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# Gestion des déchets dans la municipalité de Cluj-Napoca : évolution du service public dans un territoire postcommuniste entré dans l'UE

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Gestion des déchets dans la municipalité de Cluj-Napoca :  
**Évolution du service public dans un territoire  
postcommuniste entré dans l'UE**

Mémoire de recherche  
Présenté par Marie BOUSSARD  
Sous la direction de Mathieu DURAND

Page de garde : Vue de Cluj-Napoca depuis le parc Cetățuia, Marie Bousard, 2021.

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## Liste des abréviations

ADI : Asociația de Dezvoltare Intercomunitară - Association de Développement Intercommunautaire

ANRSC : Autoritatea Națională de Reglementare pentru Serviciile Comunitare de utilități publice - Autorité Nationale de Règlementation pour les Services Communautaires d'utilité publique

BERD : Banque Européenne pour la Reconstruction et le Développement

BEI : Banque Européenne d'Investissement

CMID : Centrul de Management Integrat al Deșeurilor - Centre de Management Intégré des Déchets

DMA : Déchets Ménagers et Assimilés

ISPA : Instrument Structurel de Pré-Adhésion

OIREP : Organizatiile care Implementeaza obligatiile privind Raspunderea Extinsa a Producatorului – organisations mettant en œuvre des obligations de responsabilité élargie des producteurs

PAP : Porte-à-Porte

PAV : Point d'Apport Volontaire

PHARE : Programme d'Aide Communautaire aux pays d'Europe Centrale et Orientale

PJGD : Planul Județean de Gestionare a Deșeurilor - Plan Départemental de Gestion des Déchets

POIM : Programul Operațional Infrastructură Mare – Programme Opérationnel pour les Grandes Infrastructures

PPA : Parité Pouvoir d'Achat

RADP Cluj-Napoca : Regia Autonomă a Domeniului Public Cluj-Napoca - Régie Autonome du Domaine Public de Cluj-Napoca

SMID : Sistem de Management Integrat al Deșeurilor - Système de Management Intégré des Déchets

UBB : Université Babeș-Bolyai

UE : Union Européenne

UAT : Unité Administrative Territoriale

ZMC : Zona Metropolitană Cluj – Zone Métropolitaine de Cluj

## Introduction

Après 45 années de régime communiste, la règne de Ceausescu a pris fin en décembre 1989, faisant basculer la Roumanie dans un régime républicain semi-parlementaire, avec une Constitution adoptée dès le 21 décembre 1991. La transition de l'économie roumaine après la fin du communisme a été caractérisée par une privatisation du secteur public, des entreprises publiques, et la création d'un nouveau secteur privé, avec des conséquences négatives sur l'industrie (Barbuceanu, 2011) et le nombre d'emplois (Voicu, 2002) notamment durant les deux périodes de récession de 1990-1992 et 1997-1999 (Daianu, 1998 ; Cernat, 2006, Pop, 2006). Officiellement membre de l'UE depuis 2007, la Roumanie est aujourd'hui le septième pays le plus peuplé de l'union, mais aussi un des pays européens les moins développés en termes de PIB par habitant. Parmi les défis auxquels fait face la Roumanie, on cite en 2020 le manque d'infrastructures, avec un accès limité pour certaines populations aux services publics de base, les disparités régionales et urbaines-rurales, le déclin démographique, mais aussi les bas salaires, le sous-financement de systèmes publics clés, les problèmes liés à la marginalisation de certaines communautés, ainsi qu'un cadre législatif incohérent et une bureaucratie excessive (Mihai et al., 2020).

Dans le cadre de ce mémoire, on s'intéresse particulièrement aux transformations du service public de gestion des déchets au sein de la municipalité de Cluj-Napoca, en se questionnant sur le lien entre ses évolutions et l'entrée dans l'UE du pays, ainsi que sur la relation entre celles-ci et le contexte post-communiste, en gardant à l'esprit la théorie de "path dépendance" - selon laquelle l'empreinte laissée par l'histoire communiste expliquerait la situation dans laquelle se trouve le pays aujourd'hui. On se questionne sur la réalité de la « *quête pour rattraper l'Ouest* » (Daianu, 1992 ; Murgescu, 2010) au sein du réseau technique urbain de gestion des déchets de Cluj-Napoca, et sur les possibles innovations mises en place dans le cadre de ce service public.

En Roumanie, le service de gestion des déchets est un service public d'intérêt local, placé sous la régulation de ministères et organismes gouvernementaux. Le service public peut être défini comme une activité exercée par l'autorité publique dans un but d'intérêt général, ayant pour finalité la satisfaction des besoins du citoyen et par extension, peut être désigné comme l'entité de l'État remplissant cette activité. Longtemps sous la responsabilité des

unités territoriales administratives, ce service public se transforme depuis l'entrée dans l'UE avec les projets de SMID –Systèmes de Management Intégrés des Déchets- opérés à l'échelle du comté, équivalent français du département.

Le présent mémoire s'organise de la manière suivante. Dans une première partie, on présente les fondements sur lesquels se base ce mémoire : le questionnement initial, la méthodologie, ainsi que le terrain de cette étude : la municipalité de Cluj-Napoca, qu'on replace dans un cadre plus large à l'échelle départementale, régionale, nationale. Cette première partie est la base de notre réflexion, dans laquelle on rappelle l'organisation générale de la gestion des déchets en Roumanie et plus précisément le fonctionnement du service public à Cluj-Napoca. Dans une seconde partie, on remet en question ce fonctionnement au travers de ses évolutions historiques récentes, à l'aide d'une recherche documentaire, d'entretiens et de visites de terrain, dans le but de comprendre comment le service public a évolué dans le cadre de notre étude de cas. Enfin, on questionne le projet mis en place à l'heure actuelle, à la lumière des données présentées précédemment.



## PREMIERE PARTIE : Cadre théorique pour l'analyse du service public de gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca

Dans cette première partie, on opère un cadrage progressif de ce sujet de recherche : d'une explication du contexte national de la gestion des déchets en Roumanie, on centrera progressivement cette recherche sur le contexte local, avec la ville de Cluj-Napoca en tant que terrain de recherche. En revenant sur les changements récents dans la situation économique, l'organisation spatiale et territoriale du pays, mais aussi les évolutions législatives et politiques, cette première partie pose le cadre d'analyse nous servant à explorer la refonte du service public de gestion des déchets dans ce pays post-communiste, récemment entré dans l'UE.

### Chapitre I : Approcher le management de la gestion des déchets dans un pays post-communiste récemment entré dans l'UE

Ce chapitre explore le contexte dans lequel s'inscrit ce mémoire : pour mieux appréhender le terrain de recherche, il est nécessaire de le remplacer dans un cadre national et d'explorer les changements politiques, économiques, sociaux ... ayant eu lieu ces dernières décennies. On s'attarde ici sur des concepts tels que ceux du post-communisme, de la modernité, de la mondialisation ou européanisation, qui seront discutés dans cette recherche.

#### I – A. Eléments nationaux de contextualisation

Afin de contextualiser cette recherche, revenons sur le passé communiste de la Roumanie, et les dernières décennies de transformations que le pays a connu.

##### I – A. a. bouleversements liés à la chute du communisme et étude du post-communisme

## Etudier les évolutions post-communistes ?

Les termes “post-communisme” ou “post-socialisme” tendant à faire débat, on clarifie ici l’emploi de ces mots dans ce mémoire. Le mot communisme a en lui-même plusieurs définitions. Avant 1917, on entend par “communisme” le but, la finalité du mouvement socialiste : une société où la classe ouvrière n’est plus subordonnée à une classe exploitante et où la ‘machine d’État bureaucratique descendante’ n’existe plus. Ainsi, le système communiste désigne une organisation sociale où la communauté possède la propriété et où chaque individu contribue et reçoit la richesse selon ses besoins et ses capacités. Toutefois, après la révolution bolchévique, l’emploi du mot communisme évolue : est désormais désigné comme communiste tout pays dont les partis au pouvoir adhèrent à l’idéologie marxiste-léniniste, autrement dit tous les pays faisant parti du bloc de l’URSS. On désigne ainsi le communisme comme une idéologie politique ainsi qu’un système économique, tandis que le socialisme se restreint à un système économique, dans lequel les moyens de production, de distribution et d’échange sont possédés et contrôlés par la société dans son ensemble. On peut donc désigner la Roumanie comme un pays post-socialiste en tant que pays qui se voulait sur la ‘voie de la réalisation’ du communisme, pays avec une collectivisation de l’économie mais n’ayant pas mis fin à ‘l’Etat’ ou aux classes sociales, ou comme un pays post-communiste en tant qu’ancien membre du bloc communiste, adhérant à l’idéologie politique marxiste-léniniste. Cette considération étymologique effectuée, dans ce mémoire, les termes seront utilisés de manière interchangeable.

Mais alors, quel intérêt de l’étude du post-communisme ou post-socialisme ? Que désignent en réalité ces termes ? Pourquoi associer ces termes à une recherche portant sur la rudologie ? Sans pouvoir répondre de manière exhaustive à tous ces questionnements, on apporte ici quelques éléments de compréhension. On se réfère au postcommunisme tantôt comme à un temps, un lieu ou une idéologie. Un des champs d’étude du postcommunisme cherche à savoir s’il existe une différence fondamentale entre l’Europe de l’Est postcommuniste, et l’Europe n’ayant pas connu le contexte politique, social et économique communiste. Si les différences sont perceptibles, on souhaite les qualifier, et si elles ne le sont pas, on mettra en question le fait de pouvoir dissoudre toutes les différences dans un processus d’eupéanisation ou de mondialisation : des différences ont-elles par exemple

existé par le passé, avant que ces processus ne se mettent en place ? De plus, si le terme post-communisme désigne une période de transition ou de transformation, on peut se questionner vers quel modèle se tournent les états post-communistes. Se dirigent-ils vers un modèle de capitalisme libéral, “a return to ‘Europe’ and to ‘normality’” (Outhwaite, Ray, 2005) ou vers un autre modèle ? Enfin, existe-il véritablement un modèle ou un contexte postsocialiste où on peut constater des similitudes entre tous les pays de l’ancien bloc de l’URSS, et si oui, quelles sont-elles ? Pour Stenning A. et Hörschelmann K., il y a urgence à parler de post-socialisme avant que toute notion de différence ne soit engloutie par des plus larges questionnements sur le capitalisme, la globalisation, ou l’eupéanisation (Stenning, Hörschelmann, 2008).

### De la réalité de la ville postsocialiste aux réseaux techniques de service urbain

Dès 1979 dans Is there a socialist city ?, Hamilton et French affirme la réalité de la ville socialiste par ses différences avec la ville ‘capitaliste’ : les villes socialistes se caractériseraient par une forte croissance surtout dans les régions les moins urbanisée, une planification sous forme de zonage fonctionnel, une absence de prix du sol, une propriété et gestion majoritairement publiques du sol et des investissements, ainsi qu’un niveau médiocre des services, sauf pour les transports publics, mais une ségrégation contenue. Toutefois, ce qui a pu créer des ressemblances au niveau macro entre villes de pays socialistes lors d’une bifurcation structurelle (1945-1949) privilégiant les dynamiques de l’industrialisation, s’atténue à partir des années 70 avec une urbanisation ‘moderne et européenne’, pour ne plus laisser place qu’à des ressemblances au niveau micro aujourd’hui (Hamilton, 2005). Ainsi, Sandu conclue aux termes de sa thèse en 2019, qu’à plus de 20 ans de l’effondrement du communisme, il est “difficile de parler d’une identité morphologique et fonctionnelle pour les villes d’Europe centrale et orientale” avec “une absence de trajectoires communes d’évolution à l’échelle nationale” ainsi qu’une “multitude de spécificités locales” (Sandu, 2019, p.207, *Les dynamiques urbaines postsocialistes en Europe centrale et orientale*). Au-delà d’un ‘entre-deux géographique’ (Rey et Brunet, 1996), Sandu parle d’un ‘entre-deux évolutionnaire’ pour les villes d’Europe centrale et orientale : “Les pays d’Europe centrale et orientale semblent rester toujours bloqués dans un état d’intermédiarité. Vingt ans après la chute de communisme, ces villes sont encore à la recherche d’une trajectoire d’évolution cohérente et adaptée aux besoins et aux spécificités

*tellement diversifiées du monde contemporain, en rupture totale avec leur histoire du XXe siècle.”*  
(Sandu, 2019, p.219).

Est-il possible d'utiliser le concept de post-socialisme pour analyser les réseaux urbains de gestion des déchets roumains ? La conclusion de Sandu peut-elle s'étendre aux réseaux techniques urbains ? Si la réalité de la ville post-socialiste peut être remise en cause, pour autant, comme l'écrit Coudray de Lille en 2005, *“la date de 1990 n'a pas remis les compteurs à zéro, et les pays anciens membres entreront dans l'Europe avec un certain nombre de marques héritées de la parenthèse historique du socialisme, malgré une décennie consacrée à la restructuration globale des systèmes économiques, sociaux et politiques.”*<sup>1</sup>. On s'intéresse donc en partie dans cette recherche aux évolutions présentes dans le domaine du service public de gestion des déchets en tant que résultantes de la fin de la période communiste.

### *I – A. b. Depuis l'entrée dans l'UE ... Retour sur les récentes évolutions en Roumanie.*

#### Impact économique de l'entrée dans l'UE

Tandis que le niveau de vie a baissé dans les années suivants la chute de Ceausescu, avec la plupart des estimations réalisées en 2008 situant encore 35 à 45% de la population roumaine en dessous du seuil de pauvreté (Barthou, 2008), le pays a parcouru un chemin considérable depuis les années 2000. Entre 1992 et 2015, l'économie roumaine a connu un taux de croissance annuel de 8,4%, faisant d'elle une des économies à la croissance la plus rapide au monde sur cette période (données Banque Mondiale).

Bénéficiant de l'accession à l'UE avant même son entrée officielle, dès les années 2005-2006, les investissements étrangers bondissent en Roumanie : 15 milliards d'euros, plus que tous les investissements étrangers réalisés entre 1990 et 2004 (Bran, 2007). La décennie des années 2000 a donc été une décennie de croissance économique, même si elle est basée sur un

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<sup>1</sup> Coudroy de Lille, L. (2005). Introduction - Territoires européens : régions, États, Union. Une nouvelle architecture territoriale pour les États d'Europe centrale et orientale, Géoconfluences.  
<http://geoconfluences.ens-lyon.fr/doc/etpays/Europe/EurScient.htm>

modèle de croissance qualifié de “fragile” (Daianu, Murgescu, 2013). Entre 2002 et 2008, le PIB a augmenté de plus de 6 points par an en termes réels, le pays étant toutefois inévitablement impacté par la crise financière mondiale de 2008, celle-ci mettant en valeur les limites du modèle adopté jusqu’ici, où croissance est synonyme d’endettement. Malgré des fluctuations économiques et les tensions politiques, on peut aujourd’hui mettre en valeur la croissance du PIB de 4,9 % entre 2015 et 2019, Bucarest concentrant une majeure partie des investissements et de l’activité économique du pays.

### Décentralisation et distribution des fonds européens

En 2019, la Roumanie reste un des pays de l’UE avec un des plus bas niveaux de taxation - ses recettes publiques représentent 31,7% de son PIB, contre 46,2% en moyenne dans l’UE27 - et un des pays avec la part de dépenses publiques la plus faible - 36% de son PIB contre 46,7% en moyenne dans l’UE - selon les chiffres de la Commission Européenne. Toutefois, en termes de service public, l’entrée officielle dans l’UE en 2007 signifie pour la Roumanie une multiplication par 10 de la somme totale des financements auquel le pays à accès, en comparaison de la période de pré-adhésion. La réforme pour la décentralisation, prévue dès 1990 et nécessaire pour une distribution adéquate des fonds européens, a eu peu d’effet sur la réelle organisation territoriale et politique de la Roumanie, avec un seul véritable changement notable : la création des “*régions de développement*” en 1998, dans une volonté de gestion locale et de rapprochement du citoyen, qui structure désormais la Roumanie en grandes régions (Cristescu, Muntele, 2007). Les entités de développement mises en place sont toutefois non administratives. Les premiers niveaux de division du pays sont donc aujourd’hui quatre Macro-régions, coordonnant le développement régional et les infrastructures : la Transylvanie, la Sévérine, la Munténie et la Moldavie Bas-Danube, ainsi que huit régions de développement : le Nord-Ouest (Nord-Vest ou Someșana), où se situe le terrain de recherche de cette étude, mais aussi le Centre (Centru ou Mureșana), le Nord-Est (Moldova), le Sud-Est (Dunărea de Jos), le Sud (Getica), Bucarest-Ilfov (Bucureșteana), le Sud-Ouest (Sud-Vest ou Oltenia), l’Ouest (Vest ou Apuseana).

## Vers une économie capitaliste ?

Après 1989, l'ouverture économique et politique de la Roumanie semblait inévitable, le discours dominant la décennie 1990 acclamant la démocratie et l'économie de marché, sans vraiment questionner la nature du modèle occidental et dans une volonté de "retour vers l'Ouest" (Daianu, Murgescu, 2013). Barthou annonce dès 2008 que "*la Roumanie est bel et bien entrée dans l'ère du capitalisme mondial*" (Barthou, 2008, *Autrepart* n°48, p. 101) avec, depuis la chute du communisme, un enchaînement de politiques économiques d'inspiration libérale ayant eu pour effet de renforcer les inégalités. L'économie de la Roumanie, basée pendant la période communiste sur des activités de métallurgie, la construction de machines lourdes et la production d'appareils, se base désormais sur les secteurs du transport, de l'électronique et de l'électrique. Il y a 13 ans, Barthou ne distingue pas de classe moyenne économique (mais plutôt culturelle, sociale), et nous propose une typologie arbitraire, avec une stratification sociale du pays en trois vitesses : riches, pauvres, et Roms. Deuxième minorité ethnique du pays, les Roms représentaient 8% de la population nationale en 2011 selon un recensement du PNUD, et 3,3% selon le recensement officiel conduit par l'INSEE<sup>2</sup>. Même s'il existe différentes figures de Rom, le changement de régime a profondément affecté cette population en majorité peu qualifiée. Barthou, en classant ainsi la population Rom dans sa typologie, nous signifie que malgré les possibles différences et multiples parcours individuels au sein de cette minorité, les Roms "*ne semblent pas faire partie intégrante de la société roumaine*" (Barthou, 2008, *Autrepart* n°48, p.104). Cette question sera approfondie dans la suite du développement.

Alors, a-t-on réellement assisté à l'avènement du capitalisme en Roumanie lors des dernières décennies ? La réponse communément admise est oui. Pour Barthou, la Roumanie s'adapte "*véritablement au système capitaliste en essayant de négocier une marge de manœuvre, de le réinventer à son niveau*", même si son action "*ne correspond pas aux standards occidentaux ou ouest-européens*". (*ibid.*, p. 105). La Roumanie, disposant aujourd'hui d'une économie de

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<sup>2</sup> Soit 621 600 personnes s'auto-déclarant comme d'ethnicité Rom, au 20 octobre 2021, pour le recensement officiel national.

Source : Insee.ro, 04/07/2013, Communiqué de presse n°159 sur les résultats finaux du recensement de la population et du logement de 2011.

[http://www.recensamantromania.ro/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Press-release-no-159\\_2011-Population-census-rezults.pdf](http://www.recensamantromania.ro/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Press-release-no-159_2011-Population-census-rezults.pdf)

marché, membre de l'UE, l'OTAN, "se trouve à un moment critique de son histoire post-communiste", avec une des économies les plus pauvres de l'Europe, faisant aujourd'hui face à la fragilité structurelle de ses institutions et au manque d'efficacité de ses politiques publiques, dans une Union Européenne dont le projet est remis en question (Daianu, D. Murgescu, B. Which Way Goes Romanian Capitalism ?, 2013, p.20).

## I – B. Repères pour un contexte national de la gestion des déchets.

Dans la seconde partie de ce chapitre, on se questionne sur les impacts qu'ont eu ces évolutions sur la gestion des déchets. Ce mémoire se concentrant sur la transformation du service public de gestion des déchets dans une zone urbaine roumaine, seront présentés ici des éléments historiques et législatifs utiles à la compréhension de la gestion des déchets municipaux.

### I – B. a. Evolution tendancielle des quantités produites et des méthodes de gestion des déchets depuis 1989.

Les années 90 en Roumanie marquent le début d'une plus grande considération de l'environnement dans les textes législatifs. Alors que la loi de 1995 sur la Protection de l'Environnement met en valeur des objectifs, sans toutefois indiquer de direction, de ressources ou d'informations sur la manière de les atteindre, la pression pour un changement dans les systèmes municipaux de gestion des déchets s'accroît surtout avec le début des politiques d'accession à l'UE (Thomas, 1999).

### Evolution de la production de déchets

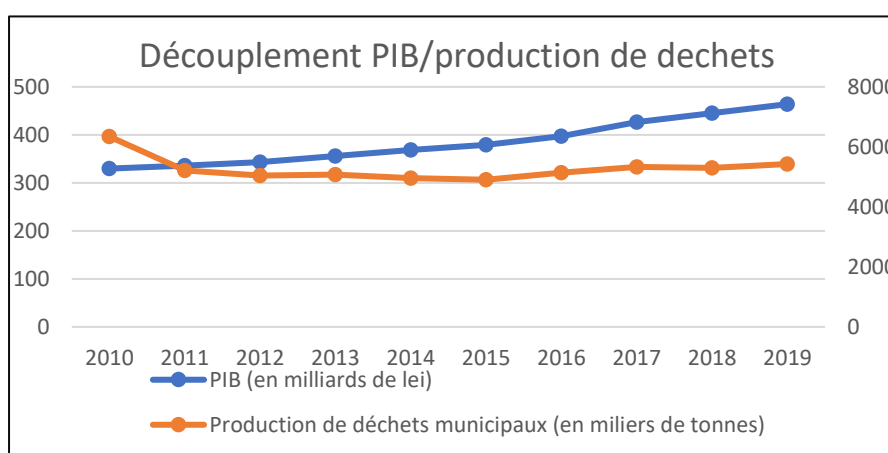
Depuis le début des années 1990, l'évolution qu'a connue la société roumaine a augmenté la production de déchets municipaux, phénomène pouvant être lié à une hausse de la consommation et à la modernisation du pays.

Il reste complexe aujourd'hui d'estimer la réalité de la production de déchets pendant la période communiste en Roumanie ainsi que pendant la décennie ayant suivie, faute de

mesures précises et de bases de données fiables. Selon certaines estimations, en 1995, la Roumanie a produit 6,9 millions de tonnes de déchets municipaux, soit environ 2 à 3 % du total des déchets solides produits à l'échelle nationale (Gajban, 1997). Les calculs indiquent donc une quantité moyenne de déchets municipaux par habitant dans les zones urbaines de 1,5 kg par jour, soit environ 250 kg de déchets domestiques par personne en un an (Gajban, 1997).

Si l'on considère la période 1998 – 2017, la production de déchets en Roumanie a atteint un pic en 2009, pour ensuite entamer une faible diminution. En Europe, le volume de déchets produit par pays peut être mis en corrélation directe avec l'activité économique de celui-ci. En 2018, la Roumanie était le pays le moins producteur de déchets par habitant en Europe, avec 272 kg/hab/an de DMA, tandis que le pays le plus producteur par habitant était le Danemark, avec 814 kg/hab/an (données Eurostat<sup>3</sup>). Tandis qu'au début de la dernière décennie, on observe une chute de la production de déchets et du PIB après la crise de 2009, le PIB reprend son augmentation dès 2010 tandis que la production de déchets municipaux baisse jusqu'en 2015, pour reprendre son ascension seulement lors des dernières années.

Figure 1 – Graphique de l'évolution du PIB et de la production de déchets municipaux en Roumanie, 2010-2019. Données Eurostat et Banque Mondiale.



Par ailleurs, les estimations de l'ANPM (2010-2014) présentent une composition des déchets municipaux avec environ 72% de déchets des ménages, 10% de déchets liés aux activités des services publics et environ 18% de déchets liés aux activités des agents économiques.

<sup>3</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/env\\_wasmun/default/table?lang=fr](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/env_wasmun/default/table?lang=fr)

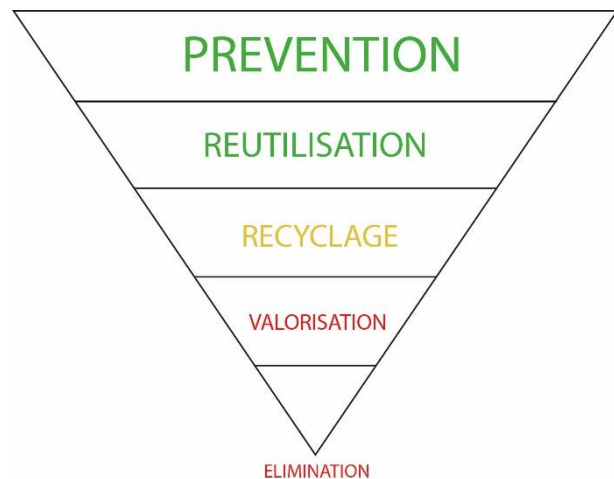


## Evolution de l'élimination et de la valorisation

En ce qui concerne les méthodes d'élimination, dans le début des années 90, on recense près de 2 000 décharges dans le pays, dont seulement 450 autorisés. « *La plupart des déchets sont éliminés en site d'enfouissement* » <sup>1</sup> (Thomas, 1999), sites placés « *au mauvais endroit* », trop près des zones bâties, de rivières où peuvent s'écouler le lixiviat, ou sur des terrains où la nappe phréatique est proche de la surface (ICIM, 1993). La collecte sélective et le recyclage ne sont pas des faits nouveaux en Roumanie : 44 REMAT sont recensées en 1992, avec 157 centres de recyclage pour environ 2000 points de collecte (Thomas, 1999). Les REMAT, compagnies appartenant à l'Etat et qui seront plus tard privatisées, recyclent 1 million de tonnes par an, dont 11% directement acheté au public (Thomas, 1999). Le verre, les métaux ferreux et non-ferreux, les plastiques et papiers sont les matériaux privilégiés. On recense également de petites entreprises, collectant auprès des citoyens en payant une somme moindre, pour vendre ensuite la collecte aux REMAT. D'une part, pendant la période communiste, le public a donc été habitué à être payé pour ses produits recyclables, et, d'autre part, la collecte a parfois été obligatoire, notamment pour les enfants, obligés de ramener des matériaux recyclables afin de les vendre aux compagnies de recyclage et ainsi participer aux frais des écoles. Maletz *et al.* décrivent ainsi le système de recyclage de pays post-communistes comme la Pologne, la RDA, l'Estonie comme étant « très efficace » et mis en place pour des raisons économiques. De fait, les pénuries mènent à un usage efficient des flux de matériaux. Toutefois, ce système de gestion des déchets partiellement éco-efficient a pris fin après la chute du Rideau de Fer (Maletz *et al.*, 2018). Les systèmes de consigne, tout comme l'apport direct des matériaux recyclables à des compagnies de recyclage par les citoyens, ont été progressivement abandonnés, laissant place à d'autres modes d'organisation.

Avec son entrée dans l'UE, la Roumanie a dû adapter son système de gestion des déchets aux standards et objectifs européens. La hiérarchie de la gestion des déchets est présentée dès 2008 dans l'article 4 de la directive européenne n° 2008/98/CE du 19 novembre 2008 : transposée au sein des législations nationales des Etats membres, elle prône avant tout la prévention et la réduction des déchets. Ce principe se retrouve par exemple dans la promesse de réduction de 10% des DMA en 2025 par rapport à 2017, objectif 1 du Programme National de Prévention des Déchets<sup>4</sup>, ce qui signifie une réduction de 228 kg/an/pers à 204 kg/an/pers pour la Roumanie.

Figure 2 – Schéma simplifié de la hiérarchie des modes de traitement des déchets, selon Directive cadre de l'UE 2008/98.



En ce qui concerne la valorisation, des objectifs sont également fixés et ont été modifiés par les différents paquets Economie Circulaire. En 2018, la directive européenne 2018/851 fixe les objectifs présentés ci-dessous. La Roumanie, rentrant dans le cadre défini par la directive permettant d'adapter les objectifs au contexte national, peut bénéficier d'une dérogation pour repousser de 5 ans maximum (4 ans de dérogation et une année supplémentaire possible) la mise en place de ces taux. Si l'on compare les objectifs fixés et les chiffres cités précédemment (73,4% de déchets municipaux mis en décharge et 11,1% des déchets municipaux recyclés en Roumanie en 2018), la Roumanie ne semble pas encore prête aujourd'hui, à atteindre ces taux. Parmi les diverses obligations et objectifs concernant les déchets municipaux, on peut trouver :

- La réutilisation et le recyclage des déchets municipaux à l'horizon 2025 de minimum de 55% des déchets générés, pour 2030 de minimum de 60%, et en 2035 de 65% ;
- La réduction du volume de déchets stockés dans les décharges à 10% du volume total de déchets municipaux générés d'ici 2035 ;
- L'interdiction de stocker les déchets collectés séparément ;

<sup>4</sup> Plan National de Gestion des Déchets 2019-2025, partie 5 - Prévention, p. 342.

- La réutilisation et recyclage des déchets d'emballages d'au moins 65% (fin 2025) et d'au moins 70% (d'ici fin 2030).

Des objectifs ont également été définis selon les matériaux, comme précisé dans le tableau ci-dessous, avec encore une fois un aménagement possible pour la Roumanie dans les taux de recyclage à atteindre :

Figure 3 - Tableau des objectifs européens de recyclage selon le type de matériaux.

Matériaux d'emballage	Objectifs antérieurs (2020)	Objectifs pour 2025	Objectifs pour 2030
Verre	60%	70%	75%
Papier/carton	60%	75%	85%
Métal	50%	70%/50% (Métal ferreux/alu)	80%/60% (Métal ferreux/alu)
Plastique	22,5%	50%	55%
Bois	15%	25%	30%

En comparant les cartes des figures 4 et 5, on peut déduire que malgré son haut positionnement à l'échelle européenne dans la quantité de déchets municipaux enfouis ou mis en décharge sans valorisation, par habitant et par an, la Roumanie ne fait pas partie des pays ayant enfouis ou mis en décharge la plus grande quantité de déchets en 2018. En ce qui concerne les méthodes d'élimination et de valorisation, en Roumanie, 73,4% des déchets municipaux ont été enfouis en décharge en 2018. Le taux de recyclage moyen des DMA était estimé à 47,2% dans l'UE27 en 2018, tandis que ce taux était de 11,1% en Roumanie la même année<sup>5</sup>, marquant une progression lente mais continue du recyclage des déchets municipaux. Pour rappel, le taux de recyclage des déchets municipaux était estimé à seulement 0,4% dans le pays en 2007 (données Eurostat), année de son entrée dans l'UE.

<sup>5</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/t2020\\_rt120/default/table?lang=fr](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/t2020_rt120/default/table?lang=fr)

Figure 4 - Carte de la part des DMA éliminés par enfouissement ou mis en décharge sans valorisation, en 2018 dans l'UE. Source : Eurostat. Réalisation : Nicolas Cochard, projet LowTT-WUN, 2021.

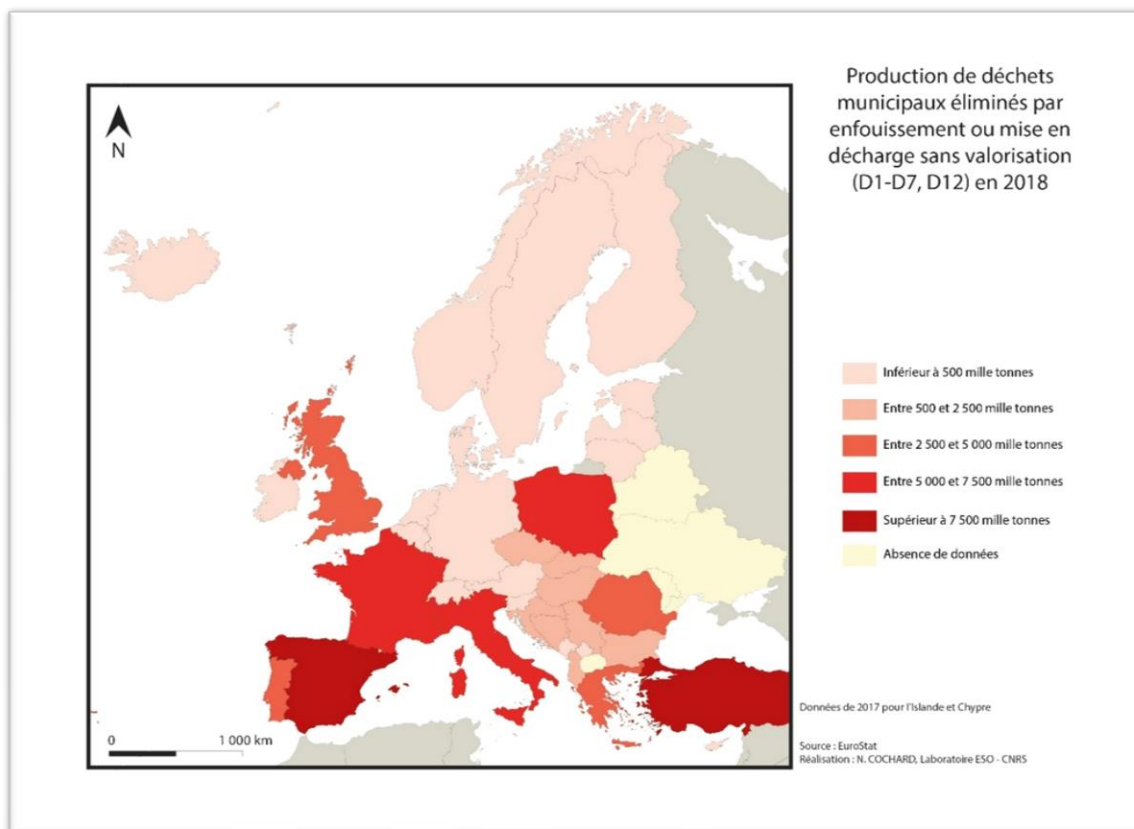
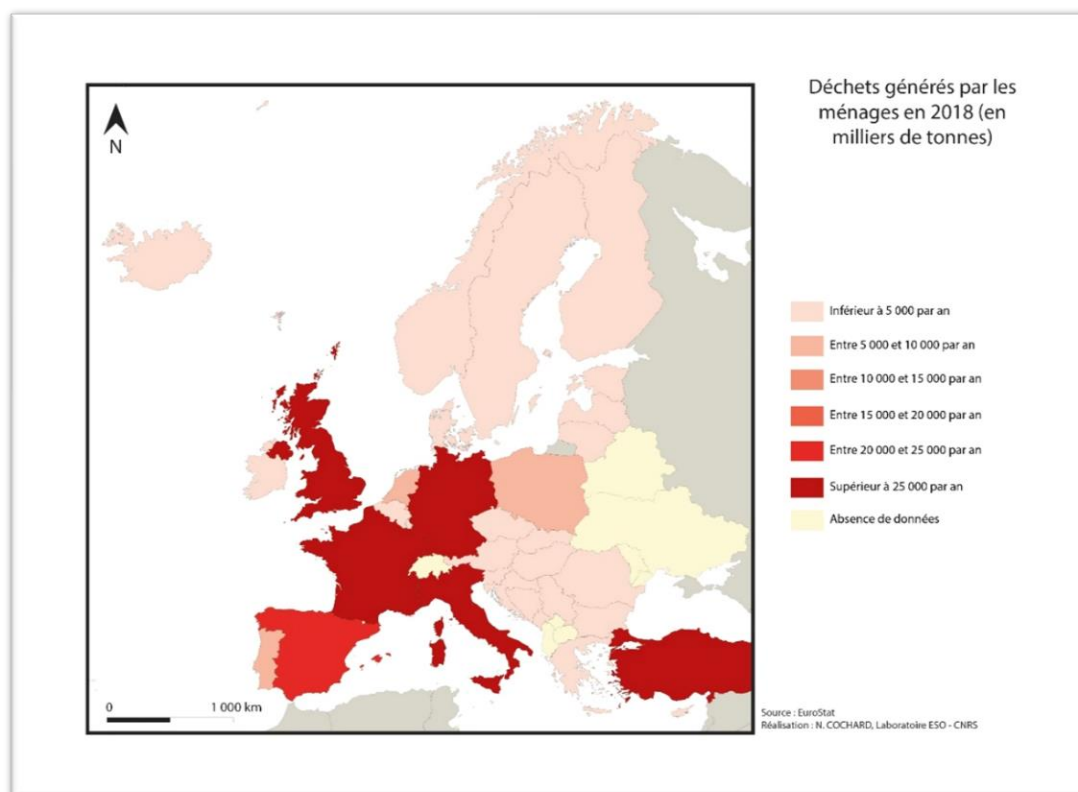


Figure 5 - Carte des déchets générés par les ménages en 2018 dans l'UE. Source : Eurostat. Réalisation : Nicolas Cochard, projet LowTT-WUN, 2021.



Avant même l'entrée dans l'UE de la Roumanie, la gestion des déchets dans le pays a donc été impactée par le projet européen. Toutefois, les changements dans le service public ne se sont pas interrompus lors de l'entrée officielle de la Roumanie dans l'UE.

### *I – B. b. De la régie à la délégation : comprendre l'ouverture au marché et l'influence de l'UE sur le service public de gestion des déchets roumains.*

En effet, les services publics, en grande partie subventionnés par l'Etat, en plus de devoir s'adapter à une nouvelle législation, ont également dû s'adapter à une nouvelle réalité économique. Le secteur de la gestion des déchets municipaux a ainsi été qualifié de secteur le plus problématique pour les états postsocialistes « à cause de son état chronique de sous-financement, de son influence notable sur l'image de la ville, ainsi que son impact négatif significatif sur l'environnement. » 2 (Maletz et al., 2018).

#### De la régie à la délégation

Le service public de gestion des déchets en Roumanie, avant la chute du communisme, se concentre donc sur la collecte et le transport des déchets pour enfouissement, avec un apport (tantôt volontaire, tantôt contraint) des matériaux recyclables à des points de collecte. Dans la décennie suivant la chute du régime communiste, les déchets ménagers étaient collectés par une unité d'assainissement publique, en régie, ou plus rarement une entreprise privée, selon un mode de gestion en délégation. Ce ne fut pas le cas par le passé durant la période communiste, où le service public était assuré en régie par les services municipaux. A l'heure actuelle, le service public roumain de gestion des déchets, responsabilité des collectivités locales, est très souvent assuré via des contrats de délégation de service public accordés à des sociétés privées, conformément à la loi 101 de 2006. Plus de 400 sociétés possèdent à l'heure actuelle une licence délivrée par l'ANRSC pour assurer collecte, transport et dépôt des déchets, tandis qu'environ 800 sont autorisées à recycler et valoriser les déchets (PNGD 2018).

Les projets ISPA et PHARE ont été les principales sources d'investissements permettant de mettre en place des systèmes intégrés de gestion des déchets en zone urbaine, avant l'entrée officielle de la Roumanie dans l'UE en 2007. Depuis son accession à l'UE, le pays

bénéficie de financements au titre des objectifs européens de développement durable. Toutefois, ces financements sont parfois remis en cause par la non-réalisation des objectifs européens en termes de réduction, recyclage et traitement des déchets, fixés lors du traité d'accession à l'UE. La première Stratégie Nationale de Gestion des Déchets a été élaborée en 2003 et publiée en 2004, pour la période 2003-2013, transposant les dispositions européennes de l'époque, rapidement suivie du Plan National de Gestion des Déchets en 2004 ainsi que des Plans Régionaux en 2006, pour transcrire en actions les objectifs de cette stratégie (Larive, 2011), mais le pays s'est déjà fait rappeler à l'ordre par la Cour Européenne pour de multiples raisons : retard dans la publication d'un PNGD, mais aussi retard dans la fermeture de ses décharges non-autorisées, pour la non-application des mesures de gestion des déchets, pour la non-modification de sa législation, ...<sup>6</sup>

### Européanisation, synonyme de modernisation ?

Dans les paragraphes précédents, le secteur de la gestion des déchets a avant tout été abordé à travers la question des déchets municipaux. Cette recherche se base essentiellement sur la compréhension du service public à travers ces derniers, car pouvant être considéré comme étant un des flux de déchets les « *plus complexes à gérer* », dont l'état « *donne en général une bonne indication de la qualité de l'ensemble du système de gestion des déchets d'un pays* » **3** (Directive 2018/851 du Parlement européen et du Conseil, 30 mai 2018, Journal officiel de l'UE). Les déchets municipaux ont pour particularité de se situer à proximité directe des citoyens (forte visibilité), avec une composition très diverse et un impact non négligeable sur la santé et l'environnement, même s'ils ne composent que 7 à 10% de la quantité totale de déchets aujourd'hui produite dans l'UE. Pour rappel, dans la législation roumaine, un déchet est considéré comme « *toute substance ou objet dont le titulaire se défait ou dont il a l'intention ou l'obligation de se défait* » **4** (loi 211/2011, annexe 1).

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<sup>6</sup> Pour aller plus loin, quelques exemples (liste non-exhaustive) :  
[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/fr/IP\\_15\\_4874](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/fr/IP_15_4874)  
[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/fr/IP\\_17\\_237](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/fr/IP_17_237)  
[https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/fr/IP\\_17\\_1047](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/fr/IP_17_1047)

La récente augmentation de l'accès de la population au service public de gestion des déchets, le développement des infrastructures pour le transfert, le tri, l'incinération, le compostage et l'enfouissement des déchets, de même que l'augmentation des taux de déchets valorisés et recyclés peuvent être liés à l'implémentation des SMID. Tandis que les Conseils Départementaux sont les bénéficiaires de ces projets, les ADI gèrent leur mise en œuvre. 32 projets de SMID ont été approuvés à l'échelle nationale, tandis qu'il existe 39 ADI. Les ADI sont chargées d'établir, organiser, gérer, exploiter les services d'intérêt commun liés au SMID, y compris via des contrats de délégation, mais aussi de financer et mettre en œuvre des programmes pour l'établissement, l'amélioration et la gestion des services publics liés à l'assainissement dans leurs UAT. Les SMID, par l'intermédiaire de leurs membres, délègue l'exploitation des infrastructures, coordonne la planification locale et départementale, et approuve les stratégies de gestion : les SMID ont donc pour objectif de faciliter et améliorer la cohérence des décisions des autorités publiques locales au sein d'un département<sup>7</sup>. Les projets de SMID se concentrent ainsi sur l'établissement d'un ensemble d'infrastructures pouvant assurer la collecte, le transport, ainsi que la valorisation et l'élimination des déchets.

La vision de la modernisation du service public d'assainissement à travers la seule technologie et motorisation étant aujourd'hui critiquée, notamment avec l'étude des systèmes de gestion des déchets dans les Suds, on souhaite comprendre à travers cette recherche si le service public de la ville de Cluj-Napoca évolue vers un système urbain composite, tel qu'évoqué par les concepts de « mixed modernities » (Spaargaren et al. 2005) ou « modernised mixtures » (Scheinberg et al. 2011), en adoptant par exemple des innovations sociales et territoriales, issues des politiques publiques ou d'initiatives spontanées et venant compléter les innovations technologiques notamment liées au SMID, ceci dans un contexte européen postcommuniste. En adoptant le postulat que le service public des villes roumaines a subi des transformations à la suite de la chute du communisme et de l'entrée dans l'UE, on se questionne en ces termes :

**Comment les villes post-socialistes récemment entrées dans l'UE refondent leur service public de gestion des déchets ?**

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<sup>7</sup> <https://business-review.eu/greenrestart/the-state-of-waste-management-in-romania-plenty-of-work-remains-to-be-done-212632>

## Chapitre II : Présentation du terrain d'étude : Cluj-Napoca, au sein de la zone métropolitaine de Cluj.

Dans ce chapitre, après avoir adressé des éléments de géographie à l'échelle nationale, régionale, locale, on établit une rapide monographie du département pour mieux comprendre le contexte dans lequel se situe l'étude de cas sur laquelle se base ce mémoire.

### II - A. Cadrage géographique de l'étude

*II – A. a. Réflexions sur la structure démographique, administrative et territoriale actuelle de la Roumanie.*

#### A l'échelle nationale

Les derniers calculs officiels comptent près de 19 318 000 résidents<sup>8</sup> en Roumanie au 1er janvier 2020 (INSSE<sup>9</sup>), pour 20 121 641 résidents en 2011<sup>10</sup>, selon le dernier recensement général de la population. La démographie roumaine connaît, depuis plusieurs décennies, un ralentissement, causé notamment par la baisse de la natalité et sous l'effet de l'émigration. Le territoire national comptant 237 500 km<sup>2</sup>, la densité de population peut aujourd'hui être estimée à 81,3 hab/km<sup>2</sup>, avec une densité plus élevée dans les pôles nationaux de croissance économique : Iasi, Cluj, Bucarest, Constanta, Brasov, Ploiesti, Craiova, Timisoara, qu'on peut aussi lier à une plus grande production de déchets dans les villes.

Pour rappel, en tant que pays membre de l'UE, la Roumanie a adopté comme échelon territorial-administratif la Région, d'après les divisions régionales NUTS 2 de l'UE, échelon mis

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<sup>8</sup> Personnes recensées en tant que résidentes : personnes de nationalité roumaine ou d'origine étrangère, ayant déclarées leur résidence principale sur le sol roumain depuis plus de 12 mois.

<sup>9</sup> Source : Insse.ro, 28/08/2020, Communiqué de presse n°222.

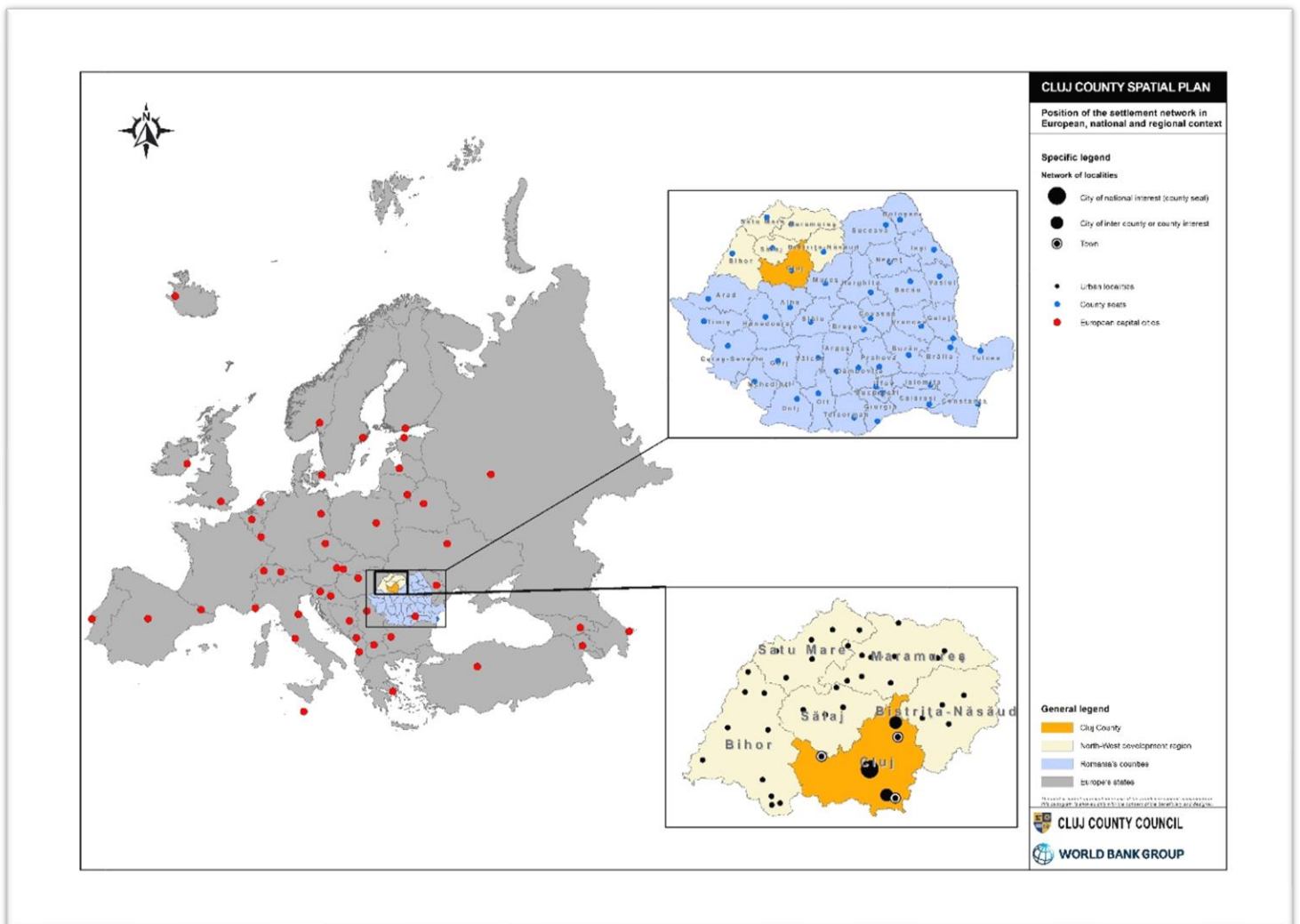
[https://insse.ro/cms/sites/default/files/com\\_presa/com\\_pdf/poprez\\_ian2020e.pdf](https://insse.ro/cms/sites/default/files/com_presa/com_pdf/poprez_ian2020e.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> Source : Insse.ro, 04/07/2013, Communiqué de presse n°159 sur les résultats finaux du recensement de la population et du logement de 2011. [http://www.recensamantromania.ro/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Press-release-no-159\\_2011-Population-census-rezults.pdf](http://www.recensamantromania.ro/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Press-release-no-159_2011-Population-census-rezults.pdf)



en place dès 1998 via une réforme évoquée précédemment. Les autres échelons territoriaux-administratifs sont les Départements, au nombre de 42 si l'on inclut Bucarest comme tel et correspondant à l'échelon NUTS 3 européen, au sein desquels se situent 320 municipalités, 2861 municipalités, villes ou villages (ainsi que de multiples communautés).

Figure 6 - : Carte de positionnement du département de Cluj au sein du contexte régional, national et européen. Réalisation : Cluj County Council, World Bank Group.



## A l'échelle régionale

La Roumanie est marquée par d'importantes inégalités. Depuis son adhésion à l'UE, le pays a réalisé un bond considérable en termes de PIB/hab (mesure en PPA, parité pouvoir d'achat). Ce dernier est passé de 39% de la moyenne de l'UE en 2006 à 59% en 2016. Pour comparaison, la Bulgarie, également adhérente en 2007, est passée de 38% à 49%. Toutefois,

cette croissance ne profite pas à toutes les régions. La région capitale, Bucarest-Ilfov, est la seule région roumaine à avoir un PIB/habitant PPA supérieur à la moyenne de l'UE27<sup>11</sup>. A l'inverse, la Roumanie compte trois régions classées dans les 19 régions les plus pauvres de l'UE et la Commission européenne inclut cinq des huit régions roumaines dans la catégorie des "lagging regions"<sup>12</sup>. Ce terme désigne des régions à faibles revenus et/ou à faible croissance. Les régions roumaines du Nord-Ouest, Nord-Est, Sud-Est, Sud Muntenia et Sud-Ouest Oltenia sont des régions à faibles revenus, avec un PIB/hab PPA inférieur à 50% de la moyenne de l'UE en 2013.

Toutefois, la région Nord-Ouest, fait preuve d'un certain dynamisme économique et démographique qui s'explique en partie par une modernisation réussie de son économie après 1989 : le secteur de l'agriculture se modernise progressivement tout en continuant à employer 28,16% des travailleurs en 2011, et on observe une montée en puissance des activités liées aux services, notamment dans la ville de Cluj-Napoca, qui ne base pas son économie sur un passé industriel. La région est proche du plein-emploi, avec un taux de chômage de 3,9% en 2018 et se classe aujourd'hui en quatrième position en termes de PIB et en cinquième position à l'échelle nationale pour les exportations : graisses et huiles, bois, chaussures et chapeaux, meubles et équipements optiques/photographiques, appareils médicaux et chirurgicaux ... (CE, 2019, Panorama n°68). Cette région, comptant six départements ou comtés pour un territoire de 34 160 km<sup>2</sup>, était peuplée de 2,7 millions d'habitants selon le dernier recensement national de 2011, représentant 13% de la population.

### A l'échelle départementale

Le département de Cluj, qui compte 5 municipalités, 1 ville et 75 communes comprenant 420 villages, a vu sa démographie baisser de 4% entre 1992 et 2007. Tandis qu'elle stagne depuis 2010 en milieu urbain, et qu'elle est en légère hausse en milieu rural, Cluj enregistre une légère croissance démographique sur la période 2012-2018, peu suivie dans les zones urbaines sauf à Cluj-Napoca, chef-lieu du département. Ce constat peut être

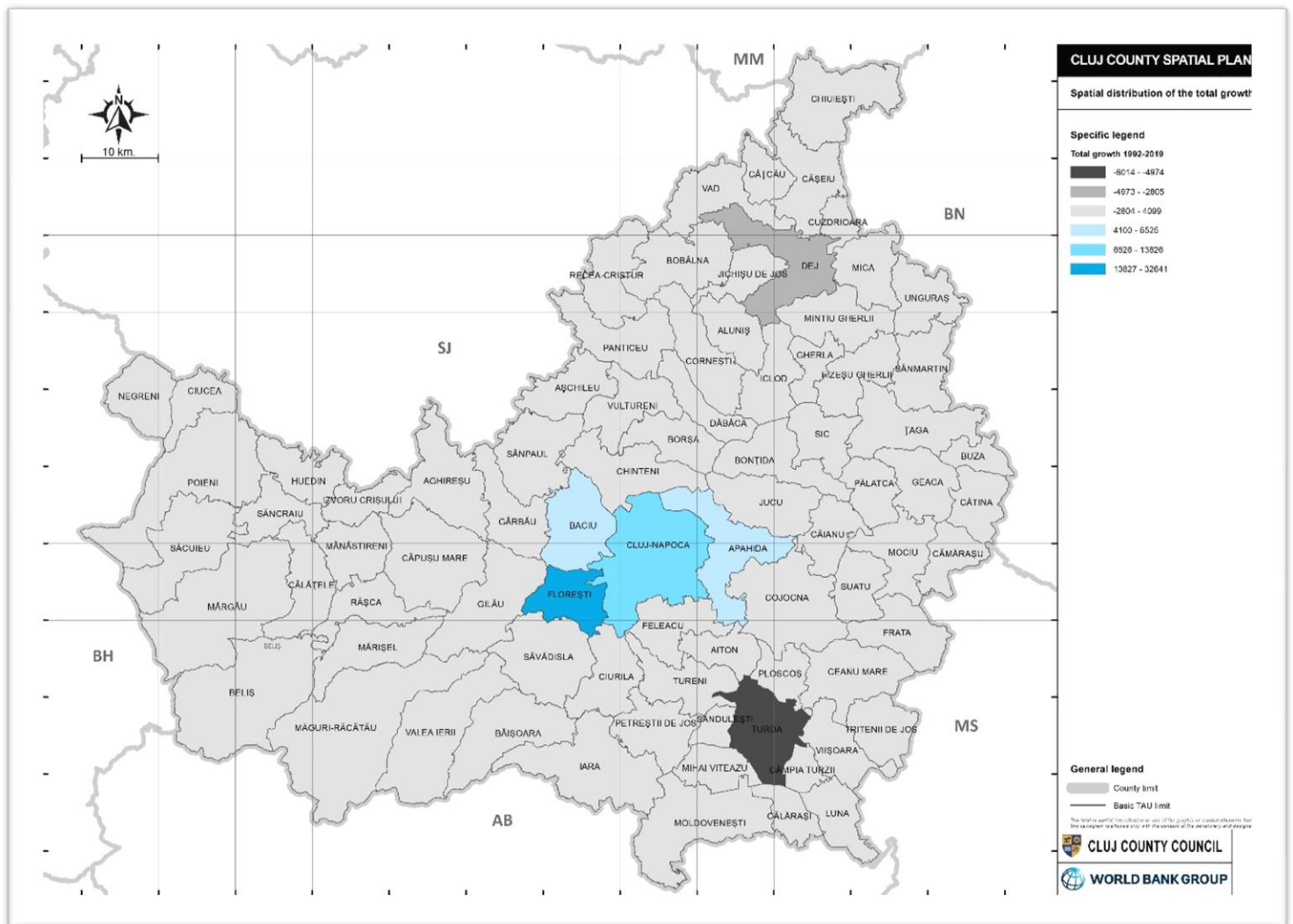
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<sup>11</sup> Source : Service économique de Bucarest, Ambassade de France en Roumanie, 01/2018, Les disparités régionales en Roumanie.

<sup>12</sup> Source : Commission Staff Working Document, 2017, "Competitiveness in low-income and low growth regions – The lagging regions report".

mis en relation avec le phénomène de péri-urbanisation que connaît la Roumanie. Il est notamment utile de constater qu'entre 2002 et 2017, les communes de Floresti, Apahida et Baci, dans la périphérie de Cluj-Napoca, ont fourni l'espace nécessaire à la construction de nouveaux quartiers résidentiels et ont connu une forte expansion démographique.

Figure 7 - Carte de la fluctuation de la démographie dans le département de Cluj, 1992-2019. Sources : Cluj County Council, World Bank Group.



Cluj fait partie des rares *județe* qui ont des salaires moyens supérieurs au salaire moyen national de 665€ en 2020. La croissance économique est par exemple visible entre 2002 et 2016, avec la multiplication par près de cinq du PIB du département, ainsi qu'une augmentation du nombre d'employés de plus de 21% en 14 ans. Toutefois, il est nécessaire de préciser que l'augmentation du nombre d'employés est due à la municipalité de Cluj-

Napoca, passée de 116 071 employés en 2002 à 161 610 employés en 2016, ce qui signifie une augmentation de 33%.

## II – A. b. La zone métropolitaine de Cluj et Cluj-Napoca : ébauche de monographie.

Le terrain de recherche de cette étude est donc la ville de Cluj-Napoca, au sein de la Zone Métropolitaine de Cluj. Des parallèles seront effectués entre la ville de Cluj et sa zone métropolitaine, pour mettre en valeur les spécificités de cette première, entité territoriale qui a un statut de *municipiu* (municipalité).

### Démographie

La ville de Cluj-Napoca est située dans le Nord-Ouest de la Roumanie, au centre du

**Figure 8 - Tableau des résultats du recensement 2011 dans les UAT de la zone de l'ADI ZMC.**

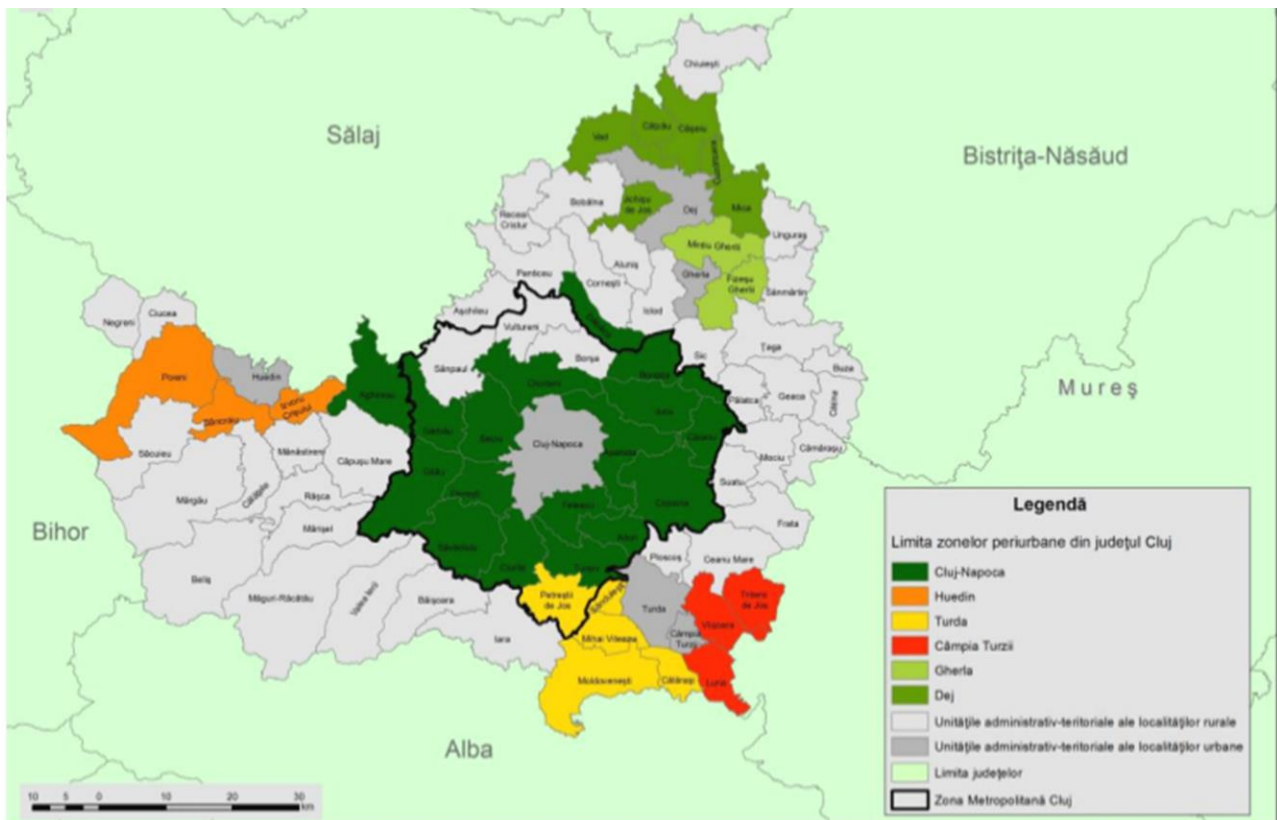
Unité administrative et territoriale :	Habitants recensés en 2011 :
Municipalité de Cluj-Napoca	324 576
Commune de Aiton	1 085
Commune de Apahida	10 685
Commune de Baciu	10 317
Commune de Bontida	4 856
Commune de Borsa	1 600
Commune de Caianu	2 355
Commune de Chinteni	3 065
Commune de Ciurila	1 594
Commune de Cojocna	4 194
Commune de Feleacu	3 923
Commune de Floresti	22 813
Commune de Gilau	8 300
Commune de Girbau	2 440
Commune de Jucu	4 270
Commune de Petrestii De Jos	1 512
Commune de Sinpaul	2 382
Commune de Tureni	2 278
Commune de Vultureni	1 516
<b>TOTAL ADI ZMC :</b>	<b>413 761</b>

département de 179,5 km<sup>2</sup> de Cluj, et concentre selon les relevés officiels près de la moitié de la population de Cluj. Après une légère hausse de sa démographie entre 1990 et 1998, puis une perte d'environ 35 000 habitants entre les recensements de 1998 et 2002, le chef-lieu a rapidement connu un regain de croissance démographique. Successivement deuxième et troisième plus grande ville du pays au niveau démographique, Cluj-Napoca compte selon les dernières données de l'institut national de statistiques roumain (Romanian Institutul Național de Statistică) 326 145 habitants en 2019, contre 324 578 en 2011, nombre pouvant être sous-estimé puisque prenant difficilement en compte les flux d'étudiants, de touristes, de personnes sans papiers d'identité

officiels. Toujours selon le dernier recensement général officiel de 2011, la Zone Métropolitaine de Cluj comptait en 2011, 413 761 habitants.

La Zone Métropolitaine de Cluj est une association de développement intercommunautaire, qui comprend les unités administratives territoriales suivantes : la municipalité de Cluj Napoca et les communes d'Aiton, Apahida, Baci, Bonțida, Borșa, Căianu, Chinteni, Ciurila, Cojocna, Feleacu, Florești, Gilău, Gârbău, Jucu, Petreștii de Jos, Săveni, Sânpaul, Tureni et Sânpaul. Territoire de projet tout comme les intercommunalités françaises, ce territoire paraît particulièrement pertinent en tant qu'il représente la zone périurbaine de Cluj-Napoca, plus grande zone urbaine du département, comprenant 17 communes. La zone périurbaine de Cluj a été définie à la suite des dispositions de la loi 350/2011, après des études de la faculté de Géographie de l'Université de Babeș-Bolyai. Ses limites chevauchent celles de la zone périurbaine de Cluj-Napoca, à quelques exceptions près : dans la partie nord de la zone métropolitaine, les communes de Sânpaul, Vultureni et Borșa ne sont pas comprises dans la zone périurbaine, à cause du faible taux de navettage.

Figure 9 - Carte des zones périurbaines du département de Cluj. Source : UBB, Facultatea de Geografie, Studiu zonelor periurbane. - p. 34



## Economie

Désignée en tant que capitale non-officielle de la Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca est une ville attractive du point de vue démographique notamment grâce un fort potentiel économique dans les domaines de la construction, des services, et de la transformation industrielle, et qui s'attache à mettre en avant sa dimension de ville culturelle et universitaire. En 2011, plus de 61% des travailleurs dans la ville de Cluj-Napoca sont employés par le secteur des services (INSEE) et l'attractivité de la ville, autant au niveau démographique que financier, se renforce avec des entreprises très compétitives dans le domaine de la communication et du high-tech.

## Urbanisation et stratégies de développement territorial

Sans s'approfondir réellement sur l'histoire de la ville de Cluj et faute de consensus (Botea, 2013), on peut établir que Cluj-Napoca, Klausenburg (dénomination hongroise) ou Kolozsvár (dénomination saxonne), est une ville ayant connu un doublement de sa population entre les années 50 et 90 correspondants notamment à la construction de quartiers constitués de bâti collectif, à l'image du quartier de Mănăștur, ancien village rasé dans les années 80 pour laisser place à de grands ensembles, en accord avec le modèle de développement prévu par le gouvernement communiste (Belkis et al. 2003), qui est aujourd'hui l'objet de politiques de régénération urbaine dans ce que la ZMC décrit comme un contexte post-industriel. Aujourd'hui au cœur de la zone métropolitaine de Cluj, Cluj-Napoca se définit comme le centre du projet l'ADI-ZMC, qui vise à un « développement territorial équilibré, harmonieux et efficace », en cela semblable à de nombreux projets de développement intercommunautaires.

## II - B. Gestion des déchets dans la zone d'étude : en théorie.

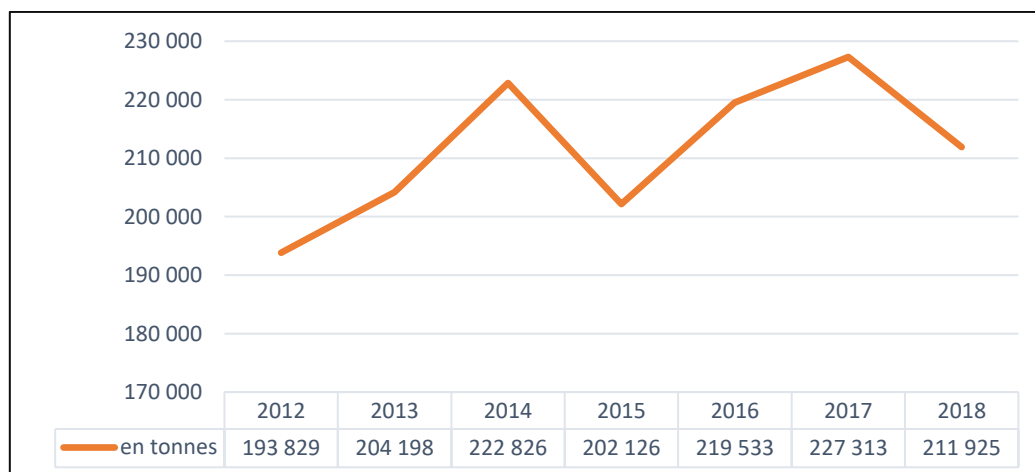
Les deux prochaines sous-parties seront l'occasion de présenter des éléments théoriques sur lesquels se base la gestion des déchets dans la Zone Métropolitaine de Cluj et au sein de la ville de Cluj-Napoca, ainsi que de présenter quelques repères d'ordre quantitatif.

## II – B. a. Production de déchets et accès au service à Cluj-Napoca et dans la ZMC.

### Quantités produites & caractérisation

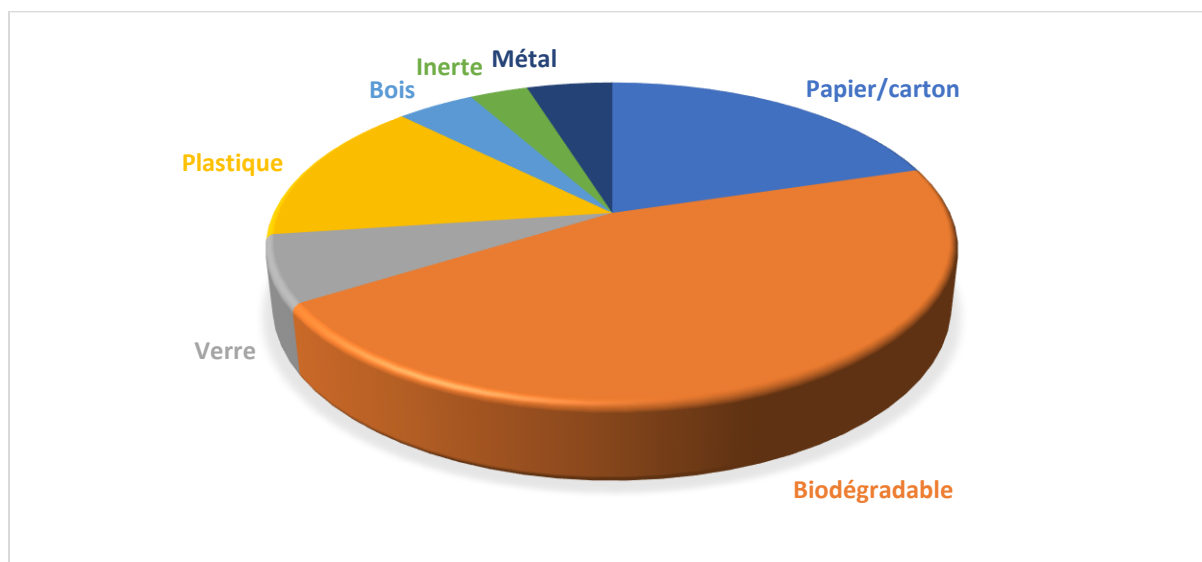
Selon les informations proposées dans les PJGD de Cluj encore accessibles au public, la production de déchets ménagers et assimilés aurait baissé entre 2001 et 2018. En 2001, on estimait la production de DMA à 529 702,6 tonnes, en 2003 à 240 042 tonnes, en 2005 à 296 757 tonnes, tandis qu'en 2018, les pesées réalisées par les opérateurs plaçaient ce chiffre à 211 925 tonnes. Les chiffres présentés dans le premier PJGD concernant la période 2001-2005 n'ont pas pu être validés, ne correspondant pas aux tendances démographiques et ne se basant pas sur des calculs, mais sur des estimations. On peut toutefois noter une réduction dans le nombre de DMA générés et non-collectés, correspondant vraisemblablement à un plus grand accès au service de gestion des déchets. A cause du manque de données fiables, il est donc difficile de dessiner une tendance générale de production de déchets lors des dernières décennies, tandis que la tendance de 2012 à 2018 dans le département est à la fluctuation, avec une augmentation dans la production de déchets ménagers de 2014 à 2018 (chiffres d'après questionnaire statistique MUN 2012-2018, PJGD 2019-2025). Une constante reste que les ménages ruraux produisent moins de déchets que les ménages urbains, avec 0,45 kg/hab/jour générés en zone rurale, contre 0,66 kg/hab/jour en zone urbaine en 2018 dans le département.

