrentzen, S. B. (1992). *Home as a workplace in the lives of women*. In I. Altman, and S. Low (Eds.), Human behaviour and environments: Advances in theory and research. Volume 12: place attachment (pp. 113–138). New York: Plenum Press.
- Altman, I., and Low, S. M. (1992). *Place Attachment*. In I. Altman and S. M. Low, (Eds), Place Attachment. New York, Plenum Press
- Boğaç, C. (2009). *Place attachment in a foreign settlement*. Journal of Environmental Psychology. Volume: 29, Issue: 2, Publisher: Elsevier Ltd, Pages: 267-278.
- Bonaiuto, M., Carrus, G., Martorella, H., and Bonnes, M.(2002). *Local identity processes and environmental attitudes in land use changes: The case of natural protected areas*. Journal of Economic Psychology, 23,631–653.
- Bordanc, F.(1995). Spatial variations in the process of agricultural land privatisation. In: Turnock, D. (ed.), Rural Change in Romania, pp. 39-47. Leicester University Geography Department Occasional Paper 33.
- Bow, V. and Buys, L (2002) Sense of community and place attachment: the natural environment plays a vital role in developing a sense of community. In: Proceeding of the Social Change in the 21st Century Conference, 21 November 2003, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane.
- Brandenburg, A.M. and M.S. Carroll. 1995. Your place or mine?: The effect of place creation on environmental values and landscape meanings. Society and Natural Resources 8, 381-398.
- Brothers, K. J., Krantz, P. J., and Mc Clannahan, L.E. (1994). *Office paper recycling: A function of container proximity*. Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis, 27, 153–160.
- Brown, B., and Perkins, D. D. (1992). *Disruptions to place attachment*. In I. Altman, and S. Low (Eds.), Place attachment (pp. 279–304). New York: Plenum.
- Burke, P.J. (1991). *Identity processes and social stress*. American Sociological Review, 56, 836-849.
- Conway, M.A.(1997). *The inventory of experience: Memory and identity*. In J.W. Pennebaker, D. Paez, and B. Rime (Eds.), Collective memory of political events (pp.21–45). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Chawla, L. (1993). *Home is where you start from: childhood memory in adult interpretations of home*. In E. G. Arias (Ed.), The meaning and use of housing (pp. 479–495). Aldershot, UK: Avebury.
- Chow, K., Healey, M., (2008). *Place attachment and place identity: First-year undergraduates making the transition from home to university*. Journal of Environmental Psychology. 28 (4) 362-372
- Clayton, S. (2003). *Environmental identity: A conceptual and an operational definition*. In S. Clayton., and S. Opotow. (Eds.), Identity and the natural environment (pp. 45-66). Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Cremene C, Groza G, Rakosy L, Schileyko AA, Baur A, Erhardt A, Baur B (2005) Alterations of steppe-like grasslands in Eastern Europe: a threat to regional biodiversity hotspots. Conserv Biol 19:1606–1618
- Devine-Wright, P., Howes, Y., 2010. Disruption to place attachment and the protection of restorative environments: A wind energy case study. Journal of Environmental Psychology 30, 271-280.
- Dixon, J., Durrheim. K., (2004). *Dislocating identity: Desegregation and the transformation of place*. Journal of Environmental Psychology. 24 (4) 455-473