Figure 10 - Graphique de la quantité de déchets ménagers produite et capté par les opérateurs de salubrité, 2012 – 2018, département de Cluj. Source : PJGD 2019-2025, p. 57, d'après les données MUN 2012-2018.



D'après les relevés les plus récents présentés dans le PJGD 2019-2025, réalisés par les opérateurs de traitement des déchets, la structure des déchets ménagers à Cluj est majoritairement composée de déchets organiques (environ 45%), de cartons (environ 20%) et de plastiques (environ 15%). Ces résultats sont à mettre en perspective avec ceux d'autres études, ayant montré jusqu'à 67% de déchets organiques au sein du total de déchets produits dans le département en été (Pop, Baci, Bican-Brisan, 2015a) ; la comparaison entre les différentes caractérisations restant difficile puisque l'utilisation de la méthode de caractérisation nationale standard SR13493/2004 – ROMECOM reste une option. Le graphique ci-dessous présente les résultats officiels communiqués dans le Plan de Gestion des déchets du Département de Cluj 2019-2025.

Figure 11 - Composition des déchets ménagers collectés par les opérateurs de salubrité en 2017 dans le département de Cluj. Source : PJGD, 2019-2025, questionnaire MUN 2017.



Papier/carton	Biodégradable	Verre	Plastique	Bois	Métal	Inerte	Textile
20,28 %	45,79 %	6,77 %	14,66 %	4,39 %	3,29 %	4,82 %	0%

### Accès au service

En 2016, le comté de Cluj revendique une couverture de la population de 87,56% en zone urbaine et de 99,98% en zone rurale - avec toujours l'objectif à atteindre de 100%, qui selon le dernier Plan de gestion des déchets de Cluj doit avoir été atteint en 2020. Il faut souligner que la ville a vu une très forte réduction de ses déchets urbains non collectés entre



2003 et 2008, allant de pair avec une plus grande part des usagers connectés au service d'assainissement et de collecte.

La collecte sélective en 4 fractions est appliquée depuis le 1er juillet 2019 dans le municipale de Cluj-Napoca : plastique et métal, papier et carton, verre, déchets ménagers résiduels doivent être triés séparément. Toutefois, selon la loi 211/2011, la collecte sélective est obligatoire dans le pays depuis 2012 (article 17 – paragraphe 1). En cas de dépôts mal effectués dans les bacs de collecte, des sanctions sont annoncées sur le site internet de la ville de Cluj<sup>13</sup> : le tarif de collecte doit être supérieur de 25% en cas de mauvais tri récurrent, ou mener à des amendes entre 1 000 - 2 000 lei (200 - 400€) pour les personnes individuelles et entre 20,000 - 40,000 lei (4 000 – 8 000€) pour les personnes morales. Dans le PJGD 2019-2025, il est précisé que la collecte des déchets recyclables devra atteindre un taux de capture de 89% en 2025.

Figure 12 - Capture d'écran de la page concernant la collecte sélective sur le site de la mairie de Cluj-Napoca, [primariaclujnapoca.ro](http://primariaclujnapoca.ro), le 5 août 2021.



*Traduction :*

*Pourquoi la collecte sélective est-elle importante ? Elle réduit la pollution causée par la production et l'élimination des déchets. Elle réduit la consommation de ressources naturelles non renouvelables. Elle réduit la consommation d'énergie.*

*Les frais de la collecte séparée sont approuvés par la Commission européenne. HCL 640/2020*

*En cas de mauvaise collecte des déchets, le tarif sera majoré de 25 %.*

**PÉNALITÉS :**

*Personnes physiques : 1 000 - 2 000 lei.*

<sup>13</sup> Dernière consultation en août 2021 : <https://primariaclujnapoca.ro/salubritate/colectarea-selectiva-a-deseurilor/>

## II – B. b. De l'évolution du management de la gestion des déchets

Les transformations départementales et locales du service public sont intrinsèquement liées aux évolutions du cadre national, liées elles-mêmes aux évolutions de la législation européenne à laquelle est soumise la Roumanie depuis son entrée en 2007 dans l'UE.

### De la gestion municipale au SMID

Le conseil du département a adopté à ce jour trois plans de gestion des déchets, le premier pour la période 2005-2013, le dernier pour la période 2019-2025, dont les objectifs se veulent de plus en plus ambitieux, en cohérence avec les objectifs européens précédemment énoncés. Afin d'atteindre ces objectifs, le Conseil Départemental détaille dans son PJGD 2019-2025 le Plan d'Action contenant les mesures et actions à mettre en place pour atteindre les objectifs fixés. On peut par exemple énoncer l'extension de la collecte sélective à tous les ménages en zones urbaines du département (l'objectif n'ayant donc pas été atteint en 2020), le compostage dans tous les foyers ruraux, la mise en œuvre de la collecte séparée des biodéchets, la mise en décharge des déchets uniquement après traitement, l'achèvement de la construction et le début de l'exploitation du CMID – Centre de Management Intégré des Déchets - en 2022 ...

L'organisation actuelle du service public de gestion des déchets dans le département de Cluj se base, comme depuis des décennies, sur la responsabilité par les collectivités territoriales d'assurer le service public, en délégation avec des entreprises privées, mais aussi en régie pour certains secteurs, donc en mode de gestion mixte dans certaines unités territoriales administratives. Au moment même où ce mémoire est rédigé, le SMID - Système de Management Intégré des Déchets - est dans la phase finale de son implémentation. La responsabilité de la gestion des déchets sera donc bientôt totalement transférée des services municipaux à l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan pour le SMID, ainsi qu'au conseil départemental pour la construction du CMID. L'ADI Eco-Metropolitan, fondée en 2009 et à ne pas confondre avec l'ADI ZMC – ADI de la Zone Métropolitaine de Cluj - est une autre association de

développement intercommunautaire. Les ADI roumaines responsables de l'assainissement et de la gestion des déchets se basent sur le modèle français des EPCI et ont pour but de permettre aux localités d'adresser ensemble les questions liées à ces secteurs, pour une stratégie de développement mieux coordonnée. Elle a été créée dans le but *“de mettre en place, organiser, réglementer, exploiter, contrôler et gérer conjointement le service d'assainissement des localités dans la zone de compétence des unités administratives-territoriales membres, ainsi que de réaliser conjointement des projets d'investissement public d'intérêt zonal ou régional pour la mise en place, la modernisation et/ou le développement des systèmes d'utilité publique liés au service en fonction de sa stratégie de développement.”*<sup>14</sup>

## Hypothèses de recherche

Ainsi, on peut formuler les hypothèses de recherche comme suit :

- 1. L'ADI Eco-Metropolitan et le Conseil Départemental de Cluj portent la refonte du service public de la gestion des déchets au sein du territoire de la municipalité de Cluj-Napoca.**

En effet, d'après la revue de lecture, il semble être de la responsabilité de l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan et du CJC (*Consiliul Județean Cluj*) de mettre en place le SMID de Cluj, dans lequel s'inscrit le service public de gestion des déchets de Cluj-Napoca, aujourd'hui sous la responsabilité de la mairie. Cette hypothèse nous permet d'explorer les responsabilités, rôles et territoires des différents acteurs impliqués dans la gestion des déchets, notamment à l'aide des entretiens réalisés au cours du terrain de recherche et de la recherche bibliographique.

- 2. Soumis à la réglementation européenne, les acteurs responsables de la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca mettent en place un système selon les normes européennes en vigueur.**

Comme énoncé précédemment, le système de gestion des déchets roumain a connu de profondes transformations sous l'influence de l'UE. Cette hypothèse nous sert de point de départ pour questionner les dires officiels, rendre compte de l'état actuel de l'implémentation

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<sup>14</sup> Voir : [www.ecometropolitancluj.ro](http://www.ecometropolitancluj.ro)

du SMID, en s'appuyant sur des observations de terrains et en les mettant en parallèle avec la documentation officielle.

**3. Des activités informelles perdurent dans le secteur de la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca, qui apparaissent comme un relais de l'action institutionnelle défailante.**

Enfin, cette dernière hypothèse revient sur une composante du système de gestion des déchets à Cluj ayant déjà été abordée dans de précédentes études : le secteur informel. Aucune information substantielle faisant référence à l'informalité n'est présentée dans le PJGD 2019-2025. On peut supposer que la collecte informelle des déchets persiste, mais que ses modalités se transforment après la fermeture de l'ancien site de Pata Rât. Il s'agit ici d'approcher les questionnements liés au secteur informel.

## II – B. c. Démarche méthodologique

Afin d'examiner l'organisation actuelle du service public de gestion des déchets dans la ville de Cluj-Napoca, cette recherche se base essentiellement sur une méthodologie qualitative. Les recherches ont été menées durant un stage de 4 mois au sein du laboratoire ESO UMR CNRS 6590, de mars à juin 2021, comprenant une mission de terrain dans le département de Cluj, de mai à mi-juin 2021, où j'ai pu bénéficier d'une position de stagiaire au sein du Centre Régional de Géographie lié à l'UBB.

### Une recherche avant tout qualitative

Tout d'abord, une révision bibliographique a été menée sur les thèmes du post-communisme, de la modernisation des systèmes de gestion des déchets, sur la législation et la planification de la gestion des déchets dans la ville de Cluj-Napoca et le département de Cluj. Ensuite, 24 entretiens semi-directifs auprès de fonctionnaires et élus, de membres d'associations, d'employés dans un domaine d'activité lié à l'environnement, de citoyens, d'un recycleur informel ainsi que des séances d'observations et visites de sites ont permis de

comprendre les rôles et intérêts de chaque acteur dans la gestion des déchets, ainsi que les transformations en place dans le service public de la ville de Cluj-Napoca. Le déroulement des entretiens est explicité dans le tableau ci-dessous :

Figure 13 - Planning des entretiens avec acteurs économiques.

N°	Nom	Fonction	Entreprise	Date
1	Alin Muresan	Directeur régional - Fondateur	RDE Harghita - WeRecycle RO	11/05/2021
3	Anonyme	Spécialiste environnement	Multinationale basée à Cluj	14/05/2021
9	Dennis Debie	Manager & directeur technique	Climate Change Company	26/05/2021
18	Nicoleta Pop	Spécialiste environnement	Opérateur Rosal SA	03/06/2021
20	Horatiu Domuta	Collecteur informel	Indépendant	09/06/2021
23	Diana Gheorghiu - Ciprian Popovici	Consultants	Green Partners	10/06/2021

Figure 14 - Planning des entretiens avec acteurs de la société civile.

N°	Nom	Fonction	Organisation	Date
7	Miruna Batin	Directrice créative	ONG Scientifica	25/05/2021
8	Istvan Szakats	Fondateur - Citoyen engagé	Fondation Alt Art - Modérateur groupe FB 'Clujul Civic'	26/05/2021
10	Adrian Dohotaru	Ancien député - Directeur exécutif de l'association SOS	SOS Cluj Societatea Organizată Sustenabil	26/05/2021
11	Flaviu Petean	Ancien consultant dans la gestion des déchets, aujourd'hui consultant pour la BM	/	02/06/2021
15	Dan Emil Sânpetresanu	Fondateur	Casa de Cultura Permanenta	03/06/2021
17	Andreea Bobis	Directrice	Banque Alimentaire	04/06/2021
19	Alexandra Popa	Directrice	Association Super Servicii	07/06/2021
24	Marius Mornea - Marius Moga	Membres fondateurs	Clujul Sustenabil (& Somes Delivery, Scientifica ...)	11/06/2021

Figure 15 - Planning des entretiens avec acteurs institutionnels.

N°	Nom	Fonction	Institution	Date
2	Raluca Mateiu	Chargée de communication	Institut français de Cluj-Napoca	14/05/2021
4	Refus d'entretien oral - Réponse officielle écrite par mail.	Service de l'écologie urbaine et des espaces verts	Mairie de Cluj-Napoca	20/05/2021
12	Adrian Răulea	Manager / Directeur de la programmation	ADI ZMC - Zona Metropolitan Cluj	02/06/2021
14	Iancu Pinte	Directeur	ADI - Eco-Metropolitan Cluj	03/06/2021
16	Elena Musca	Conseillère départementale	Parti USR-PLUS	04/06/2021
22	Mariana Ratiu	Directrice - service développement et investissements	Conseil Départemental de Cluj	10/06/2021

Figure 16 - Planning des entretiens avec universitaires.

N°	Nom	Fonction	Institution	Date
5	Cristina Modoi	Enseignante & docteure dans le domaine de la gestion des déchets.	UBB · Département d'analyse environnementale et d'ingénierie	21/05/2021
6	Razvan Bakinas	Maître de conférences & chercheur en géographie physique et hydrologie.	UBB · Faculté de Géographie	21/05/2021
13	Bela Kobulniczky	Doctorant en géographie	Étudiant d'UBB vivant sur le campus	02/06/2021
21	Elena-Simina Lakatos	Présidente & directrice exécutive	IRCEM – Institut pour la Recherche en Economie Circulaire et Environnement	10/06/2021

Le choix d'entretien semi-directifs a eu pour objectif de laisser une large place à la construction du discours des acteurs interviewés, sans restreindre la transmission

d'informations. Ces entretiens ont suivi 2 grilles d'entretiens distinctes (présentées en annexe n°2), avec une adaptation selon l'interlocuteur. Une personne interviewée a souhaité rester anonyme, une réponse officielle à un entretien a été envoyée par mail, tandis que 22 personnes interviewées ont autorisé la mention de leur nom. Des précisions (autorisation pour enregistrement, lieu, ...) ont été ajoutées avant les retranscriptions d'entretien, en annexe. Pour compléter les résultats des entretiens, des observations non participatives ont été menées. Ces observations ont été réalisées dans la ville de Cluj, aux abords des points de collecte, aux alentours de la station de tri et de stockage temporaire de Cluj, dans le site d'Eco-Bihor à Oradea, et dans l'atelier de l'association Art-Mirror. Ces observations sont référencées dans l'annexe n°3. Ce travail de terrain a permis de réaliser des constats pratiques et de vérifier la véracité des faits présentés dans le plan de gestion des déchets départemental.

### Limites de cette étude

Enfin, ce mémoire de recherche comporte de nombreuses limites. Tout d'abord, le nombre d'entretiens menés ne permet pas d'atteindre une exhaustivité des points de vue et discours quant au service public à Cluj-Napoca. De plus, il n'a pas été possible, dans les limites temporelles et d'accès aux données de cette recherche, de dresser un tableau exhaustif des évolutions du service public lors des dernières décennies ainsi que des différents acteurs inclus dans la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca. Enfin, les questions liées à l'informalité dans la gestion des déchets restent sous-explorées, avec un seul entretien avec un collecteur informel et des séances d'observation, sans pouvoir quantifier ou localiser les activités informelles liées à la collecte, au transport ou à la valorisation.

## DEUXIEME PARTIE : Un service public toujours ‘în lucru’ ?

Dans cette seconde partie sont exposés les résultats de la recherche. Selon un plan thématique, on propose dans un premier temps une réflexion sur l’application réelle de la législation européenne et sur les problématiques liées à la mise en place du SMID, afin d’approcher le renouvellement du service public selon ses réalités opérationnelles. Dans un second temps, on se questionne sur les innovations liées aux transformations du service public, pour conclure sur une remise en question du projet du SMID.

### Chapitre III : Considérations techniques et financières

#### III – A. Du point de vue technique : en suivant le cheminement du déchet

Comme beaucoup d’autres villes en Roumanie, Cluj-Napoca opère sa transition vers un système de gestion des déchets dit “intégré” ou “durable”, en accord avec les objectifs européens. Pour comprendre la situation actuelle du réseau urbain de gestion des déchets de la ville, revenons sur les transformations qu’il a connu lors des dernières décennies, pour ensuite présenter le fonctionnement actuel du service public en pratique.

##### *III – A. a. Retour sur la “saga SMID”.*

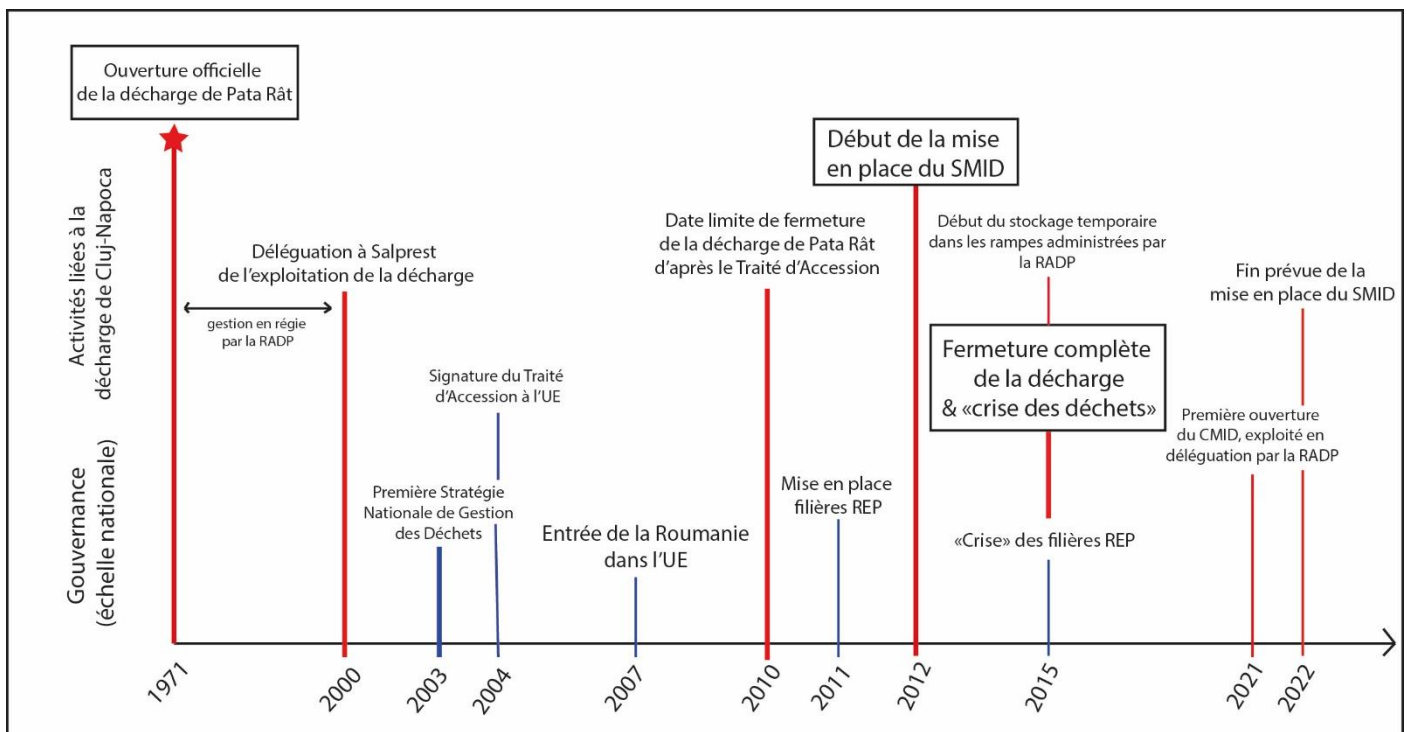
Le terme de “saga”, utilisé lors de l’entretien n°16 par la conseillère départementale Elena Musca, semble adapté à un projet de SMID en réflexion, élaboration et construction depuis plus de 20 ans à Cluj. Ce projet ayant connu de multiples rebondissements, on explique ici la base théorique du projet ainsi que les éléments historiques les plus marquants qui lui sont liés.



## Éléments historiques

Durant la période communiste à Cluj, l'infrastructure officielle chargée d'éliminer les déchets à partir de 1971 a été la décharge de Pata Rât, tandis que les REMAT se chargeaient du recyclage de certains matériaux. Le site de Pata Rât, où les premières activités de recyclage et récupération informelle datent des années 60, a fait l'objet de nombreuses polémiques, pour des raisons humanitaires, sanitaires et environnementales. La solution de la mise en décharge de la majorité des déchets n'est plus privilégiée à l'heure actuelle puisque considérée comme peu avantageuse et durable<sup>15</sup>. Lors de son entrée dans l'UE, la fermeture de 6 décharges non-conformes aux normes européennes a été planifiée dans le département de Cluj, remettant en cause l'organisation départementale en matière de déchets. Les municipalités ayant tardé à mettre en oeuvre ces décisions, le département a connu une "crise des déchets" en 2015, lorsque les municipalités contraintes de cesser l'activité dans les décharges non-conformes, durent trouver une solution pour éliminer leurs déchets et

Figure 17 - Chronologie (non-exhaustive) des événements utiles à la compréhension du système de gestion des déchets de Cluj-Napoca, actualisé d'après les travaux de Nicodin et al., 2016.



<sup>15</sup> Pour une étude des solutions envisageables en matière de gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca, voir calculs dans l'article de Oana-C. Modoi, Gabriela E. Popița, Radu Mihăiescu, "Alternative decisions for municipal solid waste management in Cluj-Napoca area", *AES Bioflux*, 2013, Volume 5, Issue n°2.

décidèrent de les exporter pendant plusieurs mois à des centaines de kilomètres. La décharge de Pata Rât, située près de la zone industrielle Est du municipe de Cluj-Napoca, a ainsi été fermée officiellement en 2012, avec une réelle cessation des activités de dépôt des DMA en 2015. Toutefois, elle a continué à faire parler d'elle, notamment à cause des problèmes de pollution qui lui sont imputées (dont le déversement estimé de 6000m<sup>3</sup> - 3ha de lixiviat dans la rivière Someș via le ruisseau Zăpodie en 2018<sup>16</sup>) ainsi que par les conditions de vie et de travail des habitants du ghetto de Pata. Aujourd'hui écologisée, l'attention se porte d'autant plus sur le projet du SMID.

## Le projet

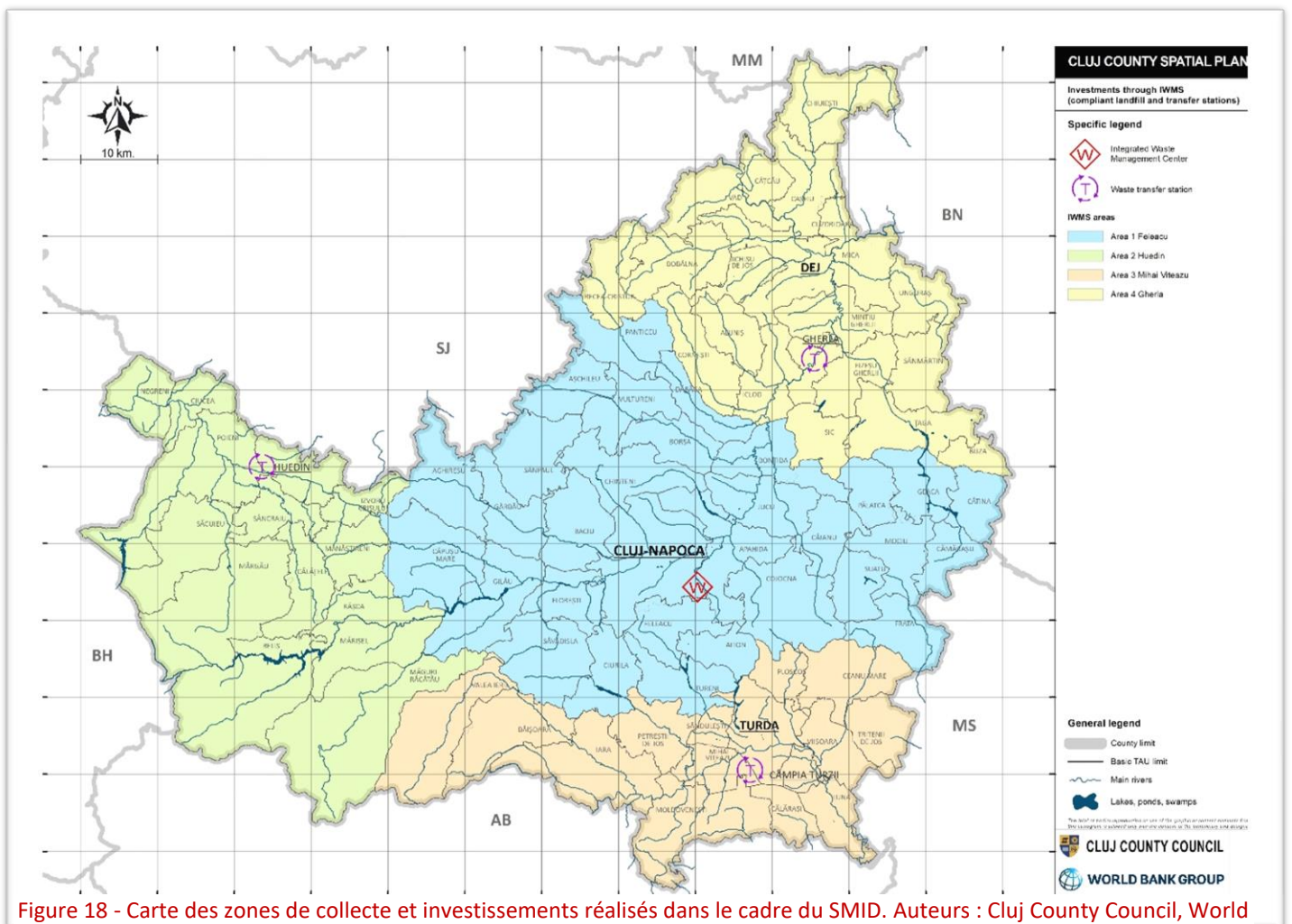


Figure 18 - Carte des zones de collecte et investissements réalisés dans le cadre du SMID. Auteurs : Cluj County Council, World Bank Group.

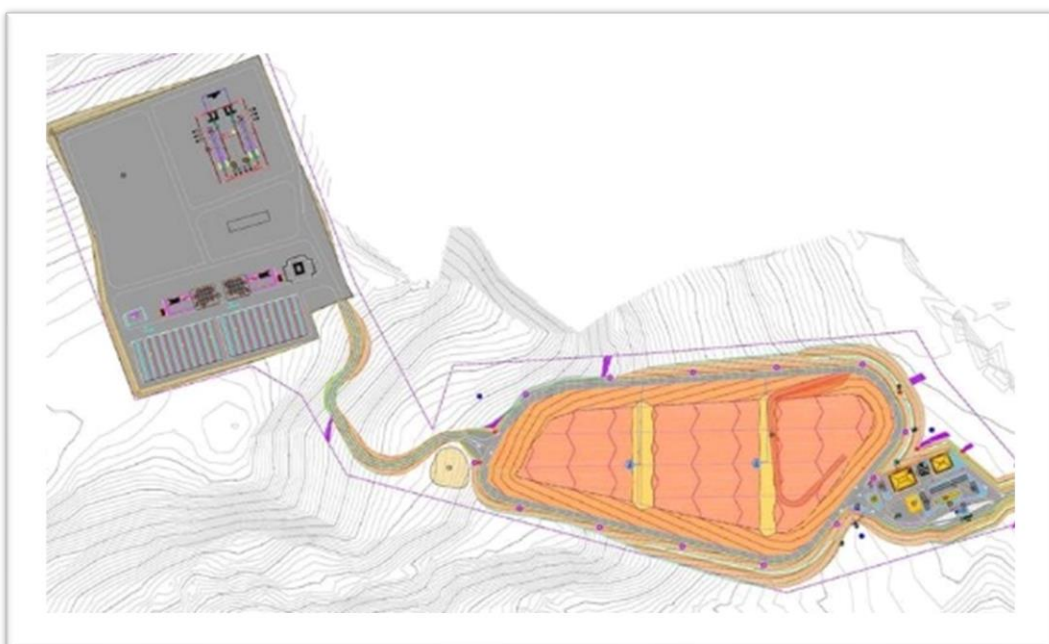
<sup>16</sup> <https://www.mediafax.ro/stirile-zilei/poluare-majora-in-cluj-depasiri-de-750-de-ori-ale-concentrațiilor-admise-la-azot-amoniacal-pe-un-parau-un-lac-cu-6-000-de-metri-cubi-de-lichid-toxic-s-a-format-in-zona-16722088>

Le projet du SMID est directement inspiré d'autres modèles de gestion intégrée des déchets mis en place dans des villes européennes. Il se compose de quatre volets, avec l'objet d'assurer la collecte et le transport des déchets du département, leur traitement, leur élimination, ainsi que l'assistance technique et la sensibilisation du public. Il a pour but de prendre en charge les déchets de type déchets d'emballages, boues issues du traitement des eaux usées municipales, ainsi que déchets municipaux (issues du tri sélectif, des parcs, jardins, cimetières, de la voirie). Le département a ainsi été divisé en quatre zones, où la collecte et le transport des déchets doivent être opérés en délégation :

- Zone 1 – Feleacu, zone dans laquelle s'inscrit la ZMC et le municpe de Cluj-Napoca ;
- Zone 2 - Huedin ;
- Zone 3 - Mihai Viteazu ;
- Zone 4 – Gherla.

Tandis que le SMID prévoit la construction de trois stations de transfert dans les zones de Gherla, Huedin et Mihai Viteazu, le traitement de ceux-ci est prévu en zone 1 dans le CMID de Cluj-Napoca, au sein duquel doivent être intégrés un centre de tri, une usine de TMB, un centre de compostage, une station de traitement des boues ainsi que deux cellules d'enfouissement. Des investissements ont été fait pour équiper les ménages et acteurs économiques de nouveaux conteneurs, ainsi que pour l'achat de nouveaux conteneurs pour le recueil des déchets encombrants ou dangereux. Ainsi, l'achat de 7 820 conteneurs de 1,1

Figure 19 - Plan du CMID, Cluj-Napoca. Source : ADI Eco-Metropolitan.



mètre cube pour la collecte sélective des déchets et de 21 000 unités de compostage individuel de 220 litres ont été promis (ADI Eco-Metropolitan), avec une distribution des composteurs déjà en cours.

Figure 20 - Zoom sur le plan de la station de tri, CMID, Cluj-Napoca. Source : ADI Eco-Metropolitan.

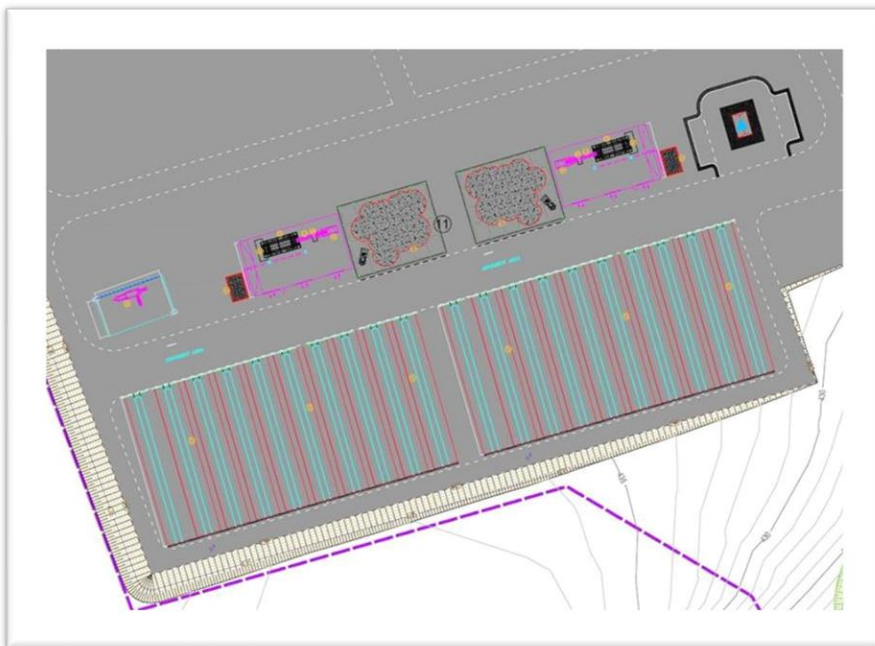
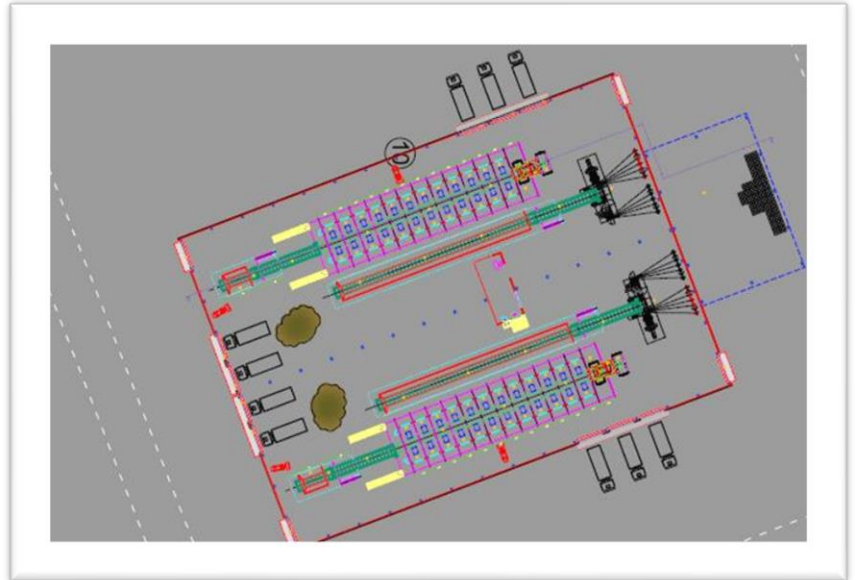


Figure 21 - Zoom sur le plan de la station de traitement mécano-biologique, CMID, Cluj-Napoca. Source : ADI Eco-Metropolitan.

### Implémentation : où en est-on ?

Selon les autorités, le SMID est aujourd'hui dans sa phase finale d'implémentation. Ayant pris du retard face aux multiples recours juridiques, problèmes techniques liés à la construction du CMID, et aujourd'hui critiqué par certains acteurs engagés car ne respectant

pas l'obligation de tri et de traitement des déchets, ce projet reste contesté. Istvan Szakats (entretien n°8), fondateur d'AltArt, ayant réalisé des projets pour la population de Pata Rât et régulièrement présenté comme militant dans la presse, dénonce ainsi des déchets non traités et non triés sont déversés dans la première cellule ouverte du CMID<sup>17</sup>, ainsi qu'un mensonge des autorités sur les infrastructures réellement disponibles. La question des infrastructures et installations réellement disponibles a également été évoquée par Marius Mornea et Marius Moga (entretien n°24), responsables associatifs, déclarant que de faux transferts d'argent ont été effectués, le service en régie RADP administrant un centre de transfert et ne disposant pas réellement des équipements nécessaires pour le traitement et tri des déchets :

*« Il n'y a pas eu de réel transfert d'argent parce que la RADP est une agence appartenant à la mairie, et la mairie était censée se payer elle-même pour cela. Donc, ce qu'ils ont fait, ils ont juste fait une sorte de double inscription, où ils ont dit : "Ok, nous vous payons, nous ne vous payons pas, mais nous allons marquer le montant que nous vous avons payé" et cela se déroule depuis 7 ans maintenant. Maintenant, sur le papier, ils ont des ordures propres qui attendent juste d'être déplacées. En réalité, ils ont des déchets très sales, beaucoup de pollution, et aucune technologie pour les trier. Ils ne peuvent pas se plaindre qu'ils n'ont pas d'argent, parce que sur le papier, cet argent est là. Ils ont continué, ils l'ont stocké, jusqu'à ce qu'ils lancent la procédure de déplacement, mais je suis sûr que cet argent n'existe pas. » 5 – Marius Mornea*

Cette question a également été évoquée par Istvan Szakats (entretien n°8) :

*« Oui, maintenant on voit la zone où ils devraient seulement placés les déchets filtrés, non recyclables, traités, etc. Ce que tu vois ici, c'est l'endroit où ils devraient traiter, et filtrer et tout faire ... Rien du tout. C'est juste vide, des mensonges. Ici il devrait y avoir les silos pour le compost, de grand barils ... C'est pour ça que ça n'a pas lieu : ils n'ont pas l'équipement, ils prétendent qu'ils l'ont dans l'ancien site, mais ils n'ont presque rien. Normalement, sur l'ancien site, ils devraient traiter les déchets de tout le comté. C'est impossible, ils n'ont pas été capable de faire ça pour la ville. » 6 – Istvan Szakats*

Faute de pouvoir confirmer ou infirmer ces dires avec les déplacements sur le terrain effectués lors de cette recherche, on peut toutefois constater que la station temporaire n'a pas pu accueillir, durant ses 6 années de fonctionnement, l'ensemble des déchets censés lui être

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<sup>17</sup> Voir article de presse de Diana CÎMPEAN, 5 Mai 2020, MonitorulCj.ro <http://www.monitorulcj.ro/actualitate/80047-tise-anunta-darea-in-functiune-a-primei-celule-cmid-in-lipsa-autorizatiei-de-mediu-activistii-acuza-comitetul-de-urgenta-de-blat-cu-cj#sthash.9aq8Q14L.dpbs>  
Ainsi que les post Facebook du groupe Clujul Civic concernant le CMID.

attribués, tandis que les installations de tri et de traitement du CMID n'étaient pas en activité lors des prises de vues en avril 2021. Selon le PJGD 2019-2025, une installation de tri Power Screen d'une capacité de 120.000 tonnes/an est présente au sein du centre de stockage temporaire des déchets de Cluj-Napoca, et le département disposant d'une station de tri manuelle à Campia Turzii.

Figure 22 - Photographie aérienne du centre de stockage temporaire, Cluj- Napoca, 18 avril 2021. Source : Capture d'écran d'une vidéo par drone, réalisation Istvan Szakats.



Figure 23 - Photographie aérienne du CMID, Cluj-Napoca, 18 avril 2021. Source : Capture d'écran d'une vidéo drone, réalisation Istvan Szakats.



Le CMID, ouvert en 2020 pour permettre le début de l'enfouissement des déchets dans sa première cellule, est administré par la RADP pendant deux ans, via un contrat remporté en adjudication directe. Avec une capacité de stockage totale prévue de 6,9 millions de m<sup>3</sup> de déchets, le fonctionnement est prévu pour être assuré pendant au moins 24 ans (PJGD 2019-2024). Les sociétés Supercom et Eco Sud (en partenariat avec BS Recycling) sont désormais les deux sociétés concurrentes pour remporter l'appel d'offres concernant l'exploitation du CMID de Cluj en délégation par concession pour les dix prochaines années, les offres étant aujourd'hui en phase d'évaluation technique. La quantité annuelle maximale pouvant être enfouie est estimée à 135 000 tonnes/an, avec une première cellule pouvant être exploitée pendant environ 5 selon les informations mises en ligne par l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan. L'usine de tri des matériaux recyclables a une capacité estimée de 92 000 tonnes/an, tandis que la station de traitement mécano-biologique doit avoir une capacité de 206 376 tonnes/an. Selon les derniers objectifs du PJGD, le SMID sera mis en fonctionnement en 2022, son implémentation ayant déjà été soumise à de multiples retards.

### *III – A. b. Collecte, transport, traitement : en pratique.*

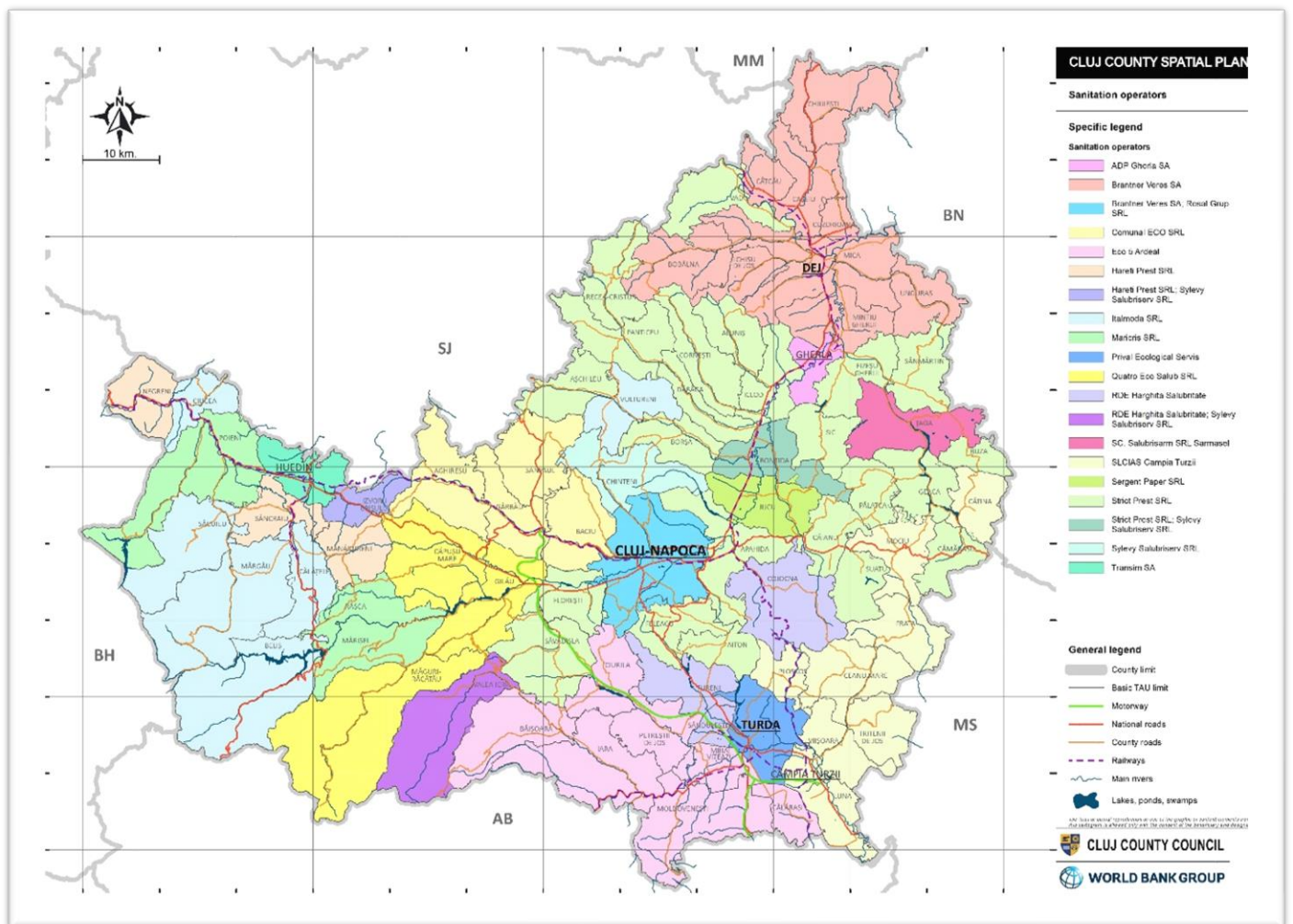
En pratique, revenons sur la situation actuelle du service public de salubrité en suivant le parcours des déchets ménagers.

#### *Collecte & pré-collecte*

La municipalité est partagée en deux secteurs pour la collecte sélective, où le service de collecte dite domestique est assuré par les opérateurs Rosal (secteur Ouest) et Brantner (secteur Est) depuis 2010, tandis que le service de l'assainissement des rues est réalisé par Brantner et Supercom, remplaçant de Rosal depuis le 1er Mars 2021. Au niveau du comté, le service de collecte domestique est assuré, jusqu'à l'implémentation complète du SMID, par divers opérateurs. On peut ainsi énumérer 18 opérateurs de salubrité différents à l'échelle du département, avec dans certaines UAT, plusieurs compagnies opérant le transport et la collecte des déchets en délégation.

Figure 24 - Carte des opérateurs de salubrité dans le département de Cluj, 2019, projet PATJ Cluj.

Auteurs : Cluj County Council, World Bank Group.

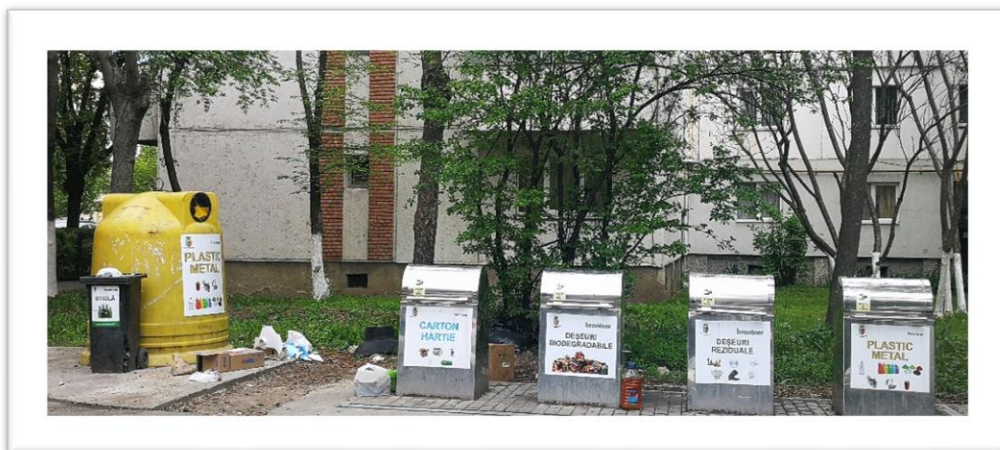


Auparavant réalisée en une seule fraction, en collecte à domicile ou en points d'apport volontaire, puis en deux fractions (humide/sec), la collecte des DMA en 4 fractions peut aujourd'hui être classée selon deux modes de fonctionnement à Cluj-Napoca : un fonctionnement propre aux associations de propriétaires, ou en maisons individuelles. Pour les habitants des blocs, le dépôt des déchets se fait au PAV le plus proche, avec des associations d'immeubles payant parfois un forfait pour l'achat des conteneurs, tandis que des sacs poubelles de couleur sont remis aux maisons individuelles, qui peuvent également être équipées de poubelles, tout comme les agents économiques. Le tri des déchets en 4 quatre fractions, obligatoire depuis 2012 à l'échelle nationale et réellement appliqué à l'échelle de la ville tout entière de Cluj-Napoca depuis le 1er juillet 2019, reste à perfectionner.



Les sanctions énoncées sur le site internet de la mairie de Cluj ne semblent pas donner lieu à des amendes, faute de moyens de contrôle et de personnes présentes sur le terrain. Les déchets végétaux provenant de la taille et de la tonte sont à déposer sur l'espace vert, dans l'espace public, pour les blocs – l'association de propriétaires étant chargées de respecter les périodes de tonte et de prévenir l'opérateur d'assainissement - tandis que pour les maisons individuelles, ces déchets peuvent être enlevés moyennant une redevance, sur demande. Enfin, les encombrants sont également collectés sur demande contre une taxe de 1000 lei/t par les opérateurs, peuvent être collectés une fois par mois gratuitement (dispositif disponible dans tout le département via la campagne mensuelle spéciale déchets volumineux) ou peuvent être déposés gratuitement par les résidents dans un point de collecte, servant aussi au dépôt des DEEE et textiles. Deux points de collecte sont mentionnés sur le site de la mairie pour les déchets volumineux : rue Fabricii et rue Bucium, tandis que la mairie n'a mentionné qu'un point de collecte dans sa réponse officielle (annexe – entretien n°4), le point de collecte rue Bucium étant vraisemblablement une benne disposée plusieurs jours par semaine dans la rue. Les textiles et DEEE peuvent être également déposés au sein de bornes, grilles, caisses palettes, mises en place par les OIREP dans le cadre de la responsabilité élargie du producteur, par certains magasins ou par des associations.

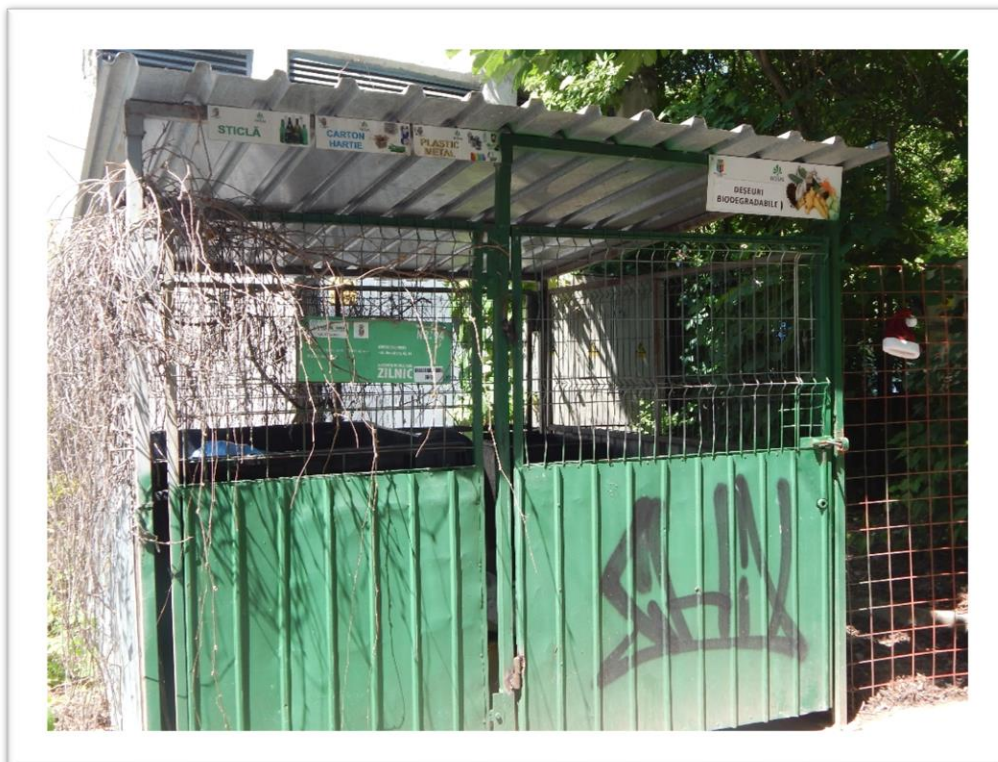
Figure 25 - Photographie d'un point d'apport volontaire enterré (avec ancien conteneur en cloche en surface et poubelle individuelle pour le verre), 6 Mai 2021, quartier Gheorgheni, Cluj-Napoca.



A noter également qu'une partie de la pré-collecte et collecte peut être effectuée par des acteurs informels. En 2010 à Cluj-Napoca, les 2366 biffins estimés travaillant dans le secteur informel des déchets pouvaient être classés en trois grandes catégories : d'une part, les collecteurs récoltant les déchets dans les poubelles individuelles ou dans les PAV sur le

domaine public ; d'autre part, les collecteurs demandant leurs déchets aux ménages et acteurs économiques ; et enfin les collecteurs de Pata Rât, dont l'avenir paraissait incertain après la fermeture prévue du lieu d'enfouissement et dont on a supposé à l'époque un transfert de l'activité dans le centre-ville, sinon une reconversion (Scheinberg et al, 2010). Malgré l'interdiction officielle nationale (loi 101/2006, plus tard modifiée : O.M.505 - loi 99/2014) de la collecte des déchets par les acteurs informels via les conteneurs de collecte placés sur la voie publique, rendant les autorités locales propriétaires des déchets et les personnes récoltant les déchets passibles de poursuite pour vol, l'activité des collecteurs informels ou biffins se poursuit à Cluj. Lorsque M. Domuta, collecteur informel depuis près de 25 ans à Cluj-Napoca, est interrogé lors d'un entretien (n°20) sur de possibles problèmes rencontrés avec les autorités, il déclare que celles-ci *"ne sont pas intéressées"*. Si la récupération des matériaux recyclables et objets revendables reste peu sanctionnée, les récents investissements dans des PAV enterrés ont pour effet de rendre très difficiles d'accès les déchets, tandis que la ville de Cluj est parsemée de différents aménagements liés à la collecte, avec des dispositifs de sécurité plus ou moins clairement affichés pour protéger les conteneurs. La figure n° 26 présente un abri à conteneurs grillagé, cadenassé. Son principal avantage est de protéger les

Figure 26 - Photographie d'un point d'apport volontaire grillagé contenant des bennes, 5 juin 2021, quartier Grigorescu, Cluj-Napoca.



déchets-ressources, les contenir en évitant qu'ils se répandent sur la voie publique, mais a aussi pour effet de rendre le dépôt et le tri plus complexes pour les citoyens.

Ainsi, les changements dans les modes de collecte s'inscrivent dans le paysage à Cluj. A travers les différents dispositifs de collecte présents dans le municipale sont visibles différentes phases d'investissement et différentes visions de la gestion des déchets : d'une volonté de contenir et cacher les ordures vers la généralisation de PAV plus esthétiques, enterrés, permettant le tri.

## Transport

Le transport des déchets est effectué par les entreprises déléguées par la mairie de Cluj-Napoca, comme décrit précédemment, c'est-à-dire les opérateurs Brantner, Rosal et Supercom, censés transporter les déchets jusqu'au CMID, ou dans les faits aujourd'hui, à la station de tri et de stockage temporaire, mais aussi probablement encore aujourd'hui dans des décharges situées dans d'autres zones du pays. Brantner, Rosal et Supercom bénéficient de permis délivré par l'ANRSC, agence de contrôle environnementale, ce qui n'est pas le cas de tous les opérateurs chargés de la collecte des déchets dans le département.

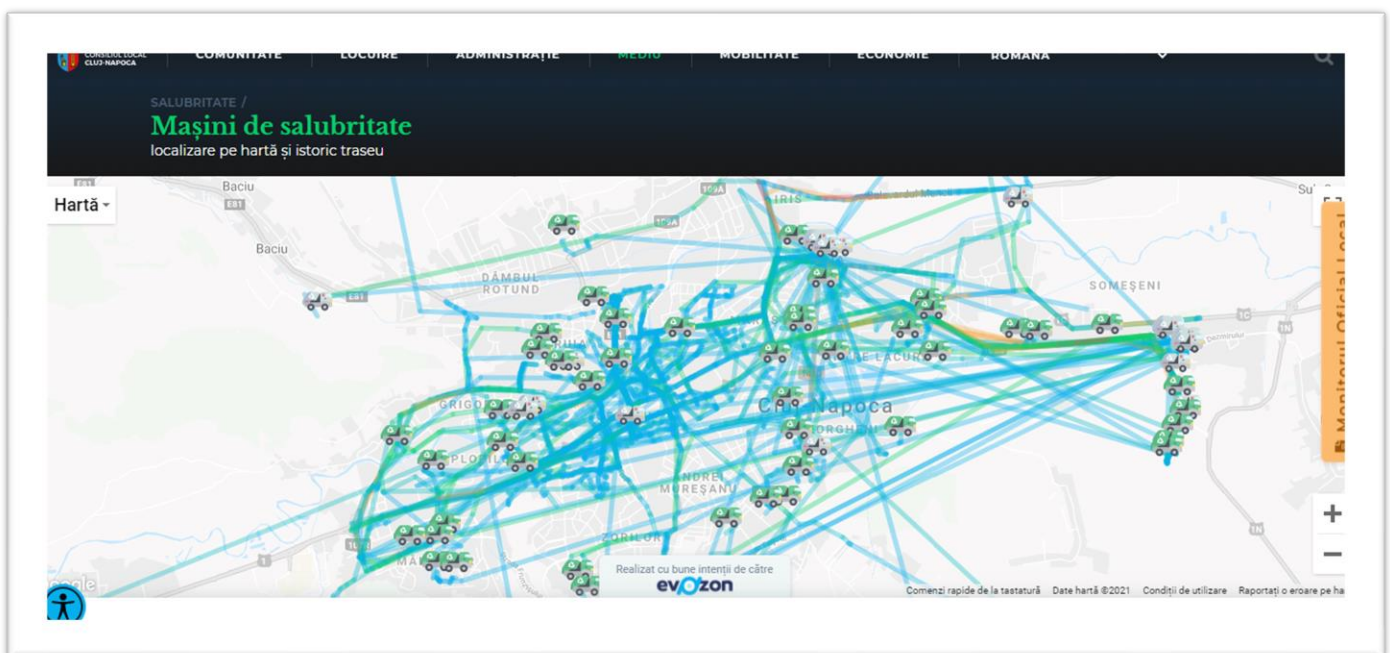
Figure 27 - Photographie du camion de collecte de l'opérateur Rosal, le 12 juin 2021, E81, quartier Centru, Cluj-Napoca. Collecte en mélange des déchets ménagers résiduels et cartons.



Les citoyens de Cluj-Napoca semblent divisés au sujet du ramassage des déchets car le tri sélectif, selon leurs témoignages ou des images/vidéos publiées dans la presse<sup>18</sup>, n'est pas respecté lorsqu'il s'agit de transférer les déchets dans le camion de collecte. Selon une représentante de l'opérateur Rosal (entretien n°18), si les déchets sont collectés en mélange, c'est qu'ils ne sont pas initialement triés par les producteurs de déchets et qu'ils sont donc collectés en tant que déchets résiduels : " *We do not mix the waste that is already selected, we do not want to pay more. [...] Our job is to collect, their job [the citizen's job] is to sort. [...] We give them bags, there is no reason not to collect.* " L'ADI Eco-Metropolitan présente une autre version des faits : lorsque les opérateurs semblent mélanger les déchets, il peut en réalité s'agir de camions de collecte compartimentés, même si Iancu Pinteau admet qu'il existe des problèmes lorsque les bénéficiaires du service confondent les jours de collecte (entretien n°14).

Quelles que soient les réelles modalités de la collecte, la croyance que les ordures seront mélangées lors du transport n'incite pas à trier, cette raison étant la première citée dans un sondage sur les raisons pouvant influencer le public à réduire ses efforts au regard du tri sélectif des déchets à Cluj-Napoca (I. A. Pop *et al.*, 2015b). Un autre problème régulièrement cité est celui de la fréquence de la collecte, la collecte devant être réalisée tous les jours pour les blocs, et tous les deux jours par semaine ou plus pour les logements individuels, selon des

Figure 28 - Capture d'écran du 19 août 2021, site internet de la mairie de Cluj-Napoca, rubrique mașini de salubritate. Suivi des trajets de collecte pendant 12h.



<sup>18</sup> <http://www.monitorulcj.ro/actualitate/89307-colectarea-selectiva-lasa-de-dorit-clujean-degeaba-noi-selectam-gunoaiele-daca-ei-toarna-totul-intr-un-singur-camion-galerie-foto#sthash.ipyPPwOb.dpbs>

plannings établis en fonction des rues. Dans une volonté de communication et de transparence, la mairie de Cluj-Napoca a ainsi mis en place une section de son site internet consacrée à la géolocalisation et au traçage des camions de collecte, disponible en libre accès sur internet.

## Traitement et élimination

En ce qui concerne la valorisation des déchets à Cluj, à l'image de la situation nationale, les taux de recyclage sont faibles et l'adoption de la législation nationale sur les OIREP en 2011 ne produit pas les résultats escomptés, après avoir connu une chute de leur nombre et une dénonciation de leurs pratiques illégales en 2015 (Nicodin *et al.*, 2016). En 2010, lors d'une étude financée par le GIZ, des projections avaient établi que 5% du total des déchets générés, soit 8 900 tonnes étaient recyclées par les acteurs formels, tandis que 8%, soit 14,600 tonnes, étaient recyclées par les acteurs informels (Scheinberg, A. *et al.* 2010), avec des matériaux recyclables venant du tri en déchetterie et décharge. L'implémentation du SMID étant toujours en cours, avec une station de tri et de traitement à mettre en place, de même qu'une station de compostage à créer, les taux de valorisation ont tendance à stagner, tandis que les opérateurs de salubrité peuvent se charger de la revente d'une partie des matériaux recyclables, à leur profit. L'arrêt de l'enfouissement des déchets issus du tri sélectif est encore un objectif fixé dans le PJGD 2019-2025.

D'autre part, l'incinérateur de Cluj étant fermé, le département ne mise pas à l'heure actuelle sur la valorisation énergétique. Enfin, la collecte séparée des déchets organiques étant obligatoire depuis le 20 juillet 2021 (loi 181/2020), on peut supposer que la pratique du compostage se renforcera notamment si les habitants de logements individuels en milieu urbain sont sensibilisés ; le compostage étant déjà répandu dans les zones rurales, tout comme l'utilisation des déchets organiques pour l'alimentation des animaux.

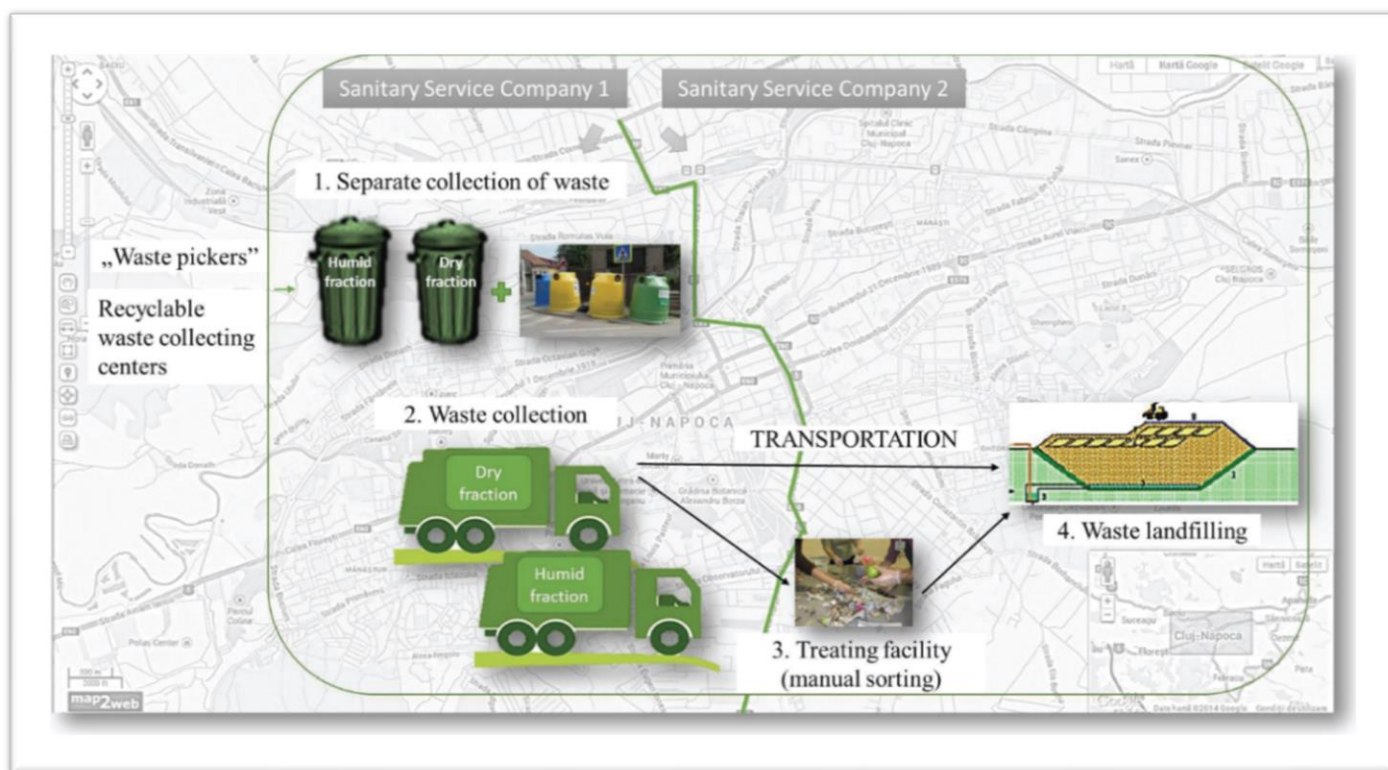
Pour terminer, en ce qui concerne l'élimination, la décharge de Pata Rât ayant servi pendant des décennies mais étant désormais fermée, les déchets sont déposés au sein de du site temporaire ou de la nouvelle cellule du CMID mais aussi, selon un document publié par l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan en 2019, dans d'autres décharges du pays :

*« D'après des statistiques départementales sur la gestion des déchets, la majorité des déchets sont éliminés à la décharge d'ECO Bihor, mais de grandes quantités de déchets se trouvent également sur des plateformes de stockage temporaire, dont certaines opèrent sans permis environnemental. » 7 – ADI, Studiu de oportunitate finale 2019, p.181*

Précédemment, l'entreprise déléguée Salprest et le service en régie de la RADP ont été les administrateurs successivement de la décharge et de la station temporaire de tri et de stockage. Quelques mois après la fermeture de la décharge de Pata Rât, une station de stockage temporaire a en effet été ouverte à Cluj-Napoca, permettant le dépôt des déchets, l'ouverture d'une nouvelle décharge non conforme n'étant pas autorisée. Dans les faits, les déchets actuellement entreposés dans la station temporaire doivent être transférés au sein d'une cellule d'enfouissement, dans le CMID récemment mis en fonctionnement. L'activité des 5 plateformes de stockage temporaire du département devait être *"interrompu avec l'ouverture de la première cellule de la nouvelle décharge conforme."* (PJGD 2019-2025, p.184, partie 7.1.6), ce qui n'est actuellement pas le cas d'après des visites effectués sur le terrain, ainsi que d'après le suivi des camions de collecte géolocalisables sur le site de la mairie. Toutes les conditions techniques n'ayant pas été réunies, la cellule ne recueille aujourd'hui toujours pas les déchets ménagers résiduels du département, après une brève ouverture du CMID. 363 000 tonnes de déchets étaient stockées temporairement dans le département, fin 2018, selon les données des opérateurs repris dans le dernier PJGD, avec peu de possibilités techniques de traiter ou d'incinérer les déchets comme prévu, étant donné la fermeture de l'incinérateur de Cluj. Une première tentative de déplacer les déchets de la station de transfert et de stockage de Cluj-Napoca a été effectuée, en vue de les déposer dans la première cellule d'enfouissement du CMID, mais des problèmes techniques, de sécurité, de plaintes citoyennes ont mis fin aux opérations.

Pour conclure, en 2015, Pop, Baciú et Bican-Brişan représentaient le système de management des déchets des ménages à Cluj-Napoca en quatre étapes : la première étant celle du dépôt, la deuxième étant la collecte (selon fraction sèche/humide), pour se terminer par le tri manuel dans un centre de traitement ainsi que la mise en décharge, étape quatre. Le schéma ci-dessous en est une illustration. En dehors du service public officiel se situe l'activité des waste pickers, revendant les matériaux recyclables à des centres de collecte des déchets.

Figure 29 - Système de management des déchets des ménages à Cluj-Napoca, 2015.  
Auteurs : Pop I. N., Baciuc C., Bican-Brişan N.



En 2021, le système de management des déchets des ménages garde donc une organisation sensiblement similaire. Le circuit de gestion des déchets s’est renouvelé avec quelques nouvelles infrastructures de tri attribuées au site de transfert et de stockage temporaire, le SMID n’étant toujours pas en fonctionnement. Il est toutefois difficile de tracer réellement le parcours qu’effectue les déchets, avec une élimination pouvant être réalisée dans d’autres départements. On peut résumer le circuit de gestion des déchets en 2021 avec le schéma ci-dessous, qui précise la présence des acteurs informels notamment dans les étapes de collecte et de tri, tandis que la collecte des déchets ménagers se fait désormais en quatre fractions.

### III – B. Du point de vue financier.

Cette partie est l’occasion d’explorer les évolutions du financement du service public de gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca, tout en les mettant en perspective avec les évolutions au niveau départemental.

### III – B. a. Comment finance-t-on le service public ?

#### Les méthodes de financement

Les sources de financement pour assurer le fonctionnement et les investissements liés à ce service public sont multiples, toutefois on les regroupe généralement en deux catégories : le financement peut avoir des sources publiques ou privées. Le financement du service de gestion des déchets ne repose pas uniquement sur la responsabilité des UAT de collecter une taxe et/ou de mettre en place une facturation directe des services du producteur de déchets à l'opérateur de salubrité. Certes, le public bénéficiant du service (citoyens, acteurs économiques, institutions) participe au financement de celui-ci, permettant ainsi le maintien du service et quelques investissements, comme les points de collecte souterrain récemment mis en place à Cluj-Napoca. Toutefois, les investissements réalisés pour mettre en place le SMID ont été financés par des fonds européens et ministériels (ministère de l'Environnement, ministère des Investissements et des Fonds Européens), ainsi que par une contribution du Conseil Départemental.