- Dorondel S (2007) Agrarian Transformation, Social Differentiation, and Land Use Change in Postsocialist Romania. Dissertation thesis, Humboldt-Universita zu Berlin, Berlin
- Farbstein, J. and Kantrowitz, M. (1978). *People in places: Experiencing, using, and changing the built environment*. Prentice-Hall (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.) 182 p.
- Fleury-Bahi, G., M-L. Félonneau and D. Marchand (2008). *Processes of place identification and residential satisfaction*. Environment and Behavior 40, 669-682.
- Fried, M. (2000). *Continuities and discontinuities of place*. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 20 (3), 193–205.
- Gosling, E., Williams, K. J.(2010). Connectedness to nature, place attachment and conservation behaviour: Testing connectedness theory among farmers. Journal of Environmental Psychology, doi:10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.01.005
- Green, Judith and Thorogood, Nicki (2009). Qualitative Methods for Health Research. Second Edition.
 London: SAGE Pub. Ltd.
- Gustafson, P. E. R. (2001). *Meanings of place: Everyday experience and theoretical conceptualisations*. Journal of Environnemental Psychologie, 21(1), 5-16.
- Halbwachs, M. (1980). The Collective Memory. New York: Harper and Row.
- Halpenny, E. A. (2006). Environmental behaviour, place attachment and park visitation: A case study of visitors to point pelee national park. PhD thesis, Ontario, Canada: University of Waterloo.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (2007). Ethnography: Principles in practice. Taylor and Francis.
- Harrington, C., Lane, R. and Mercer, D. (2006). Learning conservation: the role of conservation covenants in landscape redesign at Project Hindmarsh. Victoria, Australian Geographer, 37, pp. 187–209.
- Hou, J., Lin, C., and Morais, D.B. (2005). Antecedents of attachment to a cultural tourism destination: The case of Hakka and Non-Hakka Taiwanese visitors to Pei-Pu, Taiwan. Journal of Travel Research, 44(Nov), 221-233.
- Hufford, M. (1992). Thresholds to an alternate realm: Mapping the Chaseworld In New Jersey's Pine Barrens. In I. Altman, and Low, S.M. (Eds.), Place Attachment (pp. 231-252). NY: Plenum Press.
- Hummon, D. M. (1992). *Community Attachment: Local sentiment and sense of place*. In I. Altman, and Low, S.M. (Eds.), *Place Attachment* (pp. 253-278). NY: Plenum Press
- Ioras F (2003). Trends in Romanian biodiversity conservation policy. Biodivers Conserv 12:9–23
- Iordachi, C., and Dobrincu, D. (2009). *Transforming Peasants, Property and Power: The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania*, 1949-1962. Central European Univ Pre.
- Johnson, C.Y. (1998). A consideration of collective memory in African American attachment to wild land recreation places. Hum. Ecol. Rev. 5:5–15.
- Jorgensen, B. S., and Stedman, R. C. (2006). A comparative analysis of predictors of sense of place dimensions: Attachment to, dependence on, and identification with lakeshore properties. Journal of Environmental Management, 79(3), 316-327.
- Kals, E., Schumacher, D., and Montada, L. (1999). *Emotional affinity toward nature as a motivational basis to protect nature*. Environment and Behaviour, 31, 178-202.
- Kideckel, David A. (1993). *The Solitude of Collectivism: Romanian Villagers to the Revolution and Beyond*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Kaltenborn, B. P., and Williams, D. R. (2002. *The Meaning of Place: Tourists' Versus Locals' Attachment to Femundsmarka National Park*. Norwegian Journal of Geography. 56(3): 189-198.
- Kuemmerle, T., Müller, D., Griffiths, P., Rusu, M. (2009). *Land-use change in Southern Romania after the collapse of socialism*. Regional Environmental Change 9, 1–12.
- Lakes, T., Müller, D., Kruger, C. (2009). Cropland change in southern Romania: a comparison of logistic regressions and artificial neural networks. Landscape Ecology 24, 1195–1206.
- Lawrence A. and Szabo A. (2005). *Ethics and culture in the forestry profession: emergent changes in post-communist Romania*. Silva Carelica: special issue on Forests Ethics. 49: 303-314.
- Lee, C.C., and Allen, L. (1999). *Understanding individual's attachment to selected destinations: an application of place attachment.* Tourism Analysis, 4(3/4), 173-185.
- Lewicka, M. (2005). Ways to make people active: the role of place attachment, cultural capital and neighborhood ties. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 25, 381–395.
- Lewicka, M. (2008). *Place attachment, place identity, and place memory: restoring the forgotten city past.* Journal of Environmental Psychology, 28(3), 209-231.
- Low, S.M., and Altman, I. (1992). *Place attachment: A conceptual inquiry*. In I. Altman, and Low, S. M. (Eds.), *Place Attachment* (pp. 1-12). NY: Plenum Press.
- Manoleli, D. M., (2005). Third National Report on Convention of Biological Diversity, Romania, UNDP GEF Project PIMS 3456 Activity 21, 163 pp. Electronic Publication, http://www.biodiv.org/doc/world/ro/ro (D. Manoleli, coord., D. Cogalniceanu, O.Ciolpan, I. Gheorghe, I. Birio, D. Ruoti, D. Palcu).
- Manzo, L.C. (2003). Beyond house and haven: toward a revisioning of emotional relationships with places. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 23, 47–61.
- Milligan, M. J. (1998). *Interactional past and potential: The social construction of place attachment*. Symbolic Interactionism, 21, 1-33
- Ministery of Agriculture, Forests and Rural Development. National strategic plan of rural development (2007-1013) (http://www.mapam.ro/pages/dezvoltare_rurala/NSP_octombrie_2006_en.pdf)
- Moore, R.L., Graefe, A.R., (1994). Attachments to recreation settings: the case of rail-trail users.
 Leisure Sciences 16, 17–31.
- Müller, D., Kuemmerle, T., Rusu, M., Griffiths, P., (2009). Lost in transition: determinants of post-socialist cropland abandonment in Romania. Journal of Land Use Science 4, 109–129.
- Oszlanyi J, Grodzinska K, Badea O, Shparyk Y (2004). *Nature conservation in Central and Eastern Europe with a special emphasis on the Carpathian Mountains*. Environ Pollut 130:127–134
- Otsuki, K. and Schipper, R. (2009). *Reader for Methods, Techniques and Data Analysis for Field Research B*. Department of Rural Development Sociology and Development Economics, Wageningen.
- Payton, M.A. (2003). *Influence of place attachment and social capital on civic action: A study at Sherburne National Wildlife Refuge*. Master's thesis. Natural resources science and management, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN. 49 pages + appendices.
- Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K. and Kaminoff, R. (1983). *Place-identity: Physical world socialization of the self.* Journal of Environmental Psychology, 3, 57-83.
- Proshansky, H. M. (1978). The city and self-identity. Environment and Behaviour, 10, 57-83.
- Raymond, C. M., et al., (2010). The measurement of place attachment: Personal, community, and environmental connections. Journal of Environmental Psychology. doi:10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.08.002