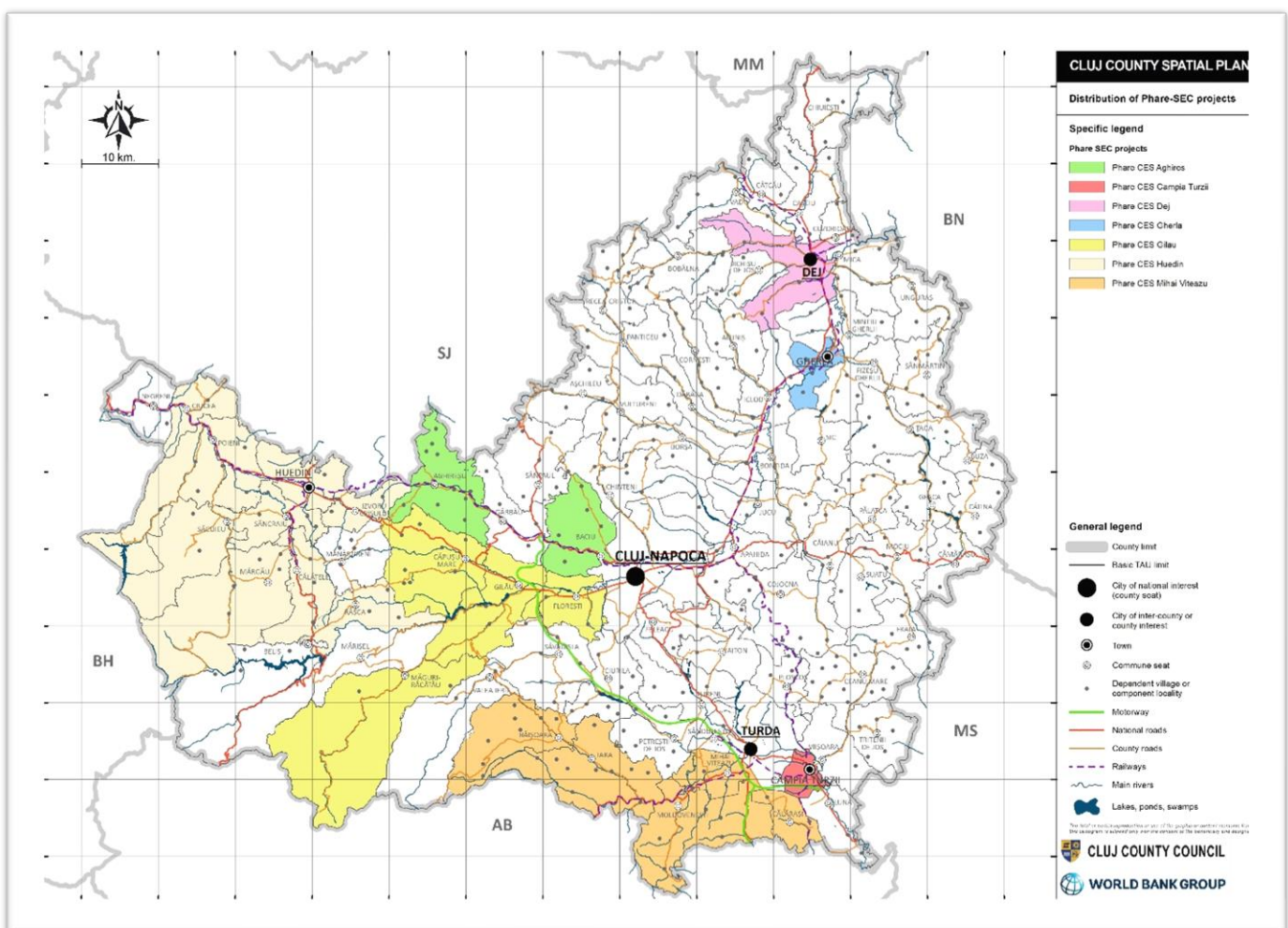
Par ailleurs, les contrats avec des OIREP étant très peu nombreux dans le département, l'ADI a pour objectif de les développer, en bénéficiant ainsi de nouvelles recettes grâce à la valorisation des déchets d'emballages notamment. La recherche de fonds est une des préoccupations principales de l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan pour Iancu Pinteana (entretien n°14), dans sa mission d'assurer l'amélioration continue et le maintien du service. L'équilibre financier est ainsi toujours un objectif à atteindre dans le département, en utilisant les montants perçus via les instruments économiques pour la gestion des déchets uniquement pour le financement de ce service public (objectif 19.3 du Plan d'action, PJGD 2019-2020), tandis que l'introduction d'exigences claires et d'un système d'analyse avec des indicateurs de génération et de composition pour chaque type de déchets municipaux devront aider à une meilleure prévision des coûts (*ibid.*, objectifs 20).

#### Evolution des sources de financement



Avant l'entrée officielle dans l'UE, les financements européens PHARE de Cohésion Economique et Sociale ont permis de financer 8 projets liés à la gestion des déchets et à l'assainissement entre 2004 et 2006 au sein du comté. On compte parmi ceux-ci des investissements dans le matériel de collecte et de transport, dans des installations de concassage, de compostage, ainsi que dans une station de tri (PJGD 2019-2025, p. 82). La fermeture des décharges et leur écologisation est financée par le fond POIM, fond pour le Programme Opérationnel de Grandes Infrastructures, basé sur des fonds européens pour la plus grande partie ainsi qu'un 1/10 de financement du ministère des Investissements et Projets Européens<sup>19</sup>, tandis que le suivi et la sécurisation devront être effectués avec le budget alloué par les autorités locales.

Figure 30 - Carte de la distribution des projets PHARE-SEC dans le département de Cluj. Auteurs : Cluj County Council, World Bank Group.



<sup>19</sup> <https://mfe.gov.ro/programe/autoritati-de-management/am-poim/>

Le SMID mis en place dans le comté de Cluj est co-financé par le Fond Européen de Développement Régional, le Fond de Cohésion et le Conseil Départemental au travers du budget national. L'investissement réalisé pour la construction du CMID est d'une valeur de 70 millions d'euros tandis que le contrat pour l'exploitation du CMID, durant la période 2022-2032, est de 406 416 278 lei, soit plus de 82 millions d'euros. Enfin, en ce qui concerne les contrats liés à la délégation de la collecte et du transport, la valeur estimée présentée par l'étude d'opportunité finale de 2019 de l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan est visible ci-dessous :

Figure 31 - Tableau des valeurs estimées des contrats de délégation (concession) pour la collecte et le transport des déchets par zone dans le comté de Cluj.

Lot n° :	Valeur estimée sans TVA pour 10 ans (en lei)
Lot 1 (Zone 1 Cluj Napoca et Zone 2 Huedin)	523 680 640 lei – environ 106 millions d'euros
Lot 2 (Zone 3 Mihai Viteazu)	131 033 333 lei – environ 26 millions d'euros
Lot 3 (Zone 4 Dej/Gherla)	102 127 525 lei – environ 21 millions d'euros

Toutefois, le projet du SMID a eu un autre impact majeur sur le financement du service public : les autorités publiques, pour ne pas perdre les financements européens, n'ont pas pu chercher d'autres modes de financement du service, des partenariats publics-privés, ou investir plus massivement par leurs propres moyens dans les infrastructures (Nicodin *et al.*, 2016).

### III – B. b. Le rôle des contribuables dans le financement du service public

#### Evolution des tarifs dans le département de Cluj

Peu d'informations sont disponibles sur le financement du service public à l'échelle du département avant l'entrée dans l'UE. Le plan de gestion des déchets départemental 2005-2013 ne spécifie aucun calcul de financement, tandis qu'encore aujourd'hui le plan 2019-2025 ne stipule pas les modalités de financement du service public dans toutes les unités territoriales administratives, faute de communication ou de retour de la part des mairies sur le sujet. Sur un total de 81 unités administratives-territoriales, seules 48 UAT ont transmis au

Conseil Départemental des informations sur les coûts du service de gestion des déchets. Ainsi, dans le département, 21 UAT (6 urbaines, 15 rurales) ont une facturation qui s'effectue avec contrat entre l'opérateur et le ménage, tandis que 27 UAT facturent directement à la population.

En outre, le coût du service de gestion des déchets varie fortement dans le département pour les ménages dans le département, de 2,98 lei/personne à 12,42 lei/personne en 2018. La plupart des redevances sont payées mensuellement et par personne, mais il existe aussi des fonctionnements par facture annuelle, par ménage, selon différentes grilles tarifaires. Dans les zones urbaines, le système est basé sur une facture payée directement à l'opérateur, tandis qu'en zone rurale, la facturation est réalisée en majorité par la mairie. A Cluj-Napoca, le paiement doit être directement versé aux opérateurs, mais dans des UAT où une taxe est mise en place par la mairie, celle-ci est responsable et doit supporter le manque de paiement. Cette situation devrait s'harmoniser lors de la mise en fonctionnement du SMID, avec une grille tarifaire établie par zone : les contrats seront passés entre les citoyens/associations de propriétaires et opérateurs partout dans le département, sans transfert de fonds vers la mairie, évitant ainsi pour celles-ci le problème des impayés et les mairies ne mettant plus (théoriquement) en place des taxes pour compenser ce manquement dans leur budget.

Figure 32 - Grilles tarifaires 2020 selon les zones et le type d'acteurs (agents économiques, ménages ruraux, ménages urbains) dans le département de Cluj, avec et sans TVA. Auteur : ADI EcoMetropolitan Cluj.

#### Tarife 2020

Tarife maximale proposée (lei excl TVA )	Zona 1 &			Tarif mediu
	Zona 2	Zona 3	Zona 4	
Agenti economici	431.57	485.94	494.66	448.65
Mediu urban	6.83	9.22	7.82	7.10
Mediu rural	4.20	5.68	4.81	4.37

Tarife maximale proposée (lei incl TVA )	Zona 1 &			Tarif mediu
	Zona 2	Zona 3	Zona 4	
Agenti economici	513.57	578.27	588.64	533.89
Mediu urban	8.12	10.98	9.31	8.44
Mediu rural	5.00	6.75	5.73	5.20

L'ADI Eco-Metropolitan admet une augmentation généralisée des tarifs dans le département, avec en cause l'exportation des déchets dans d'autres départements, solution temporaire privilégiée qui est désormais en place depuis plusieurs années :

*« Les solutions temporaires ayant été privilégiée en pratique sont l'utilisation de plates-formes de stockage temporaire des déchets, d'où les déchets peuvent être évacués et transportés dans des véhicules de transport de gros volumes, vers des décharges fonctionnelles prêtes à les recevoir dans d'autres départements du pays. Par conséquent, les tarifs facturés au public pour les coûts des services de salubrité ont augmenté, tandis que le coût du transport et du stockage des déchets dans des décharges fonctionnelles s'est accru » 8 - Traduction Studiu de oportunitate finale 2019, p.181*

### Augmentation de la part valorisée, réduction et prévention des déchets

De plus, la diversification des méthodes de valorisation et d'élimination avec de moindres impacts environnementaux que la mise en décharge a également pour effet d'augmenter le budget alloué à la gestion des déchets et la facture des contribuables. On peut donc également s'attendre à une augmentation de la facture pour les contribuables dans le futur, d'autant plus que la démographie dans le département de Cluj est en croissance. Toutefois, les taux présentés selon la simulation des tarifs 2020 restent bas par rapport au reste des pays de l'UE, 5 lei équivalant aujourd'hui environ à 1€. Un contribuable habitant en milieu urbain de la zone 1 (Feleacu), qui inclut Cluj-Napoca, paie selon ce tableau 8.12 lei/mois (soit 1,65€/mois/pers), pouvant s'ajouter à cela des frais pour le paiement des conteneurs. La tarification incitative pouvant être un levier pour la réduction des déchets, elle est envisagée par l'ADI, mais aucun détail n'a pour l'instant été communiqué à ce sujet.

En ce sens, les aspects 'prévention et réduction' des déchets ne semblent pas être aujourd'hui des priorités pour la mairie de Cluj-Napoca, l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan ou le Conseil Départemental, malgré une hiérarchie des déchets rappelée au début des documents officiels, un objectif ambitieux que Cluj-Napoca et certaines UTA de Cluj soient des territoires "zero waste" en 2040 (Iancu Pinteau, responsable ADI, entretien n°14) ou des visions sur une transformation de l'économie par une "Révolution Verte" (Mariana Ratiu, service des investissements, CJ, entretien n°22). Alin Muresan, directeur régional chez l'opérateur de salubrité RDE Harghita (entretien n°1), met ainsi l'accent sur les problèmes de terrain, en

opposition avec les discussions sur l'économie circulaire, la prévention et la réduction, qui ne sont pas à l'ordre du jour à Cluj et en Roumanie plus largement, tandis que Iancu Pinteau parle de l'objectif Zéro Waste comme d'une quatrième et dernière étape de l'implémentation du SMID. Pour les acteurs économiques et responsables administratifs, une réelle opposition se dessine donc entre les objectifs européens et nationaux et la réalité du terrain, ne permettant pas de mener de front toutes les actions.

*« Il faut commencer avec des petits pas. Avec la collecte des recyclables, par exemple. [...] Plus tard. Il faut prendre le problème en Roumanie comme ça, en étapes. On parle d'économie circulaire, mais maintenant, on a Pata Rât. Il n'y a pas de raisons de parler de ça. On a des problèmes de collecte, de solutions pour les déchets. L'économie circulaire, c'est déjà 20 ans en avant. J'ai participé à toutes les discussions, je connais ... [...] On parle du futur, mais il faut aller voir le terrain. » - Alin Muresan.*

Toutefois, les flux de déchets peuvent être déviés par les habitants de Cluj via des initiatives non encadrées par les politiques publiques. Leurs pratiques peuvent prévenir la production de déchets ou la réduire, sans que celles-ci soient réellement valorisées comme telles. Les



Figure 33 - Photographies du marché aux puces OSER, ouvert tous les samedis, 65 strada Bobâlnei, Cluj-Napoca. 10 juillet 2021.

magasins de produits d'occasion, l'achat de produits locaux sans emballages, la réutilisation et réparation d'objets, de même que la fréquentation de marché aux puces ne sont pas des faits nouveaux mais peuvent ainsi être mis en valeur. Malgré l'association des pratiques de récupération, de réemploi, de recyclage à la misère économique (Berdier, Deleuil, 2010), ces pratiques pourraient être reconsidérées et promues par les autorités, qui pour l'instant n'y accordent que peu d'intérêt. Reste que leur impact sur la réduction ou diversion du flux de déchets est difficilement quantifiable.

## Chapitre IV : Le déchet, objet des préoccupations politiques et citoyennes.

### IV – A. 'Géopolitique' locale des déchets.

Dans cette partie, on décrit les acteurs en place influençant la gestion des déchets, en présentant plus précisément leurs rôles, les stratégies adoptées, ainsi que leur vision du service public.

#### *IV – A. a. Acteurs de la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca*

#### Rôles et responsabilité des acteurs dans le service public

Au niveau institutionnel, la Roumanie distingue les responsabilités en trois niveaux en termes de gestion des déchets.

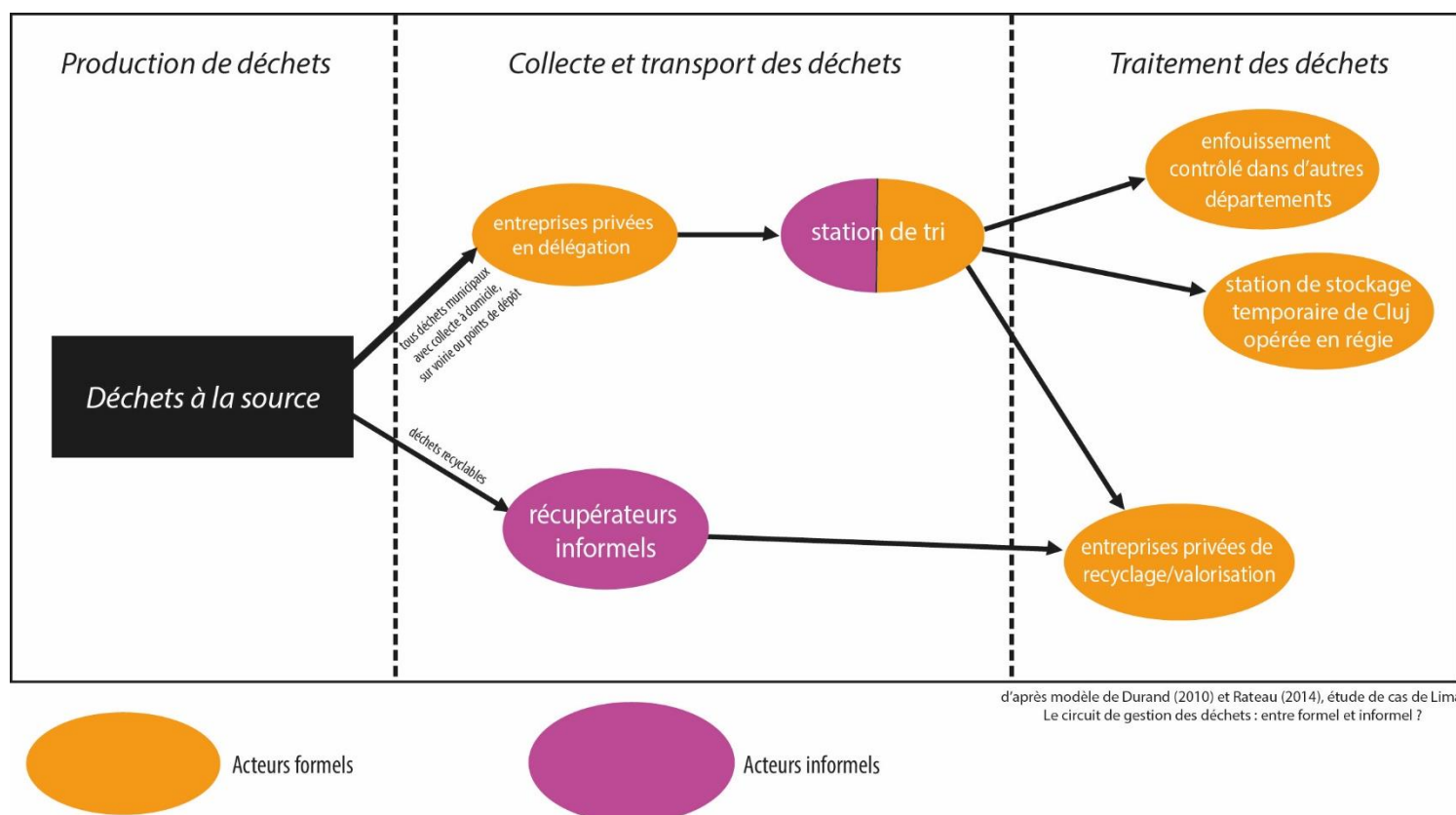
Le premier niveau est l'échelon national, où sont présents de nombreux ministères dont le ministère de l'environnement et le ministère de l'administration et de l'intérieur. Le ministère de l'intérieur, par l'intermédiaire des conseils départementaux, veille à l'universalité du service. Le ministère de l'environnement établit le suivi des opérations de gestion des déchets municipaux, conformément aux exigences de l'UE en matière de rapports, et est tenu de procéder à des inspections annuelles des services d'assainissement.

On distingue ensuite l'échelon régional, où huit agences régionales de protection de l'environnement élaborent des plans régionaux de gestion des déchets, ce plan n'apparaissant que comme un relais des stratégies et des plans nationaux. Le bon fonctionnement de la gestion des déchets selon la législation nationale et européenne est contrôlé à Cluj par la GNM Cluj – la Garde Nationale pour l'Environnement de Cluj – et l'APM Cluj – antenne départementale de l'Agence pour la Protection de l'Environnement.

Puis s'affirme à l'échelon départemental le rôle des conseils départementaux et municipalités, veillant à la fermeture des anciennes infrastructures et à la construction des nouvelles. Tandis que les conseils de comtés élaborent leurs propres plans de gestion des déchets, en précisant les modalités spécifiques de leur action et précisant les objectifs pour avancer vers les objectifs fixés à l'échelle nationale en prenant en compte les problématiques locales, les mairies sont légalement mandatées pour organiser la collecte et le transport des déchets. A Cluj-Napoca, deux opérateurs sont délégués dans la collecte et le transport des déchets ménagers : Brantner et Veres, mais dans les plus petites UAT, une seule compagnie de salubrité peut être déléguée de service public. Les UAT peuvent se rassembler en ADI, associations de développement dont les membres sont les maires des unités territoriales-administratives incluses dans le territoire-projet. Dans le cadre de la mise en place d'un SMID, une structure comme celle de l'ADI est indispensable. Dans le comté de Cluj, tandis que l'ADI est responsable du choix des opérateurs de salubrité, le Conseil Départemental est responsable des investissements dans les installations comme celle du CMID. A l'échelle locale, les producteurs de DMA (commerces, entreprises, institutions, citoyens, ...) peuvent également être impliqués comme des acteurs à part entière puisqu'ils contribuent au bon fonctionnement du service public, même s'ils n'en sont pas directement responsables.

Toutefois, cette organisation des responsabilités officielles a pour effet de nous faire oublier la présence des acteurs informels. Ci-dessous, le schéma présente l'organisation du circuit de gestion des déchets à l'échelle locale et nous précise les modes de gestion du service public ainsi que les secteurs où sont présents les acteurs informels.

Figure 34 - Circuit de gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca en 2021.

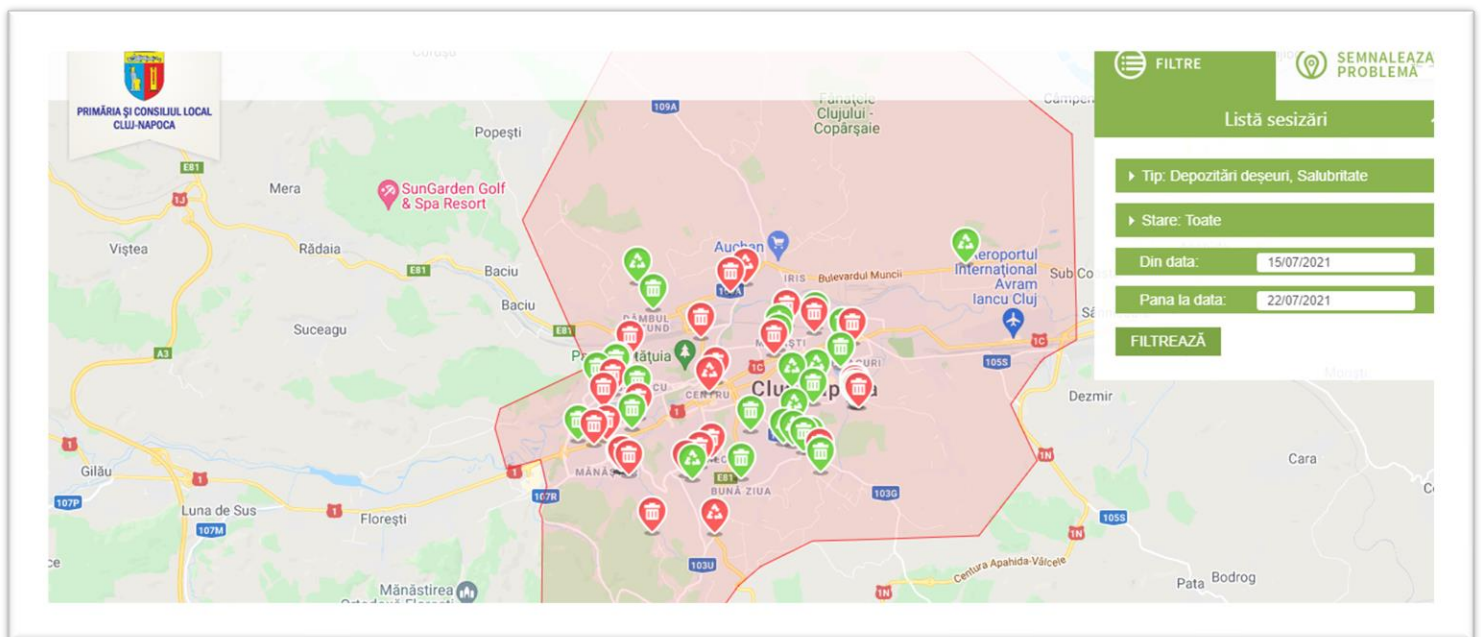


## Volontés politiques et maturité institutionnelle

Il est impossible de nier la volonté politique d'en finir avec l'implémentation du SMID à Cluj, tout comme on ne peut nier la promotion, tout du moins dans les discours, des pratiques saines et respectueuses de l'environnement en matière de gestion des déchets. Les stratégies nationales semblent à l'heure actuelle très éloignées de la réalité de la gestion des déchets en Roumanie, ce qu'on peut mettre en exergue avec les différences entre taux de traitement des déchets recyclables et objectifs de l'UE, tandis qu'à l'échelle locale dans le département de Cluj, les consignes officielles sont citées mais peu clairement appliquées, tant dans la collecte que dans le traitement des déchets. Face aux doutes exprimés par les citoyens, la mairie de Cluj-Napoca affiche une volonté de transparence, armée par exemple du site internet et de l'application "My Cluj", développée pour recueillir les plaintes liées aux biens publics, dont celles liées aux déchets et à la salubrité, permettant ainsi en théorie d'apporter une réponse rapide et ciblée.



Figure 35 - Capture d'écran du site mycluj.e-primariaclujnapoca.ro le 18 août 2021, recensant les plaintes liées aux déchets à la salubrité, déposées du 15 au 22 Juillet 2021. Points rouges : "in lucru" - "en travaux", points verts : réponse apportée.



On distingue en réalité ici la limite de la capacité institutionnelle de la mairie de Cluj à mettre en place les politiques prévues adoptées avec l'entrée dans l'UE, dans la limite des projets établis et de sa capacité financière. La mise en place du SMID et la gestion par l'ADI offrent ici de nouvelles perspectives en termes d'infrastructures, même si cela s'effectue dans le cadre d'une capacité financière limitée. La question du cadre institutionnel et de sa maturité a par exemple été évoquée face à la nouvelle législation sur le compost (loi 181/2020), rendant obligatoire, à compter du 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 2021, la collecte séparée des déchets biodégradables ou l'équipement des foyers en installations pour le compostage dans toutes les UAT. Le département de Cluj ne disposant pas de station de compostage, les ménages ruraux se sont vus distribués des composteurs, tandis que la collecte à Cluj-Napoca ne s'effectue toujours qu'en quatre fractions citées précédemment et non cinq, comme le veut désormais la loi. Certains citoyens de Cluj, rassemblés autour de collectifs en ligne ou d'associations (dont Clujul Sostenabil) ont lancé des initiatives pour le compostage en ville, dont une initiative de compostage collectif. Toutefois, ces initiatives ont été réprimées par la police, comme nous l'explique Marius Mornea :

*« One member of the community wanted to create a compost bin, a community compost bin next to his apartment building. For a month or so, everything looked*

*very well. People started to know what to throw in there, the collective started to improve the compost ... And then there were complaints to the police. The policemen came and said : "I'll give you 2 hours to clean everything up or I'll fine you". He reached out on the group, but it was so sudden that he said "I don't wanna risk anything, I don't want to get a fine for this. I just need some help cleaning this." [...] So the group helped, but it didn't help enough to have the pressure to stop that intervention from the police. [...] The whole debate there was : me, as an individual, if I live in an apartment building, if I live in a house and both are in the city – because outside of the city, the law is very clear, if you've got a house with a yard, you are allowed to compost. The apartment buildings are different because there is too little room for actual in situ composting, so you have the biowaste, which will be picked up by the city hall. But, you are free to try to do your own composting, as long as you are not doing anything illegal. It's interesting because Sandor looked at this particular situation and said : "You know how you didn't have garbage there, because if it was collected by people, if it's just waste, than it's in the same legal framework of the waste that people are storing for compost in a yard. So, because of that, it's compost, which can't be considered 'illegal waste deposit'. So, you're not doing an illegal waste site, you're doing composting, which is different. I think there is room for legal interpretation here, for you to be able to stand up to the authorities. The problem here is that, depending on the individuals lacking proper training on an administrative level, it depends on the policeman that you get. » - entretien 24, Marius Mornea.*

Ainsi, on constate que la nouvelle législation pour le compost peut amener à des interprétations en ce qui concerne la propriété des déchets, ainsi que ce qui est déchet et ce qui ne l'est pas. Toutefois, tant qu'une réflexion plus intégratrice ne sera pas menée par la municipalité, des initiatives telles que celle mentionnée ci-dessus - permettant une diversion des flux de déchets - pourront être réprimées.

#### *IV – A. b Représentations citoyennes et militantes-*

*“A un moment, on va devenir plus civilisés.”*

Mentionnée à plusieurs reprises par différentes personnes interviewées, la dénonciation de l'incivilité et des mauvais comportements semble prendre une grande place dans la perception que les citoyens ont de la gestion des déchets à Cluj, occupant ainsi une grande part du débat public dès lors que les déchets se font trop visibles ou trop sentir. En la matière, les quartiers périphériques, industriels, d'immeubles collectifs sont souvent pointés du doigt. Toutefois, l'accumulation de déchets dans certaines zones n'est pas un hasard.

Même si les opérateurs de salubrité ont l'obligation, d'après contrat, de réaliser la collecte dans tous les quartiers et que la mairie a réalisé des investissements dans tous les quartiers pour établir de nouveaux points de collecte souterrains, on peut expliquer les différences par divers facteurs. D'une part, une moindre surveillance (entre pairs ou par caméras de sécurité) peut favoriser les dépôts sauvages ou l'intervention des acteurs informels, susceptibles de dégrader les équipements de collecte. En outre, le nettoyage de la voirie est renforcée dans le centre-ville de Cluj-Napoca, vitrine de la ville, où des équipes sont présentes à pied. D'autre part, comparablement à une tragédie des biens communs de Hardin, plus le nombre d'habitants d'un immeuble est grand, plus certains individus sont susceptibles d'adopter des comportements de "free riding", espérant que leur absence de tri passera inaperçu au milieu du flot de déchets déposés dans les conteneurs. Par ailleurs, d'après le témoignage de certains citoyens, les plaintes sur le site internet de la ville ou des opérateurs de salubrité, le planning de collecte des déchets n'est pas toujours respecté, favorisant ainsi l'accumulation et le déversement sur la voie publique de ces derniers. On peut finalement souligner qu'un tri mal effectué, ainsi que des installations manquantes ou dégradées sont présentes dans une certaine mesure dans la plupart des quartiers de la ville.

Figure 36 – Photographie d'une employée de la société Supercom assurant la propreté des rues, à l'aide d'une pince à déchets, de sacs et d'une poubelle individuelle. Le 3 juin 2021. Piața Unirii, Cluj-Napoca.



Tandis que les opérateurs peuvent être rappelés à l'ordre par les UAT ou l'ADI et qu'on peut appeler aux investissements, c'est aussi ici qu'intervient le volet de sensibilisation et d'éducation. Le PJGD 2019-2025 compte ainsi des mesures de prévention des déchets (p.281-282), dont une campagne pour la promotion de la consommation responsable de papier dans les administrations, la diffusion d'autocollants Stop Pub, une introduction à la prévention des déchets dans les programmes scolaires, la diffusion de guides sur l'usage du compost en milieu rural, ... Mesures qui pourraient être plus ambitieuses, aux vues de la campagne d'information restreinte mise en place lors du passage à la collecte en 4 fractions. La mairie de Cluj-Napoca semble dans l'attente d'une campagne réalisée par l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan, tandis que cette dernière attend la mise en place du SMID : une double attente durant laquelle peu de sensibilisation est effectuée, tandis que puisque peu de données (ou des données contradictoires) sur les quantités de déchets recyclés sont disponibles, certains citoyens effectuant un tri risquent de se 'décourager' et d'abandonner cette pratique.

Figure 37 - Exemple d'affiche pour la promotion de la collecte sélective diffusée par la mairie de Cluj-Napoca.

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<b>HÂRTIE/CARTON</b> DA: Reviste, ziare, maculatură, plicuri, cutii ș.a. NU: hârtie și carton foloșite, cu reziduuri, hârtie de ambalat lucioasă ș.a.		
<b>PLASTIC/METAL</b> DA: bidoane, cutii, folie, pungi, doze, conserve, tacâmuri ș.a. NU: ambalaje din plastic/metal care nu pot fi curățate, polistiren, deșeurii medicale etc.		
<b>STICLĂ</b> DA: sticle, borcane, ambalaje din sticle NU: oglinzi, geamuri, porțelan, ceramică, etc.		

Programul de ridicare al deșeurilor poate fi consultat pe: [www.primariaclujnapoca.ro/salubritate/colectarea-selectiva-a-deșeurilor](http://www.primariaclujnapoca.ro/salubritate/colectarea-selectiva-a-deșeurilor)

Tarifele distincte pentru colectarea selectivă sunt cele aprobate prin HCL 393/23.04.2019.

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## Du rôle des ONG et associations

C'est dans ce cadre que tentent d'intervenir des associations. Dans le domaine de l'environnement à Cluj-Napoca, on distingue plusieurs types d'associations selon leur finalité, qu'on peut regrouper arbitrairement en deux types : les associations de sensibilisation et d'éducation, ou les associations de lobbying.

Figure 38 - Photographies des activités au sein de l'atelier de l'association Art-Mirror, 25 Mai, quartier Centru, Cluj-Napoca.



Tandis que des associations comme Scientifica, Casa de Cultura Permanenta, Art-Mirror, vont proposer des activités telles que des ateliers, expositions, concerts, questionner leur public et les sensibiliser aux enjeux environnementaux, les associations comme AltArt, SOS - Societate Organizată Sustenabil, Clujul Sustenabil, vont être le support d'une réflexion plus politique, soit de pression et de contestation face aux autorités, soit de discussions, propositions voir "hijacking" des institutions, même si l'organisation d'évènements tient aussi une place dans les activités de ces associations. Ayant chacune leurs objectifs et agendas, ces associations tentent d'influencer l'opinion de la société civile et ainsi l'échiquier politique. La critique des politiques publiques mises en place par la mairie de Cluj-Napoca ou le Conseil Départemental est représentée par quelques individus, tel un noyau de militants, présents sur la scène publique et connu des responsables politiques comme Istvan Szakats (entretien n°8) ou Adrian Dohotaru (entretien n°10), ayant une approche frontale d'opposition, tandis que la récente association Clujul Sustenabil préfère se présenter comme politiquement neutre, porteuse d'idées, avec des fondateurs comme Marius Moga et Marius Mornea souhaitant intégrer les institutions, s'entendre avec les décideurs politiques pour orienter le débat de l'intérieur, se réservant l'option de l'opposition frontale seulement en dernier recours. Juste avant l'extrait

d'entretien ci-dessous, Marius Mornea commente la situation au sein des rampes de stockage temporaires et du CMID en abordant la difficulté technique du transfert de déchets, et indique avoir donné des 'indices' aux responsables politiques locaux quant à la meilleure décision à prendre. Toutefois, si ceux-ci n'agissent pas, selon Mornea, l'association sera en possibilité de lancer l'alerte et de demander une intervention gouvernementale :

*« Nous n'avons pas pris ce chemin, c'est une sorte de dernier recours, mais nous en avons définitivement parlé. Nous pourrions, car des études indépendantes le montre - peut-être que Istvan vous en a déjà parlé - trouver des taux de pollution en métaux lourds qui excèdent de près de 10 000 % le taux le plus dangereux considéré par l'UE comme un taux plafond. [...] Aux alentours de Pata, aux alentours des terrains du dépôt temporaire. Donc, le vent, les feux récurrents, et juste l'infiltration des polluants, a mené à de très, très hauts taux de pollution là-bas. Si on réalise un audit environnemental très correct là-bas, les conditions pour une catastrophe menaçant la sécurité nationale étant rassemblées, ce qui est le cas, je suis sûr qu'on pourrait l'avoir. Mais ça voudrait dire que pendant au moins 5 à 10 ans, l'administration nous détesterait, et ne voudrait définitivement plus travailler avec nous. » 9 – Marius Mornea*

Même si l'impact du tissu associatif sur la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca ne peut pas être avéré en termes de quantités de déchets détournés, de meilleur respect des consignes de tri ou de conscience environnementale, et qu'on peut se questionner sur le fait que le public fréquentant les ateliers, expositions, concerts liés à l'environnement est un public urbain, déjà sensibilisé : « Quand il s'agit de débats ou d'ateliers, il s'agit souvent de personnes déjà sensibilisées à ces sujets. Mais quand il s'agit d'expositions pour le grand public, d'ateliers pour les enfants, ce n'est pas nécessairement le cas. » - Raluca Matei, Institut Français de Cluj, entretien n°2, les prises de parole des responsables associatifs, la diffusion des opinions et actions dans les médias forment une opinion publique, qui se centre tantôt sur l'achèvement de la construction du CMID et la pollution, tantôt sur les problèmes de collecte ou de valorisation, mais relativement peu sur les problèmes liés à l'activité informelle, qu'on aborde ci-après.

## IV – B. Quel avenir pour le système intégré des déchets de Cluj ?

### IV – B. a. Focus sur l'informalité

Pour rappel, Briassoulis (1999) définit le secteur informel comme un secteur « universel, flexible, créé par des problèmes dans le secteur formel, composé d'acteurs invisibles la plupart du temps, non-régulé par les institutions formelles », tandis que Scheinberg et al. (2010) précisent que dans le secteur de la gestion des déchets, ce sont des « individus ou entreprises qui sont engagés dans des activités de recyclage et de gestion du secteur privé, qui ne sont pas sponsorisés, financés, reconnus, aidés, organisés ou pris en compte par les autorités du secteur formel des déchets, ou qui opèrent en violation de ou en compétition avec les autorités formelles. »

### Ampleur et organisation du secteur informel à Cluj-Napoca

Comme évoqué précédemment, le secteur informel est toujours présent dans la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca. Des études ont été réalisées pour tenter de mesurer son ampleur en 2006, avec actualisation en 2010 : le secteur informel comptait 2366 biffins en 2010 collectant environ 4600 tonnes de matériaux recyclables, 400 ramasseurs itinérants collectant du métal, et environ 793 ramasseurs dans la décharge de Pata Rât collectant 12 300 tonnes annuellement. Les travailleurs du secteur informel se divisaient donc en trois grandes catégories, avec leur mode d'organisation spécifique respectif.

Douze entreprises ayant le droit d'acheter les matériaux recyclables aux citoyens pour les recycler sont aujourd'hui officiellement recensées au sein de la municipalité de Cluj-Napoca, avec une douzaine de points de collecte (voir annexe n°4). Malgré l'interdiction de la collecte des déchets par des acteurs autres que ceux chargés officiellement de la collecte et du transport (ceux-ci étant aujourd'hui Brantner, Rosal et Supercom), l'activité informelle persiste, soutenue par la vente des matériaux recyclables aux entreprises permettant en théorie à tous les citoyens de revendre leurs déchets, même si en réalité, la visibilité de ces points de collecte est minime et le prix d'achat des déchets trop faible pour intéresser une

Figure 39 - Photographie de Horatiu Domuta dans sa zone de collecte, strada Clinicilor, Cluj-Napoca. 17 mai 2021.



majeure partie de la population. La décharge ayant fermé, on peut supposer qu'une partie de l'activité des ramasseurs de de Pata Rât a évolué pour se baser sur une activité itinérante dans la ville, que certains ont pu changer d'activité, tandis que des ramasseurs semblent encore être admis au sein du centre de stockage temporaire selon de multiples sources.

*« J'ai été là-bas il y a 2 ans [...] C'est une supposition. Donc, les gitans sont impliqués dans des activités autour de cette décharge, n'est-ce pas ? Habituellement, ils vont collecter quelque chose qu'ils peuvent vendre, avec lequel ils peuvent générer de l'argent. Quand j'étais là-bas avec des élèves, pour une excursion, il y avait beaucoup d'adultes sur la décharge, ils attendaient que les camions de collecte arrivent de la ville. Les camions déposent leurs chargements, et ils sautent sur ces lots de nouveaux déchets pour collecter des bouteilles plastiques, SEULEMENT des bouteilles plastiques. Ils ont des grands sacs ... Très grands, d'un mètre cube. Si c'est rempli, ils peuvent en tirer de l'argent. Je ne sais pas si c'était 50 lei pour un sac plein, d'un volume d'environ un mètre cube. » 10 - Razvan Batinas, entretien n°6.*

Ici, la collecte de plastique uniquement peut s'expliquer par son prix au poids plus rémunérateur que le carton ou le papier, tandis que Razvan Batinas insiste ici sur le fait que seuls des adultes étaient présents, ce qui signifie possiblement une évolution du secteur car des enfants travaillaient dans l'ancienne décharge de Pata Rât, aujourd'hui écologisée.

Figure 40 – Capture d'écran Google Street Maps d'un des points de collecte des matériaux recyclables de la RADP, Strada Nădășel, Cluj-Napoca. 2019.



Figure 41 - Exemple des tarifs pratiqués au point de collecte de l'entreprise Continent, rue Salcâmuliu, Cluj-Napoca.

Matériaux :	Prix : en lei - en euros
Papier blanc	0,40 lei/kg – 0,08€/kg
Plastique transparent	0,1 lei/kg – 0,02€/kg
Carton	0,45 lei/kg – 0,09€/kg
Cuivre	14 lei/kg – 2,85€/kg
Aluminium	3 lei/kg – 0,60€/kg
Laiton	8 lei/kg – 1,60€/kg



## Vellités individuelles et rejet des responsabilités

Le sujet de l’informalité dans le secteur des déchets a Cluj-Napoca a été abordé dès 2008 dans le workshop ‘Planning in the Real World’, où un des principaux points soulevés a été celui de la différence entre les systèmes de gestion des déchets de l’Ouest de l’Europe et ceux des Balkans, avec un large nombre d’acteurs informels cité comme une des raisons pour lesquelles l’approche et les investissements de l’UE échouaient à produire les résultats escomptés (Soos, Popoviçi, 2008).

Tandis que le service responsable de la salubrité de la mairie de Cluj-Napoca n’a pas souhaité répondre aux questions posées sur les acteurs informels (entretien n°4) et que le PJGD 2019-2025, responsabilité du Conseil Départemental, ne contient pas d’informations sur une possible intégration des acteurs informels, Mariana Ratiu, directrice du service des investissements au CJC, nous a exprimé la position du Conseil Départemental :

« C’est toujours la responsabilité de l’opérateur de salubrité. S’il veut employer certaines personnes, il doit assurer toutes les conditions nécessaires pour avoir un contrat en règle, fonctionnel, tout doit être légal. Elle sait déjà qu’il y a un problème social avec les gitans de Pata Rât, elle sait même que jusqu’à présent, il y a des personnes qui collectent des déchets dans le dépôt temporaire, ça existe encore, mais elle espère que le nouvel opérateur de salubrité va assurer leur intégration comme employés. Elle ne connaît pas exactement, mais elle est sûre que la mairie a déjà des plans pour l’intégration de cette communauté, pour intégrer une grande partie des gitans dans la structure d’organisation du nouvel opérateur de salubrité. » - *Traduction en directe des propos de Mme Ratiu par Mme Ana-Maria Pop, entretien 22.*

Les opérateurs de salubrité et entreprises de recyclage, profitant du travail informel, ont donc compris tout l’intérêt de ce secteur dans le cadre de leurs activités, avec une main d’œuvre peu rémunérée, disponible même sans contrat, flexible, effectuant des tâches éprouvantes physiquement dans de mauvaises conditions et permettant la récolte de matériaux recyclables à faibles coûts. Toutefois, une étude du secteur informel en 2019 a montré une réduction récente du nombre de personnes actives travaillant de manière informelle à Pata Rât, avec une réduction des opportunités d’emploi dans la collecte, le tri ou la valorisation des déchets après la fermeture de l’ancienne décharge, tandis que des individus précédemment travailleurs informels parviennent à obtenir des contrats de travail officiels au sein du centre de stockage temporaire administré par la RADP ou des entreprises Brantner et Rosal. Les

employeurs interrogés par cette étude (Branter et Rosal) soulignent le fait que la main-d'œuvre des habitants de Pata Rât est absolument nécessaire pour qu'ils puissent exercer les activités au sein de leur entreprise : peu de personnes souhaitent un emploi peu qualifié, avec une rémunération modeste, aussi éprouvant physiquement (Rapport informalité dans l'ADI-ZMC, projet Cluj Future of Work 4.0, 2019). Toutefois, l'activité informelle persiste, car tous les individus travaillant informellement ne peuvent pas être 'absorbés' par le secteur formel ou ne souhaitent pas être employés avec des contrats de travail standards, sans véritable stratégie de dialogue sur le travail informel établie par les autorités :

*« Eux, ils aiment comme ça, parce qu'il n'y a aucune obligation en général. Ils s'en foutent, même s'il y a un contrat. Tu fais un contrat aujourd'hui, et demain, ils ne viennent pas au travail. [...] Et après les entreprises elles se fâchent : "Tu viens, je te paye. Non ? Bonne journée." Alors c'est pour ça que ça se passe comme ça. » - Alin Muresan, entretien 1.*

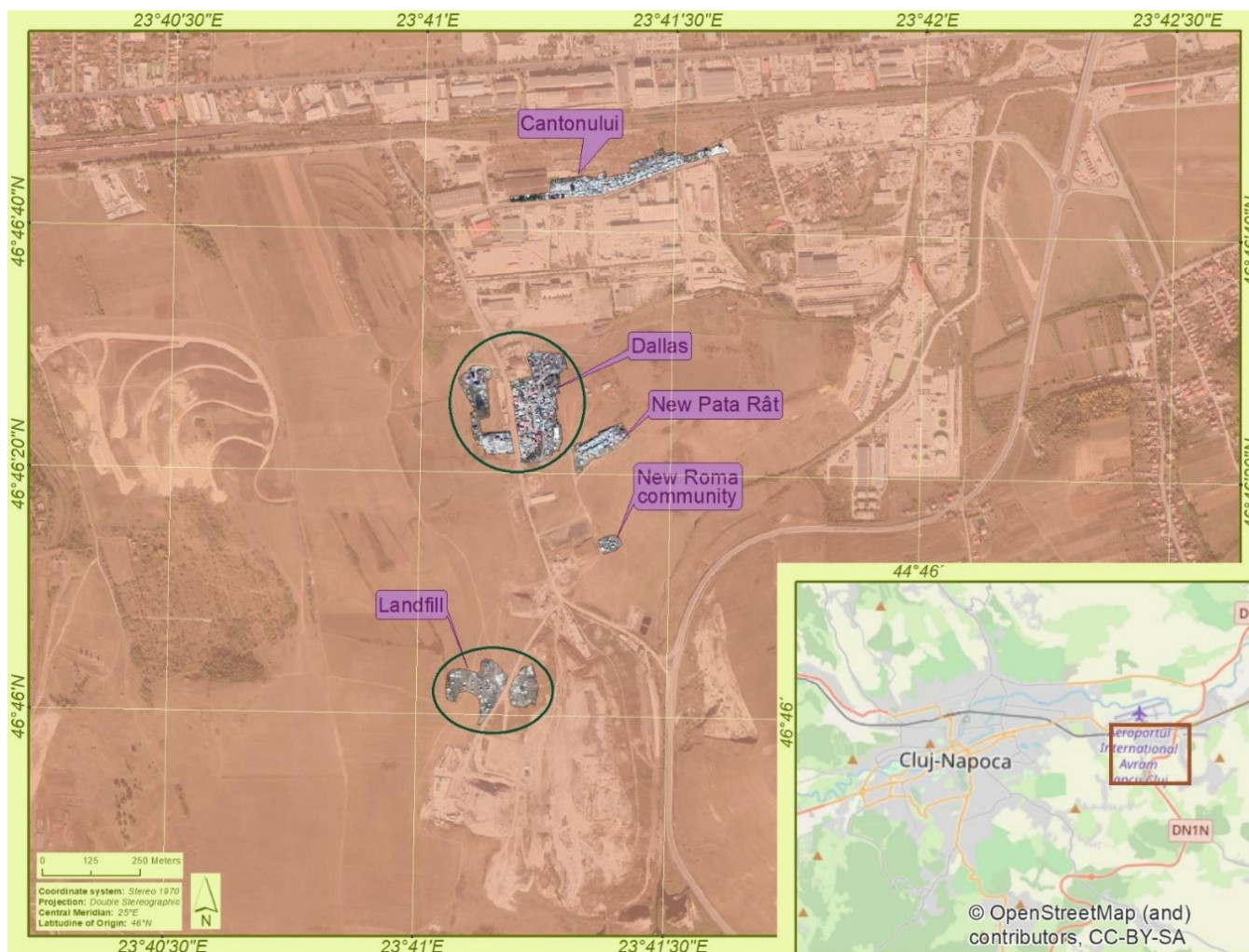
### « It was of course a gypsy »

Il est impossible d'évoquer la question du secteur informel dans la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca sans évoquer le quartier ghettoisé de Pata Rât, qui rassemblait environ 300 ménages pour 1284 habitants en 2017<sup>20</sup>. Il se compose aujourd'hui essentiellement de quatre zones : 'Rampa', 'Dallas', 'Cantonului', et 'Noul Pata Rât'. Tandis que les zones 'Rampa' et 'Dallas' ont été établies à partir de la fin des années 60 par des collecteurs, la zone de 'Cantonului' a connu son essor à la fin des années 90, avec la redirection des familles expulsées par la mairie vers cette zone (via des initiatives administratives sans toutefois leur donner de titres de propriété), alors que la zone 'Noul Pata Rât' s'est développée après la dernière vague d'expulsion de 2010, la reconnaissance de la portion de zone industrielle en tant que zone résidentielle et l'installation de maisons préfabriquées pour loger les 76 familles déplacées.

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<sup>20</sup> Lors d'un recensement exhaustif ayant atteint une couverture d'environ 95% de la population. Source : Cluj Future of Work 4.0. (2017). Evaluarea practicilor de muncă informală la nivelul zonei metropolitane Cluj-Napoca, cu accent special pe zona segregată Pata Rât. D'autres estimations placent ce chiffre aux alentours de 1500, voir 2000 habitants.

Figure 42 - Carte des emplacements de logements informels à Pata Rât, Cluj-Napoca. Auteurs : Hognogi, G.-G.; Pop, A.-M.; Marian-Potra, A.-C., 2021.



Reconnue en tant que zone urbaine marginalisée, Pata Rât peut être analysée comme un produit de l'évolution des politiques du logement dans une Roumanie postsocialiste (Vincze, 2013), où vivent plus de 75% de personnes d'ethnicité Rom (selon les déclarations du recensement 2017). Depuis la fin des années 1960, le quartier s'est formé parallèlement au développement de la ville de Cluj, en étroite relation avec la décharge du même nom. L'histoire de Pata Rât est ainsi liée à celle des travailleurs de la décharge et entreprises de l'industrie des déchets, puisque lieu de développement historique d'habitat informel de travailleurs exploités par les entreprises responsables de la décharge, mais est également liée aux décisions des autorités locales et départementales, ayant autorisés les installations, sans mettre en place une politique efficace de développement du parc de logement social,

d'amélioration des infrastructures, et ayant laissé perduré une situation sanitaire des plus préoccupantes<sup>21</sup> (Dohotaru A., Vincze E., Harbula H., 2016).

Figure 43 - Photographies de l'habitat individuel, colonies 'Dallas' (photo 1 & 2) et 'Noul Pata Rât' (photo 3), Pata Rât, Cluj-Napoca. 17 mai 2021.



Le quartier ghettoisé de Pata Rât n'est pas une exception en Roumanie, ou même en Europe. D'après Heidegger et Wiese, « la majorité des communautés Roms en Europe Centrale et Orientale vivent dans des campements isolés, dans la périphérie de petites villes, de villages isolés ou dans des ghettos urbains ou semi-urbains, régulièrement privés des nécessités environnementales de base, en

<sup>21</sup> Pour exemple :

Lixiviat - <https://www.mediafax.ro/stirile-zilei/poluare-majora-in-cluj-depasiri-de-750-de-ori-ale-concentratiilor-admise-la-azot-amoniacal-pe-un-parau-un-lac-cu-6-000-de-metri-cubi-de-lichid-toxic-s-a-format-in-zona-16722088>

Incendies - <http://www.monitorulcj.ro/actualitate/69987-primul-incendiu-din-acest-an-la-pata-rat-s-a-reaprin-rampa-de-gunoi-a-primariei#sthash.57m90wdQ.dpbs>

Rapport sur la toxicité de l'environnement en 2009 -

[https://www.cjcluj.ro/assets/uploads/Studiu%20de%20evaluare%20Impact%20Deseuri%20Cluj.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3hXCph99KysoT6CZ8ulP3oN\\_VBJHIDnfNz4BJWkGUlemfD3FK9IPoNPjE](https://www.cjcluj.ro/assets/uploads/Studiu%20de%20evaluare%20Impact%20Deseuri%20Cluj.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3hXCph99KysoT6CZ8ulP3oN_VBJHIDnfNz4BJWkGUlemfD3FK9IPoNPjE)

*étant plus exposés que le reste de la population aux risques environnementaux.* » **10** Des recherches ont par exemple montré qu'en Roumanie, plus de la moitié des Roms roumains vivaient à proximité d'une décharge en 2007 (Steger, 2007), et que la différence entre l'espérance de vie d'un roumain d'ethnicité non-rom et d'un roumain d'ethnicité rom est de près de 10 ans (Cace, Toader, Vizireanu, 2013). Pour Vincze, ceci peut s'expliquer par le fait que les Roms n'ont jamais fait l'objet de politiques nationales dites de réparation, reconnaissant leur passé d'esclaves, ce qui conduit à une reproduction de leur condition économique de génération en génération. A Cluj-Napoca, tandis que pendant l'époque communiste on a souhaité assimiler la population Rom à l'ensemble de la main-d'œuvre ouvrière, assurant ainsi l'industrialisation et le « développement multilatéral de la nation roumaine », l'entrée dans l'économie de marché a signifié pour les travailleurs les moins qualifiés, moins d'opportunités d'emploi. Avec l'augmentation de la quantité de déchets déposées dans la décharge, des familles roms pauvres ont été attirées par la possibilité de gagner un revenu tout en pouvant se loger à faible coût, dans une municipalité avec un marché du logement en plein développement – la crise du logement étant du même coup une occasion, pour la municipalité, d'expulser les populations les plus vulnérables à travers des opérations de renouvellement urbain sur fond de conflits inter-ethniques (Vincze, 2013). Si aujourd'hui, Pata Rât reste un quartier urbain informel ségrégué, défavorisé sur le plan social, économique et en termes d'accès aux services publics, s'étendant toujours avec l'attrait d'un logement à faible coût tandis que Cluj-Napoca comptait moins de 1,5% de logements sociaux en 2014<sup>22</sup>, on y recense aussi des projets pour le relogement, l'accès au travail et aux transports publics, la création d'infrastructures sanitaires, tels que les projets Pata-Cluj, Pata-Cluj 2.0, Cluj Future of Work, ... mis en place grâce à des fonds européens ou norvégiens, et incluant de multiples acteurs, dont l'ADI ZMC et la mairie de Cluj-Napoca :

*« Nous nous concentrons sur le relogement des gens de la communauté dans de véritables unités de logement dans la zone métropolitaine de Cluj-Napoca, la plupart ... beaucoup travaillant dans le secteur de la gestion des déchets. Nous sommes engagés pour la médiation des contrats entre les travailleurs et les compagnies qui les embauchent. Aussi en essayant de les former à avoir d'autres types d'emplois. » **12** – Entretien 12, Adrian Răulea, directeur des programmes à l'ADI-ZMC, à propos du projet Pata- Cluj 2.0.*

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<sup>22</sup> EUROCITIES, Roma Inclusion WG meeting 8-10 April 2019, Toulouse. Transfer city : Cluj-Napoca. [https://nws.eurocities.eu/MediaShell/media/Cluj-Napoca\\_transfer\\_city\\_challenge\\_description.pdf](https://nws.eurocities.eu/MediaShell/media/Cluj-Napoca_transfer_city_challenge_description.pdf)

Le succès de ces projets reste limité, et un investissement plus conséquent des autorités semble encore nécessaire.

#### *IV – B. b Un système de gestion des déchets véritablement « intégré » ?*

Un système de gestion intégré des déchets est considéré comme soutenable s'il est efficace en termes d'impacts environnementaux, faisable économiquement et juridiquement et socialement acceptable (Contreras *et al.* 2008 ; Petts, 2000). Dès 2013, on pointe du doigt à Cluj-Napoca l'importance de parvenir à un consensus entre les souhaits de la population locale, les possibilités de développement, l'intérêt des investisseurs, l'exigence des autorités, pour choisir la solution de gestion des déchets ménagers et assimilés avec la plus faible empreinte environnementale, mais aussi pour atteindre un consensus social et être conforme aux possibilités économiques du territoire (Modoi, Popita, Mihăiescu, 2013).

#### *Un système basé sur un modèle nord-européen*

Avec l'intégration de la Roumanie dans l'UE, le pays a promis la mise en place d'une gestion des déchets se basant sur une norme européenne, adaptant sa législation, promouvant de nouveaux objectifs ... et adoptant pour modèle une gestion des déchets en réseau centralisé à l'échelle départementale, qui bénéficie de l'idée que le traitement des déchets jouit d'économies d'échelle (Bartone, 1995).

Si l'on en revient à la considération du service public de gestion des déchets solides à Cluj-Napoca comme un service organisé en réseau technique urbain mou (Debout, 2012), le réseau de gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca peut être considéré au même titre que les autres réseaux qui parcourent la municipalité, comme un ensemble d'objets et de technologies inséparables des pratiques sociales, opinions, valeurs, intégré à la conception matérielle, politique et économique des villes contemporaines, qui impacte la ville mais est aussi transformé par celle-ci (Graham, Marvin, 2011). A Cluj-Napoca, on a tenté de transposer un modèle de réseau 'idéal', sans prendre en compte les transformations que la ville, dans sa conception la plus large, imposerait au réseau, ceci résultant en un modèle non-adapté aux spécificités locales. Si le modèle européen a servi de base pour l'élaboration de politiques

publiques, la législation européenne transposée en Roumanie faisant pression sur des décideurs politiques et les financements européens permettant le développement des infrastructures, on peut également voir dans la faillite de la mise en place du SMID à Cluj les effets d'une implémentation d'un système de gestion des déchets dans un cadre trop rigide, même si on peut aussi citer un manque de volonté politique ou la priorisation des intérêts des acteurs économiques.

Par ailleurs, le système de gestion des déchets tel qu'il a été conçu à Cluj peut être questionné, centralisant les opérations de tri, de traitement, d'enfouissement dans un seul CMID, celui-ci faisant l'objet de nombreuses remises en question quant à ses qualités écologiques et sa capacité à absorber les quantités de déchets produites dans l'ensemble du département de Cluj, avec une station de traitement des lixiviats sous-dimensionnée et des risques de glissement de terrain<sup>23</sup>. Flaviu Petean met ainsi en valeur le manque d'expériences des autorités à qui a été confié le projet de SMID à ses débuts.

*« Ce n'est plus comme ça, depuis qu'ils ont fermé l'ancienne décharge, ce n'est plus ce grand business-marché-noir-informel-de-recyclage, maintenant c'est plus formalisé car la municipalité était désespérée de fermer cette décharge aussi vite que possible, et que la pression de l'opinion publique était énorme. MAIS ce qu'on fait ces consultants, c'est d'imaginer un système « intégré », à l'échelle du département. Dans ce cas, les responsabilités tombent sur les autorités du département, le conseil départemental de Cluj, qui est le coordinateur de ce système intégré, alors qu'ils n'avaient jamais rien fait en matière de gestion des déchets ... Ils n'avaient pas d'expertise, pas d'expérience, pas de service, rien. Ils ont toujours travaillé avec des consultants, et à un certain point, ils ont créé une association, l'ADI, qui est le corps qui coordonne ou délègue les responsabilités aux compagnies privées pour collecter les déchets du département tout entier. D'abord, ils n'avaient pas d'expertise, nous n'avions pas d'experts dans le domaine des déchets et pas d'établissements pour former les individus à la gestion des déchets. Ensuite, et c'est ce qui est le plus choquant pour moi, nous sommes en 2021, nous avons débuté le projet il y a 10 ans mais à ce moment-là, le projet était déjà dépassé, car les informations en ce qui concerne les déchets dataient de 2004. » 13*  
- Flaviu Petean, entretien n°11.

Cette situation était déjà pointée du doigt à la fin des années 90, alors que les pays de l'Europe de l'Est ou les pays nouvellement indépendants de l'Union Soviétique adoptaient les lois et réglementations de l'UE, sans véritables questionnements sur la faisabilité et une précipitation pour

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.monitorulcj.ro/actualitate/79921-unde-e-surpriza-alin-tise-centrul-de-deseuri-in-mare-pericol-sa-nu-obtina-avizul-de-mediu-se-anunta-o-catastrofa-ecologica-la-cluj>

adopter des technologies et systèmes de l'Ouest, dont on questionnait déjà la soutenabilité (Rushbrook, 1997 ; Thomas, 1999). Aujourd'hui, le modèle de gestion des déchets mis en place par les pouvoirs publics à Cluj-Napoca n'intègre que très peu de réflexions sur la prévention, tout comme il tend à oublier l'aspect social de la gestion des déchets. Il se base sur une logique de top-down, même si on compte des débats publics ou un budget participatif par an avec quelques projets sur la gestion des déchets, ainsi que sur une future délégation quasi-complète aux acteurs privés.

### Un secteur informel toujours peu pris en compte

Pour répondre à la troisième hypothèse, après avoir exposés les diverses problématiques liées à l'implémentation du SMID ainsi que les données disponibles sur le recyclage et la valorisation des déchets, le secteur informel de la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca apparaît bien comme un complément de l'action du service public, même s'il entre aussi en confrontation avec le secteur formel. Malgré le fait qu'on puisse mettre en valeur son efficacité – le secteur informel faisant travailler, avec un coût économique moindre, 10 fois plus de personnes que le secteur formel en 2010 à Cluj-Napoca (Scheinberg et al., 2010) – celui-ci comporte de nombreux aspects négatifs, au niveau humain : développement de problèmes de santé liés à la pollution, mauvaises conditions de travail, mais aussi pour le modèle de gestion officiellement mis en place : destruction d'infrastructures ou désorganisation des dispositifs, préjudice économique lié à l'absence de taxes ... Aujourd'hui, l'option privilégiée par les autorités est donc celle de l'intégration de certains acteurs informels par des contrats de travail standards au sein des opérateurs de salubrité ou la reconversion dans d'autres secteurs, tandis que d'autres acteurs économiques ont compris l'intérêt d'une coopération avec le secteur informel. Même si, dans les entretiens, la plupart des acteurs responsables de la gestion des déchets reconnaissent l'existence du secteur informel, la mairie de Cluj-Napoca ne semble pas souhaiter communiquer sur son possible 'plan d'intégration du secteur informel', après avoir longtemps refusé de s'engager dans un quelconque dialogue (Soos, Popoviçi, 2007 ; 2008, Scheinberg *et al.*, 2010, Gunsilius *et al.*, 2011, Scheinberg, Mol, 2010, Popovska *et al.* 2008, Tasheva, 2012, Toska *et al.* 2012).



Il serait aujourd'hui nécessaire de réévaluer la contribution du secteur informel à la gestion des déchets de Cluj-Napoca. Les préconisations faites par de précédents rapports (notamment *Planning in the Real World* en 2008) sont toujours d'actualité, avec un besoin d'intégrer le secteur informel dans la législation roumaine et européenne, de secteurs plus flexibles, de statistiques précises et d'une prise en compte locale, ainsi que d'une meilleure reconnaissance de ce secteur.

## Conclusion

Pour rappel, dans ce mémoire, on a cherché à répondre à la problématique suivante : Comment les villes postsocialistes récemment entrées dans l'UE refondent leur service public de gestion des déchets ? Au travers de l'exemple de Cluj-Napoca, on a exploré les conditions de la transformation du service de gestion des déchets de la municipalité en commentant les caractéristiques du service public tel qu'il est conçu aujourd'hui dans la ville, ainsi que l'implémentation du projet de SMID.

En 2021, la situation en termes de gestion des déchets reste hétéroclite selon les départements en Roumanie, certains ayant mis en place un SMID fonctionnel depuis plusieurs années tandis que d'autres, comme dans le département de Cluj, font face à des retards. Au sein du département de Cluj, on constate encore une diversité de modes de gestion selon les unités territoriales-administratives, qui restent responsables du service public de gestion des déchets tant que le SMID n'est pas opérationnel. D'un service public, après la chute du communisme, caractérisé par une administration locale, avec pour but principal l'évacuation et l'élimination, et des situations très diverses selon les UAT, on peut voir depuis l'entrée dans l'UE s'imposer une visée universaliste du service public, centralisé à l'échelle départementale, avec une adaptation de la collecte et des infrastructures dans une volonté de recyclage et de valorisation.

L'ADI Eco-Metropolitan et le Conseil Départemental de Cluj portent donc officiellement la refonte du service public de gestion des déchets au sein du département et de la ville de Cluj-Napoca, avec une division de la future organisation en quatre zones. La création de l'ADI a notamment été poussée par le besoin d'un organisme pouvant gérer les fonds européens. Tant dans le financement, que dans les exigences environnementales et dans la conception du service public de gestion des déchets, la Roumanie a fortement été impactée par l'entrée dans l'UE. L'ambition de l'action de ces deux acteurs, loin d'être revue à la baisse par les difficultés rencontrées, ne semble pas se réduire, avec une volonté de mettre en place un système 'moderne' et 'intégré', selon la législation européenne, qui n'intègre pas le système informel. Avec le possible achèvement de la mise en place du SMID – aujourd'hui programmé pour fin 2022, le secteur informel à Cluj-Napoca devrait encore connaître des reconfigurations.

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## Annexes

### Annexe 1 - Citations originales

1 - C. Thomas, 1999 : “ Most waste is disposed of to landfill sites. However, only 450 of a total of maybe 2000 landfill sites are licensed; many landfills are poorly sited, placed, as one official report (ICIM, 1993) put it ‘in the wrong place’ on river banks, near built-up areas, in sites where the natural run-off washes leachate into water courses and on land where the water table is close to the surface, or in valleys where rain water settles. Most municipal landfills have no protective barriers, and there are no mechanisms to drain the sump and no wells to monitor ground water quality. This is not to say that all landfills suffer these problems; some have been re-engineered with many protective features. ”

2 - Maletz et al., Comparison of waste management in western systems and transition economies within the WATRA project, Detritus, volume 02 – 2018, p. 96 : “ In this respect, the municipal waste management sector (WM) is usually the most problematic due to its chronic state of underfinancing, noticeable influence on the urban image, as well as significant negative impact on the environment.”

3 - Directive EU 2018/851, paragraphe 7 : “ Municipal waste constitutes approximately between 7 and 10 % of the total waste generated in the Union. That waste stream, however, is amongst the most complex ones to manage, and the way it is managed generally gives a good indication of the quality of the overall waste management system in a country. The challenges of municipal waste management result from its highly complex and mixed composition, direct proximity of the generated waste to citizens, a very high public visibility and its impact on the environment and human health. As a result, the management of municipal waste requires a highly complex system including an efficient collection scheme, an effective sorting system and a proper tracing of waste streams, the active engagement of citizens and businesses, an infrastructure adjusted to the specific waste composition, and an elaborate financing system.”

4 – Définition générale du ‘déchet’ selon la législation roumaine : “Orice substanță sau obiect pe care deținătorul îl aruncă ori are intenția sau obligația să îl arunce”.

5 – Entretien n°24, Marius Mornea : «

6 – Entretien n°8, Istvan Szakats : « Yes, now you see the area, where they should dump only filtered waste, treated, non-recyclable waste, etc. What you will see here, this should be the place where they are treating, and filtering and everything ... No nothing. It’s just empty shit, bullshit. Here should be the silos for composting, huge barrels ... This is why it’s not happening : they don’t have the equipment, but they pretend they have all the equipment at the old place, but they have almost nothing. Normally, at the old place, they should process the dump of the whole county. That’s impossible, they haven’t been able to do that for the city. »

7 – ADI, Studiu de oportunitate finale 2019, p.181 : « Din datele statistice județene privind gestionarea deșeurilor, majoritatea deșeurilor sunt eliminate pe depozitul de deșeuri ECO Bihor, dar sunt cantități mari de deșeuri care se regăsesc pe platformele de stocare temporară unele din ele funcționând fără autorizație de mediu. »

8 - ADI, Studiu de oportunitate finale 2019, p.181 : « Soluțiile temporare puse în practică au fost utilizarea unor platforme de stocare temporară a deșeurilor, de unde acestea să fie transportate, în mașini de transport de volum mare la depozitele de deșeuri funcționale din alte județe care au fost dispuse să le primească. Prin urmare, tarifele aplicate populației pentru serviciul de salubritate au crescut, concomitent cu creșterea costurilor de transport și depozitare a deșeurilor la aceste depozite funcționale. »

9 – Entretien 24, Marius Mornea : “ We haven’t taken that route, it’s a last resort kind of thing, but we did talk about it. We could, because independent surveys show, maybe Istvan told you this already, heavy metal pollution in the range of 10 000% over the most dangerous threshold European Union considers as a threshold. [...] Around Pata and around the fields of the temporary ramp. So, the wind, the repeated fires, and just the seeping of the pollutants, has led to huge, huge pollution levels there. If we do a very proper environmental audit there, the conditions for a national security disaster being called, they are there, so I am sure we could get it. But that would

mean, for at least 5 to 10 years, that the administration would hate us and would definitely not work with us anymore.”

10 – Entretien 6, Razvan Batinas : « I have been there 2 years ago, I have noticed they are following ... It’s an assumption. So, the gypsies are involved in some activities around that waste dump, right ? Usually, they go to collect something they can then sell, generate some money off. When I was there with some students, into a field trip, they were a lot of adults that were on the waste dump, and they were waiting for the cars, from the city to go over there. The cars are dropping their loads, and then they jump on these fresh new loads to collect plastic bottles, ONLY plastic bottles. They have big sacs, bags ... Big ones, one cubic meter bags. If it’s filled up, they can obtain some money out of it. I don’t know if it was 50 lei, for a full bag, about one cubic meter in volume. »

11 – Pushed to the Wastelands, Environmental racism against Roma communities in Central and Eastern Europe, p.4 : « The majority of Roma communities in Central and Eastern Europe live in segregated settlements on the outskirts of smaller towns, isolated villages, or urban or semiurban ghettos that are regularly deprived of basic environmental necessities and are more prone to environmental hazards. »

12 – Entretien 12, Adrian Răulea : « We’re focused on relocating people from that community in proper housing units in the metropolitan area. Most ... Many of the people that are working in the waste management sector. We are also involved in mediating the work contracts between the workers and the companies that hire them. Maybe on trying to ... Train them on getting other types of jobs. »

13 – Entretien 11, Flaviu Petean : « It’s no longer so, since the former landfill close, it’s no longer this huge business, black-market-informal-recycling-thing, now it’s more formalized because the municipality was desperate to close the landfill as now as possible, and the public pressure was huge. BUT, what those consultants made, was to imagine a system “intégré”, integrated, at the level of the county. But then, you take the county authorities, county council of Cluj which is the coordinator of this integrated waste management, they never did anything with waste ... They had no expertise, no experience, no departments, no nothing. They always worked with consultants, and at some point, they made this association, ADI, which is the body that coordinates or delegates the responsibilities to private companies to collect from the entire county. First of all, they had no expertise, we had no experts in waste management and no facilities to train people in waste management. Second of all, and that’s the most shocking to me, we’re in 2021, we started this project 10 years ago but when the project started it was already outdated, because the visibility of the waste was from 2004, with waste data from 2004. »



## Annexe 2 - Grilles d'entretiens

- Acteurs politiques, institutionnels, employés du service public, entrepreneurs

Thèmes/Concept/ Hypothèses	Sous-thèmes : Questions de relance	Détails
<p><b><u>I. Personal background :</u></b></p> <p>Could you talk to me about your activity/job ? What is your role in the waste management field ?</p>	Name	
	Gender, Age, ...	
	Living area	
	Actual job	
	Firm, company, service ...	
	Previous professional experiences	
<p><b><u>II. Recent evolutions :</u></b></p> <p>How did Cluj's and Cluj-Napoca's waste management evolve during the last decades ?</p>	How is the waste management system organised today in Cluj and in Cluj-Napoca ? How did it change ?	
	New Integrated Solid Waste Management System being implemented. Could you describe it ?	
	What would you say are the main objectives of these actions/strategies ?	
	How is it going currently ? What are your hopes/fears ?	
	Did the covid crisis and quarantine impacted your activity ? Any changes ?	
	Did you encounter some difficulties during the implementation of the european regulations, of the new integrated solid waste management system ... ?	
	How are the objectives/rates of waste valorization evolving ?	
<p><b><u>III. Governance and inclusion :</u></b></p> <p>Have the actors of the waste management sector changed in recent years ?</p> <p>How is the population involved in Cluj's waste management ?</p>	How is the funding of the waste management system changing ?	
	What are the main waste management's actors in Cluj and Cluj-Napoca ?	
	Are citizens included in the waste management system and policy ? In which way ?	
	How do waste management actors (formal/informal) face difficulties ?	
	Has the organisation of waste management actors changed ?	
<p><b><u>V. Territories and inequalities :</u></b></p> <p>Can you see any disparities between neighborhoods, localities ...in the way citizens have access to the public waste management services ?</p>	Is there many differences between neighbourhoods ? Between rural and urban areas ?	Waste collection rates ?
	Is there a difference in financial resources between municipalities, cities, ... ?	
	Are actors and public policies different ?	
	Is there a major difference in the waste stream, sorting, collecting ... between rural and urban areas, between neighbourhoods ?	

<p><b><u>IV. Low-tech and high-tech answers :</u></b></p> <p>What are the answers provided to solve Cluj's waste management problems ?</p> <p>What has been done in terms of new facilities/new technologies in Cluj's waste management during the last years ? In terms of sustainability ?</p>	Have new stations/plants been built ?	
	Have new management centers been installed ?	
	Are citizens involved/helping in any way to reduce the waste stream ?	Reduction of the solid waste stream, sorting, reusing ,...
	Have you heard of any initiatives amongst the citizens of Cluj regarding Waste ?	NGO, groups, associations ...
	What do you know about the informal activities in the waste management sector of the city ?	
	What valorization methods are used ?	

- **Associations, syndicats de particuliers, citoyens**

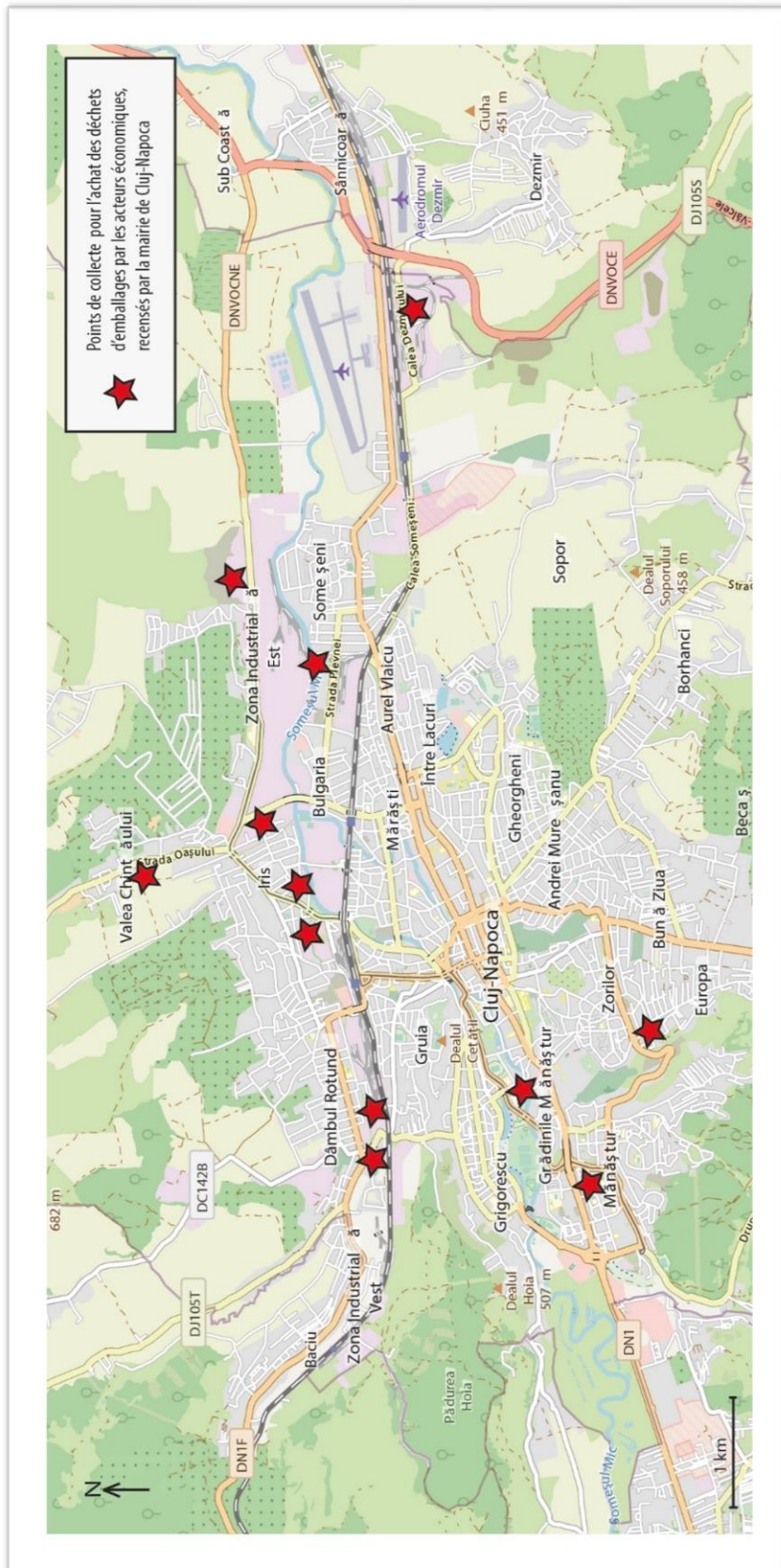
Thèmes/Concept/ Hypothèses	Sous-thèmes : Questions de relance	Détails
<p><b><u>I. Personal background :</u></b></p> <p>Could you talk to me about your activity ?</p> <p>What is the role of your NGO in the waste management field ?</p>	Name	
	Gender, age, ...	
	Living area	
	Actual job	
	NGO, group ...	
	Previous NGO, professional experiences ...	
<p><b><u>II. Recent evolutions :</u></b></p> <p>How did Cluj's and Cluj-Napoca's waste management evolve during the last decades ?</p>	Could you describe your project to me ? Its history, ambitions, results, ... ?	
	How is the waste management system organised today in Cluj and in Cluj-Napoca ? How did it change ?	
	What would you say are the main objectives of these actions/strategies ?	
	How is it going currently ? What are your hopes/fears ? Both for your project and the metropolitan area's waste management.	
	Did the covid crisis and quarantine impacted your activity ?	
	Do you encounter any difficulties caused by the rules/legislation ?	
<p><b><u>III. Governance and inclusion :</u></b></p> <p>Have the actors of the waste management sector changed in recent years ?</p> <p>How is the population involved in Cluj's waste management ?</p>	Do you cooperate with the municipality ?	
	What are the main waste management's actors in Cluj and Cluj-Napoca ?	
	Are citizens included in the waste management system and policy ? In which way ?	
	How do waste management actors (formal/informal) face difficulties ?	
	Has the organisation of waste management actors changed ?	

<p><b><u>V. Territories and inequalities :</u></b> Can you see any disparities between neighborhoods, localities ...in the way citizens have access to the public waste management services ?</p>	Is there many differences between neighbourhoods ? Between rural and urban areas ?	Waste collection rates ?
	Is there a difference in financial resources between municipalities, cities, ... ?	
	Are actors and public policies different ?	
	Is there a major difference in the waste stream, sorting, collecting ... between rural and urban areas, between neighbourhoods ?	
<p><b><u>IV. Low-tech and high-tech answers :</u></b>  What are the answers provided to solve Cluj's waste management problems ?  What has been done in terms of new facilities/new technologies in Cluj's waste management during the last years ? In terms of sustainability ?</p>	Have new stations/plants been built ? Have new management centers been installed ?	
	Are citizens involved/helping in any way to reduce the waste stream ?	Reduction of the solid waste stream, sorting, reusing, recycling ...
	Have you heard of any initiatives amongst the citizens of Cluj regarding waste ?	NGO, groups, associations ...
	What do you know about the informal activities in the waste management sector of the city ?	

## Annexe 3 – Planning des observations

Planning des observations			
Lieu	Sujet	Accompagnateur·trice·s	Date
Quartiers Gheorgeni & Centru	Bornes de collecte & pratiques de tri	/	06/05/2021
Zone industrielle Est de Cluj-Napoca	Visite alentours Pata Rât	M. Vescan & Mme Pop	17/05/2021
Atelier de l'association Art-Mirror, Cluj-Napoca	Participation citoyenne & Réutilisation	Mme Pop	25/05/2021
Quartiers Mănăştur & Grigorescu	Bornes de collecte & pratiques de tri	/	05/06/2021
Eco-Bihor, Oradea	Visite du centre de tri et de traitement, par M. Istvan Szentes	Mme Pop	08/06/2021

Annexe 4 – Carte des points d’achat de déchets d’emballages autorisés, d’après liste des acteurs économiques recensés par la mairie de Cluj-Napoca, avec mise à jour des adresses.



## Annexe 5 – Retranscription des entretiens, par ordre chronologique

### Entretien n°1 – M. Alin Muresan, directeur régional chez RDE Harghita.

Entretien à 8h du matin, au sein de la Faculté de Géographie, dans le Centre de Géographie Régionale. Le rdv ne devant durer qu'une heure, toutes les questions n'ont pas été abordées en détails. Durée : 1h15. En présence de Mme Ana-Maria Pop.

Marie – M : Quand vous êtes prêt, on peut commencer ?

Alin – A : J'ai l'impression d'être dans un entretien d'embauche. Rires. Je me sens comme à l'université.

Ana-Maria - A-M : *Rires*. On essaye d'être un peu formel mais ...

Marie : *Rires*. Ok, du coup est-ce que vous pourriez commencer par vous présenter tout simplement si vous voulez ?

A : Oui, je m'appelle Alin, Alin Muresan. J'ai commencé dans ce domaine il y a 3-4 ans avec We Recycle. C'est une entreprise qui ... aide les autres entreprises pour trouver des solutions pour leurs déchets, en fait. Mais ça n'existe plus. Maintenant je travaille chez RDE Haghita. C'est une entreprise de waste management ... euh ... Il y a des mots que je ne connais pas en français. Gestion des déchets ? Bon je connais ! Rires. On travaille dans la région de Cluj, dans des petits villages à côté, on collecte les déchets, les recyclables, tout ça. On a un centre de ... hésitation.

M : De tri ?

A : De tri, oui, à Campia Turzii. J'ai un projet de recycler les plastiques non-recyclables, en cours. C'est ça. En gros je travaille avec tout le monde, toutes les entreprises qui ont besoin de moi dans ce domaine, dans la construction, dans n'importe quel domaine : entretien, déchets spéciaux ...

M : D'accord ... et donc votre entreprise, RDE Harghita, elle est basée à Cluj-Napoca ?

A : Non, une autre localité, Harghita, à côté.

A-M : C'est une autre localité. Au Nord de Brasov.

M : D'accord. Donc vous vous y connaissez un peu en gestion des déchets ... Est-ce que vous voudriez me présenter comment ça se passe la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca, à Cluj plus généralement ?

A : C'est le problème ... En fait ça fait presque 10 ans qu'il y a un plan régional, un plan national aussi, pour la gestion des déchets. En fait, toutes les ... administrations sont en charge de trouver ... trouver la solution pour la gestion des déchets dans chaque ville, dans chaque grande ville ... A Cluj ça fait 10 ans qu'on essaie de démarrer ce projet.

A-M : Mais on a trouvé un plan qui a comme année 2014 ?

A : Non, c'est la SMID. Non, le système intégré de gestion des déchets solides. Ça ne fonctionne pas encore. En fait, ils sont entrain de démarrer. Ils essayent. C'est ... Mais ... Je ne sais pas pourquoi, ce qu'il se passe. C'est pour ça, je vous ai dit, il faut demander au Conseil Départemental. Tout le monde attend ça en fait.

M : Et donc à l'heure actuelle, la gestion des déchets à Cluj elle en est où, puisque le SMID n'est pas encore mis en place à l'heure actuelle ?

A : C'est une question un peu générale ... Rires. En fait, on ne voit pas vraiment les déchets. Ça ce n'est pas vraiment bien pour les citoyens. On ne sait pas tout ce qu'il se passe avec les déchets. On les jette à la poubelle et on s'en fout, oui ?

A-M : Oui c'est ce que j'ai déjà dit ...

A : A Cluj-Napoca, c'est spécial puisque la ... L'ancienne plateforme de déchets, Pata Rât, est très très près de la ville. Elle est toujours active en fait.

A-M : Active dans quel sens ? Parce qu'elle est fermée la décharge ?

A : Non, elle est active. Toujours on dépose des déchets. Il y a une ancienne plateforme, qui a été "écologisée", mais juste à côté il y a une plateforme temporaire qui a été construite. Il y a déjà 5 ans. "Temporaire". Signe des guillemets avec les mains. 4-5 ans je pense. La nouvelle rampe, la nouvelle plateforme écologique, elle a beaucoup de problèmes. Il y a des problèmes aussi avec la ... l'acquisition publique. En fait, c'est l'Etat qui a construit la plateforme écologique, mais il doit la passer, la donner à un autre opérateur privé, pour l'organiser. Comment dire ?

M : Il délègue la gestion ?

A-M : Il doit y avoir une acquisition publique pour ses démarches.

A : Je ne sais pas si vous avez ça ? (ndlr : en France) En fait, c'est ça qu'il se passe : C'est l'Etat qui a commencé de gérer un domaine qu'il ne devrait pas gérer. Le domaine des déchets doit rester privé. Il devrait juste déléguer le service à un opérateur qui est le plus préparé, le plus ... Je ne sais pas ... Le mieux. Comme avant.

A-M : Même si on parle d'une certaine décentralisation du service, en vérité, c'est une action très centralisée.

A : En fait, moi je suis antisocialiste, anti-contrôle de l'Etat. L'Etat vient et dit ce qu'on doit faire. Ça ne va pas marcher. Si on regarde les acquisitions publiques, les documents pour obtenir le droit d'opérer à Cluj-Napoca. Ça se voit qu'ils ne connaissent pas le domaine. Ils ne connaissent pas les chiffres, ils ne savent pas combien ça coûte de collecter les déchets et de gérer, tout ça. On regarde les chiffres, on ne peut pas faire ça avec ... comme ça. C'est pour ça que je dis que, oui, tu peux faire une station comme Cluj-Napoca. Pour l'acquisition publique, ils disent : "Je veux ça", et le meilleur vient et propose : "Oui je peux faire exactement ça à ce prix-là." et la mairie de Cluj-Napoca dit "Ok, allez-y !" .

M : Ok ... vous connaissez les principaux acteurs dans le domaine des déchets, dans la zone métropolitaine de Cluj ?

A : Oui, il y a vraiment Brantner et Supercom. Supercom est l'entreprise qui a déjà gagné 2 grandes zones : de Dej et de Campia Turzii, avec des petits villages autour de ses villes. Au sein du projet SMID, il y a 4 zones, et Supercom a déjà gagné 2 grandes zones et les 2 autres, de Cluj-Napoca et Huedin, sont ensemble. Si tu gagnes Cluj-Napoca, tu gagnes Huedin, puisque Huedin c'est une petite ville.

M : Est-ce qu'en tant que personne qui travaille dans les déchets, vous avez vu un changement récemment dans ce domaine avec la pandémie ? Avec le Covid, avec la quarantaine ?

A : Non. En tant qu'employeur/employé. Bon, la pollution avec les masques ... Il y a beaucoup plus de déchets avec les masques. Les mégots et ça. Ça ne se recycle pas, c'est des polymères. C'est toxique pour l'environnement. La pandémie fait mal à tout le monde, à notre santé et à la planète.

A-M : On a essayé de trouver quelques données sur la production de déchets ... par typologie ... des choses comme ça.

A : La quantité ... ça grandit toujours. On peut dire ça ? En France, c'est autre chose, je peux dire. En France, dans l'Europe, les gens commencent à ... Ils commencent à être conscients qu'il y a trop d'emballages sur les produits. Qu'on peut réutiliser le verre et pas de plastique, qu'il y a trop d'emballages sur les produits. A Cluj-Napoca aussi, à Bucarest aussi. Ça s'arrête ici. Si on va à côté de Cluj, dans les villages c'est autre chose. Dans les villages, il n'y a pas de supermarché. Pas encore, mais ça commence. Si tu vas à 20 km de Cluj-Napoca, tu n'as pas un Lidl. Ils vont survenir. C'est entrain de grandir. Il y a encore plus de déchets. Moi je vois, il y a encore 20 ans, juste ... C'est comme en France, je ne sais pas, dans un petit village près de Limoges. Il y a un Spar, un petit supermarché. Les gens sont habitués. Ça fait 20 ans. Ils vont penser toujours aux déchets, peut-être ... je ne sais pas. Mais la quantité de déchets est constante depuis 20 ans. Oui ? En Roumanie, ce n'est pas constant, parce que chaque année il y en a de plus en plus. Recyclables ou non. C'est le plastique le plus important ... Le papier, tout ça, c'est biodégradable. On peut dire qu'on s'en fout parce que ce n'est pas le plus gros problème pour la planète. Le plus grand problème à résoudre, pour nous, c'est le plastique. Pour transporter la nourriture, c'est très utile le plastique. Mais il y en a de plus en plus. Dans les supermarchés, les tomates elles sont dans plusieurs plastiques. Les gens au village, ils sont habitués à avoir leurs propres tomates. Mais il n'y a pas de tomates en hiver normalement, mais moi j'ai envie d'en manger, alors j'en achète dans 3 plastiques ? Et comme ça c'est des millions de gens. A Floresti, les déchets municipaux, c'est des déchets qu'on dépose et qu'on ne recycle pas. Il y

a 2000 tonnes. A Cluj-Napoca, il y a entre 12 000 et 14 000 tonnes de déchets, par mois. Donc juste Cluj et Floresti, c'est presque 16 000 tonnes par mois. Après il y a toute la zone métropolitaine ... C'est beaucoup ... Peut-être 30 000 t ? Moi j'estime. ... Et après il y a le recyclable aussi qui pour la plupart va à l'incinérateur. Une très grande part. Les bouteilles plastiques, en PET, différentes sortes ... Nous on le tri, on les recycle, mais ce n'est pas beaucoup. Par exemple dans le centre de tri. Maintenant les prix sont hauts, il y a un shortage sur le marché, tout le monde cherche à acheter. Je ne sais pas combien de temps ça va tenir, avant ce n'était pas comme ça. Là où tu jettes, le grand bac ...

M : Un container ?

A : Un container, oui. Toi chez toi, tu jettes, tu penses "tous les plastiques sont recyclables." Mais en fait, seulement, quoi, 10% sont recyclables, comme les bouteilles plastiques ou de détergent. Le reste est incinérable, on peut le valoriser énergétiquement. C'est ce qu'on fait en Roumanie de plus en plus. On récupère l'énergie, c'est une forme de réutilisation, vous connaissez tout ça. Il y a beaucoup de plastiques qu'on ne peut pas recycler. Le papier, il y a peut-être 50% qu'on va recycler. Le verre c'est facile. Je le prends, c'est simple. Economiquement, pour le transport, c'est compliqué, c'est très très lourd, au contraire du plastique. Il y a beaucoup de déchets municipaux et de plus en plus. Peut-être qu'à Cluj-Napoca on va voir une stagnation, mais si on va juste à côté, à 10, 15, 20km, c'est une autre histoire. Vraiment, si vous voulez, aller dans les villages. Mes grands-parents, si un supermarché ouvre, ils vont commencer à acheter leur poulet là-bas ... Et puis des avocats, des tomates avec des emballages ... Rires.

M : Vous nous avez parlé de l'incinérateur ...

A : Oui. Il n'y a pas vraiment à côté, mais si on va vers Oradea, et il y a d'autres côtés où on peut aller pour en trouver. Les grands opérateurs de Cluj vont là-bas. A Alesd. Mais c'est bon, parce qu'ils réutilisent.

M : Avec le SMID qui se met en place, est-ce que le financement de la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca et dans la zone métropolitaine est en train de changer ?

A : J'espère que non. Juste la procédure d'acquisition qui est en train de se finaliser. Pour le SMID, on est vraiment sur le stade final. Les secteurs 1 et 2 ont été attribués. Le plus important, de Cluj-Napoca, sur la zone métropolitaine, n'a pas été attribué mais on est sur les derniers 100 mètres. J'espère que dans les prochains mois, on va savoir. Si Brantner peut rester, ou si c'est le nouveau Supercom. Ce sont les deux dernières entreprises dans la course. On ne sait pas. Après, ils ont 6 mois pour se mobiliser, pour commencer. L'année prochaine, l'entreprise va commencer.

M : Pour vous, est-ce que les objectifs, en termes de collecte de déchets, de recyclage, ils sont ambitieux ... ?

A : Ambitieux oui, réalistes non. Rires. Si nous on reste ici, on peut faire de beaux plans pour dire ce qui est le mieux. Rires. Mais la réalité sur le terrain c'est autre chose. Il faut commencer avec des petits pas. Avec la collecte des recyclables, par exemple. Moi je prends l'exemple de ... L'Autriche ? Eux ils ont commencé à introduire toutes les nouvelles fractions. Ils sont commodes. En France aussi, au Canada aussi, ils sont commodes. Ils ont vraiment dit la réalité aux populations : "ça c'est recyclable, ça non". Ils ont mis une boîte bleue : "ici c'est recyclable, ici c'est incinérable/municipal." Ça c'est la réalité. Comme ça, les personnes voient qu'il n'y a pas beaucoup de recyclable, et elles essaient de changer ça. C'est comme ça qu'il faut faire en Roumanie, il y a des centres de tri, il ne faut pas obliger les gens à trier chez eux en 4, 5, 10 types de déchets. Moi je pense que ça c'est inutile. On habite dans une ville, il y a des petits appartements, il n'y a pas de place. Moi je pense, je sais ce qu'il se passe : même si vous triezy chez vous, moi je dois retriier derrière. C'est une perte d'énergie pour tout le monde, pour vous, pour moi. Donc si vous mettez tout ensemble, c'est mieux. Je traite le non-recyclable mécaniquement, je récupère le recyclable. C'est plus sincère. Il faut dire la vérité : ça c'est recyclable, ça non. Moi je m'occupe de ça, c'est recyclable, je le tri. Sinon tout le monde pense qu'on a une poubelle bleue, jaune, verte, c'est recyclable ...

A-M : Mais si on réalise le tri à l'aide du supermarché ? Moi j'ai vu certains magasins comme Profi, Lidl, qui initient quelques initiatives de ... sélectionner certains déchets ...

A : C'est aussi les supermarchés qui mettent le plus de déchets sur le marché, hein. Après, moi je suis d'accord avec l'économie, le capitalisme. C'est leur domaine, de donner accès aux gens à ce qu'ils veulent. Après ce qu'il faut faire c'est d'éliminer le plus possible les emballages. Aux Etats-Unis, certains magasins on dit "On n'accepte plus les producteurs de nourriture (ou n'importe quoi) avec des emballages non-recyclables, ou juste avec des emballages eco-friendly." Pour ça il faut avoir beaucoup de courage. Je ne suis pas contre le plastique. Pour



transporter la viande, dans autre chose que du plastique, c'est difficile. On est nombreux, tout le monde ne peut pas acheter local. Peut-être que dans 50 ans, bon ... Je suis pour leurs projets. J'ai travaillé aussi avec Lidl, on est tous contents etc. Mais quand tu as 3 poubelles à la sortie, de tri, et que tu penses que tu vas changer le monde ... Il y a besoin de courage. A Cluj, c'est facile de faire. Comme en France, aux Etats-Unis. Mais il faut regarder à côté. Après, il y a aussi des gens habitués aux bouteilles de verre et ils disent "ils sont où les bouteilles ?..." Moi aussi j'ai été habitué à ça. C'est économique.

A-M : Moi aussi, oui, j'ai ma grand-mère, qui utilise les bouteilles pour faire les jus de tomates etc ...

M : Je vais juste fermer la fenêtre ... Vous disiez qu'à Cluj-Napoca et dans la périphérie c'est différent ... Est-ce que les citoyens sont inclus différemment dans la gestion des déchets ? Comment est-ce qu'on sensibilise ?

A : Tu sais comment ? A Cluj-Napoca, on va collecter les déchets chaque jour, comme ça "ne t'inquiète pas". Dans les zones rurales, c'est toutes les deux semaines. A Cluj-Napoca, on est ... on a un régime spécial. Tu habites où à Cluj ?

M : Je suis dans le centre, près de la place centrale.

A : Dans le centre, c'est le plus propre de Cluj-Napoca. C'est très joli. Il faut aller à Pata Rât. C'est la réalité. Dans toutes les villes, dans le centre, c'est joli. Comme à Paris, c'est parfait. A Toulouse aussi. Mais si tu vas à côté, c'est autre chose. C'est comme ça chez nous aussi. Ce n'est pas bien, puisque dans l'esprit des gens : "Jette comme tu veux, on s'occupe." Mais c'est nécessaire, puisque sinon on aurait des plateformes de déchets dans les centres-villes. Ici, les gens ne voient pas vraiment les déchets. Ils produisent un sac de déchets, et ils jettent ça tous les jours. Si on est à Cluj-Napoca, il y a 500 000 personnes, 500 000 sacs tous les jours, ... Et on s'en fout. "Je descends de chez moi, et je jette". Je l'appelle le Black Hole, on jette et ça disparaît. Ça on doit le changer, dans l'esprit des gens. Ça ne va pas loin, ça va juste à côté. Ça sent mal dans les villes parce qu'il y a des ... des ...

M : Ca sent mauvais ?

A : Oui, ça sent mauvais. Si tu es là en octobre, novembre, quand la pression atmosphérique descend, tu vas voir qu'il y a les odeurs qui viennent de la plateforme. On se demande ce qui sent comme ça.

- "C'est les vaches ?"

- "Non, ce n'est pas les vaches."

Je vous le recommande, c'est une attraction à Cluj-Napoca en octobre-novembre, dans le centre-ville. Rires. Mais après on met la faute sur les politiques ... mais c'est une responsabilité partagée. C'est toi, c'est moi, c'est les politiques, c'est les entreprises, c'est tout le monde. Je ne suis contre personne, c'est difficile pour l'administration. C'est pour ça que je me dis : "pourquoi vous essayez alors ? C'est pas votre domaine." Pour informer les gens, c'est à nous en fait. Peut-être que l'administration publique peut faire ça, peut informer les gens. C'est le plus important, ça et le contrôle des entreprises qui gèrent les déchets. Mais vraiment, laisser les entreprises faire ce qu'ils savent faire. Il y a des entreprises en Roumanie qui veulent faire les choses comme il faut, mais il faut augmenter tous les prix. On n'est pas habitués à payer pour les déchets. Dans l'esprit des roumains, 5 lei, ça suffit pour gérer les déchets, mais ce n'est pas vrai. Il faut payer 7-8 € (ndlr : 35-40 lei) par mois pour avoir des services comme en Allemagne, en Norvège, en France, comme partout ... Vous chez vous, quand vous avez des canapés, des armoires, vous faites quoi avec ? Vous allez avec ça à la déchetterie. Nous, on fait quoi ? On ne pense même pas que nous on doit s'occuper du transport. On le met là, dans un coin, dehors. Si tu vas dans les grands quartiers, à Mănăştur, Măraşti, où on collecte les déchets tout ça, tu vas voir ... Il y a ça en France aussi, mais ce que j'aime beaucoup en France : il y a des groupes Facebook, tu mets une annonce en disant "ça c'est là jusqu'à demain". J'ai trouvé des chaises, j'ai trouvé je ne sais pas quoi ... J'aimais beaucoup Toulouse, la mairie a fait une campagne trop cool. C'était "Pourquoi changer ton téléphone, puisque ça fait la même chose ?". Moi j'ai eu mon ancien téléphone pendant 4 ans, et après quelqu'un d'autre l'a réutilisé. C'est ça qu'il faut faire. Il y a eu d'autres campagnes, de réutilisation, pour dire de pas acheter tout le temps ... J'aimais beaucoup, mais en France, c'est la mairie qui détient tous les panneaux publicitaires. Chez nous, c'est "comment acheter plus". Mais t'as pas d'argent, donc. Rires.

A-M : Oui mais, quand on pense aux campagnes d'environnement pour la Roumanie, pour moi, comme citoyenne, le plus connu c'est Let's do it Romania.

A : Oui mais moi je ne suis pas d'accord avec ... déménager, de clean up, de nettoyer pour les autres. Faire ça une fois ? Oui, je fais. Parce que c'est des déchets historiques. Mais chaque année, si on le fait, ça veut dire travailler gratuitement pour les autres qui déposent des déchets dans la nature. C'est, c'est un cercle ...

M : Un cercle vicieux ?

A : Oui, et idiot aussi.

*Rires.*

A : Tu fais la même chose, tu regardes les déchets, tu dis "On a nettoyé !" et moi je dis "Bravo. Maintenant je peux déposer encore, il y a de place". Je suis d'accord une fois, deux fois, mais après il faut faire autre chose. Mais la mairie de Cluj-Napoca fait quelque chose de très cool, c'est qu'il y a des caméras partout. Ils essaient de trouver les voitures qui transitent vers les zones périphériques avec des déchets. Il y a 400 caméras à Cluj-Napoca. Ils voient ton visage, le numéro d'immatriculation, et ils essaient de te retrouver. Après, ça pose aussi d'autres problèmes ... C'est cool, puisque maintenant, ils essaient de trouver les gens qui déposent des déchets illégalement. Après, ils vont mettre encore 400, et 400, et ils vont savoir tout sur toi mais ... Les gens maintenant ils savent. Ils se disent qu'à Cluj-Napoca on ne peut pas, à Floresti on ne peut pas, donc ils vont plus loin. C'est une solution pour Cluj-Napoca, toujours. Moi, je connais beaucoup de gens qui font des campagnes de nettoyage. Je vais les aider, en montagne, dans la forêt. Le plus important c'est que ce ne soit pas dans la nature, mais il faut faire quelque chose d'autre. Moi, je vais en France pas mal, et dans la nature il n'y a pas beaucoup de déchets. Donc qu'est-ce qu'ils font ? Il faut regarder ça, les Allemands, les français. Ou les Italiens, les espagnols, puisque les français sont latins mais pas tant que ça. On ne peut pas imposer aux gens d'être comme les Norvégiens. Il faut regarder ce qu'ils ont fait à Barcelone. J'aime beaucoup le système de Barcelone par exemple, de toute la Catalogne.

M : Est-ce que vous avez connaissance d'initiatives du coup, de la part des citoyens ? Pour réduire les flux de déchets, pour réutiliser ?

A : Ça il y a. A Cluj, les gens savent de plus en plus, qu'il faut acheter local, ne pas prendre beaucoup d'emballages, prendre tes propres sacs ... Moi, j'achète local, je mets ça dans mon sac par exemple.

M : Mais pas des grands projets, des associations, des choses comme ça ?

A : Souffle ... A part des magasins qui récupèrent ... Je ne connais pas. Il n'y a pas vraiment de grands projets maintenant. Mais il faut en avoir, ça c'est clair. C'est difficile, et pas dur en même temps. Le problème des déchets est compliqué à gérer puisqu'on n'a pas d'infrastructures, et ce n'est pas difficile puisqu'on a des exemples. Quand tu as un exemple, il suffit de copier, en adaptant un peu. Avec le SMID, on va voir. Ça va commencer. Le problème c'est qu'on n'a pas la plateforme écologique active, c'est le plus important. Il doit y avoir un centre de tri, une plateforme pour le compost, nécessaire. Dans la région de Cluj, à 200 km à la ronde, il n'y a pas de plateforme de compost. Les technologies, on les a. Même si les gens mettent leurs déchets dans une seule poubelle, on a la technologie pour trier. Si on est réaliste, il n'y a pas besoin de trier. Donc en gros, c'est ça. Vous le savez déjà, peut-être. Je ne peux pas dire que c'est la faute de l'administration, c'est vraiment tout le monde. C'est la mairie qui est directement de la gestion des déchets, ils délèguent, mais ils manquent d'experts. Ils ont des gens qui ont travaillé une semaine dans ce domaine. Pour toute la Roumanie, on peut faire un grand plan, mais ça ne va pas marcher. La vérité semble sombre un peu, mais il y a beaucoup de gens qui travaillent, qui essayent. Je dis aux gens de venir travailler, un an, deux ans, et tu connais ce qu'il faut dans le domaine. On va y arriver. Ici, en Transylvanie, on n'est pas loin.

M : J'ai juste une dernière question. J'ai entendu parler de personnes qui travaillent à Pata Rât, parfois de manière formelle, parfois de manière informelle. Est-ce que vous avez des informations là-dessus ? Certaines entreprises peuvent employer une personne pour ... des petits contrats, des choses comme ça ...

A : Un jour ? Petits "contrats" oui.

*Fait mine de tendre de l'argent avec sa main. Rires.*

Oui. Eux, ils aiment comme ça, parce qu'il n'y a aucune obligation en général. Ils s'en foutent, même s'il y a un contrat. Tu fais un contrat aujourd'hui, et demain ils ne viennent pas au travail. Ça c'est eux, c'est l'administration qui les a mis là-bas mais c'est leur faute d'une part, oui tu les embauches, demain ils te disent "je pars, je n'ai pas envie", et après, c'est comme en France, pour trouver du travail qui est comme en France, c'est compliqué. Et

après les entreprises ils se fâchent. "Tu viens, je te paye. Non ? Bonne journée." Alors c'est pour ça que ça se passe comme ça. Ce n'est pas qu'ils n'ont pas d'argent. Eux, ils peuvent gagner comme tout le monde ici, 500-600€ par mois, peut-être plus. Ça dépend d'eux. C'est juste eux qui, en Roumanie, veulent travailler dans ce domaine. Donc, on les paye assez. Ce que moi je peux vous dire, c'est qu'ils gagnent comme les gens qui travaillent, 500, 600, 700€. Ça c'est ...Tu peux vivre, s'ils ne sont pas prétentieux. 2 personnes qui travaillent, c'est déjà bien. 2000-3000 lei, pour des gens qui travaillent sans spécialisation, c'est bien. S'ils font des heures supplémentaires, ils peuvent gagner vraiment beaucoup je pense. Il y a des gens qui sont très sérieux, il y a des gens qui sont juste comme ça, comme je vous ai dit ... Je peux vous donner un contact qui a travaillé sur ce problème. Depuis 20 ans, 30 ans, c'est la même chose. La solution est simple : il faut déménager, qu'il y ait des autres maisons sociales, et c'est bon. Et après, garantir des emplois. Tu ne peux pas les obliger, mais tu peux créer cet espace, sur place, autre part, plus organisé, plus contrôlé. Mais si on s'en fout, on s'en fout. Je vais vous donner un contact. Je vais demander.

M : Oui, OK.

A : Je préfère demander ...

M : (à Ana-Maria) Est-ce que tu vois des choses ... ?

A-M : Je voulais vous demander, est-ce qu'on peut avoir une discussion sur l'économie circulaire ? On peut parler de Cluj-Napoca comme une localité où on parle déjà de l'économie circulaire ? Moi j'ai vu quelques initiatives de l'Institut Français de Cluj ...

A : Non. Plus tard. Il faut prendre le problème en Roumanie comme ça, en étapes. On parle d'économie circulaire, mais maintenant, on a Pata Rât. Il n'y a pas de raisons de parler de ça. On a des problèmes de collecte, de solutions pour les déchets. L'économie circulaire, c'est déjà 20 ans en avant. J'ai participé à toutes les discussions, je connais ... C'est très bien de parler. Moi je suis comme ça. On parle du futur, mais il faut aller voir le terrain. Discuter, le blabla, il y a du temps. L'économie circulaire, peut-être en Norvège, en Suède, mais pas chez nous. Dans 5 ans, on aura la plateforme ... Ce n'est pas pour dire que ce n'est pas intéressant ou qu'il ne faut pas le faire. Je connais très bien, j'ai un intérêt pour ça, je lis beaucoup sur ça. Mais à un moment donné, j'ai dit : "Ce n'est pas pour moi, pas maintenant." Il faut être franc, moi je pense, dans ce domaine. Il y a beaucoup de gens qui sont philosophes, rêveurs, mais les gens qui changent les choses sont ceux qui sont réalistes. Ils voient le problème, ils le résolvent. Après, on pourra voir comment commencer l'économie circulaire en Roumanie. Ici, il y a toujours des gens qui jettent leurs déchets dans les rivières, des déchets toxiques. Les stations d'épuration, 0. Rires. A Cluj, ça va, l'eau du robinet c'est bon. Mais va autre part ... L'eau n'est pas un déchet, mais une fois que tu as ouvert le robinet c'est un déchet. On pourrait vraiment le recycler, c'est à ça que servent les stations d'épuration. C'est un autre problème, ce n'est pas mon expertise. J'ai des amis qui travaillent dedans, ils me disent : "Tu ne veux pas savoir ce que tu bois, ce qu'il y a dans les stations d'épuration. Tu sais ce que tu bois ? C'est mieux que tu ne saches pas." Rires. C'est peut-être la même chose dans d'autres pays, je ne sais pas. Ici à Cluj, on a la chance que les montagnes soient proches et l'eau propre. Mais tu vas dans le Sud ... c'est autre chose. Il y a des zones ... L'eau, il faut penser à ça aussi. Bon, ça dépend ce que vous voulez obtenir, ce que vous voulez apprendre.

M : Rires. Beaucoup de choses !

A : Je l'ai fait beaucoup de fois, expliquer aux gens ce qu'il se passe. On a une étude, qui dit "ça c'est la réalité". "On savait, merci." Tu comprends ? Ils ont essayé de comprendre ce qu'il se passe à Cluj, en Roumanie, bon ... Il faut peut-être aller avec cette étude, je ne sais pas, trouver des solutions, faire quelque chose avec. Chaque jour en Roumanie, tu vois sur Facebook, des photos de personnes dont les déchets ne sont pas collectés. Il faut que tu me dises ce que tu as compris après. Peut-être que ça t'intéresse de venir travailler dans le domaine, c'est ce que je propose à tout le monde, on a besoin de gens pour travailler. On a besoin de gens qui travaillent, et qui pensent dans le futur, où on doit arriver, comment améliorer tout le temps.

M : Pourquoi pas ! D'accord.

A : Je vais essayer de voir avec la personne qui a travaillé sur Pata Rât. La plateforme écologique, on a mis 150 millions d'€, quelque chose comme ça, et elle est ... dangereuse pour la nature. Elle n'est pas bien faite. Quand on va commencer à déposer une grande quantité de déchets, elle a le risque de se déplacer, et qu'on ait un problème de désastre écologique, avec les ... les liquides ...

M : Les lixiviats ?

A : Les lixiviats, j'apprends quelque chose.

A-M : Moi aussi, chaque jour j'apprends un mot sur la gestion des déchets.

*Rires.*

M : Merci beaucoup pour cet entretien !

A : Merci aussi. J'espère que ça va être utile, et que ça va aider à trouver la solution. On dit tout le temps : "il y a un problème, il y a un problème ...", mais il y a des entreprises qui travaillent. C'est dur de réussir quand il n'y a pas beaucoup d'argent. Pour le profit, c'est mieux de construire des immeubles, des bâtiments, à Cluj-Napoca. Il n'y a pas de gros profit. Quand il y a du profit c'est bien déjà, mais le problème c'est que certaines années tu vas en pertes. Tu fais des investissements, ils sont chers. On parle de centaines de milliers, de millions d'euros. Tu vas dans la rue, tu dis "ça ne marche pas", "ça coule partout", mais le problème c'est que c'est cher d'acheter des dizaines de voitures comme ça pour Cluj-Napoca.

## Entretien n°2 - Mme Raluca Matei au sein de l'Institut français de Cluj.

*Le rendez-vous a lieu à 10h30, dehors. Il se termine un peu avant 11h30. Au départ, Mme Matei nous a présenté rapidement la médiathèque et la « cave » de l'Institut, servant à des projections et à des expositions. Les activités de l'IFC sont évoquées rapidement.*

Marie : Merci.

Raluca : Donc le développement durable est une priorité de l'Institut et de l'Ambassade de France depuis plusieurs années. Depuis dix ans, nous organisons les rencontres européennes de Transylvanie avec l'Ambassade de France. C'est un événement coorganisé. Depuis ... C'était toujours sur le développement durable, mais depuis quelques années, c'est ... ça parle beaucoup d'économie circulaire. Au début c'était un format plus de conférences, d'experts français et roumains, d'autorités locales et sociétés civiles, qui se rencontraient et échangeaient des bonnes pratiques et des idées, mais depuis 2019 nous avons changé dans un format « Hackathon ». Les participants s'inscrivent. C'était surtout des participants roumains mais on a aussi eu en 2019, il y a aussi eu des participants français. Ils s'inscrivent et ils travaillent en équipes pour trouver des solutions à des questions plus précises ... On a, en 2019, je dois vérifier, mais je crois que c'était précisément l'économie circulaire et la transition vers une ... Je vérifie le terme exact, si c'était la transition vers le Smart City ou ... Et 2020, on n'a pas pu organiser l'évènement. Cette année, nous l'avons organisé sous la forme d'un hackathon en ligne. Nous avons eu 135 participants. Une vingtaine d'experts français et roumains qui étaient mentors de ces équipes, 18 équipes, et un jury aussi formé de français et de roumains. La thématique était la gestion des déchets plastiques : comment réduire l'utilisation des plastiques ... On a eu 15 projets présentés à la fin, ça a duré 3 jours, et 3 équipes gagnantes qui ont reçu des prix financiers du sponsor, mais aussi 3 mois de « mentoring » pour développer leurs projets. Voilà ... ça c'est ... c'est mon ... collègue à l'ambassade, il est très centré sur le développement durable. Ils organisent plusieurs événements. D'ailleurs il y a un événement qui a lieu à Cluj, en ligne ... bientôt ... sur cette thématique. Par exemple, là ils ont organisé un ... séminaire. Ils le font sur l'agriculture urbaine. Réfléchie.

*Silence.*

M : Est-ce que vous voudriez aussi, pour remettre les choses dans leur contexte, vous présenter ? Me dire ... voilà, comment vous en êtes arrivées à votre position ici, votre emploi, comment vous avez commencé à développer des projets initialement ?

R : Oui ! Donc je m'appelle Raluca Matei. Je suis chargée de la culture et de la communication à l'Institut français de Roumanie. Je travaille ici depuis 2008. J'ai ... Sur cette question de l'écologie, on – Institut français ? - était toujours intéressé par ça, on a toujours ... essayé de communiquer, de parler d'écologie. On a, ces derniers temps, on essaye et on réussit d'être nous-mêmes plus écologistes. C'est-à-dire que dans les événements, de ne plus

utiliser du plastique, d'éviter d'imprimer trop d'affiches, de brochures, ... On favorise la communication électronique, avec la pandémie c'est clair, mais même avant on faisait ça. Volonté d'écologie mais est-ce que conscience de l'impact du numérique ? N'est-ce pas aussi surtout une manière de se mettre à la page niveau communication ? On organise plusieurs festivals et dans les festivals, on essaye d'avoir des ... poubelles pour la sélection, le tri sélectif des déchets. En général, de faire des choses qui sont plus durables et non pas utiliser du jetable. Cette communication, ça porte sur plusieurs volets. Donc il y a aussi une partie vers le public, on fait des expositions sur la gestion des déchets, la biodiversité, ... des sujets liés à l'écologie pour le public jeune. Pour les adultes, on a eu des expositions plus scientifiques, mais aussi des projets dédiés aux enfants. Des ateliers pour les enfants, pour travailler avec des bouteilles, des choses comme ça, et les transformer en objets utiles. Nous travaillons aussi avec la société civile locale pour des ateliers comme ça. Et aussi pour ... Il y a des projets de financement de l'Ambassade aussi, qui soutiennent leurs initiatives. Je vais vous donner quelques contacts d'associations locales qui travaillent sur cette question. La plus récente c'est Clujul Sustenabil, avec Marius Mornea. Une autre c'est Scientifica, qui fait beaucoup de projets sur le recyclage du plastique. Cette association artistique qui a exposé ici chez nous, c'est Art-Mirror.

M : Hm hm.

R : Il y a aussi une association qui s'appelle PATRIR (*ndlr : Peace Action Training and Research Institute of Romania*). Même s'ils sont plutôt sur la paix et la démocratie, leur président, il est très intéressé par la question écologique, et je me souviens qu'il a fait une réunion avec tous les grands organisateurs d'événements culturels de Cluj pour leur apprendre à rendre leurs événements plus verts. ...Voilà ... Donc en plus de cette partie de communication, nous avons aussi une partie de communication, avec ces rencontres européennes de Transylvanie, qui amène ensemble les décideurs locaux de France et de Roumanie, des entreprises, des universitaires, des étudiants et la société civile, pour parler de problématiques actuelles et ces derniers temps, surtout liées au développement durable.

M : D'accord ... ça rentre dans une programmation particulière que vous avez eu à l'Institut ? D'où ça émerge ? C'est à cause de l'Ambassade, c'est une coopération ... ? Ça se passe comment ?

R : Je ne suis pas très sûre mais ... je crois que c'est une priorité du Ministère. ... Je ne suis pas très sûre ...

M : D'accord.

R : Oui. Et de toute façon, sur cette partie, l'Ambassade elle a plusieurs concours de financements pour des projets liés au DD. Un s'appelle ... Sustainable Cities ... Je vais regarder ...

*Regarde son téléphone.*

A – M : Avec Clujul Sustenabil, j'ai déjà parlé ... pour avoir un rendez-vous, ils vont me recontacter.

M : Et j'ai noté le contact de Art-Mirror, je les ai trouvés sur les réseaux sociaux.

A-M : Ah !

R : Pour ? Oui, Art-Mirror, elle s'appelle Cristina Cantemir ...

M : Est-ce que vous coopérez aussi avec la municipalité aussi ?

R : Bien sûr, d'ailleurs la municipalité est partenaire dans les rencontres européennes chaque année ...

M : D'accord, c'est un partenaire ...

R : Oui, M. Emil Boc (*ndlr : le maire de Cluj-Napoca*) a ouvert l'évènement cette année, avec l'Ambassadrice de France, ils ont ouvert l'évènement. Vous voyez sur le site de l'Ambassade, il y a un volet Transition Écologique et Développement Durable, et il y a beaucoup d'évènements. Vous pourrez voir là, la troisième édition du concours de bonnes pratiques sur la ville durable, à destination des collectivités territoriales urbaines, conférences villes durables, colloques sur l'agriculture urbaine ... Les Assises de la Coopération ... Ils ont organisé aussi un colloque sur la biodiversité. Donc oui, nous travaillons avec la municipalité, sur des évènements. Cluj a deux villes jumelées en France, Nantes et Dijon. Nous travaillons aussi sur cette coopération. Avec Dijon, il y a maintenant un échange

de volontaires internationaux. Nous avons un volontaire international qui travaille avec nous et avec la mairie. Avec Nantes, nous sommes en train de mettre en place un projet de création d'un mur d'arts graphiques, à Cluj et à Nantes, pour célébrer 30 ans de jumelage. Ça va être un échange d'artistes, financé par les deux mairies et par des associations locales d'artistes à Cluj et à Nantes.

M : Donc ... vous avez l'impression que ces événements se passent bien ... ? Quels impacts ils ont, pour vous, sur les personnes, sur le public ? Est-ce que ce sont des personnes déjà sensibilisées ? Ou est-ce qu'elles apprennent ?

R : Quand il s'agit de débats ou d'ateliers, il s'agit souvent de personnes déjà sensibilisées à ces sujets. Mais quand il s'agit d'expositions pour le grand public, d'ateliers pour les enfants, ce n'est pas nécessairement le cas. D'ailleurs on peut voir que ce sont souvent les jeunes, les enfants, qui apprennent le recyclage à leurs parents. Ou les parents qu'ils l'apprennent aux grands-parents, qui essaient de convaincre qu'il faut recycler, changer un peu le mode de gestion des déchets chez soi, à la maison. Après à Cluj, vous savez qu'il y a un grand débat avec la décharge, Pata Rât, qui est un problème écologique, social ... Et ça, ça concerne un peu tout le monde. Tout le monde veut que le problème soit résolu. Tous les clujois. On ne peut pas se vanter d'être une grande capitale européenne, régionale, et d'être une Smart City, et avoir ce grand problème de gestion des déchets, qui va avec un problème social de communauté marginalisée. Donc quand on parle de déchets à Cluj, tout le monde va vous mentionner Pata Rât, je ne sais pas si vous êtes déjà allées ?

A-M : Lundi.

M : Oui, on va y aller, la semaine prochaine, lundi.

R : Oui, oui, oui ... C'est assez ... impressionnant. C'est un problème écologique aussi parce qu'il y a parfois des incendies, toute la ville est affectée par la qualité de l'air. Il y a plusieurs problèmes liés à ça ...

M : On nous a parlé aussi d'odeurs ... en octobre-novembre ...

*Rires.*

R : Aussi avec les oiseaux ... Les corbeaux ? Qui s'installent là-bas, et ensuite passent par toute la ville ... C'est un problème très complexe ! Tous les clujois veulent une déchetterie écologique, un système de gestion écologique, qu'ils sont en train de construire mais ... Je ne sais pas. Ça prend du temps, ça prend beaucoup plus de temps que prévu. Mais ... C'est une priorité. Avec l'autoroute, les clujois souhaitent avoir une autoroute. Mais même si Monsieur le Maire il est très apprécié, puisqu'il a été élu quatre fois je crois environ, ça reste un problème qu'il n'a pas réussi à résoudre durant tous ses mandats. On espère qu'avant sa retraite, on pourra résoudre ça !

M : Vous pensez que c'est dû à quoi du coup, qu'il n'est pas réussi à résoudre ça ?

R : Ah je ne connais pas tous les détails ... Je sais que c'est un problème aussi du Conseil départemental, la déchetterie n'est pas à la Mairie mais au Conseil Départemental ... Je ne sais pas, je sais qu'il y a eu des fonds européens ...

A-M : On va se rencontrer avec eux la semaine prochaine.

R : Oui. Ils pourront vous expliquer. Moi, seulement comme citoyen, je ne sais pas grand-chose ...

M : D'accord ... et donc là, les prochains projets que vous avez, quand ça va réouvrir, quand les rencontres vont reprendre ... ?

R : Hmm ... pour l'instant nous avons fin mai un idéathon pour la création en ligne, d'un jeu-vidéo éducatif, un « serious game », pour les jeunes... pour « développer leur responsabilisation », donc ça peut porter sur des sujets écologiques aussi, pourquoi pas. Ça c'est fin mai, ensuite nous avons un festival de films très courts, de maximum 4 minutes avec plus de 150 films. Ça aura lieu physiquement, en plein air dans la cour, si on peut, sinon au cinéma. Nous avons aussi une autre exposition, le festival du film français en juin-juillet, des projets de formation, d'ateliers-débats liés aux industries créatives et culturelles. Nous avons commencé par les BD, la littérature. On va continuer avec cinéma, musiques et jeux-vidéo ... C'est des ateliers, qui sont réalisés par des spécialistes

français et les débats c'est avec des acteurs français, roumains ... par exemple pour le cinéma on peut parler de la dématérialisation des films et du cinéma, pour la musique de la production et la diffusion, ... C'est des sujets plutôt liés à l'industrie, pas forcément grand public.

M : D'accord ... Plein de choses de prévues ! Est-ce que le public de l'Institut français, c'est plutôt des personnes qui viennent de Cluj-Napoca, ou est-ce qu'il y a aussi des personnes qui viennent des communes autour ?

R : D'habitude c'est des clujois, mais nous avons aussi des gens qui viennent des villes autour. Par exemple, je me souviens qu'il y a ...une entreprise française, ça existe toujours, qui faisait des meubles. La gérante de cette entreprise était française et elle faisait venir ses employés au cours de français chez nous avec le bus. Donc ils venaient une fois par semaine prendre des cours ici. Maintenant avec les cours en ligne, c'est plus facile d'atteindre un public nouveau, qui n'est pas clujois, mais qui habite à Zalău, à Baia Mare ... autour, dans la Transylvanie mais assez loin de Cluj. Trop loin pour se déplacer pour prendre un cours, ou pour venir à un événement, mais qui peut venir ici car nous avons l'expertise dans l'enseignement, à distance.

M : Ok ...

R : Ah et je voulais dire aussi ! Il y a aussi les étudiants français qui ... Vous savez qu'il y a quelques 1 500 étudiants français à Cluj, en médecine, pharmacie, vétérinaire ... Ils nous fréquentent aussi. Surtout au début de leurs études ! Après ils se font des amis et on les voit plus !

*Rires.*

R : On travaille de près avec eux, on essaye d'aider à leur intégration ici, puisqu'ils passent six ans ici.

M : C'est sûr que ça doit être impressionnant ! ... Est-ce que vous avez connaissance d'autres projets, en dehors de l'Institut, qui sont montés par des citoyens de Cluj, de la zone métropolitaine, en ce qui concerne les déchets, la réduction des déchets, l'économie circulaire ... ?

R : Oui. En plus des associations que j'ai mentionné, Clujul Sustenabil, Scientifica, ... Il y a un projet de budget participatif de la mairie qui est un concours en fait, où même les citoyens peuvent proposer des projets pour leurs quartiers ou leur ville, et la mairie finance une partie des projets gagnants du budget participatif. Il y a eu plusieurs initiatives liées à la gestion des déchets dans la cadre de ce budget participatif.

A-M : J'ai oublié mais je vais te montrer où j'ai vu ça.

*Rires.*

R : Après, il y a aussi une partie politique disons. Il y a Mihai Goțiu, qui était sénateur pour Cluj, qui est un grand activiste de l'environnement. Il a écrit un livre et il a participé aux manifestations contre Rosia Montana, le projet d'exploitation minière avec le cyanure ici à côté, dans le județ de Alba, mais bon c'est très lié à Cluj. Et donc il est devenu sénateur, et il a beaucoup fait pour la protection des forêts et des espaces verts. Il y a aussi Adrian Dohotar, qui était député et qui est aussi très actif de ce point de vue. Il a beaucoup travaillé sur la ... le développement des espaces verts dans la ville, l'accessibilité des espaces verts ... Il est toujours en train de faire des campagnes, d'ailleurs il a ouvert sa propre association qui s'appelle SOS. Au début c'était un groupe civique, et là cette année il l'a transformé en association.

A-M : Marie a déjà pris contact avec M. Istvan, on a vu qu'il a un intérêt pour le sujet de Pata Rât.

R : Oui, oui, oui, Istvan, ils ont fait un grand projet à Pata Rât. Il va vous expliquer, il connaît beaucoup mieux que moi, mais il y a aussi eu des ateliers, des formations, des choses comme ça, avec des habitants, et ils ont même déplacé des familles. Ils les ont relogés. Il y a des familles qui ont changé de logement.

M : Le nom du projet c'était Pata-Cluj, quelque chose comme ça ?

R : Oui, c'était un projet financé par des fonds norvégiens. Il y a un film ... Ça a eu un impact important je pense dans la communauté, mais ils ont réussi à reloger dix familles, et il y a beaucoup plus de familles dans cette communauté. Ils ont aidé les citoyens en tout, mais pour les sortir de là, ce n'était pas ... Istvan pourra vous raconter.

M : D'accord.

R : Et je disais que ce mouvement contre Rosia Montana, il a été très fort ici à Cluj. Il y a eu de grandes manifestations de rues contre le projet d'exploitation minière. Elles ont été un succès ces manifestations, puisque le projet a été arrêté. Ça a donné beaucoup de confiance aux gens et ça a fait monter une conscience écologique. Ils se sont rendu compte que oui, exploiter avec du cyanure, ce n'est pas ... Puisqu'au début, c'était quelque chose d'assez abstrait. Mais au fur et à mesure, il y a eu beaucoup de monde qui a décidé de sortir dans la rue et de protester contre ce projet. Et ils ont réussi à l'arrêter !

M : C'était en quelle année ?

A-M : Juste avant les élections ... ?

R : Ça a duré parce que ...

*Silence. Raluca recherche des informations sur internet.*

M : Vous avez eu beaucoup d'entrées avec Art-Mirror ?

R : Pas énormément puisque c'était la pandémie, il n'y a pas eu beaucoup de passage. Mais les vidéos que nous avons enregistrées pour présenter cette projection, elles ont été très diffusées. Art-Mirror a même organisé un débat en ligne, pour parler de l'art soutenable, pourquoi faire de l'art soutenable ... Je ne trouve pas mes ...

*Regarde sur son téléphone.*

M : Je vais regarder aussi, oui.

R : Depuis 2013, il y a eu les protests.

A-M : Moi-même j'ai participé ...

R : Moi aussi !

*Rires.*

R : C'est marqué (*ndlr : en faisant référence à ce qu'elle voit sur internet*) : « Rosia Montana, révolution de notre génération. » Et c'est un peu ... C'était comme une révolution. Les gens se sont décidés de sortir, de lutter contre ce projet.

A – M : Mais ils ne sont pas sortis seulement dans Cluj. Ils sont sortis dans tout le pays. C'était une cause commune, avec la communauté qui vivait là-bas, près de Rosia Montana.

R : C'était 2013-2014. La campagne ça s'appelait « Salvati Rosia Montana » donc « Sauvez Rosia Montana ». Mais ils disent que depuis dix ans, dix ans avant, il y avait déjà des actions de protest. Ils disent ici : « c'est devenu le plus grand mouvement de résistance nationale après 90. » Oh et on parle d'écologie, vous pouvez parler aussi avec Declic, qui était impliqué aussi dans le mouvement de Rosia Montana. Ils font beaucoup de pétitions, d'actions civiques, pour lutter contre diverses choses, mais souvent c'est des choses liées à l'écologie, à la protection des forêts, à la gestion des déchets ... Même à Cluj, ils ont fait des choses concernant la gestion des déchets. Ils travaillent sur des projets nationaux mais aussi locaux. Le contact c'est Luminita Dejeu.

A-M : Mais toutes ces personnes, Adrian, Mihai, ... ont fait partie du même noyau civique. Et après, chaque personne a essayé de ... je ne sais pas ... focaliser son attention sur un problème de la société.

M : Qu'est-ce que tu entends par un « même noyau civique » ?

A-M : Ils étaient tous impliqués dans le mouvement Rosia Montana.

M : Ok, je pense qu'on est bon ... Petite dernière question peut-être : Pour vous à l'avenir, comment ça va se passer à Cluj, au niveau de l'environnement, de la gestion des déchets ... ?



R : Personnellement je pense que beaucoup de progrès a été fait avant la pandémie, pour la conscience des clujois, sur les déchets. Moi-même et les gens autour de moi, nous essayons d'acheter des choses en vrac, d'éviter le plastique ... Mais avec la pandémie, et ce n'est pas juste les citoyens, c'est aussi les magasins qui ont répondu à ce besoin : ils ont réintroduit les sacs en plastique biodégradable, ils ont mis une taxe sur les sacs en plastique ... Avant on pouvait prendre autant de sacs qu'on voulait ! Tout le monde prenait des sacs et des sacs et des sacs ... Donc ils ont commencé à travailler de plus près avec les producteurs locaux, pour faire des circuits courts, ... Les magasins ont essayé, et ils essayent toujours, de répondre à cette demande du public, pour mieux gérer le plastique et les déchets, mais avec la pandémie ça a un peu changé. J'ai même vu des campagnes à la télé qui disaient : « N'achetez pas du pain en vrac, achetez du pain emballé ! » Parce que ça peut transmettre le covid. Et puis il y a tous les déchets médicaux. Les gens, avec la pandémie, ils ont commencé à nouveau à préférer les aliments super-emballés. Des pommes, qui sont dans une barquette, et dans un plastique ... parce qu'elles sont plus protégées, il n'y a pas autant de monde qui les touche. J'espère qu'après la pandémie, on pourra revenir, et que ça ne va pas affecter à long-terme nos options d'achats. Je pense que c'est ça le futur : il faudra, peut-être ne plus passer par toutes les étapes, que la France a connu avec le recyclage, mais essayer juste de réduire à la source. De créer des emballages plus écologiques, de réduire les emballages, plutôt que d'insister sur tout emballer en plastique et d'essayer de le recycler.

M : ... Ok ! Merci beaucoup !

### Entretien n°3 – Anonyme - responsable environnement, filiale basée à Cluj-Napoca.

*Entretien avec un responsable environnement au sein d'une filiale d'une multinationale basée à Cluj. Autorisation obtenue pour enregistrement, avec anonymisation. 13h, le 14.05.2020, salle de conférence de l'entreprise. L'entretien dure environ 45min.*

M : It's juste in order to gather your experience, point of view (ndlr : M. \*\*\*\*\* ayant besoin de l'autorisation de son entreprise pour donner des informations spécifiques) ... So, would you like to introduce yourself first, maybe ?

Interviewé : Yes. My name is \*\*\*\*\*. I am the environment responsible of \*\*\*\*\* here, in Cluj-Napoca, and also of another site we opened recently, in June, this year. I am responsible of the environment in these two sites, of monitoring environmental autorizations, permits, everything related to waste management, chemicals, sustainability, and ... recently I took over a new project regarding business continued plan, so this is my area of responsibility.

M : D'accord ... and how did you come to work here, in \*\*\*\*\* ?

Interviewé : I was passionate about environment, I started in environmental engineering. I did my master's degree in environmental engineering in Cluj-Napoca technical university and then I got a scholarship, an Erasmus' scholarship in Barcelona. I returned to finish my studies and then I went to Zalau, where I started to work as an environmental engineer, it was a good start in my career. After one year, approximatively, I saw this opportunity to come to move back to Cluj and yeah, in 2016 I started to work here, came to \*\*\*\*\*. I stayed here, it's a good job, a nice company, with a lot of opportunities. There are a lot of things to improve regarding environment here. This is my focus mainly, to improve our environment performance. Everything regarding ... and probably later we will talk about the results because, or regarding waste management, or other measures we implemented in regard to the environment.

M : Ok, so you would say that's the main activity of \*\*\*\*\* or ... what's the main activity of \*\*\*\*\* ?

Interviewé : \*\*\*\*\* has more activities, several business here with different industrial activities, from industrial and domestic gaz regulators, flow meters, it's another business unite. The third activity is industrial automation, producing automation equipment for different industries. The last one, the fourth activity, the fourth business unite, is producing lightning equipment for high-risk of explosions atmospheres.

M : And ... why is \*\*\*\*\* based in Cluj ? Maybe it's a silly question !

Interviewé : Yes ! It's not a silly question but ... \*\*\*\*\* is based in Cluj since 200\*, probably they chose this location because it's an important university center, in Transylvania, there are a lot of students, a lot of qualified workers, and this is what \*\*\*\*\* needs to have the best employees and the best performance.

M : Ok ... so you probably know a lot about waste management in Cluj and Cluj-Napoca, would you explain to me, in a few words, how it works ? What are the actors in play here ?

Interviewé : Yes ... Even though there is a national legislation and selected waste collection implemented since 2019, things were not very, were not going in a good direction, for a long time. Mostly, the companies implemented selective waste collection, and the industrial sector was the sector where waste management improved in the last years, at the beginning of this period, because we are obliged to implement the legislation. We have yearly, or sometimes more often inspections of the National Environmental Guard. But, we all know that in Romania, the waste management is still a problem, and in the last years, I would say 2 years, things started to change. Most of the landfills that are not according to the legislation, with the possibility of sorting or making compost from waste, started to be closed, and new landfills were built in order to assure a proper waste management. If we are talking about Cluj-Napoca, about our city, of course, there is an improvement and I was glad to see that people started to select waste. I saw an improvement in the area, the neighbourhood where I live. I saw the waste collectors try, at least, to collect waste in different, with a different schedule, different types of waste, and this is an improvement for the waste management in Cluj.

*Silence.*

Interviewé : We are working hard here. We have almost 3000 employees and they are generating waste here and also at home, so this is one of our focus, to make them understand, this is how we are trying to contribute to the local community. We are trying to improve, and to make them aware about the waste management impact, the environmental impact regarding waste management. We saw a ... We are making a lot of activities with our employees, such as recycling competitions with very interesting prizes. We are trying to motivate them and to make them aware of the waste management impact of a proper segregation of waste. Yes, it's good so far, there are still opportunities to improve waste management and circular economy but ... it's not an activity that we are doing in one night, from that one day to another. It's a continuous process we are implementing.

M : You're living in Cluj-Napoca ? You were talking about your neighbourhood ...

Interviewé : Yes, I live in Cluj-Napoca, in Marasti.

M : Ok ... maybe the situation could be different in more rural localities ?

Interviewé : Yes. It may be a problem but I think the most, the highest volume of waste generated in this area is produced in Cluj-Napoca and the cities around Cluj, here. I saw some statistics regarding waste, waste generation in metropolitan areas in Romania, and most waste generated in villages is biodegradable waste and usually they don't throw it, they use it to make compost in their garden, which is good, in my opinion. My grandmother also, is doing this. I think it's a good way of recovering waste.

M : ... So, are the actors involved in waste management in Cluj near reaching their goals concerning recycling, collecting ... ?

Interviewé : In order to improve the circular economy and also, to increase the recycling rates, recycled quantities of waste, there are specific targets especially for packaging, and packaging waste. \*\*\*\*\* also has targets to fulfill yearly. We have to declare a monthly declaration to the environmental fund, to prove that we managed to perform our objectives, our recycling objectives. So we have a wood packaging, plastic packaging, cardboard and paper and glass packaging, or metal packaging. These are the main sorts ... kinds of packaging we use, and also the waste we produce, and we have to provide a monthly fiscal declaration to the environmental funds, to prove that we fulfilled our objectives. So the actors are the :

- generators, the companies or the population
- waste collectors, we only work with authorized waste collectors, and even if we are talking about recycled waste or hazardous waste,
- Installations, where the waste are recycled, or recovered, or eliminated, landfilled, depending on the type of waste.

M : You were talking about waste collectors. As a citizen, do you know anything about the informal waste collectors in the city ?

Interviewé : Informal collectors ? Are you talking about people collecting waste in order to sell it to other collectors ?

M & A-M : Yes.

Interviewé : Because there are some, I see them, of course. I don't know what to say ... If people are not properly segregating waste, then I think it's good. Then there are people who are, poor people or homeless people, who are collecting waste. This is what I saw also in Barcelona, people collecting different types of waste and then they go to sell it and get some money. I wish, in Romania, this type of activity would disappear in the next period. I hope a short period of time. And I hope people will understand finally that waste can be a resource and that we have to use it to improve to improve the circular economy, to bring it back to the economy.

M : Did you see any changes during the covid crisis, or right now, because of the covid crisis, regarding waste management here ?

Interviewé : In our facility ?

M : In your facility, or Cluj, or ...

Interviewé : Yes. Regarding our facility, there was a ... we saw a decrease of waste, the quantity of waste generated, and I am going to show you the results of the comparison between 2016 and 2020.

*Saisi son ordinateur portable et cherche dans ses fichiers.*

Interviewé : But ... I like to be able to see the evolution of our employees, per year, and how our activities help our employees reduce their environmental impact. Our focus is to landfill as ... small quantities of waste, and to recover or to recycle as much as we can. Sorry for my english, sometimes ...

*Rires.*

M : It's ok, it's ok !

A-M : Do you know if there are similar companies in Cluj, like you, who have the same purpose ?

M : The same policies, you mean ?

A-M : Yes.

Interviewé : Bosch company has ... I know the environmental responsible and the waste management responsible at Bosch. We have some common projects which involved our companies in activities like Let's dot it ! Romania. I'm not sure about other companies, if they which these kinds of targets implemented and if they are following up this, the waste management in their companies. So ...

*Nous montre des informations sur son ordinateur.*

Interviewé : It's a slide ... There are some measures we implemented. First of all, because we have almost 2500 employees in the office environment, and approximately 350 workers in the operations. When I came and first started to analyze the situation, I tried to improve the waste management. My conclusion was that the first and the most important measure was to eliminate the personal bin. It was the main source of mixed waste, because people didn't care if they had a plastic bottle or a banana or ... biodegradable waste. They mix it together, and that was all the waste produced, a high volume of waste. After implementing these measures, we saw the results, and we had a better ... We proved our cost efficiency, we started to pay less and to use the money on other activities to improve environmental performance and to motivate our employees to segregate waste. So, we eliminated all the bins under the desks and we put those kinds of bins, we have everywhere in Cluj. We are using the colors suggested by the legislation : yellow, blue and black, or green for glass. We implemented selective waste collection also on the smoking areas, which were also a source of mixed waste, because people were putting all ... single-use cups, coffee cups, plastic bottles, cigarettes. We bought the first vending machine. Plastic is a problem, everywhere, but we try to eliminate this issue, and to improve our plastic collecting. We bought a reverse-vending machine which is probably for supermarkets, but I think we are the first company in Cluj, with that industrial profile, who bought this equipment. When we contacted our supplier, they told us "Are you a

supermarket or ?” “No, we are a company” “Then why do you need it ?” “Because we have 3000 employees here, lots of packaging, and we want to improve the collection of waste.” This was one of the first measures I implemented and I saw the results really fast, because the volume of waste decreased a lot. All the plastic was going in the general waste bin and it caused a high volume of waste. Then, we replaced the single-use packaging in the canteen, and started using certified biodegradable packaging. We organized different activities, contests for our employees, to improve ... We have the “Clean Up” week, where we have a recycling competition. Two weeks ago, we had a group of volunteers from \*\*\*\*\* who participated in an ... ecologization ?