- Rapaport, J. (1987). Terms of empowerment/exemplars of prevention: Toward a theory for community psychology. American Journal of Community Psychology 15: 121- 148.
- Relph, E. (1997). Sense of place, in Hanson, S. (ed.) *Ten Geographic Ideas that Changed the World*, Rutgers University Press, New Jersey: 205-226.
- Roman, T. (2009). *The Forests of Romania: A Social Economic's Dramma*. <u>Theoretical and Applied Economics</u>, 2009, vol. 06(535), issue 06(535), pages 57-64.
- Rowles, G.D. (1983). *Place and personal identity in old age: Observation from Appalachia*. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 3, 299-313
- Sampson, K. A., and Goodrich, C. G. (2009). *Making place: Identity construction and community formation through "sense of place" in Westland, New Zealand*. Society and Natural Resources, 22(10), 901-915.
- Scannell, L., and Gifford, R. (2010a). *Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework*. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 30, 1-10.
- Schultz, P.W. (2000). Assessing the structure of environmental concern: Concern for self, other people and the biosphere. Unpublished manuscript.
- Scott, D. and Vitardas, P. (2008). *The Role of Involvement and attachment in satisfaction with local government services*. International Journal of Public Sector Management, 21(1), 45-57.
- Shumaker, S.A. and Taylor, R.B. (1983). *Towards a clarification of people-place relationships: a model of attachment 120 to place*. In: N.R. Feimer and ES. Geller (Editors), Environmental Psychology: Directions and Perspectives. Prager Press, NY, pp. 2 19-25 1.
- Sikor, T. (2006). *Analysing community-based forestry: local, political and agrarian perspectives*. Forests Policy and Economics, 8 (4). pp. 339-349. ISSN 13899341
- Sivek, D., and Hungerford, H. (1989/90). *Predictors of responsible behavior in members of three Wisconsin conservation organizations*. The Journal of Environmental Education, 21(2), 35-40.
- Soy, Susan K. (1997). *The case study as a research method*. Unpublished paper, University of Texas at Austin
- Stedman, R. C. (2002). Toward a social psychology of place: predicting behaviour from place-based cognitions, attitude, and identity. Environment and Behaviour, 34(5), 561–581.
- Stern, P. C., and Dietz, T. (1994). *The value basis of environmental concern*. Journal of Social Issues, 50, 65–84.
- Stokols, D. and Shumaker, S. A. (1981). *People in places: a transactional view of settings*. In J.H. Harvey (Ed), Cognition, social behaviour and the environment. Hillside, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Stoica, S. (coordinator), (2007). Dicționar de Istorie a României, p.77-8. Bucharest: Editura Merona.
- Stokowski, P.(2002). Languages of place and discourses of power: Constructing new senses of place. Journal of Leisure Research. 34(4): 368-382.
- Strambu, M. B., Hickey, M. G., Strambu, G.V. (2005). Forests conditions and management under rapid legislation change in Romania. The forestry chronicle, VOL. 81, 3.
- Teddy, L., Nikora, L. W., Guerin, B. (2008). *Place attachment of Ngāi Te Ahi to Hairini Marae*. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz

- Toma, L. (1999). Country Report on the Present Environmental Situation in Agriculture- Romania.
 Central and Eastern European Sustainable Agriculture Network, FAO workshop, March, Gödöllo, Hungary
- Tuan, Y.F. (1974). *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Tuan, Y. F. (1975). Place: An existential perspective. The Geographical Review, 65, 15-65
- Tuan, Y. F. (1977). Space and Place: the perspectives of experience. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. .
- Twigger-Ross, C. L., and Uzzell, D. L. (1996). *Place and identity processes*. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 16, 205-220.
- Turnock, D. (1991). Romanian Villages: Rural Planning under Communism. Rural History, 2, pp 81-112 doi:10.1017/S0956793300002636
- Yin, Robert K. (1984). *Case study research, design, and methods*. 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Second ed., 1994. Third ed., 2003.
- Valle, P. O., Silva, J. A., Mendes J., Guerreiro, M., (2006). *Tourist Satisfaction and Destination Loyalty intention: A Structural and Categorical Analysis*, Int. Journal of Business Science and Applied Management, 1(1).
- Vaske, J. J., and Kobrin, K. C. (2001). *Place attachment and environmentally responsible behaviour*. Journal of Environmental Education, 32(4), 16–21.
- Verdery K. (2003). The Vanishing Hectare: Property and Value in Postsocialist Transylvania. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press
- Vorkinn, M., and Riese, H. (2001). *Environmental concern in a local context: the significance of place attachment*. Environment and Behaviour, 33, 249–263.
- Warzecha, C., and Lime, D. (2001). Place Attachment in Canyonlands National Park: Visitors' Assessments of Setting Attributes on the Colorado and Green Rivers. Journal of Park and Recreation Administration, 19(1), 59-78.
- Williams, D.R., Patterson, M.E., Roggenbuck, J.W. and Watson. A.E. (1992). *Beyond the commodity metaphor: Examining emotional and symbolic attachment to place*. Leisure Sciences 14, 29-46.
- Williams, D. R., and Roggenbuck, J. W. (1989, October). *Measuring place attachment: Some preliminary results*. Paper presented at the NRPA Symposium on Leisure Research, San Antonio, TX.
- Williams, D. R., and Vaske, J. J. (2002). *The measurement of place attachment: Validity and generalizability of a psychometric approach*. A paper written and prepared by U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forests Services, Rocky Mountain Research Station, pp. 1-28
- Woods, P., (2006). *Qualitative research*. Unpublished paper. Viewed on: (http://www.edu.plymouth.ac.uk/resined/qualitative%20methods%202/qualrshm.htm)
- World Bank, Romania, country review (2007). *Integrating Environment into Agriculture and Forestry:* Progress and Prospects in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Vol.2 (http://www.worldbank.org/eca/pubs/envint/Volume%20II/English/Review%20ROM-final.pdf)
- WWF Danube Carpathian Programme (DCP) (2005). *Illegal logging in Romania*. Commissioned and Published by WWF European Forests Programme and the Danube Carpathian Programme (DCP) (http://www.forestsconsulting.net/Downloads/Publications/finalromaniaillegallogging.pdf)
- Law on Legal Circulation of Land 54/1998 (LLCL 1998), Official Gazette No. 102/1998
- Law on Local Public Administration 69/1991 (LLPA 1991), Official Gazette No.238/1991