*Rires.*

Interviewé : An activity, on the 23rd of April, on Earth Day. We wanted to help the community and the authorities, we got involved in a project to improve environmental quality around Somes river, next to \*\*\*\*\*. So we collected almost 2.5 tonnes of waste landfilled, I think, illegally.

A-M : Is it close to Pata Rât ?

Interviewé : *Réponse en roumain.*

Interviewé : And then, of course, environmental inspections. We are checking our activity, our contractors, our suppliers. We want to make sure everyone is respecting our procedures, our policy regarding waste management, and that finally we are fulfilling our recycling target. So ! I have a comparison between 2016 and 2020. We had only ... No, sorry, this is 2017 up to the first months of 2021. Of course, we saw, after the pandemic started, in march, the waste volume decreased, but as I can see, in january, we started with only 14 cubic meters per month, which is a great result and a great economic benefit for our company. Also, if in 2016 we had a 55 recovery rate, we had 87 in 2020. Also, the volume of waste landfilled decreased a lot. This a confirmation our strategy works, and yes, this is a good result for our community, for Cluj, for Cluj area waste management, because there is less volume of waste generated and landfilled by one of the big companies.

M : Have you seen ... your employees, any of the habits they have taken in \*\*\*\*\* , do they bring them home ?

Interviewé : This is what we want to do and we hope that, if our employees understand the importance of selective waste collection and waste recycling, they will do it at home as well. I think this problem will be solved by education, and our universities, our schools, are not focused on this type of ... They should start on the first grade, with these principles, and the people will understand but ... They didn't teach me this at school. So education is a key factor in improving waste management and this is what we are trying to do : change their behaviour and their way of thinking regarding waste.

M : And ... Citizens of Cluj in general, according to you, how are they included in the waste management policy ? ... Have you seen a lot of education, like you said ? How could we really make them feel more included in the process of sorting waste, for example ?

Interviewé : Well ... One of the biggest issues regarding waste management in Cluj ... This is the feedback I get, it's “Why should I segregate waste, why should I collect it selectively, if the same car gets plastic and cardboard and general waste altogether to the landfill ?”. I think the waste collectors and the local authorities should gain trust of the population and to start doing things properly, and when people see that, that their initiative to segregate waste is respected, they will start to do it properly and will be more interested. Yes, I think that communication is also important, the municipality should present statistics like we are doing with our employees. I try to motivate them, show them the improvement. Numbers are important, statistics are important. They have to know that their efforts are appreciated, this is the resource of their work. I think things will improve. But I also saw the city hall, at the beginning of 2018, when selective collection was implemented, at the beginning, the city hall, the authorities started applying penalties. They organised different sessions to inform people about best practices and all these meetings were announced, but they were not aware of how many people were interested to participate ... But we cannot say the local authorities are not involved, not doing their part. It has to be a common interest in solving this issue.

M : So, we've talked about Cluj-Napoca, but do you know anything about the more rural localities around Cluj ? How would you describe their waste management policies ?

Interviewé : ...

M : ... Is there any particular differences ?

Interviewé : There shouldn't be ... All local authorities have the same principles, all localities have to oblige to the same legislation and the same recycling target. Some location, some villages, or some other cities are less involved as I could see but I also saw rural areas with high rates of recycling, I think in Bihor county I saw close to 100 %. But also the local authorities implemented a strong waste management system, with a performant collector, and they respected the ... And sometimes penalties are also efficient. People start to respect rules when they have to pay.

*Rires.*

Interviewé : And I think that, implementing in Cluj-Napoca, if you select waste, for example if on Monday it's plastic collection day, if you put out your plastic waste, you don't pay anything. You only pay for the waste that is landfilled. So ... people pay less for waste and the quantity segregated by population is better. Local authorities can also fulfill their recycling targets established by the ...

M : You've heard about the new integrated solid waste management system ?

Interviewé : I know there is discussion with projects regarding this topic. I want to see the results, to see what we need to improve in our activity to implement this. These initiatives.

M : Have you heard of any particular initiatives amongst Cluj citizens, regarding waste management or circular economy ? To reduce the waste stream, to recycle in any special way, to ... any particular projects ?

Interviewé : We had some initiatives, and we are analyzing them, regarding waste composting. We also analyze the possibility of implementing a system of compost from our facility. I'm not sure if it's applicable, at the moment, from different points of view. First, the quantity of waste is too small to invest in such installation, but we had some conversations with Beard Brothers regarding waste composting initiatives in hotels, restaurants, and other places where there are high volumes of food waste. \*\*\*\*\* is also producing this kind of installation, but in the United States, but it's still not validated in Europe. After the validation, we hope we can use them ... With a proper size for our quantity of waste.

M : *to Ana-Maria* - Do you see any other question ?

A-M : Hmm ... I wanted to ask you, if there are some specific regulations about specific waste ?

Interviewé : Well, the main law regarding waste is the law 211, from 2016. There are also government decisions regarding hazardous waste landfilling conditions. This is not applicable to us because we are not producing those types of waste, but anyway for all types of hazardous waste we are generating, we are performing yearly analysis in order to identify the best treatment opportunity, to see if anything changes. ... But during the pandemic, our industrial waste generation decreased. The packaging waste decreased, and also the general waste decreased. This is our principle, when we are looking for contractors, for waste collectors, we want to see their permit and to see what's the destination of waste. Probably the same collector will collect the same type of waste, and some collectors will recover it, and some will eliminate it. So we want to make sure our waste is recovered or recycled, and this is how we are reducing our environmental footprint regarding waste management.

M : Ok ... Do you want to add anything else ? ... How do you see the future here, in a few years, in a few decades regarding waste management ?

Interviewé : I want to be optimistic. I think that the municipalities, local authorities, will start to understand the importance of environmental protection. As I follow the environmental guard, I can see their activities, I can see they are more involved in inspection of affected areas, place where pollution is a real problem. I can see also in Bucharest, the air quality is much better. They identified some activities that were generating pollution, so I'm really optimistic ... and we are talking about Green Deal, Circular Economy, Romania has, in my opinion, great opportunity to get the money from European funds to recover the economy, and all this money could be, I think, I heard there is a strategy for post-pandemic recovery with green technologies improving the environmental performance, because we are in a bad situation regarding air quality in some cities. We risk some infringement from the European Commission for waste management as well. I think that our authorities are starting to understand the importance, and at least in Cluj, I can see the difference. It's a matter of time, of education, people will start to ... understand and to respect more and more these principles. But now there are benefits, for \*\*\*\*\* and for the population, it is the fact that if you are properly segregating waste, you are paying less. If the waste is mixed, there is a 25% tax. This applies to the population and also to the companies. We used to pay these 25% a lot. If you have a high volume of waste, but after implementing all these measures, we invited our

waste collector, Brantner, to visit our site and to see how we manage waste. They saw that our quantity decreased a lot, because they saw that we pay less, and they accepted to cancel the 25% fee which we payed extra for mixed waste. It also encouraged our employees to continue to do a great job.

A-M : to Marie – Do you have any other questions ?

M : No, I think I'm good !

Interviewé : I hope I answered all of your questions. Finally, if you need any other informations regarding waste management, I would be happy to help you.

#### Entretien n°4 – Service Environnement, Mairie de Cluj-Napoca

*Première rencontre le 20 mai 2021, à la Mairie de Cluj-Napoca (service de l'écologie urbaine et des espaces verts). Refus de réponse officielle orale et d'enregistrement. Rédaction d'une réponse officielle par Mme Antoanela-Carmen Popovici, signée par ses supérieurs et reçue le 9 juin 2021.*

- How did Cluj's and Cluj-Napoca's waste management evolve during the last decades ?

În anul 2007 România a aderat la Uniunea Europeană Ca urmare în Romania se aplică Directiva. Parlamentului European nr. 2008/98/CE , transpusă de Legea 211/2011 privind regimul deșeurilor. În prezent în municipiul Cluj Napoca se realizează colectarea deșeurilor municipale pe patru fracții.

En 2007, la Roumanie a rejoint l'Union européenne et la directive s'applique donc en Roumanie. 2008/98/CE, transposée par la loi 211/2011 sur le régime des déchets. Actuellement, dans la municipalité de Cluj Napoca, les déchets municipaux sont collectés en quatre fractions.

- How is the waste management system organised today in Cluj and in Cluj-Napoca ? How did it change?

Gestionarea deșeurilor în județul Cluj are la bază implementarea unui sistem integrat de gestionare a deșeurilor, printr-un proiect co-finanțat prin Fondul European de Dezvoltare Regională. În vederea realizării și aplicării acestui proiect, intitulat „Sistem de Management Integrat al Deșeurilor în Județul Cluj”, Municipiul Cluj Napoca este asociat cu Consiliul Județean Cluj și membru al „Asociației de Dezvoltare Intercomunitară ECO-METROPOLITAN Cluj”.

Sistemul de gestiune a deșeurilor în municipiul Cluj Napoca cuprinde următoarele activități :

- a) precollectarea, colectarea și transportul deșeurilor municipale
- b) sortarea deșeurilor municipale;
- c) valorificarea materială și energetică a deșeurilor;
- d) depozitarea controlată a deșeurilor municipale;

La gestion des déchets dans le comté de Cluj est basée sur la mise en œuvre d'un système intégré de gestion des déchets, grâce à un projet cofinancé par le Fonds européen de développement régional.

Afin de mettre en œuvre ce projet, intitulé "Système de gestion intégrée des déchets dans le département de Cluj", la municipalité de Cluj Napoca est associée au conseil du comté de Cluj et membre de l'"Association de développement intercommunautaire ECO-METROPOLITAN Cluj".

Le système de gestion des déchets de la municipalité de Cluj Napoca comprend les activités suivantes :

- a) la pré-collecte, la collecte et le transport des déchets municipaux
- b) le tri des déchets municipaux ;
- c) la valorisation matérielle et énergétique des déchets ;
- d) le stockage contrôlé des déchets municipaux ;

- Could you describe the New Integrated Solid Waste Management System currently being implemented in Cluj ? What is still under construction ? What is working ?

Pentru informații privind gradul de implementare a proiectului „Sistem de Management Integrat al Deșeurilor în Județul Cluj” vă rugăm să vă adresați Consiliului Județean Cluj, Calea Dorobanților, nr. 106, CP. 400609, Cluj-Napoca, Tel. +40 372 64.00.00; Fax +40 372 64.00.70 ; E-mail: [infopublic@cicluj.ro](mailto:infopublic@cicluj.ro).

Pour des informations sur le degré de mise en œuvre du projet "Système de gestion intégré de déchets dans le comté de Cluj", veuillez contacter le Conseil du comté de Cluj, Calea Dorobantilor, nr. 106, CP. 400609, Cluj-Napoca, Tél. +40 372 64.00.00 ; Fax +40 372 64.00.70 ; E-mail : [infopublic@cicluj.ro](mailto:infopublic@cicluj.ro).

- How is it going currently ? What are your hopes/fears ?

La nivelul municipiului Cluj-Napoca este implementat sistemul de colectare separată, fiind inventariate, un numar de :

- 270 locatii (65 locatii-sector I si 205 locatii-sector II) unde sunt amplasati un numar de 342 recipiente – de tip clopot (137 recipiente-sector I si 205 recipiente-sector II), pentru colectarea deseurilor reciclabile (hartie/carton, plastic/metal si sticla);
- 840 puncte gospodărești (447-sector I, 393- sector II), amplasate pe domeniul public, la care sunt arondate asociatiile de locatari, dotate cu recipiente (eurocontainere) atat pentru deseurile menajere cat si pentru cele reciclabile-pe culori (hartie-carton-albastru, plastic/metal- galben, verde-sticla, negremenajere);
- 14 sisteme inteligente de colectare a deseurilor stradale, echipate cu panouri solare, pentru asigurarea independenței energetice, dotate cu compactoare alimentate cu energie furnizată de panourile solare (care asigură mărirea cantității de deșeuri stocate) și cu sistem GSM wireless pentru transmiterea datelor (sistemul GSM indică în timp real unitatea care trebuie golită, crescând astfel eficiența activității de colectare a deșeurilor). Aceste sisteme sunt compuse din trei unități (1-hartie/carton, 1-plastic, 1-deseuri reziduale , amplasate in 14 locatii pe raza municipiului Cluj-Napoca);
- 161 platforme îngropate, cu 4 containere amplasate subteran ( pentru colectare pe 4 fracții). În cazul platformelor subterane, coșurile de inserție sunt inscripționate adecvat pentru fiecare categorie de deșeu. În anul 2021 va continua amplasarea subterană de platforme pentru colectarea deșeurilor.
- 70 de puncte gospodărești modulare supraterane (țarcuri metalice), destinate colectării selective a deșeurilor reciclabile. Fiecare punct va fi dotat cu 3 containere de capacitate 1,1 mc, pentru colectarea deșeurilor de hârtie/carton, plastic/ metal și sticlă (din decembrie 2020).
- 1 centru de colectare a deșeurilor reciclabile și voluminoase de la populație.

În urma punerii la dispoziția cetățenilor a sistemelor moderne de colectare selectivă a deșeurilor se urmărește creșterea colectării selective a deșeurilor.

Le système de collecte sélective est mis en œuvre au niveau de la municipalité de Cluj-Napoca et des inventaires ont été réalisés, la municipalité a donc recensé :

- 270 lieux (65 lieux-secteur I et 205 lieux-secteur II) où un nombre de 342 conteneurs à cloche (137 conteneurs-secteur I et 205 conteneurs-secteur II) pour la collecte des déchets (papier/carton, plastique/métal et verre) ;
- 840 points de ménage (447-secteur I, 393-secteur II), situés sur le domaine public, où se trouvent des associations, équipées de conteneurs (eurocontainers) pour les déchets ménagers et commerciaux, pour les déchets recyclables - par couleur (papier/carton - bleu, plastique/métal - jaune, vert - verre, noir - ménage) ;
- 14 systèmes intelligents de collecte des déchets dans les rues, équipés de panneaux solaires, pour leur indépendance énergétique, équipés de compacteurs alimentés par l'énergie fournie par les panneaux (ce qui augmente la quantité de déchets stockés) et avec un système GSM sans fil pour transmettre des données (le système GSM indique en temps réel l'unité à vider, ce qui augmente l'efficacité de l'activité de collecte de déchets). Ces systèmes sont composés de trois unités (1-papier/carton, 1-plastique, 1 déchets résiduels, situés sur 14 sites à Cluj-Napoca) ;
- 161 plateformes enterrées, avec 4 conteneurs situés en sous-sol (pour la collecte sur 4 fractions). Dans le cas des plates-formes souterraines, les bacs d'insertion sont marqués de manière appropriée pour

chaque catégorie de déchets. En 2021, la mise en place souterraine de plateformes pour la collecte des déchets se poursuivra.

- 70 points d'attache modulaires (stylos métalliques) en surface pour la collecte sélective des déchets recyclables. Chaque point sera équipé de trois conteneurs de 1,1 mètre cube pour la collecte du papier/carton, plastique/métal et verre (à partir de décembre 2020).
- 1 centre de collecte des déchets recyclables et encombrants de la population.

Après la mise à disposition pour les citoyens de systèmes modernes de collecte sélective des déchets, il s'agira d'augmenter la collecte sélective des déchets.

- Do you encounter difficulties regarding the implementation of european/national legislations ?

Nu.

Non.

- Do you have any appreciation regarding the european and national objectives regarding recycling rates, collection rates ? Anything to say about the strategies being implemented ?

Autoritatea competentă pentru punerea în aplicare și monitorizarea legislației europene și naționale este Ministerul Mediului, prin intermediul Agenției Naționale pentru Protecția Mediului, a Gărzii Naționale de Mediu și a structurilor județene subordonate acestora (Agențiile Județene pentru Protecția Mediului și Comisariatele Județene).

L'autorité compétente pour la mise en œuvre et le contrôle de la législation européenne, et la législation nationale est le ministère de l'environnement, par l'intermédiaire de l'Agence nationale pour la protection de l'environnement, de la Garde nationale de l'environnement et les structures de département qui leur sont subordonnées (les agences de protection et les commissions du département).

- Did the covid crisis and quarantine impacted the waste management system of the town ? Any changes ?

Criza Covid-19 nu a influențat gestiunea deșeurilor la nivelul municipiului.

La crise de Covid-19 n'a pas affecté la gestion des déchets dans la municipalité.

- Could you tell me if the dump seen on the picture is part of the temporary installation ? Why is it placed here ? (coordonate GPS : Latitude 46,7689292, Longitude 23,6863296)

Photographie personnelle prise le 17.05.2020.

Acel depozit nu este un depozit gestionat de municipiul Cluj Napoca. Pentru informații vă puteți adresa Gărzii Naționale de Mediu, Comisariatul Județean Cluj, Strada General Traian Moșoiu 49, Cluj Napoca Telefon: 0264-410.719, Fax: 0264-410.718, Email: [cjcluj@gnm.ro](mailto:cjcluj@gnm.ro)

Cet entrepôt n'est pas un entrepôt géré par la municipalité de Cluj Napoca.

Pour obtenir des informations, veuillez contacter la Garde nationale de l'environnement, Commissariat du comté de Cluj, Rue General Traian Moșoiu 49, Cluj



- How is the population involved in Cluj's waste management ?



În afară de sistemul de colectare la sursă pus la dispoziție de municipiul Cluj Napoca, locuitorii municipiului Cluj Napoca sunt în permanență informați asupra modalității de gestiune corectă a deșeurilor menajere. Aceste informații se regăsesc și pe site-ul Primăriei municipiului Cluj Napoca la adresa <https://primariaclujnapoca.ro/salubritate/colectarea-selectiva-a-deseurilor/>

En plus du système de collecte à la source fourni par la municipalité de Cluj Napoca, les résidents de la municipalité de Cluj Napoca sont informés en permanence de la gestion correcte des déchets ménagers. Ces informations peuvent également être consultées sur le site web de la mairie de Cluj Napoca à l'adresse suivante : <https://primariaclujnapoca.ro/salubritate/colectarea-selectiva-a-deseurilor/>

- Have the actors of the waste management sector changed in recent years ? Who are they ?

Autoritatea competentă de decizie și control în domeniul gestionării deșeurilor este Ministerul Mediului. Alte autorități publice cu atribuții în domeniul gestionării deșeurilor sunt: Ministerul Sănătății, Ministerul Agriculturii și Dezvoltării Rurale, Ministerul Muncii, Familiei, Protecției Sociale și Persoanelor Vârstnice, Ministerul Economiei, Ministerul Dezvoltării Regionale și Administrației Publice, Ministerul Apărării Naționale, instituțiile de ordine publică și siguranță națională și autoritățile administrației publice locale.

L'autorité compétente en matière de prise de décision et de contrôle dans le domaine de la gestion des déchets est le ministère de l'Environnement. Les autres autorités publiques responsables de la gestion des déchets sont : le Ministère de la Santé ; le Ministère de l'Agriculture et du Développement Rural ; le Ministère du travail, de la Famille, de la Protection sociale et de l'Emploi et des personnes âgées, le Ministère de l'économie, le Ministère du Développement Régional et de l'Administration Publique, le Ministère de la Défense nationale, ainsi que les institutions et autorités chargées de l'ordre public et de la sécurité nationale et de l'administration publique locale.

- Are citizens included in the waste management system and policy ? In which way ?

Cetățenii sunt implicați activ în procesul decizional al administrației publice locale, conform Legii 52/2003 privind transparența decizională în administrația publică Principiile care stau la baza prezentei legi sunt următoarele :

a) informarea în prealabil, din oficiu, a persoanelor asupra problemelor de interes public care urmează să fie dezbătute de autoritățile administrației publice centrale și locale, precum și asupra proiectelor de acte normative;

b) consultarea cetățenilor și a asociațiilor legal constituite, la inițiativa autorităților publice, în procesul de elaborare a proiectelor de acte normative;

c) participarea activă a cetățenilor la luarea deciziilor administrative și în procesul de elaborare a proiectelor de acte normative, cu respectarea următoarelor reguli:

1. ședințele și dezbaterile autorităților și instituțiilor publice care fac obiectul prezentei legi sunt publice, în condițiile legii ;

2. dezbaterile vor fi consemnate și făcute publice ;

3. minutele acestor ședințe vor fi înregistrate, arhivate și făcute publice, în condițiile legii.

De asemenea Hotărârea nr. 878 din 28 iulie 2005 (\*actualizată\*) privind accesul publicului la informația privind mediul , asigură dreptul de acces la informația privind mediul deținută de sau pentru autoritățile publice și stabilește condițiile, termenii de bază și modalitățile de exercitare a acestui drept.

În plus toate actele normative specifice gestionării deșeurilor (de emiteră a autorizațiilor acordurilor și avizelor de mediu ) au componentă de consultare publică.

Les citoyens sont activement impliqués dans le processus de prise de décision du gouvernement local, selon la loi 52/2003 sur la transparence du processus décisionnel dans l'administration publique. Les principes qui sous-tendent cette loi sont les suivants :

a) informer à l'avance, d'office, les personnes des questions d'intérêt public pour mettre en place un débat par les autorités de l'administration publique centrale et locale, ainsi que sur les projets de législation ;

b) la consultation des citoyens et des associations de citoyens et de personnes morales établies par les autorités publiques, à l'initiative des autorités publiques, dans le processus d'élaboration des projets de loi ;

c) la participation au processus de décision des autorités administratives et à l'élaboration de la législation, dans le respect des règles suivantes :

1. les réunions et débats des autorités et institutions publiques visées par la présente loi sont public, selon les termes de la loi ;
2. les débats sont enregistrés et rendus publics ;
3. les procès-verbaux de ces réunions sont enregistrés, archivés et rendus publics, conformément à la loi.

Voir également la décision n° 878 du 28 juillet 2005 (\*mise à jour\*) relative à l'accès du public à l'information sur la santé environnementale, qui assure le droit d'accès à l'information environnementale détenue par ou pour des autorités publiques et fixe les conditions, les modalités de base et les procédures d'exercice de ce droit.

En outre, toute la législation spécifique à la gestion des déchets (délivrance d'autorisations, d'accords et de permis environnementaux) comporte un volet de consultation publique.

- Has the organisation of the waste management actors changed ?

Modul de operare a fost adaptat in timp prevederilor legislative nationale si europene.

Le mode de fonctionnement a été adapté au fil du temps à la législation nationale et européenne.

- Does the city hall encounters difficulties regarding waste management ?

Da, legat de faptul că cetățenii nu respectă în totalitate modul de precollectare a deșeurilor.

Oui, lié au fait que les citoyens ne respectent pas entièrement la manière dont les déchets sont pré-collectés.

- Can you see any disparities between neighborhoods, localities ...in the way citizens have access to the public waste management services ?

Nu.

Non.

- Is there many differences between neighbourhoods ? Between rural and urban areas ?

La nivelul municipiului Cluj Napoca nu sunt diferențe la nivel de cartiere. În ceea ce privește situația din mediul rural vă rugăm să vă adresați Consiliului Județean Cluj, Calea Dorobanților, nr. 106, CP. 400609, Cluj-Napoca, Tel. +40 372 64.00.00; Fax +40 372 64.00.70; Email: [infopublic@cjcluj.ro](mailto:infopublic@cjcluj.ro)

À Cluj Napoca, il n'y a pas de différences au niveau des quartiers.

En ce qui concerne la situation dans les zones rurales, veuillez contacter le conseil de comté de Cluj, Calea Dorobantilor, nr. 106, CP. 400609, Cluj-Napoca, tél. +40 372 64.00.00 ; fax +40 372 64.00.70 ; courriel : [infopublic@cjcluj.ro](mailto:infopublic@cjcluj.ro).

- Is there a difference in public policies between different neighbourhoods of Cluj-Napoca ?

Nu.

Non.

- Is there a major difference in the waste stream, sorting, collecting rates ... between different neighbourhoods of Cluj-Napoca ?

Volumul de deșeuri colectate este mai mare în cartierele de blocuri.

Davantage de déchets sont collectés dans les districts de blocs.

- What has been done in terms of new facilities/new technologies in Cluj-Napoca's waste management during the last years ? In terms of « sustainability », « modernity » ... ?

Colectarea deseurilor municipale prin platforme subterane si a celor stradale în pubele inteligente.

Collecte des déchets municipaux par des plates-formes souterraines et des déchets urbains dans des bacs intelligents.

- Are citizens involved/helping to reduce the waste stream ?

Da.

Oui.

- Have you heard of any initiatives amongst the citizens of Cluj regarding waste ?

Da, în municipiul Cluj Napoca s-a derulat procesul consultativ on line „Bugetare participativă”, în urma căruia, la propunerea cetățenilor au fost amenajate spațiile publice cu sisteme inteligente de colectare a deseurilor stradale, echipate cu panouri solare, pentru asigurarea independenței energetice, dotate cu compactoare alimentate cu energie furnizată de panourile solare (care asigură mărirea cantității de deșeuri stocate) și cu sistem GSM wireless pentru transmiterea datelor (sistemul GSM indică în timp real unitatea care trebuie golită, crescând astfel eficiența activității de colectare a deșeurilor).

Oui, dans la municipalité de Cluj Napoca, le processus consultatif en ligne "Budget participatif" a été réalisé, où, sur proposition des citoyens, les espaces publics ont été équipés de dispositifs intelligents, équipés de panneaux solaires pour assurer leur indépendance énergétique et avec un système GSM sans fil pour la transmission des données (le système GSM indique la quantité de stockage des déchets, l'unité à vider, augmentant ainsi l'efficacité de la collecte des déchets).

- What do you know about the non-formal activities in the waste management sector of the city ?

Nu deținem informații.

Nous n'avons aucune information.

#### Entretien n°4 – Mme Cristina Modoi, docteure et chercheuse en gestion des déchets, à la Faculté de Chimie et de Sciences Environnementales d'UBB.

*L'entretien dure environ 1h, comme un échange, sans réel support de grille d'entretien.*

Ana-Maria : ... you had some papers on Circular Economy ?

Cristina : Yes, in Romanian.

A : Yes, but she tried to translate it using Google.

C : Yes ... With this paper, I worked more on natural resources and waste water treatment plans. So ... I've told you something about romanian waste management. There is ... I guess, because I am not sure, we pay very low money for the toll of the waste. We, as people. And that is also a problem.

A-M : Yes, that's also what Alin Muresan told us, with RD ...

Marie : RDE Harghita ?

C : Ah yes ... Yes that is a problem. But, thinking, in Romania, around 40% of the people are very poor. Not in the city, but in the countryside. Perhaps, we, in the city, pay a little bit more for them. But we can't, to pay more. Also, the mayor of the city hall ... it's a problem, with the elections, when they rise the price of the waste. It's not good for the elections. So it's also political. They need some subventions for that, for the beginning, of course, because you need to begin a business to recycle. There are some business but not very many. I know in Bistrița, there is a chemical company and they recycle plastic from the windows like that.

*Montre les fenêtres.*

C : This kind of plastic. There are hundred of types of plastic. You can have a process for every kind of plastic, but if the ... from a political point of view, they help more people who want to invest in recycling, it could be a way. I've read, in other countries for example, they receive some low taxes. They accept some years without paying the ...

A : When you have ... un impôt en français ?

M : A tax ? A fee ?

A : Yes but it's only for the local budget ?

M : I don't know enough about ... impôts.

Rires.

C : Oh, ok ! I don't know, something like that. Or if you receive something, from people working in that field.

A-M : Just like it's the case for \*\*\*\*\* ? (*Fait référence à l'entreprise avec entretien anonymisé*)

M : Yes, they paid less because they were more invested in selective waste collection and Brantner reduced their costs ?

C : Yes ... For a company it's a little bit different. For the people it's ... Companies should collect separately. It's easier to verify them, to check, ok ? If the Environmental Protection Agency goes there, and checks if everything is collected properly. If they have hazardous waste, they need to pay more, because it needs to be collected in a different way ... Usually, in Transylvania, that collection goes better, I think. I don't know how it's working in the South or in the East part of the country. It's under the local Environmental Protection Agency. Our, from Cluj, keeps the old habits and for the companies, tries to impose some better collection and if they don't do that, they have to pay some fees. But for the people, it's a problem. In Cluj, we are, I don't know how many people, but ...

A-M : 500.

C : We have 500, but on the paper, only 300, yes, because 100 comes and goes, for the work or there are students ... Yes, I think it's a political problem ... It's a mixture, it's not easy to find ... I tell you what I know, now I am waiting for your questions.

M : Yes ... So you already went to Pata Rât ?

C : Yes, I went several times.

M : Did you see some changes there, in the recent years ? Do you know if something is already open within the SMID ? Someone at the City Hall yesterday told us ...

A-M : " It's working ".

C : Yes, there is something. I know something, again, because I had a student ... But she was very afraid to tell me too much, because it was her workplace. She told me something : " Yes, we collect separately, we try to do something ...". She told me also about an installation for gasification, if you know what it means. It's some chemical process that transforms the organic waste in some product, gases, that could be used but not for a very long time, if you've got a chemical industry to buy that product and use it rapidly. Then the composition changes. But I don't know if they have or they didn't ... I know they receive some money, because, I told you before, they collect separately some waste and sell it to big companies. They receive money for that. They also receive money from people. But I don't know the other sources ... I know, in Romania, there is just 5 or 6 big companies that collect all the waste in the country. They have different work points, in different counties. They share all the country. It's kind of a monopole. But I can't prove that ... I heard ... I can't prove this.

A-M : Some of the waste from Cluj-Napoca is also sold in Oradea ?

C : There was some time where waste from Cluj went to Oradea ... I think now Oradea asked too much money. They sent also to Mureş ... they send in several parts, because we have a lot of waste ... There was a time when they build a new landfill, the new landfill was very small, on a very small field, and I don't know what has happened. They tell us they have built a big one. But, because I teach waste management, I know that, to build a landfill is not cheap. I know that to maintain the activity there, it's not cheap. I know, you have a lot of wastewater,

leachate, to treat, you have gazes you need to collect, lots of things you have to do for it to be ecological. It's not cheap, it's better to think, in the future, to try to collect only if you have some waste you can't do anything else with. I remember I was in a meeting with some NGO. Somebody from the plastic management, he has a company that recycles plastic, and he told us : sometimes, he prefers to import the waste from outside. Why ? Because the romanian waste are collected together, they are dirty. If he buys one tonne, after washing it, he loses 200 kilos. It's very much. He preferred to import the plastic.

M : A few decades back now, before entering the european union, every waste produced in Cluj-Napoca was going to the landfill directly in Pata Rât ?

C : Yes, I think, yes.

M : There was no other ... option ?

C : They didn't try to find other options ... Before, it was the option, for a lot of landfills in the country, just to put the waste there, but a lot of people are more and more concentrated in the cities, and it became a big problem. Before, usually sometimes, they burned the waste. In the countryside, they burned the waste. But in the countryside, there are not so many waste. They feed the animals with food waste, there was not so much plastic, and they used the plastic several times, like bottles of milk ... But now there's too much plastic, too much in the river. Ok. Now, we don't have anything specific in the curricular for children. Of course, some geography or biology teacher are interested in that and can teach them, but we don't have anything specific in curricular to teach them how important it is to care for the environment, to collect separately ... There are some NGOs, which do a very good work in that field, but it couldn't cover all the area. Curricular of small children are full of things that are not useful, I don't know ...

*Rires.*

C : To put something new, to take out the old. There are some projects ... It's ... Within the institute for francophonie ? I am in the project with a colleague in computer science. She is the manager of the project. And with some psychologists. We had some seminars with teenagers, online, it was very nice. The teenagers were so happy, because our colleagues know how to talk in a seminar, so that teenagers can enjoy it. We tried to talk to them about sustainable development goals, and a little bit about waste ... But I think that it is a problem. In the big cities, teenagers are a little bit more aware, because they are more informed and so on, but in the small cities and in the countryside, it's a little bit different.

M : That's interesting ... You were telling me about how we don't have that much information about where the waste goes, when it's collected and sold to some companies, because I thought I was ... I don't know ... Not understanding their communication, that there was something I was missing, but maybe the information is just not there. I don't know, I'm gonna keep looking ...

C : Yeah ... It's secret.

*Rires.*

M : I wanted to ask you, have you seen any changes regarding the covid crisis, that happened in the waste management field ? I have read about a problem in Romania, regarding medical waste. I don't know, if anything special happened here, in Cluj.

C : I don't know ... Yes ... I'm not sure. For me, my mask, it was a problem. I try to put my masks together in a plastic bag, so that's it's not thrown out in the river. I asked a lot of people if they knew how to deal with it. After my bag is filled with masks, I close it and I hope it's safer ... For medical waste, for a while, we've had an incinerator. I don't know if it works. Why ? Because some years ago, I went to the incinerator with my students, every year. But ... two years ago, at the end of the first semester in december 2019, I called the manager of the incinerator, and he told me " The incinerator doesn't work because it's in maintenance. ". That was all, I can't ask more. Last year, with the online courses, we couldn't visit much. I think some hospitals have small incinerators, I don't know. There are some incinerators ... I don't know what happens to medical waste, I know they collect separately but I don't know what happens next. In the dentist, there is a bin with a sign of "biological waste" or "hazardous waste" but ... It's very secret.

*Rires.*

M : You've probably heard about NGO or citizen's groups trying to reduce their waste, reducing the waste stream, recycling in a particular way ... Have you ?

C : I'm sure there are a lot. I'm thinking about the Food Bank of Cluj. Camelia Goi is the ... But I think she has a baby now. You can find it, Camelia Goi and the food waste bank. They collect the food only before warranty term, from the restaurants and supermarkets, because it's not allowed to collect from the people. They use it for the poor people. There is also A warm meal, this is different.

*Silence.*

I know, people are aware in Cluj ... In my area, people care about the environment. My friends, we talk, we go out, not so much right now, but the people I know, in Cluj, they do care about the environment.

M : Do you see any differences between neighbourhoods in Cluj-Napoca ? In the waste sorting, collection ...

C : I'm not sure ... There are two companies, Brantner and Rosal. I've lived in Mănăştur for a while, and now I live in Grigorescu. (*ndlr : des quartiers de Cluj-Napoca*). I think it depends on the people ... They put some underground bins, but not everywhere. For example, in my area, they are not very close. We asked to put them closer, but they told us "there is no place". Yes, because there is more and more construction. Less and less green place. There is no place to put ... It can't be really so close to the windows. Now, around me, are coming up places. A school, it was a school, they have a big terrain, field, where children used to play football. Now, it's not so big anymore ... I understand, they need constructions, but there are less and less green spaces, less and less places for children to play football ... I think it's the same. It's quite the same. I don't know what happens in Gheorgheni area.

*Aboiements du chien d'une collègue et blagues.*

M : Yes ... So it's still Brantner and Rosal who are operating in Cluj-Napoca ? Because I have read about Supercom getting the ...

C : It's something new from this year. Peut-être Rosal lost ... Ah ok, and we have a new company. It is in my area, but I don't know. Ok ... They should do compost, from the grass. But I'm afraid ... They just do compost on paper. I'm afraid they want to cut the trees, near the university. We are very angry about that ... A lot of people from Cluj ...

A-M : Yeah, they say they are gonna build a green, innovating building but ... there was already something green there !

*Rires.*

C : Yes, it was green enough. They don't understand. For students in Cluj, compared to the rest of Romania, it's a little expensive. If you come from smaller cities, it's expensive if you don't have a place in the campus. They try to build some new buildings, but we need also some green spaces. They are talking about a bigger campus, outside of the city, but i don't know where. Floresti it's also ...

*Rires.*

A-M : Yes but we saw that, each year, at the faculty, we have another place for parking. This is ... new green facilities for students.

*Rires.*

C : Yes, it's normal because it's in the city center, I think.

A-M : Yes, but it's not normal to cut another tree and to build again, each year, another parking place ... Each year, we have two or three new parking places.

C : I think people in Cluj are more aware. We have also more socially active people, because of the university. People are more educated, they know what happened in the country. They know the past mistakes that have been done, and don't want to repeat them. But our administration doesn't understand, or they think already know.

A-M : I told her today that we do have a teacher, at our faculty, that is from Ukraine, and he told me that they have today the waste management we had in Romania, I don't know, 20 years ago. If she would like to see how was the was management system in Cluj-Napoca 20 years ago, she could go to Ukraine ! So it's ...

*Rires.*

A-M : It's a good approach to see the differences between european countries ...

C : Yes. I have students from ... Nigeria, Africa, and usually we have a course where we present how the waste is managed in everyone's country. We can learn from each other. I also have students from Germany, France once, Lituania, and other countries in Europe ... Also from Gaza. They present what's happend with the waste in their country. For example, my student from Gaza was very good. He stayed here two years, he did is Master in Romanian. He told us, he knows everything because all the information in his country is open. He can find the information on the internet and my romanian students were ... "Woaaah".

*Mime l'émerveillement. Rires.*

A-M : We tried yesterday to find the new strategy for waste management in Cluj on the internet but we couldn't find it so ...

C : I don't know. In Sibiu, it looks, from outside, more effective. I think they have one of the old waste management system and it's better managed. There are a lot of people, Saxon people, in Cristian, I don't know if it's a village or a commune or ... Sibiu was a cultural capital ...

A-M : In 2008.

C : Yes, around that year, they constructed also the waste management system, and they received some european funds. I know they do also compost and use the compost, because they put the waste and the waste has a smell. Sometimes you have to cover it, they cover it, and convert the waste ...

M : Ok.

*Rires.*

C : They put in the landfill layers and layers.

M : There should be a composting facility in the new integrated solid waste management system in Cluj ?

C : Should be, I don't know but should be. I don't know, because I don't see. I understood that ... Supercom ... should compost branches, leaves, grass, ... But I don't know. Somewhere near Pata Rât. The last time there, 3 years ago, I went with a professor from Japan. He was interested with giving us a new technology from Japan. He came here to know what has happend. But the waste from Japan and from Cluj, I'm sure, are different. Timisoara also have an incinerator. Some waste from here are brought to Aleşd. There is a cement factory.

A-M : Alin Muresan told us about Aleşd. It's near Oradea ?

C : Yes.

M : D'accord.

C : Holcim. They can't take food waste, because it's not calorific enough. It has not enough calorific power, they need plastic, wood, paper ... not food waste because it's wet. For food waste, it's simpler to have compost, anaerobic digestion. We just bought an equipment for anaerobic digestion, for the student's campus. I am so happy about that ! We are waiting for other equipment. It's very nice for the laboratory ... It's very nice. I'm so happy, also for the students. I told them about anaerobic digestion, how to recycle food waste, how to use methane, gazes ... But it's better to see it work. I think next year we will have a nice laboratory in waste management. But we do composting here already, in our yard, with students, yes ! We use food waste from their campus, grass, and we receive nice compost. The vegetation grows very nicely in this place !

M : Nice ! ... You were talking about a japanese professor ?

C : Yes, I don't remember the name. He came here, and he was curious about what was happening in Pata Rât. In Japan, there is not so much space, they are an island, right ? There is a lot of people. Tokyo is very crowded.

They don't put waste in landfills, they have good incinerators and they receive energy from it. Their waste has a bigger calorific power. That's not all : an incinerator is not cheap. You should have enough flow of waste, high temperatures all the time, ... It's very costly. You need purification equipment. If you don't have enough money, you can't incinerate in good conditions. Romanians don't know that, they think "Ok, we should construct an incinerator !". They don't know how expensive it is. Also, you lose all the resources. For our waste, with high quantity of food waste and wet waste, it's not the best solution. We can try different solutions. Not only one, you have to be careful about the context, how to manage it in a better way. Some of it can be composted, aerobic or anaerobic digestion ... I saw insects digesting the waste that can then be used as food for animals. There are a lot of possibilities.

### Entretien n° 6 – M. Razvans Batinas, chercheur et maître de conférences à la faculté de Géographie d'UBB.

*Le 21/05/2021, à 14h, au Centre Régional de Géographie. L'entretien dure environ 1h40. M. Batinas est spécialisé en géographie physique et hydrologie. Autorisation pour enregistrement à condition que « pas de diffusion dans les journaux ou sur les réseaux sociaux ».*

R : I'm used to speaking loudly to my students.

*Rires.*

R : So Mia told me about your intentions here, and she asked me to talk with you regarding the water. So do you want me to speak freely or do you have some questions for me ?

M : You can speak freely, and maybe if some questions arise ...

R : I don't know what subjects you have covered already. I don't know if Mia has taken you to Pata Rât ? You've seen the new treatment area ?

A-M : Yes, we went to Pata Rât. But we've seen a lot of pollution downside, the water was red or ...

M : We've seen it from afar, yes.

R : You didn't get access, right. Ok. Yes, there is quite a big leakage from this deposit. The problem with that creek is that, because of this leakage, it is the most polluted river in Cluj County. If you want to see extreme pollution, you can have it. I know this is the case in most waste dumps in the whole world. If there is not a good waste management of the waste dump, you can get something like that. So ... In my opinion, wastewater in Cluj can be analyzed in different ways. We can speak about the pollution, or the quality of rivers and lakes around the city, but also, we can speak about the waste water which comes from residential areas, buildings, or schools, public institutions ... For the first issue, the rivers and lakes, my opinion is that we do have a good management of this water quality in Cluj, at least. Because, in prospect with those objects that can be seen on the water, like plastic bottles and other objects that can float ... In the upstream of Cluj, there is a floating pipe, which is developed across the river, and this pipe can orient, can generate a filtration of these floating elements. These objects are coming to shore, and from there they are collected, and I hope they can go to the waste dump. This is not a very old structure, I think it's 5 to 6 years old. I don't know if in other parts of Romania there is something like that. It could be an innovation. The initiative to put this in place is related to the fact that many people are coming to Cluj as tourists and many recreational activities are associated to the river. In order to show to the foreigners a good sight of river, they installed these floating devices. Maybe you've been to the central park, you've seen the Chios lake ?

M : Yes !

R : This was built like something new for the people who go in the park, to see something associated with nature, more or less. Unfortunately, the size of the lake is small. Due to very depth, in the summer, there are some process that make this lake ... To go into eutrophication phase. There are a lot of algae that ...

*M. Batinas doit prendre un appel.*



A-M : We are trying to get some authorizations to get to Oradea. We know that a certain amount of the waste is ...

R : Is diverted to Oradea ? Yes. The best solution is to follow the cars ! I's to have a car ! And it will take you to the sites.

*Rires.*

A-M : Yes, because people from Cluj-Napoca, they told us it's an old information ...

R : Yeah. I know that also from Floresti, it's close to my village, it's also connected to Oradea waste dump. My son, I asked him, "where does the waste go ?" "It goes to Oradea". He doesn't know ... But basically, I don't know if this is already a present fact or not, I can't confirm that, but in relation with water, I have told you about the lake in the park. I've read recently that there is a similar issue in the eastern park of the city, in Gheorgheni, near the Iulius Mall. There is another lake, the depth over there is a little bigger, but there is still a problem. So ... I think ... Maybe for the recreational means, we have to change that. The flow of water, through these lakes, is very low. This involves very low refreshment rates of the water in the lakes, and due to that shallow depth and the sunny days in summer, it's problematic. On the other hand, the waste water that comes from residential areas, there are some ... sensitive topics. Usually, the people say that all the water is transferred to the sewage water treatment plant and ... I don't know if you've been there ? But the access is also restricted. I usually go there with students but ... Students are missing so I can't go there by myself !

*Rires.*

R : I already know what's over there. It's not a public facility, but you can go if you have a permit. So ... It's a new wastewater treatment plant because it has been going into a new phase with European funds. There are 3 stages : a primary stage, where it is basically a decantation process, where they collect the heavier elements, things that are floating. And then there is a chemical stage, where all the bacteria are put to work, to change the organic matter into inorganic matter. The plant is working well, but unfortunately I have also read something that for me, was quite amazing. You can skip this if you want ... But the plant has a certain capacity to process the wastewater, and I don't know if it was an accidental problem or a vulnerability that has not been covered in the projection of this plant. I think, this spring, this event happened. The company which operates these wastewaters has asked the authorities, which are managing the natural waters - we call it in Romania ANAR, it's the Romanian Water Administration, which is managing creeks and rivers and lakes, and other groundwaters, springs and so on ... - They asked them to release more water from the upper lakes ! Which are about twenty kilometers from Cluj-Napoca, in the mountain area. To release more water, because they are going to release some water from the treatment plant that hasn't been treated. Why is this happening ? I don't know, but the reason for which they asked this supplementary release of water is because when you have a bigger amount of water, the pollution must be diluted, the results downstream are better. I usually tell my students : "If you've got a drop of ink and you dilute it in water a glass of water, the results are better. You mix it, and you will have a blueish color. In a bigger volume of water, in a bottle of water, the color won't be so strong." We need a bigger amount of fresh water to make the pollution less visible, in our eyes and in the laboratory eyes. It's an issue I heard recently, it was quite a surprise for me. On the other hand, besides the Someșul big river, now it's very big due to the last rains. They have generated large amounts of water. The lake can't contain all of that and they must release some volumes of water downstream, but it's a controlled release. The city will never be exposed to a flooding event. I hope we will never see Cluj underwater. All the water is controlled upstream by 4 dams. These dams can ... Each of them has a certain ... capacity of volume from the total volume that is related to flooding mitigation. So, they have a certain empty space in the lake that will be normally used when you have flood events. They intent to manage the water in the lake in that way. When it rains, you will not release all the water through the dams. Maybe you will release a little amount. This is the basic flood mitigation process, it's applied here. Besides this river, on the South part of the city, but also close to our building now, there is a channel, it's called ...

A-M : Mill Creek ?

R : Yes ! It's a small branch of the main river in Cluj. It has some natural aspects, like some sectors, but there are also some modified sectors that are ... I don't know, some ... borders, some bridges over there, and there are also some underground sectors going under buildings ... And there is a project to bring this channel into surface again, at the city council, for recreational purposes basically. Maybe, this creek, sometimes, it ... It is also related to possible pollution issues, because of its size. It's very small, and sometimes people use it to throw things over there. Things that usually must arrive to the waste dump, but it's not a large, a big percentage of these activities.

You can find, if you go and walk around there, you might find something, but usually, I go in the park with my family. Monday and Wednesday, at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, my son is playing tennis.

*Rires.*

R : So I'm walking through this park, and I can see if there are changes or not. But the natural sectors of this creeks are nice, it has a lot of birds, a lot of ducks, families of ducks ... On Monday, I have met a family of 2 adults ducks, and 7 little ducks. So, I think the best answer to the question "Is the water good ?", it's the wildlife. If you don't get wildlife, something is wrong.

A-M : We didn't see wildlife in Pata Rât.

*Rires.*

M : Not so much ...

R : Yes, not so much ... Basically, this is the main topic I can provide to you. The water. There are some small creeks which are collected by the Mill River, which comes from the Botanical Garden, but they are not so important. Sometimes, they can have some collection of bags and other residual objects, but this is not a general thing. They are quite ... disparate. If you go now, see the Someșul creek river, there is a lot of turbidity, of sediments, in the water despite the fact that we have those dams over there. Behind the dam, the decantation process will occur, but because of so many rainy days, the lake, they cannot manage to change the turbidity in a better way. I have some pictures if you want, I just made them yesterday at 8 o'clock in the morning.

*Rires.*

R : To see ... Here, above the area of Giuseppe Garibaldi bridge ... The water is very close to the shore. There are some objects that have stopped between the branches over there. Usually, the water is controlled so ...

*Nous montre les photos.*

M : Ok ... So, flooding never happened in Cluj?

R : I don't know, I don't know if this event has happened ... They know how much water they can release to not flood the city. Sometimes, some parts of the city can get a flood, but this is because of very heavy rains. We have rainwater pipes that can make city walkable, but some rains are so heavy that these networks can't manage all the amount of water. The city center is also in a lower area than other residential areas, so the water is flowing from that part to the city. Sometimes, in summer, for a few minutes thousands of minutes, the city center, the main streets can be flooded. But it's not a big problem. So please if you have a few questions ...

M : Yes, so you were talking about Cluj-Napoca, what is the situation in the other localities in the county ? Is the situation different ?

R : In the county ? Of course, any other part has some individual features ... So downstream of Cluj, the situation is quite similar because we speak about the same river. But in Cluj County, we have two other main rivers. It's called Crișul Repede, or in English "the fast river". It's its name. The other one, it's in the south-eastern part, it's called Arieș. So ... basically, the first one is maybe cleaner than Someșul because it rains mostly on the mountains in this area, the villages are quite sparse, not too populated, with not so many pollution sources. I know, unfortunately, it is a frequent subject : plastic bottles. In spring, plastic bottles are coming alive, because the river is coming alive. Maybe we do not throw them directly into the river, we put them on sites, but because of discharges, the river will take anything and make some cleaning for us. I say, it's the "most effective cleaning device" that we can have, we don't have to pay for it. In Cluj, in these times, the same river is also affected by floods. The other one, the second, Arieșul, which is flowing to Mureș river, one of the top three rivers in Romania if we don't consider the Danube ... Is also a clean river, but it wasn't so clean about twenty years ago, forty years ago. I don't know if you've read about this topic ...

A-M : Rosia Montana ? Yes.

R : You've heard about Rosia Montana, right ? The great area in the Apuseni Mountains. There are several towns, Rosia Montana is the most famous one. If I am not making any mistakes, I think it is the first region in Romania which has been documented in history, certified in the first years of the second century, one hundred and something ... Besides this town, there is another town that is called Rosia Poieni. All of them were mining cities.

The mining process was not very oriented to protect water. We don't mind so much about what is happening to the environment when you do mining. Even if we speak about Canada and US and Australia ... But they have big territories, and where the mining is happening, there are not so many localities, so they can afford to be "rude" with nature. In Romania, we don't have so much luck. We have to put the mining very close to the people. Unfortunately, some years ago, some times ago, the Arieș was one of the most polluted river in Romania, because of this mining. The river was filled with heavy metals, like copper, like nickel, iron ... The PH of the water is very acidic and fishes are not happy about that. Unfortunately, the technology used for extracting the minerals was based on cyanide, which is very toxic. Sometimes, some leakages happened into the Arieș, and the water has been compromised. Due to these events, Turda, the second biggest city in Cluj County, it was forced to block the water supply for its inhabitants. The drinking water supply plant had to be shut down in order to avoid the poisoning of the inhabitants due to cyanide leakage. Now, the mines are closed, unfortunately, the people in the area, they have lost their jobs, but for the nature, everything comes to a good state. If you will check on Google Maps, you can see, there are some ... traces of pollution. You can see an history of this issue over there. You can see one is blue, clean, and the other one is yellow-ish because of the ... metallic sulfur ?

M : Yes, sulfur in french.

*Rires.*

R : Yeah, it's simpler in French ! So because of that the river is still maybe ... in a sensible state. The fishes are returning, so they're fine. Usually, only when it rains a lot, the problem can be an issue, but this is maybe two or three days a year. It's not happening very often.

M : ... I wanted to be sure ... Now, even if there is a new treatment station close to Pata Rât, there is still some leakage in the ...?

R : Yeah, I don't know too much, this is the dump. The waste deposit ...

M : You are talking about the closed dump ?

R : Yeah, there is a small basin over there, you've seen it. They tried to make some osmotic process to change the state of the waste dump downstream. I don't have data, I don't have something to use for your study, but I know that some actions have been done to change this state. I could show you ... Can you put Google Maps ?

*Se déplace et nous montre des choses sur l'ordinateur.*

R : So, here is the deposit, right ? Basically, a lot of the hill over there is covered in vegetation, plants. They have started to cover this dump with protective layers, with soil, tried to stabilize the hill to not slip into the valley ... The river ...

A-M : Zapodie ?

R : This is the ... Zapodie here. There is a facility here, that can change the quality of the river. It's diverted through here. Here is the temporary waste dump. I don't know if it's effective or not, but they have to move the whole hill into the new dump.

M : They are going to move it entirely ?

R : Yes, they have to. Here, this is the old waste dump. It has reached its maximum capacity, they are trying to "ecologize" it. There was no permit for the temporary dump, so they have to move it into this new area. It's the problem with that. We can see here the creek ... Let me show you something about Arieș.

*Commentaires sur les images.*



*Capture d'écran Google Earth du 23/05/2021, entre Câmpeni et Bistra, près de la DN74A. On voit la rivière Abrud rejoindre la rivière Arieș, avec deux couleurs qui se mélangent à la jonction des deux rivières, et une couleur jaune qui se dissout plusieurs centaines de mètres plus loin.*

M : I found interesting what you said about the creeks next to Pata Rât ...

*Certaines photographies prises à Pata Rât sont examinées.*

R : Yes, this is an interesting colour ... But, in Cluj, at least, it's not a big problem. There are some hotspots, if I can call them like that. They are not a big problem. We can live with that, I think. Of course, we can change, in order to avoid streams that are not polluted. It's a theoretical aim, but at least, around waste dumps, if you do not build a good facility from the beginning, this issues will arise. Everywhere in Romania, you will find things like that. Sometimes, you will see direct spilling of waste water into the natural streams, and this is not good, because it's happening with all our knowledge. In social media, there are some groups that can alert us : "I have saw this, I have saw that". They publish photos, videos, movies about events. Only when an event becomes public like that, the authorities in charge with this type of problems react and go over there, take samples and apply some solutions. Sometimes, the authorities are not making their job properly. 85 to 90% yes, but there is a little 10%, "we didn't know about that, it's new" ... We find sometimes, something that might be mindblowing, but I think at east in a general term, Romania is going into a good direction regarding pollution. This is not associated with very good technology involved, but this is maybe due to the fact that our industry is going down. The industry which was responsible for big pollution, like the ones with heavy metals, coal, and other ones, which are considered sources of pollution ...

*M. Batinas répond à un appel.*

M : I was just only at a picture ... Do you know if people living in Pata Rât have access to waste management, waste selection ?

R : I don't know that, it's a sensitive subject. At least for the Cluj council. I know that they intend to move all that community by the end of 2030, so in 9 years ... It's a lot, I think. If you have been there ... I have been there 2 years ago, I have noticed they are following ... It's an assumption. So, the gypsies are involved in some activities around that waste dump, right ? Usually, they go to collect something they can then sell, generate some money off. When I was there with some students, into a field trip, they were a lot of adults that were on the waste dump, and they were waiting for the cars, from the city to go over there. The cars are dropping their loads, and then they jump on these fresh new loads to collect plastic bottles, ONLY plastic bottles. They have big sacs, bags ... Big ones, one cubic meter bags. If it's filled up, they can obtain some money out of it. I don't know if it was 50 lei, for a full bag, about one cubic meter in volume. I don't know how many bottles are in there. For me, it was something that ... okay, these people are, they have a low social status. They have a very low profile regarding their lives, but they are trying to survive, doing something correctly. This is something I have noticed for quite some times now : in Cluj, I cannot say we have a good policy for collecting selective waste. There are some spots, at least I think 70 spots where people can ... put their waste in a selective waste. Sometimes, new facilities are

built underground, but a lot of other parts in Cluj are not covered with these diversity bins where we can put plastic, or glass, or organic matters and so on, mixed waste. So, I spoke last week, with some lady in Florești municipality, and I was telling her “You have put a big tax to collect the waste”. In Florești, it’s around 12 lei, per person, per month, which is more or less about 3 euros per person, per month. This tax is explained by the fact that they told us: “We will take your waste selected.”, but we don’t have bins that ... with different fractions ! People are not encouraged to do a primary selection of the waste. I asked: “Who is in charge with this point where people are leaving their garbage ?” and they said: “The ...

*S’exprime en roumain et Ana-Maria traduit.*

A-M : L’association de propriétaires de certains quartiers qui se rassemblent pour la collecte de déchets. Ce n’est pas la responsabilité de la mairie.

R : So this is odd, because they charge us with some money. It’s not important how much. But they told us: “the point or the location of this area, where you have to put your waste on a different bin, it’s your responsibility.” We have 7 or 25 bins or whatever, but we have to put up and arrange that spot in order to ... for them to collect different types of waste. I told them: “Why don’t you take from us this responsibility, and create something, into a ... ?”

*S’exprime en roumain et Ana-Maria traduit.*

A-M : In an integrated manner ?

R : Yes, for the whole community. So, if you go into some area, the point where you put your waste is small, its closed ... In other areas, it’s all over. “Why don’t you create something uniform for the whole community ?”. If you put this under some fences, when you go, you intend to make a connection: “Where is the yellow bin ? Where is the blue bin ?”, right ?, but you have some fences, or gates, in front of these colorful bins, when you go over there ...

*Mime le fait de jeter les ordures sans réfléchir.*

R : And go on. If you have these gates, you are not making that connection: “this is plastic, this is paper, this is ...”. You know ? I think, but maybe I am wrong, I think, this can be changed, and people will change.

A-M : Yes, but I think that it is, I don’t know, it depends on the municipality. The lady we met yesterday, she told us that we don’t need to have their opinion, to involve citizens in the process ... “Waste management is only our task” ...

R : Yes but in Cluj, the municipality has taken the responsibility to arrange these spots. In Florești, it doesn’t have that advantage, right ?

A-M : And you are the closest locality from the Metropolitan Area.

R : I mean it’s the biggest village in Romania. It’s not a city, it’s a village, but it has far more inhabitants than many many cities in Romania. If you want to have a ... a good vision, a good direction in waste water, in waste management, you have to create the conditions that will take you to it.

A-M : Yes but this would involve innovations ...

*Rires.*

R : Sometimes, I have seen some posters, some messages, on front doors. “The paper will be collected weekly on some day” ... If you are so lucky that you have your own house and you don’t live into a block, their collection is better. They give you bags. In Florești, it is happening. So this is ... If you are rich, if you have a house, this issue is not so big. If you live in a block with many neighbors, this is another aspect, intriguing aspect. In Cluj, I have noticed that the big blocks, with big amount of families, don’t have nice spots for waste collection. Small blocks, like 4 level blocks, they do have that. Come on ... If you walk in Cluj, you go in different neighborhoods, you will see that. In the areas with tall buildings, there is a high density, and in the other areas, you can see there is more green spaces, for a “better” living, and they have a good management of waste. When you buy a house in Cluj, you can also check that.

A-M : My sister is living in Sopor, there is a gated community, and they have a very good waste management.

R : Yes, but this is a very new example. If your house or your building was a new project, you will get lucky. If there are old blocks, like 40 or 50 years old, you're maybe not so lucky. ... The difference in prices, between an old building and a new building, it's not a big difference ... I know, when people is moving into a new house, it's checking itself. "Do I need this much space ? How close I am to my job or the school ? Where is the shopping center ? Is there transportation ?".

A-M : But you think, maybe, that the difference between the new blocks and the old blocks is related to the owner ?

R : I think that ... The people who develop building projects, they put in the project : "we must sell this, everything must look nice", to be sellable, right ? If you have a small nice, or if you have an apartment in a block, you cannot forget to think about that. In an old building, you cannot change the space in the exterior, but if you buy something new, you think in a better way, about how the space is created, in the living area, and so on ... I know that in Cluj, when projects for houses are developing, they ask now for something new. If you want to build 500 apartments, you also need to build a kindergarten, which is ... ok. Why don't you build a library or I don't know ? So, there is a big pressure, because a lot of people, young people, students, remain in Cluj. They find jobs here, the cost of living is high, maybe at the beginning they can only afford to rent but then, after a few years, they can afford to buy something. Usually, Cluj at least, as long as I know, is in the small family of big cities in Romania where the population is growing, because the majority of the other localities in Romania are going down. Cluj is growing, which is strange, you know. Florești is one of the fastest growing localities, it has tripled its population in the matter of ten years. So ... a lot of people living in Florești and other neighborhoods around Cluj, other villages in the metropolitan area, are living here because the housing prices are lower than in Cluj. They migrate to Cluj every morning and they come back every afternoon. So it's like a dormitory ... It's my case also. I'm leaving at 7 o'clock in the morning with my whole family, the car is full, we go downtown and head to our jobs and kindergarten positions...

*Rires.*

R : And then in the afternoon, I collect them, and we go back to Florești. Of course, in the weekend I do something else. This is happening because Florești was growing so fast ... There is no high school over there, no hospital, ... There are schools, a few schools, and a lot of family think they need to bring their children to the city, where the schools are better than in the village. Usually, in the morning, streets are crowded in Cluj with people bringing their kids to school. I know it because during lockdown, I could fly from Florești to Cluj-Napoca. Now, schools are open, I cannot fly anymore. I think an important part of the population of Florești needs to go to Cluj every day. Sooner or later, I think Cluj will suffocate itself with the people that are living around Cluj and coming in the city for working, relaxing, shopping, to see a movie, a concert, playing in the parks, ...

A-M : It's starting to have all the problems of a metropolitan area, from outside ...

R : I don't know what are the solutions. The municipality proposed a fast train, there is a project for a metro in Cluj ... which is of course an illusion. It's science-fiction, really, I don't believe that. I know that Romania doesn't have the capacity to manage a big project in a modest amount of time. They cannot manage. We cannot manage. It's not about the money. If Brussels, if the European Union, tomorrow, gave Romania 1 billion euros, we would not know what to do with that. We don't have enough people to go to work, to make infrastructures ... We are not capable to do that. We can watch what's happening in Turkey, eastern Europe almost, in Montenegro with China investments, in Poland regarding the road infrastructures, or in Hungary. I don't know why Hungary is so successful because they have half our population. They are more prepared, they are more ... I don't know why ...

M : Hard-working ?

R : Yes, they are more hard-working.

*Rires.*

R : So ... I don't know what we can expect in the future, but in Bucharest, they need 11 years to make 5 metro stations. 11 YEARS.

A-M : Maybe we could ask the Chinese ?

R : No, the Chinese, Japanese, ... They cannot work here, because they are not very liked by the European Union. The UE does not afford to give money to people out of Europe. That's why China doesn't win so much projects

in the UE. Of course, if you go to Asia or in Africa, they are champions over there. We can watch China all over and be amazed about their projects, but they have 1.4 billion people. We almost have 19 million, and a lot of lazy people. So in Bucharest, 11 years for 5 stations of new metro line, and in Cluj we need 19 metro stations ... They put it on paper, but it's impossible. It will be impossible, even if you bring 10 000 Chinese people in Cluj. It will be impossible. I have read this week about the metro in Dubai. The money is not a problem in Dubai, it doesn't matter, right ? They built it very fast, the metro, in several years. But Romanian cannot compete with the metro budget in Dubai. Even if we had that money, we don't have people from Indonesia, from Philippines, from India, ... who built this crazy project. We are not capable to do the metro with Romanians, definitely. We are struggling with the infrastructures, with Romanian people.

M : Ok ... That's interesting what you were saying about Romanian people not being as "hard-working" as Romanian because ...

R : Yeah, I see, there are differences. Hungary has a small advantage, geographically speaking : they are flat. It's a low altitude country, with plains. Romania has a different topology, so it's difficult to build roads, infrastructures, motorways, ... And we are afraid to do tunnels. Unfortunately, I can say that Romanians are afraid to build tunnels, especially for road network. For train, there are some, but for roads, we are afraid. So, if we have to transit through the mountains area, we take the road as fast as we can onto the top, making many many turns and taking difficult ramp access and so on.

A-M : Yes, this is why I told you that we also have small villages in our country where Hungarian or German people, do have a rather different way of living.

R : Some communities are stronger, are working harder than us. We can see that by simply transiting this area. You go and you see. Everything is clean, it's nice, maybe some flowers, new paint on the building, the fences, the bridge ... It's different. Something is different. I'm sorry to say it, but there are changes between Moldavia, and Transylvania, and southern parts of Romania. You can notice that. If you can have a trip around Romania, you will notice this type of differences. Maybe ... Maybe I'm subjective. In Transylvania, people are still working more than in other parts of Romania, maybe, maybe ... I don't know. But this can be seen in the vaccination numbers. If you search the vaccination rates by county, you will see that in Moldavia, none of the counties surpass 12 or 13%, but in Transylvania, there are many counties that have more than 20%. Something is different. It's not about the language ... If you look at the infrastructures in Romania, the motorways are longer in Transylvania, as of length. You will not find any centimeter of motorway in Moldavia. You have some motorways in some southern part of Romania, but there is the capital and the connection of Bucharest with the seaside ...

M : Can I ask you one last question? You were talking about Roma people working close to the landfill, and collecting plastic bottles ... It means that they are allowed in the landfill or close to the landfill?

R : Yes. They are not allowed like they have a permit, but I think there is a verbal agreement. "Yeah, you can go. But you have to not jump in front of our cars, do not expose your children over there." I didn't see any children. I only saw adult people, and basically only men, that are doing that job. People at the Environment Ministry have proposed, these days, that in return for plastic bottles, you receive some money. This policy will be, I think, put into place in several month, maybe half a year, something like that. When kids will see a plastic bottle, they will collect it, and say "I will go and buy an ice cream today." I have also heard about Constanta, which gives a free ticket for public transportation if you recycle 3 plastic bottles. So there are some initiatives to ... diminish a little bit this garbage.

M : It would be interesting to go in Florești, go talk to some citizens, people in charge of their building's waste, and to do it also in Cluj-Napoca ...

R : I think, the best way, is to walk through the buildings and when you find someone with their waste, you ask them: "What do you do with that waste? Did you do a proper selection ?".

*Rires.*

R : Yeah, it was interesting to talk about that. The subject is very generous, there are a lot of topics ... How people are responding to the policies? Is the municipality doing something to make people more responsible about the waste, the environment? We are making very small steps ... But they are ahead. We are not going backwards. This is my opinion, at least ... Ok, I am sorry, but I have to go! It was nice. I hope you will have a good time here in Romania. It's your first trip here in Romania?

Rires.

M : Yes, it is my first!

R : We can exchange ideas, we can do things together.

A-M : Our doors are open.

M : Thanks for your time and answers !

### Entretien n°7 - Mme Miruna Batin, ONG Scientifica.

*Entretien via Zoom à 9h du matin, le 25/05/2021. L'entretien dure une trentaine de minutes. Mme Batin est Creative Director de l'ONG Scientifica.*

Ana-Maria : Thank you so much for accepting our invitation. Marie is here for a month and a half, she is trying to understand what is the degree of innovation regarding waste management in Cluj-Napoca. We got your recommendation by the French Institute of Cluj-Napoca.

Marie : Yes ! Thank you for accepting to meet us via Zoom. Would you like to introduce yourself first, and maybe introduce Scientifica ?

Miruna : Yes, sure, so we are a small organization. We are two girls with a lot of friends. We are doing workshops, exhibitions, events. Our main purpose is to talk about science and how science can affect our everyday life. So our workshops and exhibitions must go in this direction ; tackling subjects that are important for the society and trying to present them in a way that visitors understand whatever it is that we are explaining. We target young people mostly, but also young professionals. It depends on the projects, we are doing a lot of them.

A-M : Is there some professionals from Academias ? Your name sounds like it is related to a scientific environment.

Mi : No, we have the name that my colleague chose and we kept it. We don't have any academia. We are now working towards, for our exhibition because we are growing more and more and keep having subjects, so we have Academias collaborations to understand the subject, but other than that, no. We are not so much scientific, we are mostly fun.

Rires.

Ma : When was Scientifica founded ?

Mi : I think, 2014. This is when we came we came together and started to do more together, than previously.

Ma : So you came together as a group of friends or ... ?

Mi : Yes, as a group of friends, friends and professionals ... So, my expertise is mostly in design, but now more and more, for the past year, I've been a community manager, because we are doing everything. My colleague is more on community building and we have a lot of collaborators, on architecture, or pedagogic studies, learning, or electronics ... We have a big crowd of collaborators. We are trying to bring a lot of "know-how" from somewhere else and match it to the Romanian context.

Ma : Ana-Maria told you about my research, I'm interested in waste management. So, maybe we can talk about plastics, or the Re:Think Plastic workshops you've had in 2018, 2019 ?

Mi : So ... Yeah, we started this nice project when we were in touch with a maker community, before we had a maker community in Cluj, in 2015, 2016. We came across the precious plastics tools, I don't know if you know about the precious plastics tools ? It's an initiative started by a ... a guy from the Netherlands, a designer, who made open-source small plastic machineries and now it's like a global community of people that have those small tools and recycle plastic in a decentralized way. We made these machines and had two bigger workshops: one was directed at schools, and one was for a festival. We tried it several times, one time it was financed by the Cluj cultural center, the second time it was financed by Lidl. Now we are wanting to go further but we want to simplify



the workshops, the machines are a little bit heavy-duty so you can get cut and it's not super child-friendly, as initially thought. Now, we are thinking ... I mean, I am thinking to make it a bit smaller, using 3D printing tools, with some lighter equipment, and talk about recycling plastic in a more interactive way for young people, rather than having those big tools. But yeah, we are currently having these tools, and are trying to put them to work for the community, to ... get people to use them, but with this covid thing all our plans stopped on this area. We are waiting for life to go back on track and start again.

Ma : And how did you come to this idea of using plastic machineries? Where did it come from ? You were talking about a guy from the Netherlands ?

Mi : Yeah, his name is Dave Hakkens, is a really great designer. His whole job is around societal design, so he is trying to find ways in which design can actually do good, on a bigger scale. We found him online and thought, from a maker space perspective, it would be cheap materials, free materials to use to build stuff, which is the dream of the maker ! Pretty much, it is what interested me, to have extra value from something that is looked as not valuable. ... Hope that answered the question.

Ma : Yes ... And you're based in Cluj ? Living in Cluj ?

Mi : Yeah !

Ma : Ok. As a citizen of Cluj maybe, would you like to tell us more about how you see the waste management system here ?

Mi : Yes, I don't know, I think it's very bad, from what I've learned ... I'm very interested in your paper so be sure to send it to me after it's finished because I'm interested in knowing more ! So, what I've learned, we've used this Precious Plastic workshops and we had a lot of people talking about it. I think there are 2 waste management companies here, based in Cluj. The problem is if it gets recycled in the end because you normally have these bins on recycling and for me it would make sense to select them before you send them to the garbage place, but they don't do that, and then they say that they afterwards but I'm not sure if it's really possible, because what I've learned from a collaborator is that they have a selective ramp that doesn't work ... but my news are not trustworthy so it's just what I know. I live in Mănăştur, it's a nice area to watch this waste management thing. What I dislike the most is that the front streets are always clean, whenever it's on a big street people come and clean up, but whenever it's behind a big building, people don't really understand the concept of putting their waste on the waste bin, because there is everything on the streets, in boxes, right ? I even started garbage picking, because I have a dog, so in the mornings ... I take the dog out, so yeah. I don't think it's really managed in Cluj, we don't really think about it. For instance, my mother lives in the Center and she has a super well putting place, garbage selecting system. They come each day and get another fraction, but in the neighborhood, I think we are still waiting in this regard.