- Law on Local Public Finances 89/1998 (LLPF 1998), Official Gazette No. 404/1998
- Law on Environmental Protection 137/1995 (LEP 1995), Official Gazette No. 304/1995
- Legea nr. 119/1948 pentru nabionalizarea întreprinderilor industriale, bancare, de asigurări, miniere si de transporturi
- Legea nr. 1/2000 pentru reconstituirea dreptului de proprietate asupra terenurilor agricole si celor forestsier
- http://www.romanialibera.ro/exclusiv-rl/investigatii/moldova-patria-gaterelor-11158.html, viewed 02-06-2011.
- http://destinatii.liternet.ro/articol/152/Dorin-Dobrincu/Scoala-de-Vara-Sighet-ed-VII-Colectivizarea-si-rascoalele-taranesti.html, viewed 10-10-2010
- http://www.adevarul.ro/actualitate/S-a terminat cu statul asistential 0 591541449.html, viewed 19-11-2011

Appendix 1 List of respondents with additional information

Respondents from Lapos

name	age	level of	Forest	Forest	ALPs	ALPs	Village	Transport
		income	- amount - acquired	- location	amountacquired	- location	-residence	possibilities
Valentin	56	average	- 0,5 ha - inherited - since 1982	- 1,5 km from home	- 2 ha - 30% inherited - since 1982	- 0,2-0,5 km from home	originally from Lapos	- car - horses of his brother
Marius	30	low	- 0,03 ha ¹) - inherited - since 2003	- 5 km from home	- 1,5 ha - inherited - since 2003	- 0,2- 5 km from home	originally from Lapos	- one horse
Mihai	45	low	- no forest ²)	-	- 5 ha - 40% inherited - since 1990	- 0,2- 6 km from home	originally from Lapos	- 2 horses
Ionel	57	low	- no forest ³)	-	- 1,5 ha - inherited - since 1985	- 0,2- 5 km from home	originally from Lapos	- 1 horse
Doina	50	low	- no forest	-	- 1 ha - inherited - since 1979	- 0,2- 0,5 km from home	originally from Lapos	- horse of family friends
Doinita	42	high	- 1 ha - 50% inherited since 1993 - 50% bought since 2005	- 10 km from home - 22 km from home	- 0,5 ha - inherited - since 1991	- 0,2- 1 km from home	originally from Lapos	- car - horses of family members
Geta	64	average	- no forest	-	- 0,2 ha - by marriage - since 1966	- 0,2 km from home	married in Lapos since 1966	- none
Chivuta	58	high	- 1 ha - inherited since 1993	- 22 km from home	- 7,5 ha - 35% inherited - 65% bought - since 1972	- 0,2- 20 km from home	originally from Lapos	- 1 car - 2 horses
Costica	56	average	no forest ⁴)	-	-1,2 ha - inherited since 1980	- 0,2-4 km from home	originally from Lapos	- car - horses from family members
Genu	60	low	no forest 3)	-	- 0,25 ha - inherited since 1975	- 0,2-5 km from home	originally from Lapos	- one horse
adalina	30	high	- 4 ha - inherited since2005	- 22 km from home	- 6 ha - 50% inherited - 50% bought - since 1999	- 0,2-20 km from home	originally from Lapos	- 2 cars
Costel	25	low	- no forest ⁵)	-	- no information	- 0,2-5 km from home	Grew up in Lapos	- one horse
Florian	49	low	- 0,03 ha - inherited	- 0,8 km from home	- 1,5 ha - 50% inherited - 50% bought - since 1992	- 0,2-0,5 km from home	originally from Lapos ⁶)	- can make use of family's horses

¹⁾ the forest he refers here is the edge of a meadow

²⁾ Mihai has under supervision 10 hectares of forest belonging to the state, therefore he is often attending the forest

³) He is one of the village's "carausi" (people that works in wood exploitation) therefore he attend the state forest very oft

⁴) Costica attend the forest often (once per week) for helping family members with maintaining their forest and the meadows in the forest region.

⁵) Costel works in wood exploitation, therefore he often attend the forest

⁶⁾ Florian was born and raised in Lapos but he lived in a big city for almost 10 years and he returned to the village 20 years ago.