Ma : So, you mean, there are differences between Mănăştur and the city center, and other neighborhoods in Cluj ?

Mi : Yeah, I think so, for instance, for my mother, they don't take the garbage if it's mixed. Paper with plastic in it, they don't take it. But for us, it's like, you just have one bin for everything for instance, it's not really calculated for the people living here. For my building, I have a garbage bin for everything and one for plastic. I don't have one for paper, for glass, I would have to go in another block of houses.

Ma : So ... Scientifica is helping, in raising awareness about plastics with the workshops?

Mi : Yeah, I think, so it's not our main ... We do different stuff, but for the workshops it was a way to bring people together and to talk about waste problems, not necessarily plastics. We also got collaborators from ... the Food Bank, they were about food waste. Now, what we are trying to do is to make kits for schools, but the kits for school will be more about the whole concept of protecting the environment, not so centered on waste, but more on "Why to not make waste?", circular design, biodiversity, you know ... Because, as it is, I've been trying to think of ways on how to make it on a bigger scale. My greatest dream is to have a robot in the center of Cluj that recycles plastic, but I really think that the solution should be more bigger scale than have different people, you know, in Cluj, or in Sibiu, using those small machines to recycle plastics and to make something. You cannot compare the quality of recycled plastic with these kinds of do-it-yourself semi-industrial thing, with these big factories that recycle plastic with chemicals and make it as good as new. So, I don't think it works as a recycling

thing, I just think it shows aspects to people, that plastic is not a waste in a sense, that it has value. I wouldn't necessarily see it as a solution, it's just an educational thing.

Ma : Do you think there is a lack of education you're helping with? You said you were working on kits for schools. Is there a lack of awareness or education in Romania in regards to the environment or ... What's your point of view ?

Mi : I don't think it's a lack of material, but it's a lack of implementing it. There are a lot of people that are doing projects in this direction. I think what it lacks is, there's still small projects in different cities, but I don't know if there is a direction to it. There are a lot of small initiatives and at some points it will become a bigger one, but it's weird, because I don't think they do a lot of environmental studies in schools, but yeah, I think it can be done more interactively and more interdisciplinary. I think that's what's missing, but what's weird is that now we are doing these workshops, it's hard to understand, if you want to work on a new subject, how to incorporate it into the class. Is it a facultative subject? Do you integrate it into a lesson? How do you do that?

Ma : And ... do you know of other NGOs, associations, projects in Cluj-Napoca, that are raising awareness or talking about waste management ?

Mi : I know about Clujul Sustenabil, and of Camelia Goi, she is the most knowledgeable in food waste, I think.

A-M : Yes, we have talked to them already.

Mi : Other than that ... I know a friend of mine used to have WeRecycle, and he is really knowledgeable on that subject.

A-M : Alin Muresan.

Mi : Yes, he had this company ... I can find a list for you, from other cities. There is a lot of sites that give examples for green science, green evolutions, green stuff but ... Some Delivery maybe ? They are organizing a festival, each year, across the river Somes, and it's about the waste and keeping the waters clean. They even did a research on how the plastic waste ends up in the river. Let me think ... Yes, that's about it.

Ma : The schools that were involved in the workshops you did, were they schools from Cluj-Napoca, or different schools from rural areas ?

Mi : No, they were schools from Cluj-Napoca, they are from the Cluj cultural center. They are building up a network of schools to have more ... workshops, different workshops for whatever their program is. We connected through that network. I think they were 4 or 5 different schools from Cluj. But yeah, we are thinking also about going to rural areas, we applied for some funds, but I think it's gonna be an exploration in itself because we've never been to rural areas ... Ever.

*Rires.*

Ma : You talked about the community center ? I don't know much about it, could you tell me more about that ?

Mi : Cluj cultural center ?

Ma : Yes.

Mi : Cluj cultural center is a big NGO, one of the biggest in Cluj around culture. It's kind of an organization that has a lot of events but I think they are more into frameworks and trying to have a cultural community in order to achieve their goals.

Ma : Have you got any information, anything to share with about the informal activities in the city, recycling, collecting, ... ?

Mi : Like events you mean ?

Ma : Not like an event, more like ... people used to work, and are still working probably, in Pata Rât. I've heard about people collecting in the city, also. Have you seen anything like it in Mănăştur ? People collecting cardboards, plastic bottles ... ?

Mi : I think I have seen some guy collecting cardboard. I haven't seen it with plastic bottles because we give it back, to machines, you know, like in Germany or France. I think there is just one guy I've seen collecting cardboard. Yeah ... I don't really remember seeing that.

Ma : Do you see anything else you would like to add about waste management in Cluj ? Is it going in a good direction for you ? What's gonna happen in the future regarding this subject ?

Mi : I hope it will. I heard that they will get fined really badly. So, I think that the monetary ... thing will kinda make them, at some point, to collect and recycle things as they should, but that's my hope because I'm an optimist and I would rather hope for better than worse. I don't know, I saw now they have a lot, even in Mănăştur, I see some spaces that have all the containers, which I think is nice. I hope that they will scale it up, and that the money thing will make them scale it up, the collection and the recycling ... I don't know if you know the guy from Târgu Lăpuş ? Târgu Lăpuş, which is a city in the North of Romania, managed to collect up to 80% of recyclable material from their trash ... They managed to recycle, or resell, but anyways, they are up to 80% of whatever they collect and resell or recycle. This was done by Sandor Korosfoj, a guy who is also working with Alin. We invited him for our first event, and he talked to the municipality of Cluj, but I'm not sure why they didn't take his advice, or hire him, because he actually did it once, in a smaller city, manage to collect separately and recycle. He understands the whole management system and he was the first one to say that you should kind of scale the dumpsters in the right direction. For instance, in Cluj, he said that you have more consumerism, people here have more money, so we should have more dumpsters, and this is kind of what is not working. I can give you his contact, he really is into recycling everything.

Ma : Yes, it could be great to know more about him. I think we're good !

A-M : Thank you very much Miruna !

### Entretien n°8 - Istvan Szakats

*L'entretien avec M. Istvan Szakats se déroule au café Sisters à Cluj, à 10h du matin, le 26 mai 2021. Il dure environ 1h30.*

M : So maybe, you would like to introduce yourself first ? I've read about in the newspapers regarding the dump, read about your project in Pata Rât ...

I : So, yes, I'm Istvan Szakats, you already know my name. I'm 53 years old. I graduated first in computer science and then fine arts. I told you what I am, I really don't know. I have a foundation; I am the president of a foundation that promotes art and culture. I have been involved in city projects, like the capital of culture participatory budgeting, strategy and so on ... But I really don't know how to define myself. I'm just a guy, just a citizen, that's it. Newspapers usually write about me that I'm an "activist, but I am not. I cannot stop them writing that, but I don't feel an activist. I'm lazy and I don't find anything special about being active. The trajectory of the foundation, which is called Alt Art ... First, when we started 22 years ago, we started with high art, internet, electronic, for "les connaisseurs", and now, 20 years later, we do almost only cultural, and almost for the poor people. So it's a two-dimension shift: from art to culture and from the wealthy population to the underclass population. 10 years ago, we got to know Pata Rât, because of the evictions. Since then, I've been working more and more with these people. This is how I came to know the story of the garbage dump and everything. I'm not very much interested in waste, and ecology, and so on ... I'm interested in people, but because there is this huge racism and so on, I cannot present directly this problem of the people, this 'red problem'. I've always got to talk about the green problem, move the focus and "Ooooh, look, there's some people there." Business with the green problem, but in fact, I'm interested in the red problem. The 2 are linked, but it's easier to show the green problem. If you show the red problem, then people will say "fuck off", that's the story.

M : Yes, a rather sensitive subject here ...

I : Yes, it is. So another story is that ... But you're not interested in the red problem ?

M : I'm also interested in what you call the red problem. My research is exploratory, so I can talk also about segregation, Pata Rât or ...

I : What is your domain ? Is it geography ? Is it psychology ?

M : I come from a Bachelor in Geography and my Master's degree is also in Geography, but it's specialized in Waste Management and Circular Economy. I study waste management from a geographic standpoint.

I : And there is a thing called human geography ?

M : Yeah, hm hm.

I : How population is distributed, how social classes are placed geographically ... But probably this is a bit far. Just tell me, "this is interesting", "this is not interesting", "shut up about that", just tell me ok ?

*Rires.*

M : Ok. So, yeah, I've got some questions, but ... You told me you came from computer science ? How did you switch from computer science to art ?

I : This was simple. When I finished computer science in 92, I read an ad about a company that wanted somebody that knows computers. It was a video studio. It was the first private video studio. They hired me, and I started to do computer projects for them, you know, those 3D intros, the planet, the news, the meteo and shit ... But that was really bad and I was frustrated, and I went to the art university to learn more about that.

M : You're a foundation president ... How many people are in your foundation ?

I : 2.

*Rires.*

M : Two official members ? ... How did you ... Because, I've seen your movie about Pata Rât ...

I : Oh ? The movie about Pata ? You saw it ? Ooooh !

*High-five. Rires.*

M : So how come did you ... Comment est-ce que vous êtes arrivés à monter un projet tel que celui-ci avec la Fondation ?

I : In 2010, they evicted the people from Coastei. You know, it's in the movie. The shots with the gendarmes ... Ok, this is how I came to know them, and I started to do more and more projects in this area. One day, I met a woman who told me : "Don't you want to work together ?", because they were writing about this Pata Rât project. If you remember the name, Julia Adorjani ..., she appears in the movie, she talks there, and now she is my wife.

*Rires.*

I : But, in principle, we started to work together, we started this project, and now we are together. So, that was it, she was working there, I was working there, and ...

M : And you already got interviewed a few times ? In newspapers ?

I : Yes, lots of them.

M : I read about some pollution measurements you've done near Pata Rât. How did it happen?

I : There are two kinds of things that I did. What I did more is drone filming. I do a lot of drone filming. The last time, I went 2 weeks ago. The material is still on my computer, I can show you. Sometimes, I convince laboratories to go there and do some measurements of toxicity and so on. What I recommend you do, is go on Facebook and search for the group Clujul Civic. I'm the administrator there, it's Matias Rex. I started that group 10 years ago, approximatively. Now, it's probably the biggest civil active citizens group in the city. There you will find, if you scroll back, lots of materials that I published about the leachates, the toxic waste ...

M : So you're in contact with laboratories ?

I : Well, it's simple. I started to google for data, for toxicity data. I found an official report done by the county council, that showed huge toxicity level through the area. I wanted to repeat those tests, and it still happens that

I know people from the Sapientia university, Hungarian university. So I went to the dean, because I know the dean, and I said : “Wouldn’t you send the laboratory to measure what is going on there ?” and he said : “Ok, anyway we have a project, we have some money that is not spent and we can combine it to that project.” They sent 5 people with some glasses, did the tests, gave me the results and it was a scandal because it was highly toxic. As you know, it’s probably not different in France, universities are under the influence of politics, and when a university does something that the politics do not like, there is a shitstorm ... Now, if I was to convince a university again, it would be much harder.

M : So it was done a few years ago?

I : Yes, 3 years ago, I think.

M : 3 years ago ... And you, you haven’t been able to do it again?

I : I could ... but now is not the moment to do it. Now is a different thing, the moment. Now, the thrown packaging would be an interesting part. Wait, I want to show you, so you see what I’m talking about. Ok, so here is the old dump ... here it’s the area where they dumped. Here is the place where they shouldn’t do anything anymore, they don’t have permits anymore.

M : The temporary dump ?

I : Yes ... So, here, this is the new dump. You should see no plastic, you should see no objects, but they don’t do any filtering, they just dump the whole shit here, and this is proof that they are raping all environmental laws. The last time I did this, half a year ago, it was a pretty big scandal. It was in the autumn. The environmental council, and the government, and the ministry came, they gave a fine and they sworn they will not do it again ... Now, this thing is almost there, it’s almost full ... Maybe you’ve seen it already ?

M : I have toured the place a bit, but I wasn’t able to access this area.

I : You’ve seen it from afar.

M : This is the new dump ?

I : Yes, now you see the area, where they should dump only filtered waste, treated, non-recyclable waste, etc. What you will see here, this should be the place where they are treating, and filtering and everything ... No nothing. It’s just empty shit, bullshit. Here should be the silos for composting, huge barrels ... This is why it’s not happening : they don’t have the equipment, but they pretend they have all the equipment at the old place, but they have almost nothing. Normally, at the old place, they should process the dump of the whole county. That’s impossible, they haven’t been able to do that for the city.

M : I was told from the woman I met at the City Hall that ...

I : Which is who ?

M : It was a woman but ... I don’t remember her name.

I : Young, brownish hair, big ass ?

M : No, it was more of an older women, with shorter brown hair, no glasses ... She told me that something was already working in the new management center but I haven’t been able to find something really relevant. She said I could find it online but ... of course, I haven’t been able to find anything truly, exactly, about where the waste goes. It’s not clearly expressed.

I : If you want, I can give you the videos.

M : Really ? Oh, it would be so nice !

I : Actually, if you google my name and CMID, then you will find some stuff about the CMID, written by newspapers. Or if you scroll down Clujul Civic. Everything that I posted was taken by newspapers, the filming, the data ...

*Tentatives de transfert de fichiers sur disque dur.*

M : So you gave me information about the SMID ?

I : The CMID and the SMID are 2 different things, yes. The SMID is the system, and the CMID is the center, and the center should be part of the system. But the difference is that the system, SMID, should contain a lot of other spaces, like Campia Turzii, Dej, Gherla ... and the CMID is the center I showed you in the video. So which do you want to know more about ? The S or the C ?

M : I was going to ask you, what are the reasons, why is the CMID still not operating right now ?

I : That is a really really long story, and the best is if you google "monitorul de cluj". Monitorul de Cluj has lots of long long articles, about the story of "the epic fail of Cluj's CMID". You will find all the data, all the chronology, all the money wasted, these articles are very well written ... But long story short, it doesn't work because, in the sweet Romanian style, they just promised and then the promise disappeared, the work didn't happen, they found a reason why it didn't happen, they sued each other.

M : Ok ... I've been asking people about the different neighborhoods of Cluj, but also the different localities in the metropolitan area of Cluj. Do you see differences in the waste management, between localities ?

I : Alin Muresan, I think, is a very good example, because he works for RDE Harghita, but his boss is also very good, very knowledgeable, he is working in the area. He actually set up the first properly functioning waste management center in Romania, in the North, in Maramures. This is how he became famous. "Oh my god, it can be done !". He moved now somewhere in the South. He is managing the waste but he is sometimes called also as an expert by politicians, but of course politicians don't give a shit ... I mean ... Just a second ... For example, when we had this leachate lake problem, did you see the videos ?

M : I saw some videos, yeah.

I : Here is the video ... I used to go there with a friend, a pilot, on an airplane. He took me up and we flew many times, when he was doing his exercises. This footage is from the times when there were no drones. This was an 8 hectares leachate lake.

M : Where was it located ?

I : I'll show you. This is the old installation, and this is the new installation. I had those pictures from above, I was able to take measurements with Google Earth, and this is how I got the 8 hectares. It was very visible. It's really worth googling all these things, because you'll find lots of articles.

M : I will, definitely. So, after the scandal, they removed the leachates ?

I : No, no ... Last autumn I think, Vice television came. They wanted to do a documentary and ... I called my friend, and he told me that he cannot fly now because of a new military base, some camp where they do exercises, and now when he flies over, he gets angry messages, "heueffebfjnjkqk" ...

*Rires.*

I : ... So, this is the place. What was your question ?

M : They removed the leachates after the scandal ?

I : No. Actually, there is a little creek over there, and here, they made a little barrage so that the toxic waste couldn't go in the Somes river.

M : Downstream, in the Somes river, ok.

I : But what they did ... The county manager decided that they would dig a trench, and that way, the leachates would join the Somes and go away. That's it. Politics can do anything! It's also in the newspapers.

M : I read that politics accused each other of being responsible of the situation.

I : Yeah. Cluj has historically been the land of the liberal party, PNL, but it also happens that the PCV, the socialist party, are so dumb, lazy, cretin mother-fuckers that they can't even have a voice in Cluj. It's like ... It's incredible how all the city is monopolized by this liberal mafia. It's not that the socialist mafia is not the same mafia, it's just that they are not present in Cluj. They are so not present that they cannot even develop a coherent criticism. Now, it's a little bit better because we have USR-PLUS. These are 2 new parties that just entered the city council and the county council, and who have now potentially critical voices, but the problem is that the liberal party

and these guys are governing together the country, and because of that, they are in a coalition and they cannot really criticize each other. They only do soft kills, you know. But, again, I have good friends among those county counselors or city counselors, so they give me documents, I can also send them to you. Official county council documents about how they are managing the waste, scientific evidences, how much money it costs ...

M : Yes, it could be great, if you want. About Pata Rât and the people living in Pata Rât, maybe. I read some articles about people collecting waste in Pata Rât. Then I talked to someone who told me that men collected in Pata, men only, in the temporary dump ... collecting plastics bottles. Do you know much about those activities ? I haven't been able to find so much recent articles about those activities.

I : What you could do, is you could talk to Adrian Dohotaru, who is an activist.

M : Dohotaru, yes, we're supposed to see him this week or next week, maybe.

I : I can give you his number. So, if you saw that movie that I made, you know how many people live in each part ... You know, Cantonului, Dallas, Coastei, and here is what people call the Rampa, where there is 200-250-230 people working in the waste, sorting plastic, metals, ect. But, what do you want to know about this ?

M : What are they collecting ? What is their main activity ? With which company are they working with ?

I : The last time I went ... They are not let in this facility. Only once or twice a week. They can sell what they sorted only to one company, that is actually paying money to the PNL (?) mafia. They have to sell it to that company, at the price that is fixated by them. These people are really almost dying of hunger. I don't even know how they survive. Maybe they make 40 lei with what they sort and they get the help of the NGOs. That's really bad.

M : Which company were you talking about ?

I : I don't know the name.

M : Ok ... Difficult situation there, yes ... A lot of citizens I've talked to said to me that they wanted this to be resolved, but pointed at the responsibility of the city hall ...

I : They are many things at stake here, but, how old are you ?

M : I'm 21.

*Rires.*

M : Why ?

I : It's ... You probably, I'm sorry, probably. You haven't been fucked up enough times by life, at 21 years old. Probably, I don't know, maybe you had a difficult life, I don't know. But I know that, when I was 21, I was living a nice life, everything was beautiful, and so on. So ... Why the city doesn't do things ? The first reason is because it is a democratic apparatus. This democratic apparatus is optimized to treat mainstream problems, for mainstream populations. They don't have at all the tools and the flexibility to treat marginalized people's problems, that elite flexibility in approach. So actually, the goals and the procedures the city hall are totally unfit to treat these kinds of situations, to respond, to dismount ... On one aspect. The second reason, is that actually, they don't give a shit. There is this huge structural racism, everyday racism. They hate gypsies, they want them to die, they just don't care. So they don't have the tools and they hate the problem. Here are two reasons. The third reason is that the population is racist, so even if they say : "Ok, fuck, we don't have to do it, we don't want to do it but let's do it.", then the population will go like : "Why are you giving everything to the gypsies ?!". You see, so, there are those 3 pillars that combine all the lack of energy and apathy and unwillingness of the city hall to even engage with the problem. Then, from the outside, there are activists, social workers, "let's protest", "someone moves" and so on ... They pretend to move, but they really don't. That's it ... We need someone that is extremely committed, visionary, to move this process forward, and this person will not appear in the next 10, 20 years. We would need someone like the mayor of Barcelona.

M : Yes ... I admit it, I don't know much about it. I cannot imagine how people are living in Pata. But this is a situation we can find also elsewhere in Europe, in France, ...

I : The Roma have been slaves until 160 years ago. It means that they were sold like chattel, like sheep, on the market. Actually, the biggest operator, slave trader, was the Orthodox church. 160 years is not much for a

population to recover socially. Imagine the black people in America : after the end of the slave trade, they were nowhere. No rights, no organization, no political capacity to ... Somehow, we can feel a similar process. The time needed by Black people in America to become a social force needs to be compared to the time the Romanian Roma need to step up in the social scene, but they didn't have that time, plus the Romanian state doesn't want to empower them, for the same reasons I said at the city level. Racism in procedures, racism in institutions, and unwillingness from the population. So, it will not change.

M : That's what you think, it will not change anytime soon and the CMID will not be operating ?

I : You know, the difference between you and me is only, you know, 30 years.

*Rires.*

I : That's the only reason.

M : That's really interesting, all the data you've gathered and ...

I : There's a study, if you want to read it, about social mobility in Europe. It shows that from the lower class to middle class, in countries that promote this mobility, it takes 3 to 5 generations. In countries that don't take measures, it takes 9, 11, 20 generations. If you count a generation as 20 years, that means that it takes 400 years until, statistically speaking, a family can go from lower class to middle class. So, you can only imagine from this study how these people had no way to move socially ... And especially at your age, at this age, you often believe that : "No, if you work hard, if you study hard, you're gonna succeed in life !", but most probably, you will die in the exact same conditions that you were born in.

M : Yes, I get your point, I don't believe in it that much either. Ok, you can work hard, I can work hard, but still, I come from the middle class and I will probably stay in the middle class and my 'success' in life will be define by my socialization and my parent's capacities ...

I : Maybe if you meet a cheikh or I don't know.

*Rires.*

M : Maybe !

I : Actually, I had a colleague of mine, back when I was working at the TV station. A 60 years old woman, who never married, she retired with a small pension, I said "Bye Bye" to her, she went the fuck off. The next year, she met a super millionaire from South Africa, married him, and went to live there.

*Rires.*

M : Yeah, one people in a million.

I : At sixty ! And the other case, it was crazy. I used to teach, give some lessons at university ... Her name was Maria. She was from a family that was really hardcore neo-protestant, Baptist or something like this. She was always carrying her Bible, no makeup, very conservative. One day, as I was giving some exercises, I was walking and I saw her Bible. Her Bible was full of drawings! She moved to London, on an Erasmus, and in one year she became a photo model, then she met a prince from the Arabic's and now she is one of his 3 wives or 5 wives, I don't know. I was like "Wow, fuck ..." !

*Rires.*

M : Yeah, some people really do have extraordinary lives.

I : But other than that, by chance ... I was born middle class, and will probably die middle class. These people, the Pata Rât people, they were born poor, and they will probably die poor.

M : Have you seen any changes, because of the covid crisis or the quarantine, in the waste management field ?

I : I never ... No, I think, during the last year, people turned inward. It was one year of introversion, of introspection. So, they did not even take time to make photographs about how their waste was managed. I think, in this prospect, there was not change. But it's funny ... You've seen that Pata-Cluj movie. Pata Rât wasn't decimated by Covid. They have no hygiene, no medical care, no running water, they do no social distancing ...



They don't believe in Covid or vaccines, they don't wear masks and a lot of people are living in very crowded spaces, so I would imagine that they would have died like flies. But actually, in a year, I heard about 2 people dying from Covid there. I don't understand.

M : Well, I'm no medical expert so I don't know either ... Are there a lot of old people in Pata Rât ?

I : No.

M : Maybe it explains why ... No old people, no obesity-related diseases ...

I : Maybe. But you know, the air is very toxic, the soil is very toxic, so the fact that they don't have old people is because they die young, and they die young sick. Most people die of cancer, or lung-related diseases. So ... That's a weak population, health wise. The population is very exposed. But my speculation is that we overproduced, the majority of the planet overproduced a media discourse about "washing your hands", social distancing, and that the whole hysteria around Covid is much bigger than what it should have been ... But it is only my speculation, it is only because I see how people with no access to healthcare have survived.

M : I don't know ... In my paper, I also want to talk about the differences between localities within the metropolitan area. People talked to me about Floresti a lot. How is it different between localities inside of the metropolitan area, outside of it ?

I : I'm gonna show you a video I've got ... This is the river, from Floresti to Cluj. I'm gonna send it to you. The first video that I did, did 200 000 views, which is good, and the last that I got from Floresti got almost 30 000 views, which is not bad. Ask me about all those things, the materials, and I will send them to you.

M : Thanks ! So you told me you lived in ... In Feleacu ? How is the waste management in Feleacu ?

I : It's done by RDE.

M : It's ?

I : It's done by RDE, by Alin Muresan.

M : Oh, RDE, so it's ok ? ... Because I've heard about some companies, some operators, throwing all the different bins into the same car, especially in Cluj-Napoca. I am wondering how people can stay consistent with the selective waste collection if they see that, truly, everyday.

I : Look. Fifteen years ago I heard about a French guy that came here, in Romania, to teach about what is garbage, what is waste. He took the kids of the village outside for a picnic on the hills, and then they left. When they left, there was plastic bags left, garbage, etc ... He asked them to turn back and he said : "What do you see ?". They answered: "Nothing.". Because waste is also a cultural phenomenon. You learn about it. Those children were not culturalized, and then he showed them what is "waste". He taught them, and after that, these kids suddenly started to discover under the bridge, on the road ... And they started to talk about it to their parents, to the mayor, and it was a big scandal. They learnt about it, they were now able to see what was garbage. But for hundreds of years, Romania had no waste management, and also no plastic, so everything that was thrown away was biodegradable. Basically, waste became visible with plastic. But they still don't have the culturalization, so they have the old methods, they put the garbage in their car and take it to the forest. It needs to be a long deculturalization, a long cultural process, so that they understand that ... this is WASTE. So villages are filled with people who throw away their garbage like that.

M : I see ... And in Cluj-Napoca ? People told me that, because of the many universities there, people could be considered as more aware of the environmental problems maybe ? Do you see a difference between those localities and Cluj-Napoca ?

I : Cluj is an interesting city. You need to take a look a little bit at the history of the city. Until the communist development, it was not a big city. Then Ceausescu decided to create those blocks and to throw there a lot of village people. For them, it was paradise : "Oh my god, it's asphalt, oh my god, it's cinema, it's ...". This is how the myth of Cluj being the Las Vegas of Romania started. Cluj's population is the kids and grandkids of those village people, with a lot of rural roots. What you see here in the center, the festivals, it's a very thin layer. Universities are a very thin layer. But in essence, the people, the middle-class people that are living here is coming from these villages 2 generations ago. So, in terms of waste management, it's still a village. They don't give a shit. If you are living among a bubble, with 20-year-old kids that are going to university, yes, they are scared for their

future, they might be aware of the pollution ... but the majority of the people living in Cluj, it's different. They don't give a shit. They just want to get rid of the waste, they put everything together. Out of sight, out of mind. Maybe, soon, we will have a chance, because you will teach them otherwise, I mean the people of your generation, the next generations, it will be different.

### Entretien n°9 - Dennis Debie, fondateur de The Climate Change Company.

*Rendez-vous à 15h, au sein de l'espace de co-working ClujHub.*

M : So, Ana-Maria told you already, I'm working on waste management here in Cluj-Napoca and in the metropolitan area. I want to know more about the context here but I also want to explore what has been done in terms of innovations. They can be technical innovations, but also social or territorial innovations ... Maybe you're more on the technical innovation side ?

D : Yes, we are part of the technical innovation side, yes. Would you like me to go back a little bit to what we do, where we come from ?

M : Yes, please.

D : So, I'm originated from the Netherlands. I moved to Romania around 4 years ago, for my wife. It had nothing to do with the business or anything. What I noticed very fast here, was the lack of recycling, and specifically the lack of management of the waste, and we have very bad roads.

A-M : It is true. It is still true.

*Rires.*

D : So ... when I started looking at the plastic problem, I realized very fast that, for common recycling, the type of plastic, and this type and this one ... You separate them, you send them to some factories, and you create new plastic bottles. It's a vicious circle of same problems. It ends again with "what do we do with it ?". Then I thought, "what can we do to remove this complexity of sorting the plastic and making new consumable plastic ?". Instead of making new consumable plastic, for which the material is cheaper with new plastic, let's use all this plastic and make something useful out of it. That's how we came up with the foundation material, the idea of the Littar and the structure that it has, where we use asphalt but we take the rocks out of it and we change the rocks for waste, in this specific structure. All of the plastic can be used directly, without the need of having high-tech machines and a lot of investments, time, effort ... Which is also an issue in different parts of the world. So we invented Littar. We are now bringing it to the market, doing applications on the European level to sell the product and construction material ... Still, we are ...

A-M : Was this technology from the Netherlands ?

D : No. It's from Romania. We say : "It's developed by Romania and made by you", because it's really the people that are producing the waste material for the roads that we are building. We don't have to blow up mountains anymore for the rocks that are usually used. We don't have to produce new plastic. Yes, it's a great solution, all in all. This is one of the only, unfortunately, one of the only innovations I can see here in Cluj-Napoca. ... You've had a lot of discussions, for partnerships with a company that is now in charge with the waste area, near to the airport, but when we went there, we were a bit disappointed ...

A-M : Just like us ...

D : There is a lot of talking on the front door, like, what we are doing, what we are recycling, "on the streets we have the yellow container, the blue container, the black container" ... But, reality is, it all ends up in the same pile. They really don't know what to do with the waste. We went there in order to ask : "Do you have plastic for us ?" - "Yeah, take it, for free.". We said : "For free ?". Usually, you have to pay for that, to get rid of it, and now we are coming and we say "we will pay you for it". So, it's a different market all of a sudden and people want to recycle for us ... But apart from what we are doing in Cluj, it's a lot of great ideas, but no real results, yes. I do believe that our mayor, Boc, is doing very well with promoting the idea of recycling, but as long as you don't have it fixed at the end, it doesn't matter what we do at the front. You can ask us, the people to separate all of it, but as long as we don't see actual results at the end, then why would we do it ? It's just human nature, and as long

as I would like to change human nature, I could not, so ... We are trying to focus on how we can make it work. We are also looking into options on how can we make it easier for the recycling, some designs are very nice for waste and all that. But, at the end, it is not fixed. When we go outside of Cluj, it gets slightly different. Better, in a way. Like, we have a big partner in Alba Iulia that supplies our plastic, and from the moment that you drive into the city, you notice, there are buckets for people to put only the PET bottles, for only the metal waste ... Here in Cluj, you've got metal and plastic combined, and the companies collecting the waste do not have the machines to separate bottles. So, outside of Cluj, I see a lot more innovations happening than inside, than in Cluj, which was quite a surprise for me also. I was expecting Cluj to be a little bit more advanced but ... No. Then, we also have some companies in Cluj and the area around that are doing a lot of recycling. For example, a company called Plastic Timber. They make furniture out of recycled plastic, but they only need one specific type of plastic and it gets very difficult to get that specific type. So, that's what I can say. I'm not sure about innovations in Cluj ... Next month, we are going to start our first project in Alba Iulia. After that, we went to develop all our service in Romania, and in the future all over Europe, and the world eventually, so we can really start recycling plastic on a massive scale. For example, one square meter of our material holds an equivalent of 5000 plastic bottles. That scales up very fast, if you make a highway for example.

A-M : And ... from where do you get all this plastic ?

D : This plastic, right now, we get it from Alba Iulia. That's because our supplier is there. He gets the plastic from the communities outside Alba Iulia and Alba Iulia itself. He prepares it for us. We also have two suppliers in Tulcea.

A-M : It's near ... Constanta.

D : Bucharest, Constanta, yeah. These 2 partners are very big in Romania, they have a lot of connections. It's very important in this industry, to have the connections, to know the people to make deals and get stuff going. Together with them, we can have all the plastic we could possibly want. Even if Romania runs out of plastic, we can ... we could still have plastic !

*Rires.*

M : Why is Cluj not able to supply for the plastics ?

D : There is a lot of legislation. A lot. When we started this project, we also thought, "well we have a great product here, let's build roads". Then, people started asking : "Where is this document ? Where is that stamp ? Where is this ?" ... So, there is a lot of bureaucracy involved. For example, you have the current waste deposit next to the airport that is still operating, and next to it, you have the brand new one.

A-M & M : Yes.

D : But, that brand new one, has been sitting still for more than a year, two years maybe, ready to go. They don't have the documents. They are waiting for the documents to be ready, to start working there also. So, legislation is a problem and at the same time, the drive from the people leading the companies to do this. We are very involved in making the world a better place, rather than making a lot of money, while the current companies involved in recycling are the other way around. They are more interested in making a lot of fast money, than actually recycling. If it was something else they were doing that would make money, they would do that. That's the incentive they have. With the old current waste deposit having the same owner as the new one, you know what's about to happen ... So that's also a big problem that's happening actually.

M : And so you're currently building roads somewhere ? Near Alba Iulia, Tulcea, or ... where in Romania ?

D : So, now, in Alba Iulia, we are doing the test project, to demonstrate the process. Once we are done there, at the end of July, we will start the proper projects, and then we open the market to the state, but also to private people. There are a lot of private streets in Romania, that don't have asphalt because the government said : "Ah, it's private ! Not our problem."

M : To go back to the beginning, you said you founded Climate Change 4 years ago ?

D : No, we incorporated it 1 year ago. In June. So, we're almost one year further, and we are still on track with what we want to do but we had a small delay with the certification process, things we just didn't know. It's very

difficult to find out this information ... We found out too late, from my point of view, and we had to take a step back. But slowly, we are moving forward.

M : And you started working with a team ?

D : We have 3 people now, working in the company. Me, myself, I'm the managing and technical director. My cofounder, Sebastian Tudose, who is Romanian, who is in charge of our business development and getting all the context going, and in July, we have our project development engineer who started. I think he is from your faculty.

A-M : From geography ?

D : Geography. He is called Andran Daru ?

A-M : Yes ! He was my student ! He was one of my best students ! I am so delighted !

D : He wrote us an open application and from the first page I was already like "Yes".

A-M : Yes, he is very good, motivated, hard-working ...

D : Yes, we are very happy to have him. He was living in Denmark, and due to the covid it was difficult there, he decided to move back in Romania and that's how he contacted us ...

A-M : That's a good idea, I'm so happy !

M : So you have background in waste management or ... What kind of background ?

D : My background is in research and development in general. I worked in airspace, after that in process development in China, like how do you take a product to an actual manufacturing process. I did a Master's in Engineering. All of these 3, I kinda combined it, two years ago. I quitted my job, and started developing Lettar. So far, I've combined my previous knowledge from all my previous jobs into my passion of inventing things.

M : You were talking about the waste management in Cluj-Napoca ... Do you find that there are differences, in Cluj, between the city center and Grigorescu, or Manastur, or ... ? Differences between Cluj and the localities around Cluj, in the metropolitan area ?

D : Oh yes. The more nature you get, the more litter you get, the more waste. I'm leaving in Borhanci area, and every day, I'm walking my dog, me and my wife we are almost crying from seeing all the waste that is dumped in the bushes.

A-M : I really can't understand people ...

D : I tried to set up a project, like not with a company or anything, just with myself, to clean it up. And then I realized : it's already too much for me, to handle with my car, and my car is a small truck ! The type of waste people are throwing away, it's disgusting ! My dog is running through it and eating it, coming back with a bone in its mouth and I'm like ... So, there is a lot of dumping, especially in areas where not a lot of people are. It's quite logic, somehow, but in the city center, it's actually very clean, compared to the outside of the city.

A-M : You see the waste gravitating ...

*Rires.*

D : Exactly. It's almost like it's gravitating. Also, when you go with your car in any other place outside of Cluj and you make a quick stop, at the gas station or ... anywhere where people stop, if you just look around, you will notice that the majority of the stuff around is waste. Honestly, I've had this discussion a lot with my wife, my friends : "How can we ... ?". Like if I can throw it there, I can also put it in the garbage, but why don't we do that ? If I would everywhere a grabage bin, technically, I would solve the issue, right ? Because there is nowhere else to throw it than in the garbage bin ? But still, we would have garbage outside of the bin. There is something deep embeded in people's head.

A-M : You know, I have some friends that lived for some times outside of Romania, and they told me that there, they couldn't throw all their waste, because they have to pay a fee, but when they came home, they just did the same ... In Romania, you would do the same and it's an issue, but if you go outside and living there for half a year,

you would have a different behavior. Why ? Only because you had to pay something ? ... If you are doing this, I don't know ...

D : I think the reason for this is ... the authorities. If you fine people, if they have to pay money if they don't do anything or if they do something wrong ... If I drive my car too fast, I would be fined, I don't like that, I would stop doing that. But actually, that's the same problem. In Romania, everyone drives too fast. You would go to Germany, every Romanian would drive exactly like them, because ...

A-M : Yes, in Romania, they are flying on the roads.

D : That's because, in Germany, the police is waiting for you, and you would get a fee. In Romania, maybe. Maybe you could get away with it. Same goes for the waste. I go to the Netherlands or to Germany, and someone sees me throw something away not in the right place, they call the police, and the police would come. In Romania, I'm not even sure they would come. Don't quote me on this but ...

*Rires.*

D : But that's the big difference. When I was working in China, I never saw waste in the city. Why ? Because there is a camera every 5 meters watching you. The authorities have a very big rôle in this, and as long as they keep accepting that, we will have this issue. ... I have a solution that works with centralized data. I could take a picture of Cluj every other day and I can find if you throw a bottle somewhere. That's the perfect solution because it's a satellite, but it's too expensive. No one would pay for that solution. In the end, it all comes back to money.

M : Talking about money, where do you get the funds to work on your project ?

D : Right now, we are privately funded. We didn't want to be part of another company or have gig investors that could control our innovation. We don't want to be rushed because that makes faster, easier money. We want to do it our way. And because our idea started from « How can we take all the waste which is already there, and make it into something very valuable, like a road ». So we rely on existing industries and asphalt stations that make our material, the existing waste, that prepare it, and what we do is ... We are leading the orchestra so that everyone aligns to make the same product. In this way, we don't necessarily need big fundings to get the project going. The only thing we need now is the funding for our operational costs and the certifications and all that kind of thing. But that's investments ... low investments. In July, we will have some people from Norway coming, for European funds, so that we can do a mobile factory. Also, funding in general is quite difficult. Here in Cluj, there are a lot of tech companies, mobile-apps companies, and a lot of investors willing to invest in this kind of business. It's easy, scalable. For us, it's riskier for them to invest, because it's ambitious, we want to solve the plastic waste issue, we want to build better roads ... 2 major problems for Romania ! « Are you really gonna solve that ? »

*Rires.*

D : If you are asking for a lot of money, they are asking for a lot of details, and right now I don't have the time for those details, nor the interests. We want to move forward. With the small investments that we have now, we manage to keep the company going. ... European funds are really interesting, also if the application process is very complex. I wanna look into it but I need to hire someone to do it for me, I don't have time for that.

M : Your project is more on the high-tech side, have you heard about low-tech innovations in waste management in Romania ? I don't know if you're interested by this subject ?

D : I think I know what you mean ... For example, I would consider low-tech making it easier for people who collect the waste to collect the waste. You can have very big garbage bins, but if the person has to lift it, it's bad for ergonomics. We see a lot of innovations happening there, a lot of cranes on the back of the cars being installed to be able to lift the bins, a lot of electric vehicles now, especially in Cluj, in the city center ... There I see some innovations, slowly. They could do more. I think most of the innovations come from the availability of European funds, which makes it possible for Brantner or Rosal other companies to finance these solutions.

M : Ok ... In your neighborhood, have you seen, have you got bins for the selective collections of waste ?

D : We had ... We had them all. We had for plastic/metal, one for paper, and one for mixed waste. The first one was stolen by ... some people. It was the plastic one, we called the police, and they told us that it was our problem, that we should have put a lock on it ...

*Rires.*

D : So we don't have that one anymore. We have to walk a little bit further for plastic and metal. But then again, when I open that one, there is also wood inside, paper, and glass ... People don't really care. We have paper ones that are still there. So, the stuff that we get to collect, it's also very wanted by people that are in the ... on the ground industry, you know. We used to have separate collection of everything, but even us, sometimes, we have to throw it somewhere else, even if we don't want to. A lot of waste ... My wife asked me : « Is this plastic or is it food waste ? ». The food packaging, it has a lot of sauce inside. Where are we supposed to throw that ? It's another problem.

A-M : I do remember, in Marasti, where I live, we had three different bins, but now it's only been one for almost a year. I don't know what happened. I don't know why they changed it ... They want to replace but ...

D : What happens throughout the Euro is ... You want to recycle, and you get a lot of money from the government for recycling. But recycling means collecting for actually re-using. This is what I consider recycling, to re-use the plastic and send it back to a factory. But in the terminology, just the collecting of the waste is considered recycling. So why go through all of these efforts if here, your job is done ? That's happening all over the world. In the Netherlands, they have 75 % of the waste that is recycled, but it's recycled only here (*ndlr : au stade de la collecte*). On paper, it says 75 %, and everyone says « Yes, we're doing great ! ». But truly, only 10 % is really recycled in reality. Recycling can be interpreted in different ways.

M : You mean, the difference between the waste that is truly recycled, re-used and the waste that is collected ... But, where does it end up ?

D : Nobody knows ...

M : In the dumps ?

D : The re-use obviously goes to a factory and from there, they do new plastic bottles. But the collecting ... maybe it's sold from the Netherlands to Romania, and the Netherlands goes « 100 % recycling » and in Romania it's being burned. That's not what is supported in the Netherlands. We have the same « out of sight, out of mind », the same.

M : Have you seen, in Cluj, initiatives from NGOs, citizens, trying to improve the waste management or divert the waste stream ? Re-using, ... ?

D : There are some initiatives. From example, in the kitchen here, they try to collect the caps, which is sold by NGOs to plastic companies and the profit goes to charity. For sure, there are more small-scaled projects like this going on ... but they are all very local. Still very good initiatives. For example, the clean-ups, this kind of stuff, but apart from that ... I haven't seen them, necessarily. A lot of supermarkets are doing is, like Kaufland, Lidl, but they are also the main contributors to the whole problem. I sometimes look at my groceries ... When I see what I've bought, I take a picture of how it was when it was full, and then one of it when it's empty, and the size didn't change, even if the content is gone. My mother-in-law, she lives in Italie, and she loves sending us Ferrero Rocher. It's REALLY the prime example of how we should not do it ...

*Rires.*

M : Yes, every chocolate is in a little paper, in plastic, in another plastic ...

D : And the box is made from polystyrene that no one is allowed to recycle ... My god !

*Rires.*

D : I would love to work with these companies, Coca-Cola, Pespi ... Support us in what we do, and you can wash you hands, in a sense, because we recycle for you, and you can just produce products, we will take care of it. That was also the idea. « Let's not try to solve the issue of all the plastic at once, we cannot think about that now ». The question was asked to Elon Musk, if he could destroy all the old cars and have only electric cars to be allowed. He said : « No, the world would collapse. » Same for plastic. We cannot stop using it now. It's a great project, the only problem is how do you dispose it after ? We have now solutions to create closed-loop cycles for all of that waste. So, let's do that.

M : Do you know anything about the informal actors in the city ? People recycling or collecting plastic bottles, cardboards, in the streets ? Have you seen anything like it in Cluj ?

A-M : Perhaps even in your neighborhood ?

D : Voluntarily, I occasionally see some teams around ... But they were from a governmental institution I believe. They go through the sidewalks and pick up the waste. But ... Not really. They are a lot of people willing to do that. Just like I want to dig my neighborhood. It stops at « how are we actually going to do it ». Am I going to pay for all of this cleaning ? Can we hire a truck from somewhere ? Gloves for people, sticks ... I would love to organize the things, but then rules apply ... How are you making sure people are safe ? Companies always have more rules to live by. Short answer, no, I haven't seen them, but I think a lot of people would like to do that, even in their free time.

M : ... Did you see any changes during the covid crisis regarding waste in Cluj ?

D : Yeah, I've seen much more willingness to make a change. People always have this ... new perception of the world, it's not only about « Me, me, me » anymore, it's about us. It's not on a systemic level, but for sure, the environmental climate change has moved up on the agenda much more. Especially also with the government. Romania now ... I don't know if they are paying already, but since 2021, they are supposed to pay 1 million euros per day for not recycling enough. We offered them solutions to not pay that, they didn't call us back, so I don't actually think they are paying right now ... But, if the EU would enforce that rule, things would change very fast, if it's gonna cost one million euros a day.

M : Do you see anything else you would like to add about the waste management in Cluj ? How do you feel it's gonna evolve in the next years ?

D : I feel very positive about it. From our perspective, we see that plastic waste will have a purpose and we can solve that issue. For other waste, that's a big problem which will only get bigger in the future, unless we invent something great. The mixed waste is very, very bad. Like I said, what do you do with other kind of waste ? I have a young daughter, what do you do with the diapers ? There is no other than burying it. You cannot burn it, please don't ! You cannot use it for something else. So, yeah, new innovations need to happen there also to solve that. More and more people are coming to Cluj, we are getting more parking lots for the cars, but how do we expect to treat all the waste ? There should be more reflexion about this topic. It's great to expand a city, but how do we deal with the waste ?

M : It's a question that was raised also this morning, the capacity of the new waste management center. It's supposed to collect the waste of almost all the county of Cluj ... And they can't even manage properly the waste of Cluj-Napoca right now ...

D : I think that, if you transport the waste from small localities to Cluj, even if 30 km, transporting that waste to put it in a big pile ... A simple solution would be to not transport it, and put it there on a pile.

Rires.

D : But again, I hope that, in the future, more awareness will also come from the government, that makes money available to companies to actually do it. If the money is very low, that companies get, it means low motivation, low motivation, low results.

A-M : I think we have a new paradigm about sustainable development, it's a new chance. We have a new ministry of environment for example.

D : And there's also a new metropolitan office for environment, ADI Eco-metropolitan. We are very excited to work we them, we understand each other and get some common ground from where we want to go ... The money, the motivation, it needs to go hand-in-hand. But they are a very small office. They are more advisors than people making the decisions. I don't mind if people are in this industry for money, it's their right, I also want to make money, everyone wants to make money, but at the same time it needs to be effective. Right now, what we collect separately, we put it in the same pile together again, it's like burning money with the pile altogether.

M : Did you find it difficult to start your project and network in Cluj ?

D : No, not really, it went really fast. Faster than we could work. Our solution makes plastic waste valuable, so when we show our solution to other waste companies or authorities, they all see the potential of the idea, the money behind it and they all want to be part of that. We are now working with a partner in a joined venture, we combined our companies' properties and services together in order to make Littar. But they are very open to

work together. Especially because here in Cluj, they only recycle the PET and the foil, plastic bags, all of the rest ends up in a very big pile that you can take for free if you want. So when we tell them we can get rid of some of the waste, of course they want to work with us.

M : Yes, I saw this morning on Istvan's videos that a lot of plastic, even PET and foil, still ends up in the dump ...

D : Yes, you also have to take into consideration the sorting of the population. I remember every time, when I go to Pata Rât, for the rest of the day, I can still smell it. The smell is very bad. I don't want to know what kind of disease or problems the people that work there have, in those circumstances. That's a whole different story ... And again, if there are no money to make those stations properly, then those people will still be working in a harmful environment. It's again the government's responsibility.

*Silence.*

D : There are big differences between those stations ... If I wanted to rate the one in Cluj, I would say it's a 3. The one in Alba, it's an 8. In Tulcea, it's almost a 9/10. It's because, the people in Tulcea and Alba, they are private businesses. They are motivated. In Cluj, it's more the institutions that are in charge of the process, and there is less dedication on the management level to make this kind of change ... And we're only talking about plastic ... The rest is not that big of an issue, technically speaking. If someone throws a metal can or a glass bottle in the bushes, it's gonna look ugly, but it's not gonna harm the planet, in a way. Plastic, it's a different story, it's full of chemicals. It's really the plastic that is the problem, and there is also a lot of misinformation about that ... Pollution in the ocean for example ... 75% of those plastics are not from us, they are fishing nets. But the way the information is presented, it's not really accurate. I'm not saying it's wrong or right, but ... No one is there to really see what's in the ocean, and most of it is fishing nets, not our plastic bottles. We are at the beginning in the revolution in waste management. We go back 70 years ago, nobody was thinking about that.

M : Thank you so much !

D : You're more than welcome.

A-M : It is really interesting, this concept of revolution in waste management.

M : I loved hearing your point of view.

### Entretien n°10 - Adrian Dohotaru, ancien député, activiste.

*Entretien dans un jardin d'enfants à 17h30 dans un parc public, le 26 Mai 2021, Cluj-Napoca. L'entretien dure environ 1h30, mais est entrecoupé par des discussions ou activités avec ses enfants.*

A : ... in Pata Rât. We've been struggling for a while, almost a decade. The things are moving in the right direction, but they are too too slow.

A-M : Marie ... had a meeting today with Istvan Szakats. It was interesting !

A : Yes, he is quite a character, yeah !

M : I'm gonna sit if that's ok.

A : So, it was fun, this meeting ?

A-M : I wasn't there, but she was very pleased.

M : Yes, indeed, very interesting. He gave me a lot of videos to look at, maybe some films ...

A-M : And a lot of people to contact ... Elena Musca, for example.

A : Yes, she is in the county council, I think. She knows about several issues in Pata Rât, she was a counselor for me when I was an MD. 11 years ago, we were there, the first time to Pata Rât, when people were moved nearby the dump ... This is how we started this kind of activism, working in the ghetto, raising awareness ... There were other activists as well on those kinds of projects, but we were shocked because we saw it only through the media.



M : Hm ... Maybe we could begin by talking about SOS, and you can introduce yourself?

A : So, sustainable organization society is quite a new organization but it's coming from a civic group of activists specialized on environmental issues but also social issues as well. In Pata Rât, there was a small project, so it was SOS Pata Rât. We've had different projects, like SOS Parcul Est, about green spaces in Cluj, SOS Goia ... We have this framework of projects and sustainable agenda. In Pata Rât, the project SOS worked with Dan Perjovschi. When you google "Pata Rât", the first images you find are Dan Perjovschi's drawings on the walls. He played with the language, Roma, promises ...

Source : Dan Perjovschi, 2017. CC.



With SOS, we weren't involved necessarily too much. There was also a group called GLOC. We were involved at the beginning in the segregation part, but after a while we talked more about environmental issues as well. Of course, you've got this segregation issue, people were brought there and started something informal ... Land was cheaper over there ... But it's also a phenomenon about economics. It's linked to the liberal land market. There is segregation, but also aggregation in new liberal terms. They are the symptom of something not functioning. Segregation in normative terms, but also aggregation in new liberal economical term/framework. This was interesting for me, to see, all the social aspects of it. This is why we had this multi-layered request, for people over there, so that people over there can have better sanitations, better jobs, better living conditions, better security and so on ... People wanted to form a trade union, but unfortunately the Romanian law requires 70+ people to negotiate a collective agreement, and there were not enough people, less than 50 people. We couldn't sign a collective contract. It was difficult to start a union. Of course, besides these proposals of social policies, we tried to do activism as well. We've done protests, petitions, performances and so on ... but we also try to use ... when we see the feedback is not that great, proposing social policies, we try to do this kind of artistic stuff, performative activism. We try to establish the contact with artists and curators. For example, curators and artists from Transit placed a 16-square-meters house in an art-gallery. The space is not that big, if you try to come with furniture for 8 persons, it shows how stocked a small space like this can be. That was in the center ... People from Pata Rât came, but also people from the university. It was interesting.

A-M : Is it only in Romania ? Why not elsewhere also ?

*Adrian est interrompu.*

A : To finish the story, why in Romania ... People in Pata Rât, they were asking about what kind of work we do. This is why we worked on a lot of visuals, interviews, things that are not necessarily read, to show them ... in this project called SPAREX. We combined academic work, with artistic work. It's something that is also for the community, not only material that you extract from the community. This is why it's mostly based in Romania. We did the interviews in Romania, it's an oral language, most of them didn't finish high-school.

*Pause.*

M : So ... to go back in circular economy and waste management in Cluj, have you heard about the SMID ?

A : Nothing is implemented, unfortunately, it's delayed. But besides that, the problem is of design, conception. They made mistakes from the beginning in the national level, not only in Cluj. I think it was a law, coming from the construction companies. In late 2000's, they designed this kind of systems to recycle. It was on deposit, construction of deposits. I think it was this kind of mistakes, done by big projects companies. That's why they should have ...

*Interruption par son fils.*

A : Of course, we are talking about recycling, not depositing, but we might go with a discussion on another level, to talk about redesigning the projects, because I think this is the big problem besides the problem with depositing. The main issue should be to redesign the products in order to produce less waste. Unfortunately, in the Romanian society, I don't see these discussions so much, of redesigning waste. There are niche circles in

western countries, green parties, maybe, let's say, in progressive environments, or activists with this approach. People are more used to tackle this profit motive, this is why we are not redesigning objects. We should state it, clearly, because this might mean less profit for corporations and companies, and this is how they elude the societal and environmental problems. Of course, we do not have these discussions. 50% of the waste or something like this, it's "emballage". In the same time, there was an advocacy in the civil society for this kind of recycling factories that might be done by European funds or at Cluj County level. You waste, but you have these companies ... You have those businesses, but they are too small. Another subject should be that we don't have enough for people to say ... In Romania, the selective collection should be made at the source, not in Pata Rât. I think, this is the kind of discussions that will come in the future, because the small environment niche is expanding. The decalage, between here and Western Europe, is maybe fourteen, fifteen years. It's not only because of the communist regime, because we had this kind of austerity regime in the 80's with Ceausescu, I remember we had glass bottles, and in order to gain some money, I was collecting and selling the bottles in order to have a small allowance. And ... I think this should be another discussion, when there's activism for redesigning projects, having this kind of stuff. You've got it in California, everywhere ... Here, if you see people, you've got less than 1% having this kind of stuff (*ndlr : désigne sa gourde en aluminium*).

M : So there is not so much discussions about circular economy in Cluj you mean ?

A : No. Only in issues, and they are irrelevant. From my point of view, on a political level, they could become political but at this point, the activists that I see don't want to become political. They say they want to be "apolitical", which I don't think you can be. You can be "non-partisan", but you can't be apolitical. It's important to change this kind of framework. When you say you are non-partisan, it's ok, you're not with a certain party. But when you say you are a-political, you are not interested in the political scene and I think it's a major mistake, that was corrected a little bit in the last years.

*Adrian est interrompu par ses enfants et joue avec eux.*

*Ana-Maria fait référence à un film : Tales from the Golden Age, produit en 2009, où une des scènes présente deux adolescents récoltant des bouteilles en verre pour se payer des vacances.*

A : Yeah, there was a scene with these bottles and ...

A-M : Yes, yes !

A : I don't know if you had it in France ? Perhaps in the sixties or seventies ?

M : Hmmm yes, my grandma was talking to me about it but ... It's coming back, it's coming back. ... I don't know in which area you are living right now, but ...

A : Mănăştur.

M : Mănăştur ? Do you see differences between your neighborhood, Mănăştur, and maybe other neighborhoods in Cluj ?

A : Perhaps you can see some differences ... Yeah, I can see where there are houses, you can find a better collection of waste. So, I can see a difference between some neighborhoods of houses, in the sense that you have a better separation I saw over there, and also a better collection of separate waste. In Mănăştur, I don't see it that well because, from time to time, I look in the garbage, and I don't see a correct separation. This would be one thing. But, the main thing, is that people do not do this kind of collective separation of waste, because they see all the companies throwing all the garbage in the same place.

A-M : Yes.

*Rires.*

A : Quite often. They are so ... let's say, indolent, in the sense that they do it in the front of your eyes ... I observed this not once or twice, but a lot of times, because I'm interested into this kind of stuff. A lot of times, the waste ends up all in the same place.

A-M : It's the same case for other neighborhoods ?

A : Yes.

M : And ... Differences between Cluj-Napoca and the localities around Cluj ? In the metropolitan area ?

A : Well ... I don't know that well ... I was interested in the waste management in Florești but only because the people living in the ghetto, near the Somes river ...

*Interruption par les enfants d'Adrian.*

A : So, I wasn't paying attention to the whole system, but you could see that people over there were throwing not only their private garbage, but also the waste that was collected informally as well, from the ... chantiers, it's also in French. I don't know the term in English but there are lots of chantiers in Florești. At this point, I think it's 70 000 people living in a so-called "rural" locality. They were picking their waste in a non-fiscal manner and unfortunately, they were throwing it into Somes. You can see these problems as well today. I was interested in the sense that I talked to the mayor of Florești, but also with a friend of mine which, at this point, manages the company in Florești. I can give you his contact. He tried to put some bins over there, and to make the city hall pay for it for a while, until the residents become more used with the system. But ... it's still a problem, this kind of illegal waste that come from the chantier ...

M : You were talking about informal actors ... There are people, in Cluj-Napoca, that are working as informal actors, collecting or selling the waste. What do you know about it ? Could you tell me more ?

A : I think ... There is no political will, or social will, as in Brasil, to have these informal actors grouped in cooperatives. There is no will, on a political level, to have small cooperatives of selection or transportation of plastic bottles, etc ... There is no will. They prefer to have larger companies, that have those kinds of contracts, that might employ this kind of people or ... they do not employ it, and they somehow exclude them. It's this kind of, let's say, debate. People here, they want garbage companies, not cooperatives of informal people coming with their ... chariots. Concerning Pata Rât, the main thing should be to have these centers ... Yeah, concerning Pata Rât, the main thing is to close those temporary landfills. It's quite an interesting thing, how they were authorized. They weren't authorized as landfills, because they do not respect the 1km distance, they were authorized as transferring stations.

*Interruption.*

M : They weren't authorized as landfills because of the one km distance, you said ?

A : Yes, they weren't authorized as landfills, and this is somehow interesting, because sometimes they use this kind of languages, "temporary landfill", and sometimes they use the term "temporary transferring station" ... which clearly, it is not, because it dates back from 2015.

M : It's a long temporary state, yes.

A : From my point of view, we shouldn't wait for these deposits to be finished. They were ...

*Interruption et discussion avec ses enfants.*

M : And, so, right now, ... I don't know how to talk in English anymore ...

A : Dis en français !

M : Maintenant, vous êtes plutôt engagé dans la lutte pour le Parc Est, c'est ça ? Comment ça se passe, ça va dans quelle direction ?

A : Well, at this point, the city hall accepted to have a park and not an aqua park or a private real estate. They did a contest, a competition of architects and in the same time, we proposed that the park can be an urban protected area, like in Bucharest. Hopefully, they will accept this as well. It's ok because it will be the largest park ... Actually, the largest at this point is the Babes-Bolyai, the campus, over there, but it's closed, it's fenced and you have to pay a ticket if you're not from the university to enter. Another huge place might be the Somes, nearby Cluj and Florești. They are tackling only a few areas, not necessarily the pedestrian and cycling corridors near Cluj, but hopefully we will convince them ... If you have mass transit over there, you might tackle this issue of illegal landfills that are created.

M : Where you satisfied with the results you got from the Pata Rât project ? What was the impact ?

A : Well, I was a bit critical about these projects, Pata Rât 1 and at this point, it's Pata Rât 2 ... What we said, is that it should be, they should reverse the amount of money given for hard infrastructures, especially the segregating, the ghetto, moving lots of people for the ghetto, hard infrastructures for recycling businesses ... but they usually go on soft infrastructures, because it's easier to fit this project. Of course, we shouldn't have these kinds of projects only depending on Norwegian funds, we should invest as well, the county council should invest as well to have larger sums, not depending on NGO infrastructures ... My son, we will have a small break because I'm turning into a monster !

*Joue avec ses enfants.*

A : It's okay. Sorry, where were we ?

M : You were talking about the Norwegian funds and the city hall ? So, you're not cooperating with the city hall in the Pata Rât projects ?

A : I think this project should have been thought with more funding from the county council and Cluj's city hall, in order to pack these Norwegian funds. Besides larger funding, it should have been more on harder infrastructure, not only soft infrastructures, for people to acquire skills in Pata Rât, and soft infrastructures for these kinds of funds means to pay a bureaucracy to have all kinds of projects with the people in Pata Rât. I think it should have been a combination of both, hard and soft infrastructures. This means more than 36 families moved in 3 or 4 years of the project. 36 families is not enough, there are so many families out there ... I think at this point 1 300 people live in here, in the different areas. There should be more investments ... If we talk about the social housing issues, in order to have less informal settlements, we could make more investments into social housing. Especially because in Romania, we have such a small percentage of social housing. Out of the total stock, it's about 0.3%, but the EU average is about 8%. It's ten times lower than the EU average. Concerning the environmental issues, coupled with the social issues in Pata Rât, I think there should be more investments into these kinds of jobs, collective separation, recycling ...

M : When we went to Pata Rât, we haven't been able to see so much ... Well, les quartiers de Pata Rât, Dallas, Rampa, etc ... They are part of the town even if it's far from the city center. Do they have running water or basic waste management systems or are they excluded from it completely ?

A : For example, the city hall moved from Coastei street about 315-316 person, and they have, in so-called social housing nearby the landfill, they have some running water. But in Dallas, you have some running water, but let's say in the center of the community. You have the same in Cantonului. So, there are, let's say, a quarter of the flats that have cold running-water, and the others don't. They do not have sewage system or running water in those kinds of houses. Also, only in two of the communities you have some bins, where you can put the trash, but other times, it's something like, people, even though they do not have legal contracts in the communities, they are working in the sanitation companies, come and informally pick it.

M : Ok ... A bit of a general question but ... how do you see the future in Cluj and in the metropolitan area ? About the waste management, or more generally ?

A-M : Do you have an optimistic view or ?

M : Or, I don't know if we can say "pessimistic" but ...

*Rires.*

A : Aaah ... I think there will be some implemental steps towards this kind of separation at source, but in flats, neighborhoods where there are problems, but if we do not have a social movement, a civic movement, for some of this kind of issues, the paces will be too incremental for the amount of problem that society generates through consuming more and more. We will see ... I think this is kind of an open ending here, but I think it might help, the fact that the national liberal administration sees some sort of competition from the USR – Union Save Romania, which used to be part of this party. Let's say you have more progressive positions in this party, concerning this kind of issues, more attention from the public, votes for this kind of issues ... But it's not a huge difference. It's gradual let's say. Might be something if there's a, let's say, left-green party that appears. If it's among these party priorities, this kind of issues might work faster, because they feel pressure.

M : Ok ... Last question, I forgot to ask you, is SOS your main activity ?

A : SOS takes half of my time, let's say, and the other half is my research. I do participatory action research, for the Romanian academic society, so it's funded by an NGO. I've worked for the SPAREX project. I've done some research as you are doing now in the past, but rather do participatory research, because, you know, I want to be part of the change, I don't want my work to sit on a desk ...

### Entretien n°11 - Flaviu Petean, consultant BM.

*L'entretien commence vers 10h30 au Centre Régional de Géographie - UBB et dure environ 1h30. Autorisation pour enregistrement et retranscription sauf un passage, non écrit ici.*

F : ... what exactly in the waste management. I hope I still have some information that are relevant to you. I haven't been so active in this area for 4 years.

M : Yes, Istvan told me you were involved, or working on it, but then you did something else ?

F : I made a shift for my ... What was clearly a profitable consultancy. I went into management, and then to radio, and now I work for the World Bank.

M : Ok, World Bank, I wasn't sure.

F : I don't talk about it that much ... I'm not ashamed, but not so proud either, of my association with this institution. I'm collaborating with them. I do work in teams with environmental guards, but I do cover the social impact ... So mainly, I'm more interested in it, even in waste management, I'm interested in the social ...

A-M : Sorry, it's the coffee ...

M : We were just introducing each other.

*Rires.*

M : So yeah, my master's paper is more on the, well of course, understanding the whole context here, the background you've got in terms of waste management, and well the direction of my paper changed a bit. I'm interested mainly in what has happen since the fall of the socialist area, what was the impact of Romania entering the EU, and also what kind of innovations we can find here, in terms of technology of course, but also social and territorial innovations because I'm a geography student ... Yes, that's what I'm trying to understand and to research here.

F : You're basically interested in the transition?

M : Yes. I've seen that you wrote a paper, from Collision to Collaboration, but I haven't been able to access it with my university's library...

F : I'll share it with you. It was a research that we conducted with the university of Vienna. They were interested in informal recycling of aluminum cans. We went in Bucharest and in 5 cities from central-eastern Europe, somewhere in Greece, somewhere in Bulgaria, in Romania ... We went there and did fieldwork, found people collecting from the streets, made 15 interviews, went to the collection points, we started making calculations and transformed it into a huge, huge Excel Sheet ...

*Rires.*

F : So, we said "on this area, there are 2 waste pickers, and on this neighborhood, there are collection centers and blablablah ...". I'll share the paper with you. It wasn't about Cluj, but it was very insightful on understanding how informal recycling works in Romania in general. It's not very far from Cluj, and Cluj has its own story, related to Pata. Have you been to Pata ?

A-M : Yes.

M : Yes, we've been to Pata Rât. We haven't been able to access the dump or the CMID, the center, the new center but we've seen the neighborhood, the area. Yeah ... So, my research is on the Metropolitan Area of Cluj,

or Cluj-Napoca, and maybe we can talk about that, waste management here. You've said that your paper was about other areas in Romania ?

F : Bucharest.

M : Bucharest, but what can we see here in Cluj that relates to the work that you've done in Bucharest ? On informal recycling or collecting ... I don't know, maybe we can begin ...

F : Maybe I can give myself 4-5 minutes and then I'll stop and you can take notes and come back to the topic that interest you ?

M : Hm hm.

F : So, about the transition, I don't know too many things, but we had a municipal service during the socialist area. I'm not exactly sure when the privatization kicked in, but I think 1997, 1994, something like that ... And the former director, it's a story of a character in waste management in Cluj, he's name was Veres.

M : You mean, a character, like ... a big personality or ?

F : Yes, yes. So, he was, in the nineties or right after, I'm not sure that I know his entire story, but he was the director of this municipal company. When the privatization started, I think he somehow managed to buy the stuff of the municipal company or something like that, he set up the first private municipal company that afterwards came together with a Austrian company that is Brantner. It's called, even today, Brantner-Veres. Why is he a character ? Not only he had control on the collection process, but more importantly he took the concession of the wasteland, of the former non-sanitary landfill. So ... Transition, poverty, the 1990's, how Roma ended up being associated with waste management, it's firstly because in their process of being integrated into the Romanian socialist companies, they were given unskilled jobs in the factory. First thing that happened in the 90's, redundances hit the unskilled workers, which were mostly or primarily Roma. We have experienced, in the 1990's, people being kicked out of their flat. Mainly, we had this privatization of the building stock, of the social housing units that were state-owned, or where you had a loan, and then in 1990, 1991, 1992, if you still had a stable job, there was a process in which you could have bought the property. Buying it now, you would just pay a few installments and the house would be yours, but in the 1990's, you had no money to pay for the installments, so that's how a lot of people became homeless ... there was a small community at Pata, even during the socialist times. As I have understood, 50 or 60 people used to live there even before 85, but then the phenomenon just exploded. Today, we have around 2000 people there. Not only have they been absorbed, so to say, in the waste management or waste collection services, so they were given jobs but even before 85, so it's not necessarily relevant, but what happened, until, I don't know, maybe it was a phenomenon already in the 2000's, but recycling started to become an informal activity, that was nowhere in the accounts of anyone. It just happened that you would extract metal at first, and then aluminum cans as they were introduced in the market, and then plastic ... You had this form of modern slavery, in Pata, in relation to waste. So, they were a few, I don't know how to call them ... Sharks, people you give loans and ask for an interest which is ten times ... speculators ... So, somehow everybody was indebted to Pata and had to go and collect plastic to pay for money. You know, people had no money, they had no education, they were broken from the city but they were very productive in this recycling thing. At some point, there was a team of researchers, I think in 2004, they did an extensive research in Pata. They made interviews, calculations on quantities of waste. They wanted to see what was the potential of recycling and so on. Based on that information, at some point, in 2014 I think ... I'm not sure if it was a project or just a curiosity of mind, but they made some calculations that based on those quantities, with the prices of waste in 2012, we were talking about an amount of 45 million euros in value of recyclables, which was quite hard to trace. It was a source of informal money or black money; people were not paid salaries so they were paid on the kilo. Most of the time they were fooled, the scale didn't work properly, they needed money so they would take a loan from these collection points, and they would have to bring plastic for one month or so ... And they used to work in families. They used to do 1, 2, 3 days but with the entire family, children, parents. We even have records, in the mass media, of children being killed by collection trucks, because everybody was jumping on the trucks when it arrived in the landfill, because the trash was fresh and you had "clean" plastic, you didn't have to dig, you had clean products. That continued to be an issue, and something that was never revealed as a system of making money informally and with connections in other aspects of the social, economic and political life of the city. It always seemed like : "Oh yeah, those poor Roma are there at Pata and that's how they live because they live with the waste ..." you know. There was that impression, that it was a phenomenon that was just taking place without any structure or hierarchy, but actually there was a structure and at the top of this structure, we had

this waste management lord, Mister Veres. I remember there is this moment, I'm not sure of the year so sorry about that, but at some point, people in one generation started depending on this guy. For instance, when he had some conflict with the authorities because he was supposed to close the landfill, he would just get 500 people and they would stop the access to the new landfill or whatever. They could protest, and they regarded him as a paternal, patriarchal figure ... He has died since. He would have been an interesting person to interview.

Rires.

F : His daughter is still alive ! So, hm ... We had Brantner-Veres, and then in 2005, a company came from Bucharest, Rosal. I think I spoke too much, I apologize !

Rires.

M : No, that's great, so many information !

F : I think I'm going to let you talk, because I am expending and occupying the space ... So, with the European commission, it was crap, shit, bullshit. Sorry !

Rires.

F : We have these teams of consultants. At some points, I even met these guru figures in waste management consultancy. You know, just like "What should we do in Romania? Oh, we should make regional services, yes, they should have ... yes, yes, all the counties, yes ... integrated management hmmm ...". And here we go, and the EU is like "Yes, it's integration of services, it's perfect ...". But nobody thought, what's the capacity of Romania, and who can do it. We took waste management from municipalities, and they all had services, they had a few employees, the cars, some understanding of quantities. Then, you had those big consultants that came and told you: "No, you have the county, and it's stupid to have different services, and we would need to have a megastructure that can coordinate, you know, and we will have only one landfill ..." . Just to set some things about where we are now, based on what data. The landfill is under construction, we only opened it because there was so much public pressure. Istvan probably told you this. It's no so illegal, it's somewhere in the grey area. "Oh yes, we don't authorize it, because it's not there yet, but yes, we can authorize the first cell, but it's illegal because you're not putting sorted waste, but maybe we have some manual sorting ... Oh yes, it's not my responsibility, maybe you can ask the environmental guard ... No, no, maybe the environment agency ... No, maybe the ministry, I don't know ...". So, it's very suspicious now. I was always interested; I'm no longer so interested. I don't know if it's a topic of research but ... off topic. There was always a connection between some politicians and waste management companies. Waste management was always a productive industry to move money around. To me, that calculation of a few million euros that came from nowhere ... Basically, all the waste is off the documents. "What's this ? It's waste. Let's put it here. Now it's nowhere." but then somebody comes and says : "No, no it's plastic, if we collect 10 tones with an army of 2000 people that nobody cares about, it's money, and we can sell it, and we can put on paper that we only sold this, and but we can take it to Bulgaria, and we ship it to China ...". You know, all these connections. We're not far from that version, but no longer. Transylvania is a little bit more progressive, but Bucharest is dominated by very shady people in waste management, Italians and trucks that come from Germany and the whole country ... it's very suspicious. We cannot ignore this link between politics and waste management industry, which is somewhere public and private. It's a private enterprise that authorize the collection and does the landfilling, but then the responsibility is always with the municipality so ... The municipality needs to push the companies so, yeah ... What I wanted to say is, I suspect that they were interests the former landfill open, also we had pressure to close the former landfill. Even if the cost was higher, you know, we had to take the waste to Oradea, which is 150 km, to take several tons in the trucks. We had no transfer station or something, you needed to go with the small cars and to come back, that was a huge loss, but it was in order to avoid the infringement of the European Commission. We were just like "Oh, European Commission, please give us another 6 months, please ... Oh, it's going, it's so difficult ..." and we're in 2021, I think the project started in 2010, 2011, something like that, and it's still not there. It's no longer so, since the former landfill close, it's no longer this huge business, black-market-informal-recycling-thing, now it's more formalized because the municipality was desperate to close the landfill as now as possible, and the public pressure was huge. BUT, what those consultants made, was to imagine a system "intégré", integrated, at the level of the county. But then, you take the county authorities, county council of Cluj which is the coordinator of this integrated waste management, they never did anything with waste ... They had no expertise, no experience, no departments, no nothing. They always worked with consultants, and at some point, they made this association, ADI, which is the body that coordinates or delegates the responsibilities to private companies

to collect from the entire county. First of all, they had no expertise, we had no experts in waste management and no facilities to train people in waste management. Second of all, and that's the most shocking to me, we're in 2021, we started this project 10 years ago but when the project started it was already outdated, because the visibility of the waste was from 2004, with waste data from 2004. Now we're almost 20 years in the future, and we're working on estimations of waste composition, what are people throwing, what are the quantities ... Now we have figures for how much waste we collect, because we're obliged to put a scanning in the cars. I told you, what we had in these years of the former landfill, when it finally closed after avoiding it and avoiding it ... When it finally closed, the temporary solution was to build a transfer station, but maybe Istvan told you ...

M : Yes, he told me a bit about that ...

F : Yeah, basically you've got a transfer station. What you do is you come with the small cars, you put it here. Maybe you have a transfer station, let's say, in Turda, because they come from different communes. Then they put all the waste in the transfer station, and the trucks come and take loads of 20 tons and bring it to the landfill, so you don't have the small cars travelling 40, 50 kms.

A-M : I need to make a call, I will come back.

M : Yes, Istvan showed me some recent drone videos he made in the landfill ... You can drink, of course ! A lot of things you are telling me are things I read about also, in different articles I had my hand on, but ... Yes, Istvan told me also about the informal activities that took place in Pata Rât, and he used a word, he talked about a "mafia". The word really hit me, I don't know, and you were talking about a big character, so that's ... something I was not so aware about, which is interesting.

F : Yeah, I mean, don't think about people carrying guns or ...

*Rires.*

M : Yeah.

F : ... or killing each other, something like that ... Also we're not so far. But the conditions, the socio-economic conditions created this. The transition has just pushed poor people, mostly Roma, out of the city, into Pata. They were just used ... And everybody, I felt like puking every time, they were saying "You know, they have agency, they are independent. They go and work whenever they want, and they collect whatever they want." I was like : "Are you for real ? I mean ... Would you like to spend one hour on the waste, see how you can breathe?" That's disgusting. They were caught in that system. It was never taken into account. [*partie non-autorisée pour retranscription*]

M : Oh, ok, I will not write it in my paper.

F : Ok, just in case I said something compromising.

*Rires.*

F : So, we do studies on environment, but also social impact assessment. I've done such a study in Kirghizstan. We had 300 on the waste dump, we made interviews to see how much they earned, to see how long they worked there, where they live, if they have skills, documents, because many of them are not city residents ... So, at least, you know, you take this into account, we say that this is a social issue, once we close the landfill people will be left without livelihoods and, you know, we need to think of them, what would they eat, we have children, generally they don't have access to public services ... But they didn't, and it was a huge phenomenon in the whole country. The whole country, whenever you would go, on waste dumps here in Romania, they all had informal waste pickers. It was a phenomenon with tens of thousands of people involved in informal recycling. And no words, no discourse, no narrative, no nothing, nobody talked about it ... It was like they were invisibles. It's like, you know, these crows that come from Estonia or ... Here, there are a lot of crows but these are locals, these are ours or something. But then, every year, in the winter, they come from Estonia because there is so much waste, so much abundance of waste, so much food so they come. So it's like they were not humans, the 2000 people and the other thousands of people. You know, it's like : "Yeah, they're collecting illegally.", "Yeah, it's their source of income.". This is what surprised me the most in that period, when I was doing a research on the concept or idea of recycling. On one hand, we've got the EU saying : "You need to transpose this directive, just put it in your legislation." and the Romanian say "Yes, here is the law, we are ... it's done, it's perfect." "Do you have the system ?" - "Oh ... here, it's on the paper, is it okay ?" - "Yes, but is it working ?" - "Yeah, we reported something, is it



okay ?” “Okay.” ... So we had that, on one side, and then on the other side we had this cultural middle class, urban young hipsters like : “Oh, we need to recycle. I’m recycling here but the way the collection company collects them with the same car, oh my god, I will never recycle again, oh, such a mess ! We need to change things, we need to recycle more, we need to care about the nature!”. Everybody was talking about recycling like it was the only pollution, waste management ... Not about the air pollution, the cars ...

M : Yes, because waste is what people see.

F : Yes, that’s like : “Waste, oh my god, how Pata looks. It’s horrible, they don’t collect, we should recycle ...” and this is how the movement started. “Oh, we’re only recycling 10% !” and then people were starting to compliment themselves, the municipality in Cluj like : “Last year, we recycled 10%, but this year, we increased the rate to 15% ! Bravo ! Wow !”

*Applaudit.*

F : But who was doing the manual sorting work ? The Roma, you know. At a cost ... that was nowhere. Not in the price, because the price is cheap, it fluctuates a lot and it always fluctuates with the oil price. Many times, it’s cheaper to buy oil than these bins of plastic shreds, and that was to me like : “Oh my god, this is huge.”. This is not something in particular, this is a phenomenon. We have informal waste pickers working with no good conditions because you know, they’re “illegal”- “But I mean, you allowed them ? ” - “Yeah, poor them, we let them grab something to eat, they have children.” - “So you allow them ?” - “You know, we accept it, what can we do.”. But nobody ever gave them clothes, nobody ever gave them masks, nobody installed some water ... Nobody acknowledged that half of the recycling, or 80%, 90% of recycling from municipal waste is done by these people, and also the value of the plastic they collect is not necessarily ... something that makes them have a decent life, you know, we, as a municipality, if we don’t reach the recycling target, we get some fines from Bucharest. The government says “You haven’t reached your 20%, you need to pay this much to the environmental fund.” So we were basically avoiding that fee, I made this calculation, we were avoiding that fine by informally putting these people to work in modern slavery conditions. To reach their objectives, so that the hipsters could say : “Oh, we made a campaign, last year, we’ve got the results, now it’s 20%”.

M : So yeah, there’s absolutely no recognition, no safety, no ...

F : No ... I remember when I wrote that article, I made a lot of reading. In South America, the informal waste management phenomenon is huge. You have tens of thousands of people involved in this business, but I think that’s, I’m not sure ... They changed the Constitution, their organic laws, something, to say that these people are contributing to reducing pollution and promoting circular economy, and for each kilo of plastic or aluminum, they government pays the collector double. They double the amount of money so if you would receive 5€ for a kilo of cans, then the state would give you 5 other euros and with that 5€, you would have some decency. To me, that’s, wow. Another interesting project ... Did anybody recommend Reka Soos ?

M : Reka Soos ? No, I haven’t heard of him, her ...

F : Green Partners ?

M : No ... Would you right the name ?

F : I can give you the phone number as well. She’s a sweet-heart. She has done a lot of research on waste management in the early 2000’s.

M : I might have the time to meet here, maybe.

F : You’re in an Erasmus here ?

M : No ! Not really, I’m here on in an internship. I’ve been here for a month and I’ve still got about 10 days here. So Ana-Maria allowed me to be here, she has really helped me tremendously and, yes, that’s so nice ... And I’ve also got an internship in France, in the geography lab of my university. Originally, I was supposed to work on the subject of waste management in a declining urban context ... but, well, Cluj-Napoca was an easier area to study, because I had contacts here, and I was able to get an internship, so my subject changed, and I’m more on the post-socialist urban context now. This is why I’m exploring a bit all those subjects at the same time ... But, yeah, I don’t remember the question you asked.

*Rires.*

F : Were you here on Erasmus or ... ?

M : Yes, no, it's not an Erasmus, I'm here on a regular internship.

F : And do you want plan to continue in research ? Do a PHD ?

M : I don't yet, I would love it, but it depends on the opportunities, the possibilities ... So I don't know. That's really interesting ... Did the situation change recently regarding informal collection in Pata ? I read that some times ago, some decades ago, I don't know, there was families working in the landfill, and now someone told me that there are only men, no children anymore, that are collecting plastic bottles.

F : I'm not sure of the year, but when we opened the transfer station. The former landfill was just this huge pile of trash, with no fences, no ... You told me you went to Pata, did you drive next to the houses ?

M : Yes.

F : That breaks your heart ... I mean, Cluj is such "a modern city, a developed city", and when you go there ... We're can't say that we're not solving it because the city doesn't have the resources. The city is in a position now to say "Yes, we need to solve this social problem, we're gonna build houses, and move people out of here.", but we are ... We face structural racism. Authorities are very afraid to take action. It's not popular, because people in general are racist towards Roma. If you do something, you say : "we gave 10 families in Pata apartments in Cluj", people are gonna be like "What, they loved here, with us ! Mister Mayor, no !". It's terrible. I think in 2015, 2016, it was the final moment, when the EU said that there was gonna be an infringement of a couple of thousands of euros per day, and we had this period when the waste dump was just closed. Closed meaning that nobody brought fresh waste anymore. So, again, nobody thought about the 2000 people, and what would those children ... To me, I felt you could even see, a couple months after the closure, you could still see people coming by foot in the nearest neighborhood to look for waste, in the waste dump. For instance, there was a huge difference, when we went to Bucharest ... Like you had a lot of people that were collecting from waste containers, outside the buildings, bins.

M : Yes, bins, ok.

F : Ok, so, you had a lot of people doing that in the city. I went also in the largest landfill, waste dump, and you had the informal phenomenon, but in Bucharest there was some sort of 'acceptance' from authorities. Not everybody was Roma, but the association of poverty, Roma, waste is not so prevalent in Bucharest. You had a lot of old people, 70-year-old, saying : "You know, I have a small pension, I just go there every morning, I like it, it's like walking." and I was like : "Ok.", and you've also got a lot of alcoholics, just collecting sufficiently so that they can buy their alcohol, and so on. But in Cluj, we had a very strong anti-Roma policing, so like : "hey, what are you doing here, you're not allowed to be here" ... I'll just give you an example. The discourse is that : "Oh, we're buying these underground bins". Maybe you've seen them ? They cost 2 000€ to buy and build, those platforms, and they get broken, because the wet waste weighs more, it's very heavy, and plastic is lighter ... Primarily, it's more aesthetically pleasing. The collection points were just dirty and dangerous. For instance, in Oradea, they just made these constructions out of metal wiring. It's not a construction, it's like a fence.

M : Yeah, a fence all over the bin ...

F : It's closed, and everybody had this access card. So, if you would live in this residential building, you would know that it's your collection point, and only you can access it. Nobody from the other buildings or somebody from the market could throw waste here because they don't want to pay more to the company. All the shops have contracts for 1 cubic meter, but they could use 3 or 4 and they just dump them in the residential ones, without any control. Then, you know, we're like "Oh, we're doing it very modern, we're putting it underground!" but ... I've heard this argument, this discussion, they place waste underground so that people can't reach it, there.

M : Would you say it's the main reason?

F : It's not the main reason, officially. Nobody said that « We're putting bins underground because Roma are stealing the waste ». This issue, this is also an interesting topic. Who owns the waste? ... We have fines for people that are taking the waste from ... Not in Cluj, but I'm aware of Bucharest, because another interesting story, you will find that in my article, was about the Extended Producer's Responsibility, the EPR, which came to Romania. I delivered, at some point, a very angry discourse against it, because I became a little bit more of a lefty-radical. "Yes, the state is weak, because it's eastern Europe and blablabla ... But private companies, private capital, it's

the one to blame because they are the ones ..." That's the yuckiest thing, that's my article, it's basically anti-companies. Private companies, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, they built an association : "We have to invest in collection systems, to pull back from the market half of the ..."

M : Packagings ?

F : Packagings that we've introduced." I think, I don't know, maybe they've increased to reach 60%. So, they have to have systems. Collection in supermarkets, you collect your bottles and you receive some money or whatever. That's how EPR works, you put it on the market, "please take half because we, as a state, cannot take care of all of it." So what they did ... They bought these plastic bells, you've seen in town ?

M : Plastic bells ? Yeah, I've seen them !

F : So, those were owned by ECOROM, this association of Coca-Cola and all the great retailers and producers of goods in packaging. They made contracts with municipality, saying "Look, Cluj, you don't recycle now but it would be good to recycle. "We give you those bells, but you have to do all the rest. Just let us know, at the end of the month, how much plastic you collected in the bells". Then the municipality had to put it in a contract and to delegate this additional function to the collection companies. The collection companies, when they signed the original contract with the municipality, they were not asked to pick up on 4 fractions. They were just asked to pick up wet and dry. Then, I think, 4 fractions it's only from 2019, 2018, something like that ...

M : Yes, 2019.

F : There was this constant conflict. We would talk to Brantner-Veres, to Rosal, and they would say: "This is a scam ! We have to buy a new car just to collect this recyclable shit we are not obliged to collect in the contract ! Those bastards from ECOROM need to collect it ! We don't get anything, we cannot sell it, we need to sort it in order to ! There is no market for it !". ECOROM managed to cover their obligations, from these bells, I think up to 3% of what they needed to reach. Because there was no campaign, no nothing, you just placed the bells here. Then, they were able to buy ... I think, it's called the traceability of waste. They would go to a collection point, where the poor people would go, and Roma, from waste dumps ... and would just leave there the waste, but they had to give their documents because that document went into a file, and the ID was a proof that it came from the population. That was the condition, private companies needed to take back the waste from municipal waste 50% of the packaging. They managed to cover up to 50% by buying the traceability. They were basically an industry of buying traceability. Now, the question is : How much were they paying to avoid the fine ? Because for every kilogram that you didn't collect, you had to pay 2 lei, so half an euro. For each town, you had to pay 500€. Let's say you're Coca-Cola, you introduced 100 tons, that means you need to collect 50 tons of packaging back from the market. If you don't collect the 50 tons, you just pay. 50 tons, you pay 25 000€ to the state, and the state uses the money to invest into something ... But instead of paying those 25 000€ because they were incapable of paying through their own system, they were buying, and I think my calculations is 14 times cheaper, the traceability. I can find it in my laptop. Instead of 25 000€, they paid like 1 000€ because they would just buy paper documents. And then, for the collection point like it was just an additional source of money. They would be in the industry of selling the plastic and the aluminum cans. This guy came and said : "If you give me those documents, I give you 1 000€" - "Oh, okay, yeah, I wasn't expecting that so please". Nobody thought "Oh, but these guys, if they're not buying my traceability, they would have to pay 10 000€, 20 000€, so I should ask more". Somehow, it would have been fair that the price come to the aid of poor people, receiving 2€ after working one day and collecting a full bag of plastic. At least, they could have thanked them for doing their work and helping us avoid, not just the fine, but also a bad press for Coca-Cola and Pepsi and ... So, these were my interest in waste management, socially. I'm interested in who works, the power dynamics ...

M : But do you know ... I haven't been able to find so much information about to which companies, people that are collecting the waste, are selling it ?

F : In the landfill, informally, historically, 5 or 10 years ago, you would have had those collection points, on the waste dump. These people were sort of part of the community, but also people with money, I know had some point a colleague of mine made an interview of a person that had a sort of a garage where he would collect plastic, and he would own cars of thousands of euros ... A very powerful man having an informal factory or something like that. But you have collection points, even now, in the city, you have collection points ... I think you can find some, but I can send it to you online.

M : Collection points, you mean, for the citizens in Cluj ?

F : Yes, you can go and say “I’ve cleaned my garage, there’s 10 kilos of steal”. But if you stay outside for an hour, you’ll see that it’s not the hipster citizens that go there, but poor people that go into former buildings and take something and take it recycling. But for waste, now, no, because it has been formalized. After the landfill was closed, the municipality decided to open this transfer station ... I’m sorry, I’m expending, I’ve got a bit of ADHD.

*Rires.*

F : We had this transfer station, and we just used it as a landfill. The lie was : “Oh, we’re just using it to transfer waste ... We’re just waiting for the new station to be opened ... Just a bit of waste, just in one year”.

*Montre avec sa main une quantité en constante augmentation.*

F : And now they have huge issues on moving it. They started moving it, digging into it. There was a smell in the city, everybody went mad and wrote about it. That’s when people remembered that we have an issue with waste. Apart from that, it’s like you said, if you don’t see it, there’s no problem, you’re not thinking about it. If you drive next to Pata Rât, you might say : “There’s a little bit of a problem there, huh ?”. But when you’ve got your expensive apartment, in an expensive city, you need some air and you just \*suffocate\*, it kills you, you call the mayor, the municipality ... They just stopped moving it : “We need to wait until there is no more wind ... We will take it slower.”. They were also a lot of fires: “17 fires, how did it happen? I don’t know.” but it’s because the quantity was growing. You had a permit only to deposit 100 000 tons, and if you put too much waste ...

*Sonnerie de téléphone, M. Petean répond.*

M : Yes, at first I was not aware, or questioning myself about the transfer station. I wasn’t understanding what they were doing with it. It’s called a transfer station, but you’re depositing waste, here, so what is it really ? But, yeah, now I understand it better ...

F : It’s fishy ... But, you know, I mean, I’m not fully critical about how authorities handle things. I understand there was corruption. I’m pretty certain that there was also an interest to push back the closure of the former landfill, because you had increasing quantities of waste, plastics, recyclables ... The city has a good waste composition, let’s say, it has a lot of recyclables. There’s also PHD students that have done some composition studies. Maybe you’ve met Nicoleta ?

M : No, I haven’t met her.

F : She used to work for one of the 2 waste management companies, I don’t know if she works for them anymore. One of the two companies, Rosal, went away, so I’m not sure where she is, but do ask. She had some interesting things to say.

M : I’ve read some articles about the composition of waste, I’m taking her phone number just in case. Thank you !

F : Institutionally, or if you want to look at it from a larger perspective, a euro-macro perspective, I think the EU ... The EU just was not, was unrealistic about what can be done with the institutions that you have and the economy that you have. They just set up targets that, you know, we as Romanian, I can’t imagine people negotiating 15 years ago with the European commission. The European commission says : “Are you able to reach a recycling rate of 50% in 10 years ?” and Romanian say : “Yeah, sure, we will do all we can ! Of course, yes, anything for you, Commission!”.

*Rires.*

F : That was one thing. This whole mechanism of how they envisioned the institution of framework for waste management, from my perspective, not realistic. You just took new institutions that have never done such large contracts, they didn’t have expertise to conduct such projects ... Yeah, it’s systemic failure. To be honest, even this idea that we started this project with a feasibility study before we entered into the EU, and 20 years from then, we’re still doing standard conveyors for sorting stations, we don’t have anything optimal. They’re no new technologies, because the solutions are from 15 years ago, and the quantities, and the way you look at the mix, and this is also ... It was also a challenge, always, to calculate what is the dried quantity, because you don’t have such clear separation of the private waste and municipal waste coming from the population. You know, you have a market here and everybody takes their waste there, in the residential bins ... We’re also not very realistic about what is the population of the town. Officially, it’s 345 000, but everybody knows 440 000, you know. There’re

students, there're people that don't have an ID ... But nobody uses the real estimation, just the official data, so we have non-realistic data. And the, there was no effort to make a separation on quantity, for instance. If you go in a neighborhood, a block, a building where there are only pensioners, they will probably have 200 grams per day, maybe, 100 grams, because they buy a lot of stuff from the market. They don't go to the supermarket, buying tons of food packaging, but they still pay the same amount as someone who puts 2 or 3 kilograms of waste in the bin per day. This whole period of the pandemic, I've seen the phenomenon just in my block. We have 3 bins, no separate collection, and I collected it to those bells but at some point, they disappeared, so now I have nowhere to recycle on a walking distance newt to my house. I would have to put my waste in my car, which is totally absurd, to transport them, to put some carbon in the air ...

M : In which neighborhood are you living ?

F : Next to the Central Park. Nobody checks, so ... Now, the companies are now officially, contractually, legally, obliged to collect separately the waste. There was some pressure to work with the municipality, I collaborated with them on many occasions. There was a young guy, which just pushed that "at least, we should have stickers for dry waste, and this is wet waste, and this is Brantner, and we collect everyday" or something like that. Something happened, visibly. But then, you know, I see the waste from my house, and they should collect it daily because it is summer already, but sometimes it's every 2 days, sometimes it's every 3 days ... You can monitor it, on the website of the municipality, but it's just ... You don't get anything. You see cars moving, "wow, yes, very interesting !". It doesn't tell you that waste was collected from your budling, and I'm like "No, it wasn't because it's here, so please, give a fine to the company or something." Now, you know, with all the middle-class ordering food online because they work from home, one day of bags from the different restaurants ... I think the EU did not really have a strategy, and it kind of works in the same paradigm of developmentalism, like : "We give you money. We don't trust this country because it's a corrupted country. Of course, we gave you all the conditions but they didn't do it because they are Romanians" ... But, yeah, there wasn't a good plan, we don't have the resources. Even today, you know, we don't have people that talk the vocabulary of waste management, of recycling, of circular economy, so ... Even people that call themselves 'experts on waste management'. Nobody thinks of prevention ...

M : I was gonna ask you about ... Talkings about circular economy in Cluj ...

F : We have an Institute, IRCEM, so maybe. I went to some meetings. But there's nothing, no, nothing interesting. Maybe the Food Bank ?

A-M : We will meet her, yes !

F : And there's also the pollution of the river ...

M : Problems with leachates ?

F : That was after Pata Rât. Last year ago, or two years ago, me and Istvan, we took a boat and went from Floresti and came all the way to Cluj ...

M : Yes, he showed me the video. It was you on the video ?

F : Yes, with the cigarette ... Everybody saw it, even my mom. There's a few thousand views, and she was like : "Why do you have a cigarette? So shameful! You went on TV with a cigarette." Everybody asked : "But that guy, ok, where did he put his cigarette ?".

*Rires.*

M : Is it still the same situation in Floresti ?

F : They cleaned it. That's the thing : if you go by boat, you reach areas that are not reachable by alleys or by roads. You cannot drive next to them ; they're gated or fenced. If you go by boats, you can see the phenomenon for a few kilometers. But well ... They said : "Dear journalists, citizens, we're here, we're cleaning it up !". When you crossed the streets, you saw waste, and now it's clean. "This new mayor is really good !". You can't see the waste anymore. We had this public gathering after the video went viral ... I went in my flip-flops so I thought this was just gonna be me, Istvan, and a few other NGOs. But actually, the mayor came, the water company, the environmental authorities ... I was literally in my flip-flops because I lived really close and Istvan called me and told me : "Do you want to moderate the conversation ?". I was like : "Yes, I can moderate two NGOs." and ...

*Rires.*

F : Everybody was like : “Yes, we have a social problem there, because Roma living next to the water are throwing things.” and I was like : “I’m sorry Sir, but there are like thousands of tons of waste. Not in ten generations, 20 families could produce so much waste. ” And it’s clearly construction waste, because Floresti is just an externalized, unregulated, without urbanistic plan developed area cheap and accessible for citizens of second-class in Cluj, that cannot afford to buy a property with the prices here. So ... In Floresti, everybody just built chaotically, and Roma were also involved because they had cartridges and they would go at night to pick up the waste, and they would throw it in the river. But that was a small phenomenon compared to huge trucks tacking the waste from the buildings and then throwing it in the river. Nobody investigated this, nobody is curious. It’s just the Roma, yes, the Roma. It’s more comfortable, it’s easier.

M : I’m just going to take a look at my questions ... I think you’ve answered a lot of questions I have without even asking, it’s great !

F : It’s a topic that used to make me very passionate. Pata ... but I took a step back, because I felt like I collected a lot of resentment. I felt hopeless. I did not become a cynical person, at least that’s what I like to think, but I don’t know ... I can try to make small contributions, I’ve got this radio show, I talk about waste. I feel that the whole system, the whole concepts ... I don’t believe in waste management before talking about waste production. Why do we need to think of waste, without thinking about why we produce so much packaging and goods in the first place ? Why do we live in a society that needs to grow constantly ? I’m a degrowth believer, dreamer, an idealist that was affected by ... the violence of this world.

M : Except from the Food Bank, have you seen initiatives of citizens trying to reduce the waste stream ? Some prevention, to re-use ...

F : Yes, we have some. I think this is a cultural phenomenon, we have this huge flea market, OSER. It happens on Saturdays.

M : Ana-Maria told me about it.

F : I rather think that we are, unfortunately, unaware of what the implications of what this type of growth, of development, has on the planet. So, you know, in Cluj, we don’t have these strategies inside the institutions. And I went on each meeting, there was like a chapter on the economy of Cluj, how to develop the economy in the next 10 years. Everybody was like “In the past 15 years, Cluj’s economy tripled, it’s the fastest economy and tralala ...”. I was like : “Hello, hello, we had this growth, it’s great, we all live better, but the environmental cost we paid to reach this development, it’s huge, and you’re just pretending that there is no environmental cost”. They keep on pretending : “Yes, the environment is very important for us, green, we are making parks”. What parks ? Parks are great, public spaces, yeah, but what of pollution ? What of markets ? There was a consultation on transports, and everyone agreed on the importance of public transportation, buses, bicycles, metro ... But again, I was like : “Hello, there are 20 000 new cars each year, it’s already full, and you’re talking about in 10 years ? You will also have an extra 200 000 cars. Are you really not intending to block that growth of cars ?” - “It’s a good idea, but we cannot do anything, it’s the government, you know. Cluj is full of cheap cars”.

A-M : Yes, the city hall told us “We are just applying the law”.

M : Yes, we are still waiting for an official answer from the city hall ... It was interesting in a way. They don’t want to answer us in person. When we asked about innovations, she said that “they are just applying the law”, that everything is written in the official documents and that we can find everything on the internet.

F : Well, new innovations ... It’s that we bought several stations with 80 000€, new bins that let you know when they are full through a Wi-Fi system ... The society is so unaware, that’s what I feel. I feel like I’m oppressing the general public, when I’m on the radio talking about waste management or pollution. They’re like, not interested. “We have a good life, what’s the problem ?” ... But, if people are unaware, than politicians will just play their parts : “We bought new platforms with 80 000€”, and they take pictures, they make movies, they invite the press. And you’re like “Oh, what a modern city !” and the whole country is like : “Oh, Cluj bought 10 platforms for waste !” and everybody says “Oh in Cluj, you’ve got such a good mayor !”.

*Fait semblant de vomir.*

*Rires.*

F : I feel quite powerless. I don't feel like, if I'm an activist, I can put pressure ... Istvan is more confident, or whatever, or more motivated. He puts pressure, films, and something small happens. I just feel like ... You know, nobody cares. "Please, mayor, do something !" - "Yes, we are doing electric cars." and I'm like "Hey, society, we need to put pressure on the mayor !" - "I don't care, because I used to recycle but since I saw that they collect in the same car, I don't give a shit." So ... now, I'm telling people about my past experiences ... but I'm still in the sector of developmentalism, environmental ... It's fine, we're a young democratic society but it can take one generation, two generations, for people to be aware. Maybe the younger generation now will come and kick our asses. The transition had a huge social cost. We can still feel it, it was a trauma. It was a lot of stress, work, anxiety. I think now we're in a good moment, and it's like we can finally breath. "What a ride ! Give me a lemonade. Let's go to the park and listen to some music." Everybody talks about Cluj as one united society, always, "dear clujean", but you have pensioners, that have a small pension, 250€ a month, compared to the average salaries, 1 000€. You have a lot of imbalances, you have the working class, 250-300€. You have the high-tech sector, 2 000€. Nobody wants to dig in and look in society in a more complex way. It's not the same, when you're rich and you buy a lot of stuff and throw away the packaging, and when you're a pensioner, but we pay the same fee. So ... I need to eject myself because I cannot stop talking.

*Rires.*

M : So that's how you see the future now ? Are you hopeful, still ?

F : To be honest, I've always wanted to make a change. But the construction of cities, how we develop cities in our society, has nothing to do with how we should organize society. This idea that cities are either designed for state-capitalism or market-capitalism, they are not designed for balance. So, what I'm thinking now, what I'm mentally digesting, is that I want to make a change in a system that was built on the wrong grounds 200 years ago, 300 years ago, at the start of the industrialization. I'm like "Oh my god, I'm just trying to save this sinking ship", but there is no saving because it was built for making profit, this whole society. It's organized to make profit, and living in economies that constantly grow, against conserving or taking care of how we balance the interests of society ... So, I'm a little bit disappointed. I'm not so disappointed, but I'm trying to think big, but to think small, make small changes, and feel like I'm useful in my life. That I'm not idealizing or projecting a possible future for people I have never met and will never meet.

*Echange d'adresse e-mail pour un article.*

F : At some point, we wanted to apply for some funding, so we went to the municipality and instructed some ideas for a project, formalizing the informal recycling, you know. Reka, if you meet here, she will tell you about a project where they formalized waste pickers, they made associations, bought uniforms, safety equipment ... They made this campaign, and the association signed a contract with the municipality, and they just covered the area where they were usually recycling. We wanted to do something similar here in Cluj. I think I've got some calculations, some estimations of quantity from that period if you want, I could drop that.

M : Yes, I would love that ! Thank you so much for your time and all your answers ! It was really nice.

F : No problem. It was also nice for me. Having all this information, it's sad sometimes.

## Entretien n°12 - Adrian Răulea, responsable de projets à l'ADI-ZMC

*L'entretien se déroule au siège de l'asociație de dezvoltare intercomunitară de la Zona Metropolitană Cluj, Str. Zrínyi Miklós, Nr. 7, Ap. 2. Il dure une vingtaine de minutes.*

**Marie** : Would you like to introduce yourself first ?

**Adrian** : So I'm Adrian Răulea. I'm the program director of the metropolitan association. I coordinate all the programs, projects, that are implemented in our organization.

**Ana-Maria** : I have spoken with you, I remember now !

**A** : Maybe ?

**A-M** : Yes, it was for project about creative spaces. You wanted to know if these spaces had educational purposes.

A : Temporary spaces, yes. Probably.

*Rires.*

A : Yes, so, this is a bit of the background. Do you have specific questions on some of the projects or do you want to have a general discussion ?

M : I've got some specific questions, but we can have a general discussion. Would you introduce the ADI, metropolitan zone of Cluj also ?

A : Yes. So we are an association of municipalities. The mayor of the city of Cluj is the president of the association. The general assembly consists of the mayors of the communes. What do we do ? We plan basically. Our main activity is to plan the development of the metropolitan area, in terms of integrated urban development in the localities. This is what we do, first. Among that, we have some other projects regarding urban development, regeneration, on the environment ... For example, on the new Fâget forest park, or some horizons of interest projects. We've also got some international cooperation projects, and we also have a social department that is focused on housing, especially for the very deprived, people from Pata Rât, and also a very important project on domestic violence. This accounts for much of the finance that we have, these social components, but this is what we do.

M : The association was recently created ?

A : No, it was created in 2008.

M : Ok ... So, about what waste management ...

A : About waste management, as you know, there is another association that is specially focused on waste management. They coordinate the whole process in the county, I think. We don't have a direct involvement in this topic. Still, we were involved in projects that were focused on circular economy, on reducing waste, and also because working on the former garbage dump of Pata Rât, we had some ... Let's say, knowledge about what happened. Maybe some ideas for future projects, but mostly, we are more involved in the social and what are the people that are working in the waste management going to do. For example, if they changed the system and closed the garbage dump, the industry changes ... We are interested in the topic but still, we are not very focused on it, it's not our main topic.

M : Ok ... During the projects you've done, you talked about Pata Rât or projects on circular economy, what have you done exactly ? I don't know so much about your projects, I've been reading about it on your website. Stardust project for example, I was interested if there was a part about waste management in it ?

A : No, Stardust is an horizon 2020 project. We are focused on mobility and post-industrial urban regeneration, but it's not focused on waste. So it's not ... Of course, it's somehow integrated, it's somehow correlated, but our focus was not waste management.

A-M : And for the Pata Rât project, it's still ongoing ?

A : Yes, it's the second project, it's going on now. We're focused on relocating people from that community in proper housing units in the metropolitan area. Most ... Many of the people that are working in the waste management sector. We are also involved in mediating the work contracts between the workers and the companies that hire them. Maybe on trying to ... Train them on getting other types of jobs. Still, they are working in waste management and in public services, green spaces, things like that ... But, as I said, we're not involved in the process of waste management.

M : About circular economy, you said you had some projects?

A : We're interested in the circular economy and the future topics related to circular economy. We haven't had the chance to implement something in this direction but we are definitely interested in ... There is an institute, if you know them, that's a good opportunity to talk with them about their future plans.

M : So you're not developing projects on the matter right now, ok ...

A : Hopefully, we will participate in something in that direction.



M : About the metropolitan area, could you tell me ... I don't know, the major differences between the different localities inside the metropolitan area ? I would love to know more about the geography of the metropolitan area.

A : So, the city of Cluj-Napoca, of course, it's the main pole of attraction for the rest of the region basically. Our association, it consists of 20 localities, I think. The first and the second ring around the city. The first communes, in the first ring, for example Feleacu or Apahida, are more urban than rural. They have changed to a more urban style of development. They are more like Cluj's neighborhood than rural. We have other localities who are more rural though they keep changing. For example, Feleacu. But it's more peri-urban. The second ring of communes, they are rural or very rural, so they are not ...

M : Ok ... and about the Pata Rât project ...

A : It's mostly a social intervention project, so it's not really about waste management. We only ... I think, the only connection is that we were with people who were involved in waste management, and they live closely to the former garbage dump.

M : You worked with people working on waste management ? You mean, with companies, or people living in Pata Rât ?

A : No, people living in Pata Rât. Not the companies.

A-M : But their new location will be in other settlements in the metropolitan area ?

A : We bought appartements on the free market. They are in different parts of the city, in social housing buildings or ... But of course, after a process of evaluation, of training them, of offering support for moving out of Pata Rât, for the kids to go to school, for maintaining the jobs, for ... things like that.

A-M : Do you know if now the new landfill is functioning?

A : I think it is ... Something is functioning. The first cell, it's functioning, and they are moving part of the waste from the temporary landfill there. It's something that the county knows, and the Eco-metropolitan knows, they are operating it.

M : As a citizen, are you content with the way the waste is managed in your neighborhood ?

A : No, not really, but I think it depends also on the neighborhood. But I think most of the problems are situated on the neighborhood with larger block of flats, it's not managed that good, I think.

M : So there are differences between residential areas ... ?

A : Yes, I think it's better collected in the houses sector, I mean individual houses, than in bigger neighborhoods with blocks.

M : Ok ... and you've got sorting bins ?

A : Yeah, yes, of course, everybody has sorting bins.

M : Everybody, ok. Did you see any changes recently because of the covid crisis, in the waste management field ? Maybe some changes in Pata Rât, if you've been there ?

A : No ... no.

M : As you worked on some projects in Pata Rât, have you got some information on the activities people are performing, to collect the waste ? I haven't been able to gather so much information about it, but some people told me that waste pickers are gathering plastic bottles, or things like that ?

A : Hm hm ... There are people that do that. They collect bottles or from the garbage bins. They try to sell them afterwards and basically make a living out of it, but I don't know exactly the process or how many are involved in it. Now, there are dedicated bins for plastic, I think it's harder to do that job, or to collect ...

M : So this activity is declining, somehow ?

A : Probably yes, because of the waste selection and the collection.

M : Ok ... So there are differences maybe between blocks and residential areas in Cluj, but are there big differences between Cluj-Napoca and the other localities in the metropolitan area ?

A : The smaller ones ?

M : The smaller ones.

A : Well, yeah, I don't know exactly how the waste management is functioning there, but I think they are obliged by the law to have a selective waste collection, and also in the communes near Cluj. Now I think some of them have a new operator. The Eco-Metropolitan has finalized a process. I don't know, maybe in Floresti there was some discussions on waste management and if it's efficient or not, but otherwise, in the other communes, there was no sign that it doesn't work or of any other problem.

M : Ok ... Do you know if ... I haven't seen so much campaigns in Cluj, for citizens to sort their waste maybe more 'efficiently'. Do you know if there are campaigns from the city hall ... ?

A : No, I'm not the one ... But I remember we did something connected to waste, I think electronic waste, we did in the metropolitan area with an operator. I don't remember exactly how it was called. But it was specialized on collecting electronic or electric devices. So, this kind of waste.

M : Do you remember when ?

A : I think last year.

M : Last year, ok ... And how did it take place ?

A : We were just facilitators. We talked to the city halls, we facilitated the process, but we are not directly involved in collecting, it's the job of the companies that are specialized in this activity. They did a one month campaign, where they collected, something like that.

M : Campaign with ... flyers ... ?

A : I think they did flyers and launched events, something like that.

M : Have you heard about initiatives amongst Cluj's citizens, or citizens of the metropolitan area, regarding waste management ? About re-using, sorting in a different way, activities related to waste ...

A : I think there are some local associations that are active in this field. Regarding circular economy, there are some, let's say, debates, on the new facility being good enough, on how they collect, how they sort ... But it's not our job. I saw things in the media, but not very on the topic. But associations, NGOs, I think they are talking about it ... Also, Food waste. I know that there is an organization about that, Food Combat or something like that.

A-M : La banque alimentaire.

M : The food bank, maybe ... We're going to be able to meet them, hopefully.

A : Yeah, we had an online meeting with them, the Food Bank, because we wanted to deliver some food to Pata Rât, but there was some logistical problems. They have the food, and they don't have the logistics to deliver it, and we can't take it as we don't have the facility to store it. For example, if it needs to be stored at a 0 temperature or something like that. So, I think we will have to see with my colleagues, but we have some sort of pre-agreement but no action right now.

M : And would you say that the collaborations you have with the city hall, the county council are going well ? Do you have any difficulties?

A : Yes, they are going well, we have a good collaboration with those entities. It's a general collaboration.

M : Do you have a more general feeling you would like to share, on the future if waste management in Cluj ? How do you see it evolving ?

A : I think it's a complicated process and ... In general, we are not, maybe, educated or aware of how we should select, how we should manage. I don't know if there's a common agreement on which is the best way to have a ... I don't know, a facility that burns the waste, a facility to select it or to use it ... I don't know, which should be the system for waste collection, to deposit the waste. There are different models and I don't know which one we

should have. But of course, it's clear that we need to move towards circular economy, to generate less waste and try to recycle as much as we can. There should be bigger campaigns on this, on educating people on this matter. Also, I think, there's a bigger problem with collection in the rural part ... but also in the metropolitan area because people are used to throw the garbage out on the valley or whatever. 50 years ago, probably most of the garbage was biodegradable, so ... which is not the case now. It's problematic, mostly the PET bottles in the river, streams, bigger water waste dumps. I think it should be more important to educate people mostly in the rural parts of the county in Cluj.

M : Ok ... Maybe we'll be able to discuss this topic tomorrow.

A-M : Tomorrow we're meeting the ADI Eco-metropolitan.

### Entretien n°13 - Bela Kobulniczky, étudiant à l'UBB.

*L'entretien dure une quarantaine de minutes, au Centre de Géographie Régionale, le jeudi 3 Juin 2021 à 15h.*

M : So would you like to introduce yourself ?

B : Yes ! My name is Bela Kobulniczky and I'm a PHD student in the faculty of Geography from Babes-Bolyai University. My domains of studies concentrate in agricultural meteorology in Romania, climate change in the last 50 years and up to 2021-2040.

A-M : So you have a common issue, he studies the last 20 years.

B : Another interest for me is air pollution, waste management. I spent 6 months in the last 4 years in a wastewater treatment station.

A-M : But not in Cluj.

B : Not in Cluj. There, I worked with a laboratory, I analyzed the water quality with a few indicators : PH, oxygen quantity, waste resources ... because I worked in the factory, in order to prepare some treatments.

M : You know a little bit about the waste management in Cluj ?

B : Yes, a little bit ... In Cluj, right now, exists a separate collection of the waste : plastics and other types of waste.

M : This is the main problem ?

B : Yes, in Hasdeu Campus, it doesn't exist, the separate collection of waste.

A-M : We don't have that ?

B : No, we have one or two bins, and 17 buildings.

A-M : Wow !

M : One or two selective bins for the whole campus ?

A-M : Yes, but they have 17 ...

B : 17 or 19 buildings.

A-M : Where are they located, those bins ?

B : *Réponse en roumain.*

A-M : Ok, so they are in the middle of the campus.

B : *Réponse en roumain.*

A-M : It is a kind of stream, inside the building, that collects all the waste from the first floor, and then ... I don't know what they are doing then.

B : *Réponse en roumain.*

A-M : Oh, ok ! They are collecting it, and then all the waste is recycled. In the basement of the building, there are some separated bins, and all the waste collected would be ... disposed into these kind of bins.

M : Ok, so this is not the students that are sorting ?

A-M : No, no, the administration.

M : So, is every student responsible for the separation ? I mean, do they sort their waste ? I don't know, like, when you're giving the waste to someone else, to the administration ...

B : No, it's not a priority of the administration of the campus, and students will be ... It would be nice but ...

A-M : No, I don't think so ...

B : It's not a must.

M : Ok, it's not mandatory ...

B : Yes ! Not mandatory !

A-M : So, I would say, it's a lack of awareness from the administration ...

M : Yes ... And you've lived in different buildings, is it the same in every building on the campus ?

B : I've lived in 3 different locations. In one location, it's collected correctly.

A-M : Just one ?

B : Yes. They manage the waste correctly. In the rest, it's ...

A-M : It's a mixed collection ... But I know there are some buildings where there are students from other countries, Erasmus students, are they more aware about waste management ? Do they manage their waste differently ? ... Do they have other ways ...

M : Practices ?

B : No ...

M : Ok ... Since when have you been living in the campus ? How many years ?

B : 6 years.

M : Have you seen any changes throughout the years ? Maybe some campaigns ?

B : In the campus, no. In the near future, I still don't know ... This is not really reality now, it's not a joke ... This is not a reality in Romania.

M : Since you're living in the building, are you paying a fee for the waste management ?

B : No, in the campus no.

A-M : I guess it's the administration. But they do have to pay a fee for the accomodation, so I guess it's in it ... I doubt the administration would have a different fee for the waste.

M : Ok, the administration ... and do you see a lot of illegal dumping ? A lot of waste on the ground in the campus ?

B : In the campus, I don't see that, no. In other parts of the city, yes.

M : In which parts ? You can talk about the rest of the city if you want, also.

B : Pata Rât.

M : Of course, Pata ...

B : And in the Somes River.

M : You've worked a little bit in waste water treatment, maybe you're a little bit more informed than other people in the city about what's happening in Pata Rât, or about illegal dumping ... Would you say that students, which you've talked to, know much about the waste management here ? Or circular economy ? Are they concerned ?

B : A private research institute does exist, which we can collaborate with ... *Réponse en roumain ...*

A-M : He knows only about the Research Institute on Circular Economy.

B : So there's not so much discussions about waste management ?

B : A little bit in the faculty, presented by the professor Vescan, but the rest, no.

A-M : Are there some initiatives about green spaces in Hasdeu ?

B : I don't know ...

M : You've only been in the campus, in Cluj ?

B : No, for 6 months I was renting an apartment.

M : Ok, and did you see many differences between the way it was managed in your apartment building and in Hasdeu ?

B : Yes, yes. Many differences. Because in the apartment, there were many buildings, and the problem was managed very well. There were separate bins for the waste collection.

M : In which neighborhood where you living ?

B : Iris.

M : Have you seen anyone collecting the waste informally, illegally ? Collecting cardboard, paper, plastics ?

B : Yes, that black business is following all the Roma people ... And near Somes, it's existing, that people ...

A-M : But you know, there is that man, former teacher ...

B : Yes ! I forgot !

A-M : He is a very familiar face.

B : Yes, I saw him collecting paper.

A-M : I don't have his phone number, but we want to interview him ... He already told us that he is interested, but I don't know him.

M : I saw him several times, at the same time, in the same place ... Maybe I could try to go there. But apart from him, you haven't seen anyone else doing this ?

B : No, in the campus, no.

M : Do you know if there are some students that are involved in some projects, trying to recycle, to re-use ?

B : The students from the environmental science faculty, usually. That faculty created a research institute and a small department based on waste management.

M : So it is linked to their field of study, I suppose ... But apart from that, no ? No association for climate change talks or environmental initiatives ?

A-M : No, there are some associations but they are not talking about this kind of issues.

M : You told me you studied waste management a bit ? Was it part of your PHD or ? What subject did you study ?

B : It's not part of my PHD, a little bit I don't know. I worked in the wastewater treatment plant in my city, Reghim.

A-M : It's in Mures County.

M : Ok. Was it a good experience ?

B : Yes ! It was a very good experience, but I worked in the professional laboratory, and learned different techniques, methods, ... Very efficient methods for the water quality. The project ... I realized a little research for a river in my city. That river had a high quantity of nitrates, and the people consumed that water from the river. That is a big problem ... and they used the water for fishing.

M : It was linked to which activity, those level of nitrates?

A-M : It was a factory ?

B : Yes, a chicken factory and a waste water factory.

M : Yeah, we have kind of the same problems in France ...

B : The problem is analyzed by the administration for 15 years ... There have been problems in that zone for years, and the contaminated water is entering the houses. In 2005, there was already several flaws in that zone. But they did not resolve that problem.

M : How do you see the waste management evolving in the next years ? Have you got any hopes for the city, the county ? Do you see some things being implemented ?

A-M : Are you optimistic ?

B : Optimistic, no, I'm pessimistic. That problem will be resolved ...

M : With fees ?

B : Yes ! With fees !

M : You mean fees from the EU or ... ?

B : Yes, and from the environmental bureau in Romania. The new chief of the bureau of the national agency of environment can resolve this problem, I think.

M : The environment agency or ministry ?

B : The board of the national environment or ... the board of national environment agency, I don't really know if that's the translation.

M : They said they would resolve it in the next years ?

B : Yes, he's very professional, and an environment activist. He is an expert in that domain since the 2000's. Almost 20 years.

M : Ok ... Having this person in charge, in the bureau, makes you hopeful in a way ?

B : Yes, I'm gonna give you the name : Octavian Berceanu.

M : He has implemented new laws ? He is just beginning his work ?

B : Yes, he's been in that position for 3 months.

M : So we will see how it goes.

B : Yes. In Romania, the environment is a problem but ... the local authorities don't care about the national politics, because the development comes with waste in Romania. With cables ... The thieves of the cables, in Romania, enjoy the disappearance of that material.

M : I see ... You mean, that's a profitable business ? They don't want it to change ?

B : Yes ! Very, very. There exists thousands of hectares of terrain that are not usable for other activities, for agriculture, territorial planning development ... And the special case is Bucharest and the localities near

Bucharest, near Bucharest, in the metropolitan zone. But the thing does not exist in all the counties, in other parts of Romania.

M : And you were telling you lived in Reghim, in Mures county ?

B : Yes.

M : How is the waste management in Mures county ?

B : Right now, existing a local program to realize the separate waste collection, to collect separately plastics and papers ... Once two week of the month.

M : Ok, once every two weeks ...

B : But there are problems ... in the rivers, with the plastics, papers, cans, rest of animal products ... That material is wasted. You can go in Mures and ...

*Rires.*

B : There are many problems with public sanitation.

### Entretien n°14 - Iancu Pinte, directeur de l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan Cluj.

*L'entretien se déroule au siège de l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan de Cluj, pendant environ 1h30. Pas d'autorisation d'enregistrement, donc cette restitution est constituée de prise de notes. De plus, notre interlocuteur s'exprimant majoritairement en roumain, cette prise de notes se base sur la traduction des propos par Mme Pop.*

L'association intercommunale de développement (ADI) Eco-Metropolitan de Cluj, dédiée à la gestion des déchets, est en charge la gestion des déchets dans le département de Cluj – responsable de la collecte des déchets, mais aussi du monitoring des opérateurs de salubrité. Elle a été fondée en 2009.

Elle rassemble les intérêts de 81 unités administratives territoriales, dans 3 aires géographiques pour le département de Cluj :

- Aire 1 est celle de Cluj-Napoca, Huedin et les communs alentours
- Aire 2 est celle de Turda, Campia Turzii et alentours
- Aire 3 est celle de Gherla, Dej et alentours

En 2019, "il y a 1 an", les préparatifs pour la procurement ont débutés en juillet, avec 2 offres pour les aires 2 et 3. Délégation de service public remporté par l'opérateur de salubrité Supercom. Le contrat a été fait en décembre 2020 mais son activité devra débuter 6 mois après, à cause d'une période de préparation des opérateurs.

L'aire géographique 1 est toujours en préparation, en phase d'évaluation "technique, administrative, maintenant financière ...". A la fin des évaluations arriveront l'annonce des résultats.

Objectifs de l'ADI :

- Gestion intégrée de toutes les localités du département
- Mise en place de la collecte sélective
- Sensibilisation du public

2 principes :

- Pollueur-payeur et responsabilité du producteur
- Proportionnalité du paiement à la quantité de déchets - première implémentation en Roumanie, même si déjà-vu à l'échelle européenne.

Ils ont demandé à Supercom d'avoir un système de mesure pour chaque poubelle avec puce électronique/code.

Chaque citoyen/ménage en maison individuelle disposera de 4 poubelles : déchets résiduels, déchets papiers-cartons, déchets métaux-plastiques, et une poubelle pour les biodéchets, selon les normes techniques futures. Elles ont déjà été achetées, elles vont être distribuées - ils attendent les normes techniques de la loi.

Les biodéchets seront envoyés au CMID, à Cluj, pour compostage.

Les ménages en zone rurale ont déjà été équipés de bacs pour le compost. Ils ont également fait des campagnes de sensibilisation pour l'utilisation du compost, et ont été "surpris" du fait que la population ou les agriculteurs en savent déjà beaucoup.

Utilité de l'ADI :

- Accès aux moyens financiers européens. Besoin d'une structure de type association, coopérative, intercommunalité, pour une meilleure vision intégrée de certains objectifs. On considère que la gestion est "meilleure" lorsqu'elle n'est pas individuelle.
- Rôle de médiateur entre les citoyens et les opérateurs de salubrité. Pour augmenter les prix, il y a besoin d'avoir l'accord de la majorité de la population, et cet accord est plus facile à obtenir grâce à l'ADI.
- Rôle de liaisons entre les citoyens du département et les opérateurs. D'une part, l'ADI surveille les opérateurs de salubrité, et d'autre part, obtient toutes les autorisations.

La procédure pour le choix d'un opérateur de salubrité a duré 5 mois à cause des "82 UA", chacune ayant ses points de vue, nombreuses contradictions.

Création d'un règlement de salubrité qui doit être appliqué par l'opérateur.

Pour les zones d'immeubles/bâtiments collectifs, la collecte doit être faite au niveau de l'association de l'immeuble. Le nombre de poubelles données par l'opérateur dépend du nb d'habitants.

Aujourd'hui, volonté d'implémenter une taxe pour les personnes n'effectuant pas la collecte sélective. Soit on fonctionne avec un système d'offre de récompenses pour les meilleurs "sélecteurs", soit on met en place une taxe coercitive basé sur le modèle allemand. C'est ce qu'il a vu lors de son doctorat en Allemagne : en triant mal ses déchets, il a remarqué qu'on pouvait lui mettre une amende de 100€. Ils ont donc la volonté d'investir dans la sensibilisation du public. En Allemagne, lorsqu'il ne savait pas où jeter ses déchets, les citoyens lui indiquaient la poubelle adéquate. Volonté d'avoir des gens "plus éduqués" et qui "respectent les normes".

Ils sont conscients du fait que l'éducation peut aller de l'enfant aux parents/adultes, donc mise en place d'actions dans les écoles, à travers des jeux liés au tri ou des concours, pour que les enfants qui collectent correctement reçoivent des prix.

Souhait de mise en place de campagnes d'informations sur l'emplacement des magasins où on trouve des points de collecte spécifique. A Bucarest, le directeur du magazine Info Mediu, a créé une campagne d'information efficace – ils souhaitent collaborer avec lui pour mettre en place une campagne de sensibilisation.

Un des buts de l'ADI est aussi de réduire la quantité de déchets collectée, ainsi que de trouver des partenaires pour se charger de la valorisation des déchets recyclables.

Une fois la décharge remplie (CMID), on entame un processus d'écologisation. Les cellules sont recouvertes de différentes couches, d'herbe, une surveillance est effectuée pendant 20 ans, notamment pour éviter que des animaux viennent pâturer et pour surveiller les quantités de gaz. La surveillance se fait de manière périodique ?

Le but final de l'ADI est qu'à l'horizon 2040, Cluj-Napoca et certains unités territoriales du département soient « Zero Waste ».

- Quelles innovations au sein de l'ADI ?

- Développement d'un logiciel pour le suivi de l'activité des opérateurs de salubrité, avec coordonnées géographiques pour le suivi des voitures de collecte, ainsi que suivi de la quantité collectée dans chaque maison, de l'heure/jour de sortie des poubelles pour vérifier la conformité vis-à-vis de la collecte sélective.

- Volonté de développement d'une application pour les citoyens de Cluj, avec prise de photos (+ heure, date, lieu) pour signaler les dépôts illégaux et avertir les mairies, mais aussi pour avoir une preuve des dysfonctionnements des opérateurs (oubli de la collecte dans certaines zones). Dans le cas d'oubli par les opérateurs ou de quantités trop importantes de déchets, cette application doit permettre d'envoyer des voitures de type flèche (« arrow ») pour enlever un déchet localisé, à la différence de la collecte habituelle avec camions. Cette appli devrait également servir pour les maires puisque les déchets jetés illégalement sont la responsabilité



de l'Agence de l'Environnement qui donnent des amendes, mais une telle application (avec photos) permettrait non seulement d'avertir les mairies, mais aussi de récupérer une partie des recettes liées aux amendes.

Déchets spécifiques :

- déchets volumineux : campagnes de récupération des déchets 1x/mois, donc 12x/an à titre gratuit. Le service est disponible partout dans le département. L'annonce du jour de dépôt précise un endroit spécifique pour la collecte. Si les citoyens ne souhaitent pas attendre, ils ont la possibilité de payer 1000 lei/t pour l'enlèvement.

- déchets de construction : service payant pour les entreprises, qui doivent appeler l'ADI pour faire enlever leurs déchets. Des services spécifiques existent pour les citoyens qui ont des déchets de construction.

Le règlement de salubrité est disponible sur le site et consultable par toute.s. Lors de sa création, il a été mis en débat publique pendant 1 mois, et l'ADI a « tenu compte » des observations faites par les citoyens.

L'ADI fait partie d'une fédération nationale – la FADI, fédération des intercommunalités gestionnaires de déchets en Roumanie. Le directeur de la fédération est le président de l'ADI d'Arges, où le SMID fonctionne très bien : « un modèle de bonnes pratiques ». Le but de la fédération est d'avoir plus de force en rassemblant les ADI, pour ainsi avoir plus pouvoirs/droits devant les ministères et travailler ensemble pour une meilleure gestion des déchets.

La fédération organise tous les 3 mois des rencontres et visites pour les membres. La dernière en date a eu lieu à Sibiu, avec la visite d'un centre de transfert et d'une déchetterie. C'est l'occasion d'échanger sur ce qui fonctionne ou pas, sur les différents modèles de gestion (y compris hors Roumanie). Cluj apparaît « un peu en arrière, mais cela peut être vu comme un avantage car cela évitera de faire les mêmes erreurs que les autres ADI. » Sans cette fédération, les occasions de rencontrer des représentants gouvernementaux seraient très rares, et le dialogue serait plus difficile.

Dans le milieu rural, distribution de bacs pour le compost à travers le concours des administrations. Répartition selon le nombre d'habitants.

- Responsabilité : « 50-50 » 50% ADI – 50% Conseil départemental.

L'ADI est responsable de la collecte et du transport des déchets.

L'administration du CMID est la responsabilité du Conseil Départemental de Cluj.

« L'ADI apporte les déchets et après c'est la responsabilité du département. »

- Difficulté administration ADI ?

82 UA, 82 maires, donc 82 points de vue et problèmes différents. « When they gather, they bring all their problems : social, political, infrastructures ... ». Avec les réunions en ligne via ZOOM, l'avantage est qu'on peut couper les micros quand ils divergent du sujet initial. Réunions 2-3 fois par an et discussions toutes les semaines avec des individus de différentes unités administratives.

- Problèmes financiers ?

En tant qu'association de gestion intercommunautaire, pas éligible aux aides européennes, seulement aux aides départementales. Embauche d'une personne pour identifier chaque source possible de financement : européenne, nationales, départementales ...

Attente de l'opérateur de salubrité de la zone 1 pour commencer vraiment un travail de terrain et non plus seulement de bureau. Besoin de financement pour les déplacements ?

- Acteurs informels : some problems « for the moment ».

Dans le quartier où il habite, il a essayé de sensibiliser ses voisins à la collecte sélective. Mais il a déjà vu des personnes, le soir, essayé d'ôter des poubelles pour récupérer les déchets et ainsi pouvoir les vendre.

- Économie circulaire et zero waste à Cluj :

Dans le future oui, on peut en discuter, mais les choses doivent se faire en plusieurs étapes. « It's hard ». Pour le moment, la 1ère étape, l'implémentation de la collecte sélective « takes time, several years. »

La seconde étape est celle de l'extension du tri. La troisième est celle du développement des infrastructures, avec des stations de transfert. La quatrième est celle d'une volonté de devenir « zero wast ». Pour aboutir à cela, il faut tout d'abord des infrastructures et la logistique nécessaires, mais aussi des taxes/punitions. Toutefois, certains maires ne veulent pas de cela car ils pensent voir des problèmes avec leurs administrés s'ils les implémentent, et ont peur de ne pas se faire réélire.

Besoin d'ajuster la législation aux spécificités des territoires.

Pour que tous les roumains collectent sélectivement : les villes doivent arrêter l'incinération. On peut la conserver, mais seulement pour les hôpitaux. On doit également simplifier les règles en matière d'environnement.

- Différences territoires :

- Zones rurales montagnardes : pas de possibilité pour les camions de collecte de passer partout donc aménagement de petits points de collecte centraux.

- Zones urbaines : les principaux dysfonctionnements sont visibles dans la fréquence de la collecte. Le besoin de collecte fréquente est plus prégnant que dans d'autres endroits.

Dysfonctionnements avec la taxe de salubrité : à l'heure actuelle, dans certaines communes, on a le choix de payer de deux manières.

- Soit via la mairie
- Soit directement auprès des opérateurs de salubrité

Les opérateurs de salubrité reçoivent l'argent des contribuables via la mairie, et chaque citoyen est **théoriquement** obligé de payer. Toutefois, si ce n'est pas le cas, en réalité, la mairie met en place une taxe spécifique dans son budget, pour "récupérer" le coût des impayés, coût que tous les citoyens payent. Bientôt un changement dans cette forme d'organisation ? Les contrats devraient se lier entre citoyens ou associations d'immeubles et opérateurs de salubrité, directement, sans contrat avec la mairie.

- Collecte sélective ?

Plaintes des citoyens car les opérateurs jettent tous les déchets dans le même camion de collecte. Mais selon l'ADI, les camions sont équipés de compartiments "spécifiques" à l'intérieur, pour une collecte sélective dans un seul et même camion. Problèmes avec la collecte lorsque les gens confondent les jours etc.

Pour ne pas confondre les jours de collecte, il peut être utile de créer des éléments d'identité : à Ardes, lors du jour de la collecte des ordures résiduels, un son de coq est diffusé dans le village (camions ?), ce qui rappelle efficacement aux habitants quelle poubelle sortir.

- Retard SMID ?

Pour implémenter le SMID, besoin de finir les évaluations. L'ADI est responsable des évaluations financières, tandis que le conseil départemental est responsable de l'évaluation technologique, administrative. Ces évaluations n'en sont qu'à leurs premiers pas. De plus, en Roumanie, il existe beaucoup de contestations. Dans le cas de ce SMID, le marché a été remporté par un opérateur, et contesté par les autres opérateurs (perdants), ce qui prend beaucoup de temps aux autorités/responsables pour répondre, réagir, préparer les dossiers à présenter aux tribunaux etc... Les processus sont donc allongés. De plus, la loi devrait être simplifiée.

Une fois les évaluations terminées, l'opérateur en place, on devrait pouvoir lancer les opérations mais tout se bloque avec les contestations juridiques. Procédures très bureaucratiques. Le rapport technique a été contesté par plusieurs institutions (au moins une dizaine ?). Le rapport final a été contesté par les opérateurs de salubrité durant une année : temps perdu pour tous.

- Changements COVID ?

L'association SMART a acheté un incinérateur. Targu Mures possède un incinérateur, qui prend en charge les déchets médicaux de Cluj, Alba Iulia, et les lieux avoisinants. Cluj-Napoca, avec ses 20 hôpitaux et ses villes importantes du département possédant toutes un hôpital, devrait acheter un incinérateur pour ne pas payer ça à un autre département, et gagner de l'argent/électricité de ce type de déchets.

Les personnes sont plutôt responsables avec les masques et les mettent à la poubelle, dans un sac spécial.

- Mot de la fin :

Le plus important reste la sensibilisation des citoyens, du public. Leur responsabilité est d'informer le public pour arriver au 0 Waste, ou tout au moins à très peu de déchets résiduels et beaucoup plus de recyclables. L'idéal serait d'être comme certaines villes japonaises, qui n'ont pas d'opérateurs de salubrité car très peu de déchets et les gèrent en communauté.

### Entretien n°15 - Dan Emil Sânpetresanu, fondateurs de la Casa de Cultura Permanenta.

*L'entretien se déroule en compagnie d'Alice, qui l'accompagne, et de Mme Pop. Café Tucano, centre-ville de Cluj-Napoca, milieu de journée. Durée : un peu moins d'une heure.*

D : So you have a set of questions I see ?

M : Yes, it's just general questions I'm supposed to ask, to evoke in every interview but ... Do you want to introduce yourselves first and talk a little bit about the Casa de Cultura Permanenta ?

D : ... So my name is Dan Emil Sanpetresanu. I was part of a group, a larger group, that tried to ... I don't know how to put this. There was a group that, 10 years ago, in Cluj, maybe less than 10 years ago, that was interested in promoting civic activism in different fields : political, social, cultural, environmental, and all this kind of stuff. This is how I learnt about the different realities, different from the one that I was accustomed to. I was doing business, running an hospital ... I had a normal job, life, and for me this part of an ecosystem was a security. You know, job, life, making money, being successful ... That was the general narrative in which I lived. In 2012 I think, I got in contact with a movement in Rosia Montana, I don't know if you are familiar with the subject ?

A-M : Yes, now.

*Rires.*

D : And I met some amazing people there, from a group ... A young european group that was active in reclaiming the fields, for people instead of industry and industrial agriculture. They were also there in order to help people in Rosia Montana reclaim their village, their city, for themselves. Somehow to offer alternatives to the mine's projects there. This what the first step, that offered us a different perspective on what means growth, what means government ... Then we came back here. I was married at the time, we got in touch with this group of people that was somehow connected to Rosia Montana. I mean, interesting, that subject, but what can we do about our city ? And ... I was active there for about 3 years. The thing that took me apart from that group, that took us apart, was the fact that ... this antagonical relationship within the 2 elites and counter-elites. It is a kind of play that happens mostly in the activism movement, you know, like in a revolution. Some people think that they are right, they know how things should be, so they try to convince the other in various forms : protests, gatherings, messaging, promoting ideas ... Trying to gather support for certain kind of visions. For me, it wasn't the best way to contribute to the city, civitas. So, what I did is I repurposed a guest house in Cluj. The Casa de Cultura was actually a small hotel. So, my intention, for the next 2 years, was to try to experiment with a different power dynamic, to explore different power dynamics, in which we are not the ones trying to convince the others, but rather try to grow, as a community, to see if we can reach an idea of how life should be, from the people that live together. We practiced a model called 'gift economy' in terms of support and finances, and you know, managing our life, in which the idea is that 'nobody has to' and 'everybody is welcome to' contribute. So if you want to be part of the civil process, it's ok, and if you don't want to, it's ok. I got in touch with tons of other tools, and models, that changed the way we see decisions management processes, structures ... Fluid relationships ... And explored for a few years different kinds of perspectives. It was an amazing period, for me, because I feel that these years, from 2013 to 2016, 2017, where an era of extreme mobility in Europe. Cultural exchanges, volunteering, Erasmus, ... it was a time of youth, openness, a sort of emulation. People were willing to try something new, to try and experiment, without necessary getting to solutions, but really experimenting. So Casa was actually maintaining the same structure as the hotel, sleeping places with a common area ... We had a small park which now became a public space, in which people from the city or from the house could organize things or just be there. For 3, 4 years, we hosted more than 300 people from gift economy. Nobody had to pay. We also hosted sub-groups, from all sorts of milieux. We had Rainbow People, from the Rainbow Tribe. We had a Rainbow

gathering in Romania, so these extreme hippies anti-technologists that don't want to live in a place for more than a month in a place ... In waste management concept, their opinion is that if a human settlement is holding in the same place for more than a month, it will affect the environment in an irreversible way. This Rainbow Tribe moves every month to a different location. There are a few hundred people and they maintain contact through internet and what not, and they call each other and decide where the next place should be. They stopped in our place for a while, so we learnt from their perspective. We had activists; we had these different alternatives of food-chains systems that connect farmers with the consumers directly ... There is this French ASAD also, that was implemented in Timisoara and then implemented to our region. We were part of this thing. Then we heard about this Repair Café thing, from guys in Netherlands, and we started this Repair Café here. With people in the house, we organized Repair Café events. *En désignant sa boisson* : This is so strange ... It's very Nirvana.

*Rires.*

D : So ... this grew into an NGO that we founded in 2016, trying to be more ... I thought at that time, that it would be a mean of making a change in the organized life of the city. To be present in the public authority's environment. As people, we had a lot of challenges, a lot of successes. We bought a plot of lands, that we managed for a few years, and it was possible without having a legal entity. But we thought that, in order to be able to relate with authorities in other levels, we were forced to become a legal entity ... So ... The NGO was trying to grow these models of circular economy, to reduce waste and maybe research on different ways of sourcing, producing, disposing of things. We've had a few public experiments. We tried to set up a festival in 2017, that we moved from one park to another during each month of the year, trying to get every neighborhood to participate, to contribute, to exchange stuff for free, to repair stuff, recycle, ... Kids events, trying to teach them about the environment, how to explore it. So, more or less, this is what we tried. Since 2017, 2018, due to personal reasons, my implication reduced in the ecosystem. I had less activities. 2020, I felt, put everything to a stop with the pandemic and this kind of social-distancing narrative which is ... completely out of human nature. I mean, how can we live in a city being socially distant ? How can we collaborate, cooperate, while being afraid of the other ? Yeah ...this is what I could say about my experience.

M : à Alice : Would you like to introduce yourself also ? No ?

D : Alice is ... I will speak for her, just a few words. She is in Casa de Cultura, which is now a transforming place. We try to change it into a cooperative space, an open space for everybody, which has a few permanent residents and a lot of travelers to a space with permanent residents and things involve in a more "living together" space, with less of a community spirit and experiments. So, it kind of declined.

M : So about waste management ...

*Rires.*

M : Yes, sorry, I'm always coming back to it. But you did a project, you talked about a festival in different neighborhoods of the city ?

D : Well, in that particular direction, I had implications ... One of them being the festival, idea of reinterpret the value of things. Another one was the Repair Café, I was hoping that we could get a place here, near the Boulevard, and have a permanent residence with a food distribution system for this ASAD thing. I felt personally that, in our post-socialist ...

A-M : It did not happen because of the Covid ?

D : No, that was long before Covid. It stopped during 2019, 2020. Personally, I think that, in this particular social environment, we have at least 2 groups: one being the youth and the affluent people, who do this as a sport. It's their so-called contribution to a better world but it's not grounded in any personal consumption habits. Call it 'greenwashing' maybe, this is a little bit harsh, but I would call it greenwashing. Look at us here ! There's not much more to say. We're here. The second group is less affluent, people with less possibilities, for which this was a chance to have their things fixed for free. For them, it was important to have things. Not to consume less, but to make do. To be able to survive. So .. I don't know, I don't feel that we are in Romania, in Cluj, the same social environment as in France or in the Netherlands, where Repair Café have a totally different meaning. This impression of really tightening social links and creating a community that could really change something and organize the life of the city. For me, it was an experience of some people participating because that was fun, they could feel good about themselves, and other people being in need, and that's it. The other project I was trying

to develop was a business, a kind of NGO business model in which I contacted a few companies, people, to actually collect. A system of collecting recyclables and reusables, sort them, and then sell them to recyclers, because at that time we felt that there was a gap between people and actual recycling companies. The trash collectors, the garbage collectors in Cluj, they were not actually recycling. They were collecting garbage, sending them to the waste disposal place, and then poor people would be allowed to go there, sort, and sell informally the recyclables. So ... that was a test. Seeing if that was possible to organize this, using bicycles, using my car, to go in several places. They were a few companies, which again, felt affluent and separated the pizza card boxes and the single use plastic containers for food that they had at lunch ... So I could go there and sort their trash, all their dirty things, which were dirty and moldy and ... Nah. To me, it was the same thing : still, we don't see all these things that we use as resources, as extracted from the natural environment, and as valuable. We have different trash, we sort them, but it's still dirty. Separately, but it's still dirty. So, I gave up on this because it wasn't rewarding. I didn't convince anybody to join me. I had issues in my personal relationships, because of that. I was the 'trash collector'. Former hospital manager, now trash collector. I mean really ... "dirty, trash collector", and carrying them with my own car, which was my family car. It was complicated, really complicated. So I gave up on this too. I talked about the Repair Café, this experiment of collecting ... Yeah, more or less, that's it. In terms of waste, I would say that, that's it. If you think in terms of waste, I would say that there is some groups that try to convey some ideas, in UBB, there was another group about circular economy, I don't know if they are still active. Circular Economy for me, in my idea or understanding, a different way of organizing the whole economical field and the whole society in which we eliminate the term of waste, there is no such thing as waste ... If we manage, if we would manage to construct an economical model in which the resources are still resources and not resource product, we would be more in a position to address this issue. As long as we are working in our current economic model, there will always be waste.