Respondents from Prohozesti

name	age	level of	Forest	Forest	ALPs	ALPs	Village	Transport
		income	- amount	- location	- amount	- location	-residence	possibilities
			- acquired		- acquired			1
Olimpia	72	average	- 4 ha 1)	- 6 km from	- 2 ha	- 0,2-5 km	- married in	-no transport
•			- inherited	home	- mostly inherited	from home	Prohozesti	•
					Some bought		for about 50	
					- since 1962		years	
Andrei	50	high	- 5 ha	- 5 km from	- 9 ha	- <1 km	- originally	- tractor or car
			- inherited	home	-inherited	from home	from	
					- since 1989		Prohozesti	
Gigel	30	average	No ²)	- 10-12 km from	- 5 ha	- 0,2-8 km	- originally	- horse cart
			·	home	- 80% inherited	from home	from	
					- since 2000		Prohozesti	
Iordache	43	average	3)	3)	- 0,5 ha	- 0,2-2km	- originally	- no
			ĺ	,	-inherited	from home	from	transportation
					- since 1990		Prohozesti	•
Vasile	58	low	- 1ha	- 3 km from	- 1ha	- 0,2-10 km	- originally	- no
			- inherited	home	- inherited	from home	from	transportation
					- since 1989		Prohozesti	1
Dorita	63	low	no				- married in	- no
							Prohozesti	transportation
							for about 40	•
							years	
Neculai	49	low	no		- 1ha	- 0,2-2 km	- originally	- cart pulled
					- mostly inherited	from home	from	by cows
					- since 1989		Prohozesti	
Costelus	22	low	no		- 0,5 ha	-0,5 km	- originally	No
					to be inherited	from home	from	transportation
							Prohozesti	_
Gheorghe	86	average	-1,25 ha	- 4 km from	- 4ha	- 0,2-4 km	- originally	- no
C			- inherited	home	- 50% inherited	from home	from	transportation
					- 50% bought		Prohozesti	1
					- before 1962 the			
					again after1998			
Nicu	54	high	- 2 ha	- 5 km from	- 2 ha	-0,2- 2 km	- originally	- tractor and
			- inherited	home	- inherited	from home	from	car
					- since 1989		Prohozesti	
Busuioc	80	low	- 0,5ha	- 6 km from	- 2,5 ha	- 0,2-6 km	- originally	- horse cart
			- inherited	home	- 75% inherited	from home	from	
					- before 1962, aftr		Prohozesti	
					1998			
Stefan	76	low	- 3ha	6 km from home	- 4ha	- 0,2-6 km	- originally	-Horse cart
			- inherited		- 50% inherited	from home	from	
					- 50% bought		Prohozesti	
					- before 1962/ after			
					1998			
Ionut	36	low	no	-	- 0,25ha	- 0,2 km	- married in	- car
					- inherited	from home	Prohozesti	
							for the last 8	
							years	
					1	1		

Appendix 2 Interview Guide

I. Questions related to place attachment

I-I Attachment to the village

- 1. Please describe your village. Are you satisfied with your village? Why yes/ Why not?
- 2. How do you see your village compared to other places you know?
- 3. Have you ever thought to move to another place? Please explain your reason to stay or your reason to move.
- 4. Do you feel attached to your village? Why yes/ Why not?

I-II Attachment to the agricultural land:

- 1. Are you owner of agricultural land?
- 2. In which year was the agricultural land restituted to you or since when do you own this agricultural land?
- 3. The agricultural land you possess is:
 - o inherited?
 - o acquired with money?
 - o has been taken away from you/ your family during collectivization period and then restituted to you: the same plots / different plots/ in the same location/ in a different location/ the same amount of hectares/ different amount of hectares?
- 4. How much agricultural land you possess in hectares?
- 5. This land is situated in one place or is divided into plots?
- 6. How far is the agricultural land located from your home?
- 7. How often do you visit the agricultural land plots?
 - Once per week
 - Once per month
 - Once in three months
 - Once per year
 - Once in couple of years
 - Never
- 8. What transportation do you use when go to the land plots and why this transportation?
 - o No transportation, I go on foot
 - o I use the horse-drawn cart
 - o I use a cart pulled by oxen
 - o I go by car

- o I go by tractor
- 9. Do you or the people from the village receive any support from the local authorities for maintaining the agricultural land proprieties? Tell me more about it.
- 10. Are you satisfied with the quality of the agricultural land you possess? Why yes? Why not?
- 11. What kind of fertilizer do you use for fattening the soil and why?
- 12. Normally the harvest will go from year to year or you have to buy extra?
- 13. How well does the agricultural land you possess meet your needs?
- 14. Do you think comparing with other places; your village possesses good quality agricultural land? Give more details.
- 15. If will be to compare the land properties you possess now with the land you had before the collectivization time (or when this land was in possession of your parents), which one would you prefer and why?
- 16. What is the reason that you visit those plots most often?
 - o For maintenance
 - For harvesting
 - o To guard / to prevent steeling harvest from the plots
 - o To relax
 - Other reasons such as...
- 17. For you the agricultural land you possess represents:
 - o a source of revenue
 - o a means of survival
 - o a hobby
 - o a recreational site
 - o part of the environment
 - o an heirloom
 - o a place for social interaction
 - o it has no meaning for
 - o something else
 - !!! Justify your answer please
- 18. You give values to your agricultural land because:
 - o for possible future benefits
 - o for the future generations like your children, grandchildren, etc.
 - o for its beauty
 - o for its environmental properties
 - o because is inherited
 - o for its economic value
 - o it has no value for
 - o other values
 - !!! Justify your answer please
- 19. How do you feel when you think about your land?
- 20. How do you feel when you are working your agricultural land
- 21. Do you feel in general attached to your agricultural land properties? Justify your answer.

I-III Attachment to the forests

- 22. Are you a forest owner?
- 23. In which year was the forest given back to you or since when do you own this forest?
- 24. The forest you possess is:
 - o inherited?
 - o acquired with money?
 - o has been taken away from you/ your family during nationalization times and then restituted to you: the same patch of forest/ a different patch of forest/ in the same location/ in a different location/ the same amount of hectares/ a different amount of hectares?
- 25. How much forest you possess in hectares?
- 26. How far is the forest located from your home:
- 27. How often do you visit the forest?
 - Once per week
 - Once per month
 - o Once in three months
 - Once per year
 - Once in couple of years
 - Never
- 28. What transportation do you use when go to the forest and why this transportation?
 - No transportation, I go on foot
 - o I use the horse-drawn cart
 - o I use a cart pulled by oxen
 - o I go by car
 - I go by tractor
- 29. Do you or the people from the village receive any support from the local authorities for maintaining the forests proprieties? Tell me more about it.
- 30. Are you satisfied with the quality of the forest in terms of wood and non-wood products? Why yes? Why not?
- 31. Normally when you need fire wood you prefer to provide this wood from your own forest or do you prefer to buy from other places? Justify the answer please.
- 32. How well does the forest you possess meet your needs?
- 33. Do you think the forest patch you possess is located in a good place, when comparing with other forests? Justify your answer.
- 34. If will be to compare the forest propriety you possess now with the forest you had before the collectivization time, which one would you prefer and why?
- 35. When you visit your forest is because you want:
 - To gain fire wood
 - To gain other non-timber products
 - o To guard the forest/ to prevent steeling wood from your forest

- To assure that no herders are grazing the sheep in your forest
- o To look if there is need for some maintenance work
- o To relax
- Other reasons
- 36. For you the forest you possess represents:
 - o a source of revenue
 - o a means of survival (through what?)
 - o a hobby
 - o a recreational site
 - o a source of oxygen
 - o a wild area
 - o a heirloom
 - a place for social interaction
 - o it has no meaning for me
 - o represents something else
 - !!! Justify your answer please
- 37. You give values to your forest because:
 - o is protected by law
 - o for possible future harvest
 - o for the future generations like your children, grandchildren, etc.
 - o for its beauty
 - o for its environmental proprieties
 - o because is inherited
 - o for its economic value
 - o it has no value for me
 - o other values
 - !!! Justify your answer please
- 38. How do you feel when you think about your forest?
- 39. How do you feel when you do some forestry activities such as: harvesting, logging, maintenance work?
- 40. Do you feel in general attached to your forest propriety? Justify your answer.

II. Questions related to pro-environmental behaviour

- 41. Please define with your own words the term natural environment?
- 42. Are you doing any activities ought to improve the quality of these elements defined to be part of the natural environment? Please describe these activities.
- 43. What motivates you to participate or not participate in these activities?