M : How we transition from one model to another, that's a big question ...

D : I know of groups that tried but ... I don't know about any group that gathered a sufficient social support to change this for real. They were these guys with a phone, many years ago, what was the name of the phone ?

M : Fairphone ?

D : Fairphone, yeah, the Fairphone guys. Did you hear anything about the Fairphone during the last couple of years ?

M : I've heard that it still exists. They launched a Fairphone 2 ?

D : No, the Fairphone 2 was 4 years ago.

M : 4 years ago ?! Ok ...

D : I don't see Fairphones anywhere, or the ones that I see have a very very high price ... In the same time, I am flooded with advertising about a new Chinese cheap thing that is here, and that I need to buy now !. Yeah, the Fairphone is there, but they didn't have enough traction to actually change our economic model, our business model. It's rather big companies, tech companies, strengthening their position on a consumerist extractivist market and greenwashing ... I just heard today about Amazon constructing 'cry-boxes' for their employees, so that when they feel stressed and tired, they could go there and listen to a peaceful music, try to relax ... I mean, it's not about "Ok, you're not happy or satisfied with your work, what can we do ?", it's about "what can we do to benefit from it". If we don't address this in people, how can we address these things in the economy ... I don't know if that's a clear message of what I have in my mind, but if we don't value ourselves, we won't value our environment. For now, we have to deal with those side-effects, and the waste. Wasted people, wasted emotions, wasted resources ...

M : I see ...

D : So, I don't know about any models right now that is properly functioning. I try to keep in touch, being informed, but I don't know.

M : I don't see it that much in real life, but we'll see, I guess, in the next years, decades ...

D : We're counting on you, young people ... Maybe you will find a different approach, a different source of energy. The other day, I was reading about Germany that closed a lot of nuclear powerplants, and now they are the biggest consumers of coal ..

M : Coal, yeah.

D : Like wow, big success ! We managed, we did it ! For me, again greenwashing is a term that defines a way of which we try to cope without real success. We do something, instead of nothing, but with very little insight on how this will end up in the future.

M : And when you're looking at the festival, what was the impact? What has changed, maybe, I don't know ? How do you feel about it a few years later ?

D : I don't see too much change, I don't see too much change looking on the street. Still cigarettes on the ground. People they ... I think they had fun. Maybe a few got into not throwing anything together, it made it easier to accept the transition towards selective waste collection. They were a few interesting things in Cluj, I'm not sure if they are still here. There was a festival, since the pandemic I don't think they are organizing it, the street food festival. There were a few interested people who wanted to introduce single-use cutlery, plates and whatnot, produced by a Polish company out of wheat byproducts, so that they would be recyclable ...

A : Biodegradable, not recyclable.

D : Recyclable, I mean, it's still reusing the resource that was there. It's biodegradable, you can return it into the ground, then it's recycled so ... Biodegradable, it's just another way of destroying a product that is not damaging the environment, but then you could actually use these things. So these guys were actually doing something good, show people that there are other ways than plastic. It was an experiment ... For a while, I saw this in a few public spaces. But the actual issue is over-consumption. We would still be there : it's a matter of pricing, profit, of economic growth, that has less to do with the way we actually manage resources. If we take waste and consider it as a resource, probably as in any business, we should have profit and loss in terms of resources, and we would change the way in which it is managed ...

A : There is another point of view I want to offer you. It's parallel ... in terms of social, how we look at people who do the waste management. Dan said that it had impacts on his life, that he was doing this. In order to be able to have a circular economy where there is no waste, we have to have a waste management system, but as long as we look down on the people who do that ... No one is going to want to do it. You've got to have a lot of inner resources to do it and most likely, you will burn out, and it's the people who are already on the margins of society. They got zero respect. That's the problem, between now and then. How do we look at the problem, so that people matter?

M : Yes, that's also a very interesting question ... In Cluj, there are people working in Pata Rât for example, and there are pollution issues, health issues ... The people that are doing the waste collection informally in Pata Rât, or even in town, are getting no recognition even if they were, and still are, working, being responsible for the majority of the selective waste collection that the authorities are so proud of ... Have you seen any campaigns about selective waste collection ? From the city hall ? From ADI Eco-metropolitan ? Information given to citizens about waste management ?

A : You know, when the selective waste collection, how you call it, became mandatory, there was a campaign ran by I think the city hall with the operators. I saw the flyers in the mail, they explained a little bit about the bags, they gave us different colored bags ... That's what I remember as a campaign, registered with a schedule describing when the truck is going to pick up the trash.

M : It was in 2019 ? 2018 ? 2020 ?

D : I don't remember ...

A : I think it was like, 2 years ago. I recall that it was 2 years ago, because we've been doing it on our own before, and so ... there was a time when we were been doing it on our own, so it must have been 2 years ago, yes.

M : At the house for permanent culture, Casa de Cultura Permanenta, do you have bins that were given to you for the selective waste collection ?

D : Well, it doesn't work this way, they don't give bins, they just have different days where they collect different stuff. So, we just take out the bags, or the bins, but the bins contain only a certain kind of waste. We, as a household, don't throw away anything that is compostable. Most of our residual waste is a bag every 2 weeks, and the rest is mostly plastic, maybe some glass every now and then, but plastic mostly.

A : Mostly plastic, and the cans. We throw a big bag of that every month.

Rires.

D : Yes, the cans ...

M : I haven't been able to attend an event about composting but, do you see much composting in Cluj-Napoca? In the residential areas, where there are a lot of people with small gardens?

D : It's a very complicated issue. I have issue with my neighbor. One of my neighbors is actually poisoning my plants, because he said he needs to "sanitize my yard" because of my compost pile which is close to his fence. He says that this is dirty. My mom ... So, we tried to talk to her a lot. We've had discussions about it. She's coming from the countryside, she was born in a village, so she had an agricultural experience. She knows how things were done in the countryside, in which there was no waste. My grandma was not throwing anything that could be reused, and what was thrown away was mostly organic materials: clay pots, metallic materials, iron containers ... I don't remember plastic being thrown away at all in the communist times. So, mom grew up in, I could call it, a "waste-free" environment, but now she is in the city, and she has a lawn. She cuts the grass, she doesn't like the grass to grow, and she puts it in a bag and takes it out for the garbage company to pick it up. Compost is not an option. Compost is dirty, she has no space for it. She has a lot of space for plants and pots and whatnot, but not for a compost pile, no. That's unacceptable in the city. Her neighbor, just across the fence, has a compost pile. She sees that guy turning up the compost, spreading it on his ... He has a little bit of an urban garden. So, she sees him, but still, for her, it's not an option. And I see that everywhere, I do not see many people accepting to compost. I've been in contact with a few younger urban residents, who were trying to organize a compost pile, trying to compost at their home, but I would say it's not significant, it's not a significant proportion of people. There are very few who actually see this as 'resource', and not something extremely dirty that must be put in a black bag and disposed as fast as possible, because they smell, are dangerous, or because there are microbes that grow there, mice that would come and eat and ... it's a narrative that doesn't fit with the urban life, in my understanding.

M : Ok ... Have you seen any differences in Cluj, in terms of waste collection, waste transportation?

D : I don't know, I have no idea. Especially in the last year, I don't know.

M : And about the citizens in Cluj, have you heard of any other initiatives ? People trying to reduce the waste stream, divert the waste, reduce, recycle in any particular way ?

A : No ...

D : As I told you, this kind of, call it 'counter-elite', this small group of people that got inside this narrative and tried to do something at their own personal level, there are, there are quite a few ... But I don't know if they managed to become an organized group, like, being actually a voice in the public space. There are a few persons that come out in the public space. One is a former deputy, in the Romanian parliament, M. Dohotaru. He is every now and then coming with positions, or ideas, some of them having to do with the waste management, especially with the life of people in Pata Rât, collection, and recycling of public waste. He is the most public voice I know of. There were a few projects, but I didn't see lately anything. One of them was a project in Manastur, La Terenuri ...

A-M : I didn't disclose ...

D : As far as I know, the City Hall took over and now they are organizing it finally so I'm not sure if this small community is still active or if they just gave the project to the City Hall and now they're gonna use it and make something out of it. But, yeah, I'm not very well connected in that sense. During the last year, two years, I can't say anything more. I'm not sure, there are some, and they are trying to do anything that they can in their small group, or household.

M : How do you see the future now in Cluj ? A more general question maybe. How do you feel about it ?

D : Moving out.

M : Moving out ?

Rires.

D : We've tried, for the past year and a half, to move out of the city. Several reasons, but one of them being that I feel ... I feel this is the best way I can contribute, to just move out and be less part of this, this environment. Maybe, by doing this, I could be freer to experiment with self-sustainability, producing my own food, buying less plastic. Having less to recycle, having freedom to compost without my neighbor being bothered by it ... Degrowth, I would say. Degrowth would be, in my vision, the solution. Your French compatriot who created the term was very much ahead of its time, but maybe that would be an option to divide in smaller communities, dividing Cluj in smaller communities.

M : Do you remember the French guy or women's name ? Rabhi ?

D : No, Pierre Rabhi was very late. This guy was talking about this economical model in the 80's ... His name was ...

A : I'm going to search on the internet.

D : Yeah, let's ask the Duck. We don't use Google, but we use Duck Duck Go, so we ask the duck. Hm ... Serge Latouche ? On va le trouver. They were a lot of ideas about growth and alternative growth during the 80's ... Serge Latouche, yeah, he was the guy ! The talks were about different models of organizing society, in which the paradigm of eternal growth, would be replaced by a degrowth, a way in which we could re-organize economic relationships within these communities, and rather focus on what we can do locally. Changing the view : like not the cheapest way to produce things, but rather the most beneficial way for the smaller community that lives there. That means smaller towns, more connected, and doing business with closer regions rather than importing from long distances. It's a different approach and it kind of changes the whole narrative of the human society. I mean, ginger and whatnot doesn't grow here, so why have it ? That's why it's kind of difficult to promote it and I don't see it be very widespread as an ideology, this kind of model.

M : There is no political party related to degrowth in Romania ?

D : Well, I don't know about any political party related to degrowth anywhere, because it's something ...

M : There is one in France, a small one.

A : That's how you exclude yourself from victory, that's not something you should say, as a political person ... There was a small movement of degrowth, but I think now they are more of a social ...

D : No, Podemos didn't talk about degrowth. In terms of economic development, it wasn't their purpose, their ideology ... It is a new movement in this, and I know about a French guy in Budapest that has an organization about degrowth. He is connected with other people around Europe. There has been a degrowth European gathering in Leipzig a few years ago, it was very interesting. I don't know, I would say ... a researcher, scientists, thinker group rather than practical models. The gift economy was one of the models we presented in this gathering. It was mostly about similar ... two kinds of presence there: small projects like ours, or think tanks that were trying to develop models, theoretical models of how things could work. Nothing that would, I would say, at that time, there was nothing ready to be promoted as an actual model that could be used at a larger scale. Rather things that could be done in a village, a small community, a household but ... I think it's kind of difficult to govern a household, so going global ... So yeah, maybe degrowth would be something that we have to look forward to in the future. The pandemic did a bit on this, reducing the international trade, movement, forcing people to stay on the inside, on their indoor space ... We will see, I don't know.

A : Yesterday, when I was driving back, I heard on the radio the ... I don't know who it was. He was saying that people would just have to accept the new reality, that everything would be more expensive because of the inflation. This is just like, "our new reality, we just have to live with it". So I'm ... We need to adapt, the consumerism needs to adapt to this period.

M : That's a really interesting topic also ...

Entretien n°16 - Elena Musca, conseillère départementale.



*Entretien à midi, le 4 juin 2021, dans un café, avec la conseillère départementale de Cluj Elena Musca, affiliée au parti USR-PLUS. L'entretien dure 1h.*

Elena : I want to understand, first, what they have told you.

Ana-Maria : They want to be authors of the paper. We couldn't understand so ...

Marie : I didn't record the interview with ADI Eco-Metropolitan, they didn't give me the authorization, but I wrote ... a lot ! I'm coming back to the part where they said ... Basically, they said that the responsibility was 50% of the job, collection, transportation, that's what I understood because they also spoke in Romanian and Ana-Maria was translating. They told me that the county council was supposed to be responsible of the other 'half' of it.

E : The county council, it is responsible for the moment, with the implementation of the big project.

M : The SMID ?

E : Yes. But after finishing this project, they won't have any more responsibility. So, for the moment, yes, the county council has the responsibility to finish the implementation of this project. The deadline is somewhere in around 2023, as the financial exercise is finished, of course. The project financing period has to be finished before the 31st of December, 2023, yes. This is the responsibility of the county council. So, about the installation, you have to finish it and all that stuff, but after that, as I know, ADI Eco-Metropolitan will have to manage all the system, in the county ... with a salubrity operator, Supercom to collect, transport the waste, and also of this ecological landfill. But this contract is with ADI. All this flow, ADI will be responsible for it. For the moment, the county council has to finish the implementation of this CMID.

M : And do you have a bureau, a service, in the county council, that is in charge of that?

E : Yes, it's the investments office. The direction for investments and European projects. You can find it on the county council's website. Mariana Ratiu is in charge, she is the boss, manager of this department, and has been in charge with this project from the beginning.

M : Ok ... Yeah, I forgot to ask you, would you like to introduce yourself?

E : I'm Elena Musca, for the moment I'm one of the county counselors at the county council in Cluj. The party is USR-PLUS.

M : It's a rather young party ?

E : Yes, a new one. It was 2 party, but we got together 1 month ago.

M : Ok ... Have you got any differences in opinion, points of view, with other parties about waste management here in Cluj ? Any frictions ?

E : No, because other parties say nothing about waste management. So, we don't have a different opinion, because others are not talking about it. We are interested about this subject because we started to monitor what is happening ... Me, I started in 2019, because there was a lot of problems in Pata Rât, with leachates. Then, there were some fires. I started to see what's happening there. My basic specialization is in European studies and project management, so it was easy for me to see, being a project manager, what's happening there. I started to analyze what's happening there and ... It is a saga, it's what I say, a saga. A lot of problems, yes. After this episode, in 2017, they started to pay more attention to this project. I don't know if they managed to do better than before, but at least, we don't see any accidents in the media outside of the county. Recently, last autumn, there was a new scandal about the smell in Pata Rât. You heard about what happened there ?

M : Yes, I've heard about it.

E : It was about that temporary landfill, lots of waste there stored, and they had to migrate it in an ecological cell in the CMID, but they are not prepared. So, until this new incident, the period was a little bit quiet, but it's not, for me, it's not similar with saying the work is ok and much better than before. I hope so. There are lots of needs, if you looked at the report that I sent you, the county plan for waste management.

A-M : Yes.

E : Also, I have, from Mariana Ratiu, from the county council, the project manager, the state of the project from last year. Where they are, and what are the next steps. According to what is written in this report, as I understand, all the components of this entire system are in place, but more investments are needed, in some installations, equipment.

*Interruption par le serveur.*

M : Yeah so, the needs identified in the plan, the county plan, I took some times to read it and ...

E : Yeah, they are all the same, in the report. In the plan, if you will notice, where the county council has responsibility, there is something about the installations, all the investments that they have to do in order to finish the project accordingly. So, we need to invest in this station for mechano-biological treatment of the waste. I don't know, they said that they have this sortation station, in order to separate the waste, which is from RADP, which is administrating the ecological cell from the landfill, the CMID, until the ADI will do this procurement procedure. They say they have this online consultation. A good one ? I don't know. I don't know if the capacity is adequate or not. Generally, in Romania and in Cluj, they use this manual sortage, which is, come on ... There are huge amounts of waste generated, but they say they have this new one, which is mechano-manual, but I don't know for sure. I didn't see it, so I can't say if it's good or not. I have to see it first, and to ask for some specialists ; I'm not a technical person to say if it's good or not. I'm not a specialist. I'm waiting to see. They have to invest in this sortage station. I don't know if they need to improve the infrastructure they already have. I don't know who's in charge of the collection points, the operator or the UAD, the territorial units. During this big project, they had this investment, it was finished 10 years ago. They gave or put in place those bins, it was distributed all over the county, but I don't see it as sufficient. I don't know who will have to purchase much more, on the city level, on the county level. Ok, there is another actor which maybe you will have to deal with, it's the entities operators. Depending on the contract, they have to offer all those infrastructures, those bins, or not. This is detailed in the contract, but I don't know for sure, if they have this responsibility to ensure that the population has all the necessary ...

A-M : Eco-Metropolitan told us that the number of bins is related to the number of inhabitants, of each village.

E : Yes, but they say they have it or not? Because, that's what I said, a number of bins were purchased, but it was not sufficient for the whole county. The project was designed somewhere in 2007, or 2009, and they had some projections about the raising number of inhabitants, but the project was designed to be implemented within a few years, and we are in 2021. The project is not yet finished, so it's really a saga story. For sure, the supply they've got, I'm sure it's not covering all the county, it's impossible, because much more people are living in the city. I know for sure, I have an example, a colleague living in a nearby village told me about the compost bins. There was a change in legislation, in 2019, which was setting an obligation for the people to start composting. I remember that my friend from Gilau asked me about what was going to happen to the people in the villages who do not have this kind of bins. He said: "Do they have to do it by themselves?". Anyway, it's not difficult for the compost. You can throw away some food, and you can do it. But the question remains for the other bins. I know for sure, for this kind of waste, they don't have sufficient equipment, so people have to do it by themselves, probably. They have the intention, but who is paying ? With this project, you're not gonna be able to buy much more ... Yes, you can, if you support all the payments on your own. This is a rule in this kind of project, you cannot have another source of finances for the same activity. It's not okay. All these achievements, supplies, have to be done with the same resources, and this is a big problem all around the county. The rural counties do not have money, and the road are the main projects, and the state does not have sufficient money, because there is a lot of projects on big infrastructures, which is absolutely necessary, about the water, roads and stuff we miss in Romania ... So, everything is done with delay. It's accumulating a lot of delays, costs, time, money. Not speaking about the technologies, which, in time, is obsolete.

M : That's what I wanted to ask you also, about the financial resources. We talked a little bit about it with the ADI Eco-Metropolitan. I read somewhere, in one of their papers, that they were lacking financial resources, and that it was one of the obstacles to put in place a 'proper' waste management system. They told us that they hired someone to look into ...

A-M : But they are trying to find a person only now ! Why only now ?

E : So, the project goes on, and will be finished for sure, but ... my fear, or my hypothesis, is that it will be between nothing and a few. Functioning but not responding to all the needs. In time, yeah, all of this will be improved, but it's about time, when? You told me about the scope of your research, about innovations. I don't think that

it's about innovations. I'm not a technical person, but I'm looking at those manual sortation stations, come on, I know for sure that there are technologies which are using cells or something like this. I know it costs a lot, but if you will look in this plan, you will see about the sortation station. Each place is about 200, 300 tons per year, and if you are looking at a sortation station on Google, you'll see something about 50 per day. Ok, maybe these are extreme examples, but ... I don't know. Is there a solution ? Yes. But the people are not aware of what they are doing. They don't have the knowledge to sort the waste they generate. Yes, if people are doing this right at every step, it will be easier. You have sorted well, the first big amount of waste will go to be recycled, then a few will go to the sortation station, to go to the mechano-biological and so on, and this will be enough. But we have other problems here, people, and the amount of waste generated, and the way people are doing the collection. All efforts leading to a better sorting of the waste from the population would be ok.

M : You were interested in the problems in Pata Rât with the leachates, the fires, in 2017 you said? But you probably know that there were people working informally in Pata Rât, collecting the waste ...

E : I know the social problem in Pata Rât, there's not only this ecological one.

M : Could you talk to me a little bit about it ? Maybe tell me if you've got some recent information about it ?

E : Recent, I don't have. The last time I was there, it was ... In this community, I think 2 years ago, it's the last time I was there. There are NGOs that are active, for sure. They are doing a lot of activities for children, for example. But regarding the main needs of this community, I don't know if anything is done, because they are still living there, in the same conditions. I never hear that something has changed, and that's the main problem. The conditions in which they live in, the infrastructures there. Ok, it's very good that the local NGOs are spending time with the children to ensure that they have a kind of non-formal education, but regarding the rest of the community ... They don't have opportunities, so let's deal with the future of the children. Something like this. This is how I see the problem there. There is a line between the old ones and the new generation, which maybe will have another life, a good, a better one.

A-M : Do you know how many people are living there ?

E : I don't know for sure. You didn't ask Istvan about it ? He's there almost every day, he knows a lot about the social problems there. I used to go there before I entered the political party. Not because I entered the political party, but because going to Pata Rât consumed a lot of my time. I was in an NGO with my friend, and we used to do activities there. One of my colleagues, Laura, worked on a project, started to implement some kind of non-formal education there. I was there for the last time in 2017, after I entered the political party, with the photo-voice project. Wow, wow ... To see the photos taken by the children, and what has a meaning for them, was ... I was helping them at the selection of the photos, because there were a lot of photos, and we needed to question them in order to select 2 or 3 pictures, and each picture has a story. I have to stay, not to cry or ... People at the edge of our society, of our community, yes. A big problem that they have is with Identity Cards. They cannot benefit from a lot of opportunities, which people in need can benefit from in Romania. There are some helps, not that big, but without ID, they miss them. It's a big problem there, with social aspects, and ecological ones. Even if some of them were working at the manual station, with the waste, I don't know what will happened to them in the future. There was a link between the landfill, Pata Rât, which helped them to work ... A lot of connections.

M : About the fires, I read a newspaper article that was talking about them, and it was questioning who was responsible for the fires. Do you know more about that? Because I haven't been able to find so much about it.

E : About the fires ...

M : Yes, and the leachates that went into a creek. Who's responsibility was it, truly ?

E : Hm ... about the fires, the official report from the police is saying that there is an unidentified order. There were some cameras, but it wasn't functioning, so starting from this statement, a lot of scenarios have arisen. Why was the camera not functioning? There was a scenario that someone put it in place, the fire, intentionally, because of the amount of the waste. Starting a fire would reduce the quantity. In the meantime, a specialist said that this fire started naturally because of the methane, all the gases, ...

A-M : We've got a few minutes left.

M : Ok, yes, I'm gonna take a look at my questions.

A-M : We've got another person to meet, they told us that they are available only today.

E : But you managed to meet Mariana Ratiu ? Because I'm just a county counsellor, not a technical person. Mariana Ratiu and the department will give you more details. I'm saying what I was reading and seeing. You should consult people that are specialized.

M : Do you live in Cluj-Napoca ?

E : Yes.

M : Have you seen differences between your neighborhood and other neighborhoods, in regards to waste management?

E : No, it's the same behavior. Near my house, they are putting all the bags, no matter which color is the bin. A lot construction material nearby, no, the behavior is awful. Differences ... in some places, the waste management was better. For example, in Targu Lapus, in Maramures, and also in Covasna, where I paid some visits, years ago. It was different there, but they took some measures in order to make the population pay attention to how they collect.

M : Informing people ?

E : Yeah, they informed, and created some fees, all kinds of measures to discourage people from dumping waste illegally, or to throw their garbage mixed.

M : I also saw on the city hall's website that there were supposedly some fees that can be applied if you do not sort your waste.

E : Nobody, no. But where it's applied, these fees, it's functioning. It's not about us, in Europe, or ... It's about applying the law. If you are obliged, then you'll do it. Yes, with the time, the awareness, the new generation knows more than other generations but ... You need efforts. Somebody has to do it. Awareness, information, knowledges. Yes, you can put some flyers somewhere but it's not enough ... There is a little difference between the new bins and the old ones, on the street, but it's because you don't see the waste. You don't know what they are putting in there.

*Rires.*

M : It's pretty, so we can hope that people are sorting their waste well. I should just stand in front of the bins one day and see what people are putting there.

E : Yeah ! By the way, I came up with an idea the other day, about awareness campaigns, and I told myself, come on, we need people to volunteer, to be there, stay at the collection points, not to scare people, but to inform them.

A-M : ADI Eco-Metropolitan told us that they have a lot of complaints from people.

E : A lot of effort is lost, because you don't see any progress. Ok, all these costs efforts ... I don't know, talk with NGOs, schools, all the people that are interested, and tell them to stay there, talk to the people, what it is ok, why it's not, etc., and maybe repeat it every 3 months. This kind of project should be repeated. It does not depend on me, but I would do it.

M : Have you seen any changes with the covid crisis ? Maybe you're not so specialized in the waste management field, but, have you seen any changes ?

E : Hm ... No. I say no because, even if I met a specialist and talked about the waste during the lockdown, I was looking for articles to see what other countries were doing, there was a lot of waste that was contaminated. There was special procedures that were put in place, and in Romania, there was a measure that needed to be implemented, but I didn't see any special bins for the masks, no. Even today, we don't have it, this kind of solution. There is nothing, because I compared it to other countries, and no.

M : I saw that in some countries, for a time, there was almost no more recycling and a lot of waste was going straight to the incinerator.

E : Yes, that's also what I saw. Maybe I can find the articles and send them to you, if you need it.

A-M : But in Cluj, the incinerator, it's working ?

E : No, no. There was a trial for a few months, it was not functioning. Ok, it was functional but we don't have the raw materials, the separated waste. It was imported from Italy, there was a scandal because of the quantity of waste, and it was closed last year. But the rest of the waste, which is ok for incineration, it's going to another company. At Bihor, there is one, and there is another one.

M : Ok, so it's not going to reopen anytime soon ? It's completely shut down ?

E : I asked a question to the Agency of Environment, and they told me that this economic operator, which is a private one, has stopped the activity and entered liquidation.

## Entretien n°17 - Andreea Bobis - Cluj's Food Bank

*Entretien en ligne, via Zoom, d'une durée d'une heure.*

A : I'm not sure if you can hear me ... Well, I was telling you that I'm very happy that there are people, universities, organizations in this amazing picture. That's why I was happy when I saw you email the first time, that's encouraging. It's going to help us, medium and long-term, because it's the only way you can raise the awareness of everyone.

M : Would you like to introduce yourself first maybe, and tell us about the activities of the Food Bank ?

A : Yes, of course. My name is Andreea Bobis, I'm the ... let's say, I'm in charge of Cluj's food bank. Cluj, Bistrița, Sibiu and Alba Iulia. These are my 4 regions, but the food bank of Cluj exists from 2018 and here is where we have our main activity. I mean, only this year, we started to go out, to Sibiu, Oradea, ... I'm excited with everything we are doing here at the Food Bank, because from my perspective it's really an amazing way to give back to the community. So, what are we doing ? We are taking food, with a short expiratory date, and we are giving them to the associations and organizations we have on our list, or people cooking from O masă caldă (*ndlr : Un repas chaud*). Right now, from these 4 regions, I think we have 72 organizations that receive the goods that come to us. We are also receiving, not only products with short expiratory dates, but also products like sugar with a wrong packaging. Retailers are not allowed to sell that in their stores if there is a mistake on it, so they are giving it to us. We also receive some pasta. This is, let's say, the way we can do our activity. Receiving goods from retailers, supermarkets, producers, and mainly we are receiving short-term products. We are living in Romania and here, we have a huge amount of waste, huge amount, and at the same time, I think we have 4 million people living in poverty. It's interesting to see how much we are wasting, and at the same time, how many live in poverty. Of course, not only the supermarkets and producers are producing the waste, because I think 50% of the waste, we are producing it at home, in our homes. So, it's really a lot, how much we are wasting.

M : You are working with collaborators, volunteers, citizens ? How are you organized ?

A : Yes, we are working mainly with volunteers. We also have our own van, and in Cluj we also have a logistic partner, we have a guy that was volunteering for the Food Bank for about 3 years and then he took over this part of the ... the logistic part. Because, we have 2 models : one model where we are going to the supermarket or the warehouse to pick-up goods, or the model where these companies are sending to our warehouse the goods. For example, right now in Cluj, we have a schedule and we know every day where this guy is going to pick up the food. He is going to Kora 3 time a week, to Metro 2 or 3 times every week, he is going to Desmir, in Apahida, to the local producers and picking up from there at least 1 time every week, ... Beside this, right now, a driver is going with our van to pick up some goods from Lidl, from their warehouse, and every morning at our warehouse we receive some products from Nestle, some KitKat, Lions, and some other goodies for the kids ... When we have bigger events, let's say like on Easter, with Lidl, we received some big boxes. People could go and buy products from Lidl, and deposit them in big boxes at Lidl, outside of the store. In this period, we had volunteers going in almost all the Lidl stores and explaining to the people what we are doing. It's the only time when people, citizens, can directly help us.

A-M : Lidl est le seul magasin avec lequel ils ont une collaboration avec personne physique. Chaque personne physique peut donner des produits à l'aide de Lidl, ou dans le magasin, pour un autre destinataire.

A : This is mainly because when we are working with warehouses, producers and so on, it's important for them and for us to make sure that we are all good with the paper work. We need transparency on how this product went from the producer to the organization, because it's important for us to make sure that all the products are still edible. It's our responsibility. It's why we need a lot of authorizations, there are a lot of directions where we have to get a lot of paperwork done to be sure it's ok.

M : How did the NGO started ? In 2018 ? How did you started the project ?

A : Gabriel Sescu started in Bucharest in 2016. Gabriel Sescu is the name of, let's say, the Romanian godfather of food banks. He started in Bucharest, of course with the help of the European federation of food banks, FEBAS. He met Gabriela Veres and Camelia Gui in 2018, and they decided all together, because Gabriela and Camelia were part of GCI, it's a really good initiative from Cluj, they had a program: Food Waste Combat. Eat, Save, Repeat. I will send you this guide. I'm sorry, it's in Romanian.

A-M : We have google translate so ...

A : It was great, because it was a mix and match between Gabriel Sescu, Gabriela Veres and Camelia Gui, and it was mainly Gabriela and Camelia who were doing something about food waste but Gabriel was looking for people in Cluj in order to start something. So, this is how they started, and it's ... For me, now, I'm only in Cluj's Food Bank since last November. I really can say that for me, it's easy : we have huge volumes, a lot of food coming to us, the help of some people ... But for them, it was very hard. They knocked to all the doors, all the possible doors, in Romania, In Brussels, all the retailers ... and most of them started to work with us in the last 6 months. I was somehow upset for Cami, because she has a boy now, she gave birth this February, this is why she is retired and we don't know for how much time she will stay at home. But, after she retired, all these big retailers came in our direction, in order to help. Of course, we had some changes in the law, last December, and this is helping us. Now that retailers are forced to do something in order to avoid food waste, they are coming to us. It's a, let's say, a little bit of fight, for us, because we have very limited resources. We have a few resources, and we are doing a lot with it. Right now, it's a period where we are going to ask for help because of course, we can collect and distribute, but all of it has a cost. Even Lidl is helping us a lot. They are taking care of our activity for about 6 months, they are giving us, every year, a certain amount of money, and we are using it for 6 months. After that, we have to go and knock all the doors we possibly know, in order to make sure we have money to go on with our activities. It's funny that the first Food Bank in Europe was founded in France, in 77 or 78.

M : I see what project you're talking about, yes ... But what is the status of Food Banks in Romania ? Are they NGOs ?

A : Yes, NGOs. We are all NGOs.

M : And how many people are involved in Cluj ?

A : Hm ... Paid for the services they are doing, let's say 4. 4 people. Volunteers ... We have I think, up to 15 active volunteers. They are not available at any time, but right now we are thinking about launching a campaign in the next 2 weeks in order to bring more volunteers, but ... maybe look for some more expertise. We know we have a lot of gaps in communication, design, ... We are interested in everyone helping us, but we have to do everything, I mean us, 3, 4 people. It's really hard, at some moments. For example, 2 weeks ago, the first transport was coming at our warehouse at 3 a.m. In that day, we had 5 deliveries. We went back home, from the warehouse, at 10 o'clock. So, it's really a lot. But, of course, we called all the people around us, we had volunteers, we managed to do that. Considering that we are only a few people, it comes with sacrifices.

M : Do you have any data on the food quantities you're being given ?

A : Let's see ... I don't have the report but ... I will check our report. I will share it with you, the last report. For example, I know that with this campaign, with Lidl, from 17 shops in Cluj, we collected 3 tons of goods. If I remember well, I think in the first 3 months, we had 59 tons. It's a lot, it's an exponential growth. Gabi, in 2016, in the first 3 months, he had maybe 10 tons.

M : It's food that was going previously to the waste bins ? There was no previous NGO that was taking care of it ?

A : Of this waste ?

A-M : It was just waste ?

A : Yes, well ... In some cases, there were some NGOs that took care of this, but only few and it was ... Look, when we started to collaborate with Lidl, Lidl from the big warehouse, in 2018, at the beginning, the people were not used to separating the products. They were some cases when my colleague took fruits, I don't know, bananas, with detergents, chemicals. So, it was not something that you could give to people. It was a whole process to teach people inside the warehouses, the supermarkets, that you cannot give it that way. This is not something that you can eat. That is one aspect of it. On the other side, when we went and found out that they were NGOs that were already taking food, we would keep them as beneficiaries. They are still receiving, but through us, and this is helping them, because now they have more diversity. It's a good thing for them, even if at the beginning they weren't seeing it that way. They were thinking that we were taking what was theirs, it was their perception at least, and of course, they were used to receiving, but the quantities they are receiving now are much bigger through us. There is one more aspect: almost all the NGOs have a limited capacity of collection, transportation and storage. Even the big NGOs had 200, 300 people, on their list but for example in December, we had one full truck of milk, 21 tons and we managed to distribute and deliver it in 24 hours. So, if it's only one NGO, how can they manage to take it all and distribute it ? They don't have the network. We signed one more contract last month with Macromex, it's a big producer. You know the ice cream, Corso ? This is what they told us : we have a lot of products to give, but the NGOs we are talking to right now don't have the resources to take everything from us. For them, it was "Oh my god, I didn't know we had this in Romania.". We were very happy because of course, we can help much more people with this partnership. For sure, there are still NGOs out there that are considering us as 'competition', but we are collaborating with everybody.

M : You haven't got any problems with the city hall, the county council, regarding your activities ?

A : If we had any problems ?

A-M : Yes, how is your collaboration with them ?

A : Well, we are getting ready to go and ask for their help, but this is the status quo. I know Gabriela and Cami had a small collaboration with them, in the education part of the Food Bank. But it was more than one year ago. In the last six or seven months, we've been getting ready to contact them. We are working a lot, and even though it's a priority, we postpone it really easily, because if you have to unload a truck and give the food because it is expiring, we are going to do that. Even tonight, at 7, we will have one more truck coming here, but we will be there even though it's Friday night. We will be there and we will work. So, even though it's on our list, to go to them, we haven't done that yet.

M : And what do you want to do with them in the future ?

A : We know that they have some money that they can direct to the NGOs that are having cultural projects, social ones, and we want to apply to some projects. I think that's law ... 215. This is the first step for us. We also want, but this is something that my colleague responsible for the logistic part in Cluj, Andrei ... He wants to go and see if he gets some support for one more warehouse, a smaller one, in Cluj. Because we have one in Turda, the regional one, it's close to big warehouses, to Kaufland warehouse, different warehouses, it's in the industrial area, but we still need one in Cluj-Napoca. My colleague is constantly going to Kora, Metro, and he can only go, with the small car, to 2 or 3 beneficiaries. If we can get a warehouse there, it will be much easier to take all the goods to the warehouse and after that, to distribute them. We need a little bit ... We have to ... I will give you an example. Four weeks ago, we started to receive eggs from Profi. A lot of eggs. I mean 260 000. A lot. We stayed at the warehouse, on the front line, until 12, and then all day long. We had a lot of small vans coming in with the eggs, and some of them expired in 7 of May, some in the 9<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> ... And they were all mixed up, and we had to sort them. Why ? Because if we give them to a big community and they are eating them fast, ok, you can give them without being cautious about the expiry date. But if we give them to, for example, a place where they have children, like a children's house, it's pointless to give them in eggs the 6<sup>th</sup> of May that are expiring the 7<sup>th</sup>. You need to make sure that they are expiring the 14<sup>th</sup> of the month. We didn't know that at first, we just saw 4 or 5 palettes, we said "ok, let's do this". After that, the lady from Profi was constantly calling us this afternoon, "we have one more", "we have one more", and I think they had 10 more. So, again, it was a huge amount of work for us and the volunteers, to take every single box and to make sure it's in a good pile, with a good expiry date ... That's why, taking everything from Kora or Metro, it's impossible to do this in the truck, in the van. That's why it's important to sort : to make sure you are giving something valuable, in the right amount.

We are taking care of this mix and match, but it's only possible in our warehouse here. From Cluj, right now, it's hard to do this.

M : Do you get some finances from the Romanian government ?

A : They worked a little bit ... This law, in December. But it was prepared 3 years ago. I mean, the government kept it ready for 3 more years. So ... Yes, again, we have plans, it's something on our list, but I don't know when we will do something in that direction, because it seems that, if you are doing it, they are ...

A-M : Ils ont essayé d'éviter toute forme d'association politique. Ils ont essayé de promouvoir la loi mais sans s'affilier à un certain parti.

A : And our finances come from Lidl, Lidl Romania, they are supporting not only our activity, but every food bank in Romania. There are 9 food banks right now in Romania, 9 regions : Bucuresti, Cluj, Brasov, ... We receive 6 months' worth of finances from Lidl, and for the rest, we are doing fundraising, but it's not a 'professional' level of fundraising. ... Look, we have here some numbers, but they are the numbers from last year. Also, 90% of the beneficiaries are here.



"Împreună împotriva risipei alimentare, împreună împotriva sărăciei!"

Capture d'écran : site web - [cluj.bancapentrualimente.ro](http://cluj.bancapentrualimente.ro)

Chiffres :



Exemple de bénéficiaires :



Au niveau national : site web - [bancapentrualimente.ro](http://bancapentrualimente.ro)



A : From Cluj, we are providing goods to Bistritsa, Alba and Sibiu. Other food banks are the ones of Oradea, Timisoara, Bucuresti, Brasov, Constanta, Roman, Galati and Craiova regions.



M : The organizations you're giving the goods to, are they based everywhere in Cluj ? I mean, is the food distributed equally in every part of the region, in urban areas as much as in rural areas ?

A : We have both possibilities. We want to make sure that our partners, the beneficiaries, are ok with the paperwork. We don't have the resources to do a social enquiry, so this is what we are specifically asking to our partners : to make sure that the people who is given the food is really in need.

M : Have you seen any changes during the covid crisis, during the quarantine, with the food waste ? Have people been in need more, or have your activities changed ?

A : Yes, there were some changes. The first shock, the first change, was that there was a lot of goods coming to our bank last year, in April, May, and June, because the restaurants and bars closed. Food was prepared for Horeca, and it couldn't be used.

A-M : Horeca is a national network of tourism.

A : Beside this, the next important change was that a lot of organizations we were helping had money problems or they reduced their programs. They were scared to go out and meet with people. After that, they didn't had money anymore, when they wanted to go out. So, these are the important changes regarding to the covid crisis.

M : You're living in Cluj-Napoca ?

A : No, I'm living in Turda.

M : You're living in Turda ... What would you say about the waste management in Turda ? As a citizen.

A : It's really awful, because the political part is involved in public contracts and there are a lot of people working in these companies that are not prepared for this ... I think it's a way to take out a lot of money. I'm saying this because at home, we have a coffee shop, a small one, and we have a lot of boxes, cardboard, and a little bit of plastic, glass. We are calling them to come and pick it up. We are trying to find someone in our area who is receiving it, because we really want to recycle it ! We have decided, at home, to separate the waste. But, right now, I will send you some pictures to see what we've got there, we have really huge piles of cardboard and plastic. They are not coming to collect them, and right now I am calling them almost daily. At some point, the company from Turda, they responded and told me : "Yes, I will send it right now", but that's what they told me one month ago, that they will send it right now ... They are not answering the phone. On the other side, I tried to find someone to collect it here, locally, in Turda. I don't want to take everything from there, and go to Cluj with it. It's still waste, and it costs fuel to do that. If you want to save the planet, and recycle the waste, I think it's pointless to take the cardboard, the plastic, and to take it to 50km. I mean, you are not saving nothing. I don't know how this will end; we keep on putting the cardboard there ... I heard that during the course of this month, something changed, in my city. The ex-company is not providing the service anymore and we have a new one. But the disappointing part is that when I started to look for some organizations here that can collect, they told me : "Oh you're a company, you need a signature, come and I will give you.". I was like "No, I don't need a signature on some paper !".

A-M : You're just a citizen.

A : Yes, I'm just a citizen and I want to ... to ... help the planet.

M : Are there people collecting the waste on the streets informally in Turda ? Have you seen people collecting glass bottles, plastic bottles, cardboard ... ? So, I've been there once, to the Salt Mines, and I think I've seen one man picking waste informally.

A : Hmm ... I think I saw a guy, at some point. It was of course a gypsy, that was collecting glass and so on. I spoke with him, because I told him that we are also in the area. He had no phone in order to make sure I could call him or something. No money, no phone, no nothing. But he never came to pick things up. So, I think, it's something related to the mentality, I don't know, I mean, it's ... He wanted to really work for every single bottle, not to receive many of them. I don't know why he didn't came.

M : Ok ... I see that I've asked you all of my questions ! Would you like to add anything else ?

A : What I want to add is that I will send you the report, and I will also send you our food waste combat guide.

## Entretien n°18 - Nicoleta Pop, spécialiste environnement au sein de l'opérateur de salubrité Rosal.

*Entretien avec Mme Nicoleta Pop, en ligne, le 4 juin 2021 à 15h30. L'entretien dure une trentaine de minutes. Pas d'autorisation d'enregistrement, donc d'après prise de notes.*

Mme Pop travaille au sein de Rosal depuis 10 ans en tant que spécialiste environnementale. Elle a un doctorat en gestion des déchets, et mène des activités universitaires avec des stages d'étudiants au sein de la compagnie.

Avec l'implémentation du SMID, Rosal attend une réponse en ce qui concerne la délégation de service public de la zone qui n'a pas encore été attribuée au sein du département de Cluj. Ils ont fait une proposition et attendent la réponse.

En ce qui concerne la situation au niveau de la gestion des déchets à Cluj-Napoca, elle a écrit des articles scientifiques dessus : "the situation hasn't changed", mais la gestion des déchets ici est la responsabilité de la mairie : "it's the role of the city hall".

A l'heure actuelle, la collecte sélective est implémentée en 4 fractions - pas 5, pas de collecte des déchets organiques ou de poubelles spécifiques, car il n'y a pas de centre de traitement dans le département : "The city council is the one that has to make the arrangement."

Le projet du SMID, ou d'une gestion intégrée au niveau du département, a débuté depuis 2010. Ce projet n'est pas implémenté, ou terminé, car la station de traitement des déchets organiques et la station de tri ne sont pas finies.

Pour pouvoir terminer la station de tri, un accord est nécessaire avec la RADP - Regia Autonomă a Domeniului Public de Cluj-Napoca. A l'heure actuelle, les déchets collectés par la RADP sont triés et envoyés vers des entreprises de recyclage, ou déposés (pour les déchets non recyclables) dans la première cellule ouverte du CMID.

Jusqu'à l'année dernière, en octobre, la décharge temporaire était le seul lieu de dépôt ouvert.

A propos des acteurs informels : "There are some problems, yes." = Tant que les compagnies seront toujours autorisées à acheter aux collecteurs informels, il y aura toujours des problèmes. 2 types :

- Problèmes au niveau des points de collecte, où des personnes viennent collecter illégalement revendre à des entreprises
- Ce n'est pas un problème de pollution, ou pour l'environnement, mais plutôt pour les compagnies et pour leurs statistiques de collecte.

La collaboration avec les autorités, la mairie, "could be better". "We don't have power to do something against people not sorting their waste." La mairie devrait faire plus pour informer.

Lorsqu'on la questionne sur le fait que des citoyens ont vu des camions de ramassage mélangés tous les déchets ensemble (même les déchets recyclables/triés) et que cela ne les incite pas à faire le tri :

- "Until last year (ou il y a 2 ans, implémentation de la collecte sélective ?), we were sorting the waste at a private company.
- La collecte est faite de manière sélective, et si ce n'est pas le cas, c'est car les déchets recyclables n'ont pas été triés donc ils sont collectés comme tel, en résiduel.
- "We do not mix the waste that is already selected, we do not want to pay more." - Ils ne mélangent pas les poubelles, car cela leur reviendrait plus cher, ce qui apparaît contre-productif.
- "Our job is to collect, their job (the citizen's job) is to sort." "We give them bags, there is no reason not to collect."

"Their are many facilities in Cluj for waste sorting".

Il y a 3 ans, l'idée de proposer des poubelles séparées au sein des appartements, dans les blocs, a émergé. Cette idée n'a pas été retenue – faute d'argent ? Faute de place ?

- Différences entre les quartiers :
- "Frequency does not depend on the area, but on the way people are organized."

- For houses, paper, plastic, residual waste, ... are collected once a week and glass once every 2 weeks.
- For blocks of flats, it's collected everyday.
- Pour les agents économiques, "it depends on the amount of waste".
- Innovations ?

"Rosal is not in the position to come up with innovations."

"The city hall is responsible with the facilities." - they chose to invest in some underground bins and green points for waste collection.

"Our obligation was to give bins, but if innovations are needed, and they are, the city hall is responsible for that."

"We cannot come up with it, if we don't have a contract for that." - et dans les contrats actuels et futurs, les finances sont faibles.

Les innovations doivent être prévues dès le départ, et "if you don't have innovations from the beginning, there will be nothing". Par exemple, dans le plan du SMID établi pour le département, les idées sont "old" pour le centre de traitement. Ils ont eu l'argent de l'UE et ils l'ont fait, l'idée principale était un nouveau lieu de dépôt. Aujourd'hui, l'idée principale a changé : le problème est de trier/recycler.

- Covid : No changes in the quantity/composition of waste.

They were paid less by economic actors – puisque moins de déchets produits au sein des entreprises.

La station de tri, puisque le tri est manuel, a fermé pendant 2 semaines.

### Entretien n°19 - Alexandra Popa – Super servicii

*Entretien de 45 min, en ligne, le 7 juin 2021. Alexandra Popa est à la tête de l'association Super Servicii, qui gère des associations de propriétaires d'appartements. La traduction est effectuée par Mme Pop.*

Marie : Would you like maybe to start by introducing yourself and introduce also your company, Super Servicii ?

Alexandra : ...

Ana-Maria : Donc elle m'a dit que, à côté avec son mari, ils ont juste proposé d'avoir une autre affaire pour changer un peu de leurs travaux initiaux et pour avoir beaucoup du temps avec leurs enfants. Ils ont créé une association pour s'occuper un peu de tout ce qu'il y a à faire avec les immeubles. Et de cette manière ils ont un peu plus de loisirs avec leurs enfants.

A : ...

A-M : Donc pour le moment... Bon, ils ont une association qui gère 40 associations d'immeubles à Cluj-Napoca, et ils ont une autre qui gère une association d'immeubles à Feleacu, Feleacu c'est un village à côté de Cluj-Napoca. Cette association s'occupe de tous les immeubles qui se trouvent dans ces villages, oui. Mais leur point d'intérêt c'est ce qu'il se passe à Cluj-Napoca.

A : ...

A-M : L'idée de l'association c'était d'avoir un même contact avec tous les habitants, toutes les associations des immeubles. D'avoir une personne déléguée pour faire leur emploi. C'était important pour eux d'avoir des gens qui peuvent leur parler sans hésitation, qui peuvent leur dire tous les problèmes qu'ils ont. Mais sans, je ne sais pas, le transmettre à un employé. Donc l'idée c'était d'avoir un contact direct avec tous les représentants.

A : ...

A-M : Oui c'est en bref, la description de leurs affaires.

M : Hum, managing, buildings all over Cluj in, approximatively all the neighborhoods ?

A : ...

A-M : Toute la majorité des quartiers de Cluj.

A : ...

A-M : Ils ont commencé avec les quartiers qui étaient toujours tout près de leur maison. Mais ils se sont étendus sur d'autres quartiers.

Marie : When did it started, the association, your project ?

A : ...

A-M : 2016. Mais d'une manière plus accélérée à partir de 2018. En 2016, elle avait les congés de maternité, donc c'est pour ça qu'elle a dit, qu'ils s'y sont mis intensément 2 ans un peu plus tard.

M : To go back to my subject, waste management, could you, could you talk to me a little bit about it ? About, I don't know ... Is it part of your activity to ? Has it something to do with waste management ?

A : ...

A-M : A partir du premier juillet 2019. C'était obligatoire d'avoir, la collection sélective par les quatre fractions. Plastique, métal, papier, et les déchets domestiques résiduels. Lors de la mise en pratique de cette loi, c'était toujours l'obligation des opérateurs de salubrité d'assurer avec la logistique toutes les associations d'immeubles avec des poubelles ou des conteneurs spécifiques pour chaque fraction. C'était juste le cas au début. Bon, c'est une situation qui s'est étendue, pour une durée d'une année. Et l'opérateur de salubrité leur a donné les poubelles nécessaires. Et ils ont demandé aux associations, aux familles, s'ils ont besoin de remplacer une poubelle qui a été détériorée, ou peut-être s'ils avaient certains points, où il n'y avait pas suffisamment de poubelles. Ils pouvaient leur donner des poubelles, mais contre une certaine taxe, qui était payée par l'association d'immeubles. Mais maintenant, après presque deux années, il y a encore des points qui ne sont pas couverts de ces poubelles. L'assistance, bon, ça dépend bien sûr de la dimension de l'association d'immeubles mais il y a encore certaines associations d'immeubles qui ne peuvent pas couvrir les coûts d'achat d'une poubelle, parce que le coût d'une poubelle est assez grand.

M : Donc on collecte à l'extérieur ?

A-M : Oui, oui. Oui, c'est toujours de l'extérieur.

A : ...

A-M : Donc ils ont essayé ... bon, s'il y avait une association familiale qui avait beaucoup de conteneurs, ils ont essayé de compter pour ceux qui n'avaient pas assez de poubelles nécessaires. Mais, elle pense que le problème, ce n'est pas juste si on a un quartier couvert par des poubelles ou par une collecte sélective adéquate de déchets, mais l'éducation des habitants. Ou plutôt le manque d'éducation. Elle nous a dit qu'il y a des situations spécifiques. C'est toujours le cas des immeubles anciens qui se situent sur le domaine public du municipale, et dans ce cas, toutes les associations familiales sollicitent à la municipalité ou à l'opérateur de salubrité de couvrir tous les coûts pour l'achat de poubelles. Et bon c'est la responsabilité de l'opérateur de salubrité d'assurer tout le temps une certaine maintenance des poubelles. Il y a une autre situation. Dans les nouveaux quartiers d'immeubles, les associations familiales sont seulement privées et doivent s'assurer eux-mêmes, de tout ce qu'il y a à faire avec la gestion des déchets, de l'achat des poubelles jusqu'à d'autres choses qui, qui, qui arrivent.

M : Do you have any problems with the municipality, the city hall, or the... the salubrity operators ?

A : ...

A-M : Oui il y a ... quand ils ne respectent pas le programme de collecte, l'opérateur de salubrité. L'utilisation des fractions, ou même les poubelles utilisées pour une autre fonction que la fonction initiale. Et quand ils réclament cet aspect à l'opérateur de salubrité, ils leur disent soit qu'ils n'ont pas suffisamment de poubelles, soit que ça va durer, d'obtenir cette logistique, ça dure beaucoup de temps. Donc ils ne sont pas vendus à l'association de l'immeuble. Donc l'opérateur de salubrité loue à toutes les associations, les poubelles.

M : D'accord. Donc ils doivent payer chaque mois un...

A-M : Oui. Oui. Chaque mois et chaque habitant reçoit sur la facture finale de chaque mois avec les utilités. Il y a une spécification distincte pour la taxe de salubrité.

M : Have you seen some neighborhoods where, there are, specifically more problems with the waste collection or with the bins that are stolen or broken ? And also collection problems.

A : ...

A-M : Beaucoup des quartiers de périphérie. Marasti. D'anciens quartiers industriels.

M : Is the situation the same in Feleacu ?

A-M : La situation est un peu différente, parce que l'association contient la plupart de maisons individuelles et deux immeubles. Il y a seulement 2 immeubles. Là-bas il y a un autre opérateur de salubrité qui n'a rien à faire avec les opérateurs de salubrité de Cluj-Napoca, et peut-être bon, c'est, c'est sa manière de gérer la, la gestion des déchets.

A : ...

A-M : Le rythme de collecte de déchet c'est similaire, avec celui de Cluj. La différence c'est seulement le prix qu'on doit payer. Le prix pour la taxe de salubrité à Cluj est donné par rapport au nombre d'habitants qui habitent dans un immeuble. Mais pour Feleacu c'est des prix calculés par rapport à la maison. A la maison individuelle.

M : A la maison individuelle, donc, au nombre d'habitants dans la maison individuelle ?

A-M : Oui. Et elle pense qu'il y a peut-être aussi une certaine différence en ce qui concerne le fait de respecter le programme de la collecte, mais ça dépend aussi de l'opérateur qui travaille là-bas.

M : Do you know which operator it is in Feleacu ?

A : ...

A-M : RDE Harghita. Mais elle m'explique que la durée du contrat n'est encore valable que pour 2 mois. Entre la fin du contrat et le nouveau bénéficiaire avec le SMID, ce sera la mairie qui prendra la responsabilité de la gestion des déchets. La différence de la situation de Floresti, c'est que pour les déchets résiduels, les habitants utilisent toujours 3 poubelles, mais les habitants reçoivent des sacs de la part de l'opérateur de salubrité. La manière de dépôt c'est différent, ce n'est pas obligatoire d'avoir des poubelles, mais les sacs respectent les couleurs des poubelles.

M : D'accord. Have you had any information, flyers, from the city hall, or from the companies managing the waste, to inform citizens about the collection ?

A : ...

A-M : Ils ont reçu des petites brochures, mais juste un mois avant la mise en pratique de la collecte sélective. Donc elle pense que c'était un peu tard, et que les brochures auraient dû être données à la population il y a plus longtemps. Elle dit qu'on ne peut pas parler d'une campagne, il y avait seulement des petites brochures, pour valider qu'ils ont fait quelque chose. Il y a aussi eu des affiches sur certaines portes. Elle m'a dit qu'à un moment donné, ils ont reçu à l'association des grandes affiches à mettre sur les portes d'entrée d'immeubles, et des flyers pour mettre dans les boîtes postales. Elle pense que toutes ses informations auraient dû être diffusées un peu plus tôt, puisqu'il y a beaucoup de gens qui vivent dans le passé, et ce serait mieux d'avoir une campagne similaire à celle de la prévention contre l'alcoolisme en Roumanie. Une campagne plus intense, ce serait mieux pour tout le monde. Elle nous invite à aller visiter le site de la mairie, où il y a les modèles d'affiches diffusées dans la ville.

M : Have you got any problems with informal actors, with people collecting directly in the bins ?

A : ...

A-M : Non, non. Il y a quelques problèmes avec les déchets organiques : pendant les mois d'été, la végétation augmente, et il y en a beaucoup. Il y a toujours ce type de déchets, et ils doivent faire une demande écrite à la mairie, ça prend un certain temps pour qu'ils viennent les enlever. Mais c'est toujours la responsabilité de l'association d'immeubles d'appeler la mairie, parce que la mairie ne sait pas quand est-ce que tu vas couper ta haie.

M : Ok ... Apart from the selective collection, and the fact that you had to buy the bins, the waste management in the neighbourhoods where your activity is based, it hasn't changed ?

A : ...

A-M : Non, il s'agit seulement de la collecte sélective des déchets. La population met dans la poubelle résiduelle toutes sortes de choses qui peuvent être utilisées pour le compost, mais c'est toujours à cause du manque d'éducation.

M : Le compost, il est réalisé par les habitants de l'immeuble, pour l'immeuble ?

A : ...

A-M : Elle n'a pas d'informations, donc elle ne connaît pas. Il y a certaines entreprises qui ont comme but de trouver des déchets qui peuvent être recyclables, mais pas assez, selon son avis. D'habitude ce sont seulement des déchets végétaux qui sont utilisés par certaines entreprises.

M : D'accord. And what do you think is gonna happen in the next years, in regards to waste management, in Cluj and in Feleacu ? How do you think it's gonna evolve ?

A : ...

A-M : Elle pense que s'il s'agit seulement de l'avis des habitants, à un moment, on va devenir plus civilisé. Il faut aussi que les consignes de collecte soient respectées par l'opérateur de salubrité, puisqu'au moment où il vient récolter les déchets, il pose tous les déchets dans le même camion. Ils obligent la population à faire une collecte sélective, mais tous les déchets partent ensemble. Ce n'est pas tout le temps, mais assez souvent. Dernièrement, l'opérateur de salubrité a commencé à être plus attentif à la collecte, puisque par exemple, s'il y a une poubelle de plastique, ils ne collectent pas les déchets résiduels, seulement le plastique.

M : In your opinion, what could be a good idea, to implement in order to better the waste management ?

A : ...

A-M : Mettre en place de l'information continue, sur toutes les chaînes de communication possible. Une solution mise en place par l'opérateur de salubrité, c'est d'avoir des infrastructures souterraines, ce qui fait du bien à la santé, à l'odeur, même du point de vue esthétique. Elle pense que ce sera bien si les autorités mettent en place des mesures très restrictives, certaines taxes, pour punir ceux qui ne trient pas bien ou ne collectent pas les déchets. A un moment, il y a eu une discussion sur une augmentation de 25%, mais c'était juste une discussion. C'est l'opérateur de salubrité qui a proposé la taxe, pas la mairie.

M : Ok ... Would you like to add anything else ?

A : ...

A-M : Elle dit que c'est une faute partagée entre tous. On va voir dans le futur, mais il faut que les citoyens soient plus civilisés et respectent les règles, et de l'autre côté, la mairie et l'opérateur de salubrité doivent oser imposer, et ne plus être si relaxé. Elle m'a dit qu'il y a certaines différences entre les immeubles. Dans les immeubles standards de 4 étages, la gestion des déchets va mieux, mais dans les immeubles de 7 ou 8 étages, il y a des tuyaux pour les déchets comme dans le campus, et parfois ces tuyaux sont pleins de choses comme des vêtements ou de la nourriture jetés pour arriver au 1er étage ou au rez-de-chaussée. Elle m'a dit que c'est vraiment impossible d'assister à une telle image.

## Entretien n°20 - Horatiu Domuta

*Entretien avec M. Domuta, collecteur informel, le 9 juin 2021 vers 15h30, rue Piezisa, dans un café. Conversation en la présence de Mme Pop, qui réalise la traduction.*

Horatiu : ...

Ana-Maria : Il m'a dit plusieurs fois que les gens ne respectent pas la couleur des poubelles et qu'ils jettent plusieurs sortes de déchets, qu'ils ne respectent pas les jours de collecte et qu'en fait, toute la logistique de l'opérateur de salubrité, n'est pas du tout distincte. Tu n'as pas un camion distinct pour chaque déchet. C'est une seule voiture qui a un espace commun pour les déchets.

Horatiu : ...

Ana-Maria : Il me dit qu'il est très réceptif à toutes tes questions, parce que ce n'est pas bien d'avoir un monologue, c'est ce que je disais. Donc, dis chaque question que tu as, il va te répondre.

Marie : D'accord ! Ça fait combien de temps que vous travaillez dans ce domaine-là ?

Horatiu : ...

Ana-Maria : A partir de novembre, le 15 novembre cette année, ce sera 25 ans d'activité.

Marie : D'accord ! 25 ans, c'est sacrément long.

Horatiu : ...

Ana-Maria : Il y a 25 ans, il n'y avait aucune sélection de déchets. Tous les déchets étaient jetés dans une poubelle et c'était tout. Même la notion de sélection n'existait pas. Depuis seulement quelques années, on discute dans la société de la sélection des déchets. Il connaît une personne qui vit dans la rue Ilie Măcelaru, c'est une rue avec des personnes qui ont un statut social très bon. Il me dit que là-bas, il connaît une personne qui est psychologue, qui a un mari professeur universitaire à la faculté du numérique, et qu'elle jette toujours tous ses déchets partout. Il dit qu'elle a une certaine éducation, une certaine profession, alors pourquoi elle fait ça ? Il dit qu'il peut te montrer tous les déchets qu'elle jette partout. Il dit que c'est vraiment rigolo que je t'ai dit ça. Mais oui, il pense que c'est à cause des origines de cette femme, car elle vient d'un département connu de la Roumanie comme un département défavorisé du point de vue économique. Il s'agit de Piatra Neamț. Târgu Neamț.

Marie : Donc vous avez vu seulement récemment le tri sélectif se mettre en place ... Quels autres changements vous avez vu au fil des années ?

Horatiu : ...

Ana-Maria : Non. Il me dit que ce processus de la sélection des déchets a été commencé juste à cause du fait qu'il y avait beaucoup de conteneurs qui étaient toujours pleins. A un moment même dans le foyer universitaire, il y avait 10 conteneurs, maintenant il y en a seulement 4, et que les étudiants ont été les premiers à sélectionner mieux les déchets par chaque fraction. Il me dit qu'il y a encore certains cas où on jette les papiers avec d'autres déchets ou matériaux, mais c'est déjà un bon pas, et la perfection nécessite du temps et on a encore un long voyage jusqu'à là-bas. De toute façon, c'est bien que ça existe, et c'est un pas, même si c'est un petit pas. C'est très bien qu'on a déjà ce processus de sélection de déchets. Il me dit que si tu veux, après l'entretien, on peut aller dans le foyer et il va te montrer quel est le contenu des conteneurs, et que tu vois avec tes propres yeux qu'il y en a seulement 4 ou 5 pleins. Il me dit qu'il y a encore des conteneurs où tout le monde jette presque tout, mais ça dépend toujours de l'éducation, et que ce n'est pas la faute de la municipalité, de l'opérateur, ou même de lui. Aujourd'hui, il a vu dans le quartier de Mănăștur près d'ici, 3 conteneurs, rouge, jaune et bleu, et tous les conteneurs avaient un mélange de déchets. On pouvait même voir ça de loin, puisqu'ils étaient trop pleins. Il me dit que si on veut avoir une meilleure qualité de vie, ça peut être aussi de la chance, mais quand tu jettes quelque chose, c'est partout, alors pourquoi tu fais ça ? Bon, il me dit, quand l'opérateur de salubrité est venu ce matin, pour prendre ces 3 conteneurs, les gens étaient si fâchés, parce qu'ils ne savaient pas comment faire la sélection de déchets, parce qu'ils avaient un certain horaire pour prendre tous les conteneurs du quartier, et tout était mélangé.

Marie : Les gens, c'était les opérateurs de salubrité, qui étaient fâchés ?

Ana-Maria : Oui, parce que c'était le camion qui est venu prendre les déchets.

Horatiu : ...

Ana-Maria : Il me dit que la situation que tu as vu à Oradea, c'est à cause de l'influence de l'Ouest de l'Europe, puisque si tu vas vers l'Ouest, vers Budapest, vers l'Autriche, tu auras une sélection très adéquate des déchets. Quand on parle de la Serbie, de la Slovaquie, là c'est comme chez nous. Donc on ne sent pas beaucoup l'influence de l'Ouest.

Marie : Est-ce qu'il y a un circuit de collecte, un trajet qu'il fait tous les jours pour la sélection ?

Horatiu : ...

Ana-Maria : Oui. Dans la plupart des cas, il fait la sélection de tous les déchets. Dès le matin, quand il commence avec le quartier Mănăştur, il y a un hôtel qui s'appelle Pami, et cet hôtel, aux alentours, il y a 5-6 poubelles, qui sont toujours pleines de déchets mélangés, et il dit que ceux qui travaillent ici à l'hôtel miment, ou prétendent de faire la sélection. On a toutes sortes de choses là-bas. Ah ok ... Il me dit que vis-à-vis de cet hôtel, il y a une propriété constituée de plusieurs immeubles, qui appartiennent toujours au propriétaire de l'hôtel. On appelle cet endroit Pami 2, puisque c'est la seconde propriété. Pami c'est officiellement le nom de l'hôtel. Là-bas, la plupart des appartements sont habités par des français. Je ne sais pas, peut-être qu'ils sont étudiants. Il dit qu'ils ont le même comportement que les roumains. Oui, des étudiants médecins, ceux qui font la faculté de stomatologie. Il dit que peut-être tous les étudiants ne sont pas comme ça, mais il s'attendait à ce que si là-bas, il y avait des étudiants étrangers, que l'image de cet endroit soit différente, mais il n'a pas vu, rien.

Marie : D'accord.

Horatiu : ...

Ana-Maria : Il me dit qu'un étudiant loue l'appartement par mois, avec 700€.

Marie : 700€ ? C'est énorme.

Ana-Maria : Oui. C'est pour ça qu'il dit que c'est un lieu résidentiel très bon.

H : ...

A-M : Il m'a dit que sur la rue Ilie Măcelaru, il y a un autre immeuble avec des appartements, toujours loué par des étudiants français, toujours le même loyer, 700€, et il fait chaque jour la sélection là-bas. Il y a 5 grandes poubelles, et après qu'il ait fait la sélection, il reste l'équivalent de 3 grandes poubelles. Il y a 2 poubelles vides. Il fait la sélection du plastique, papier, ... Il fait un tour seulement à Mănăştur, sur la zone du campus universitaire, et sur la rue Clinicilor, avec les hôpitaux. Il collecte seulement le contenu de 30 poubelles par jour à Mănăştur.

M : Il a quoi du coup comme matériel pour la collecte ? Comment il transporte tout ça ?

H : ...

A-M : Seulement un chariot, c'est tout. Il m'a dit que ça s'appelle chariot ou "toliga", je ne connais pas le mot, ça doit être une sorte de régionalisme. C'est la première fois que j'entends ce mot. On peut aller après l'entretien, voir les poubelles.

M : D'accord ! Et comment il s'organise dans la journée ? Chaque soir ? Il le dépose quelque part ?

H : ...

A-M : Il commence à 7h du matin d'habitude, et il travaille jusqu'à 9h du soir.

M : A 9h le soir, il revend ce qu'il a récolté dans la journée ?

H : ...

A-M : Après avoir terminé la sélection, il transporte tous les déchets à un point de collecte. Toujours à Mănăştur. Le nom non-officiel de cet endroit, c'est Donkey, comme en anglais. Il me dit que c'est une sorte de régionalisme ... Il mesure la quantité qu'il transporte, et il reçoit un certain prix, il reçoit l'argent chaque soir.

M : C'est un opérateur de salubrité qui tient le point de collecte ?

H : ...

A-M : Non, ce n'est pas l'opérateur de salubrité, c'est une entreprise. L'ancien REMAT. Il connaît pas exactement la nouvelle dénomination de l'entreprise. C'est une société par actions. Il ne sait pas qui sont les actionnaires, mais en tout cas c'est une entreprise qui n'a rien à voir avec l'opérateur de salubrité.

H : ...

A-M : Il me donne comme exemple le cas de la Belgique, où la sélection des déchets est faite par type de déchets et par jour. Si, dans les jours avec du papier, tu jettes un autre type de déchets, tu vas recevoir une taxe. En



Roumanie, il y a un autre cas, à Sibiu, où les poubelles sont numériques, un dispositif numérique, comme pour les animaux, je ne sais pas c'est quoi ...

M : Comme pour les animaux ? Une puce électronique ?

A-M : Oui, oui. Tout fonctionne différemment. Il n'y a pas de personne qui font d'autres choses. C'est une meilleure sélection.

M : Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres personnes qui vont aux points de collecte pour vendre les déchets qu'ils ont récolté ?

H : ...

A-M : Les déchets qui sont les mieux payés sont les déchets non-ferreux, le cuivre, etc ... mais il me dit que ça dépend du lieu, de l'entreprise. Il me dit que même si tu ne comprends pas le roumain, tu poses des bonnes questions, c'était un compliment.

M : D'accord ... merci !

A-M : Mais, en revenant, il n'a pas répondu à notre question. Bon, il y a beaucoup de personnes ... 30 personnes par jour, mais il y a parfois des personnes qui y vont 2 ou 3 fois par jour. Donc, tu as 30 personnes, mais peut-être que ce sont des personnes qui doublent l'argent, parce qu'elles sont payées par transport. Il y a un camion seulement pour le papier, un autre pour les métaux, ... Un camion différent pour chaque type de déchets. La plus grande quantité qu'ils ont, c'est 5 camions par jour, mais peut-être que certains jours il n'y a pas assez de quantité, donc tu as moins de camions.

M : D'accord, et c'est du lundi au dimanche ?

A-M : Seulement le vendredi. Non, le vendredi, c'est le jour du camion.

M : D'accord, mais la collecte a lieu du lundi au dimanche ?

H : ...

A-M : Seulement du lundi au vendredi. Il y a d'autres endroits de collecte, où la collecte est du lundi au samedi. L'autre point de collecte, c'est sur la rue Salcanuilor, qui est près de la faculté. Ok, donc il y a même dans cette rue où nous sommes, Piezisa, un autre camion, qui vient faire de la collecte, mais il dépose tous les déchets ensemble. Il prend ensemble tous types de déchets. Cette voiture a un récipient distinct pour récolter l'huile consommée, usagée. Donc, tous les employés qui travaillent pour cette entreprise ont le revenu minimum, 1400 lei.

M : Qui ça ?

H : ...

A-M : Les employés de tous les petits bistrot, café, de cette rue. Ils gagnent seulement le minimum. 1400 lei, c'est la somme. Tu devais venir hier pour voir ce camion. Il me dit qu'il y a une autre situation avec tous les employeurs de cette rue. Dans un café, ils ont 5 employés, mais seulement 3 d'entre eux ont un travail officiel, les autres n'ont pas de contrats, ils travaillent illégalement. Il me dit que le magasin Profi, derrière nous, ils ont 3 grandes poubelles avec toutes sortes de déchets, pas triés, et que derrière il y avait 3 grands sacs, avec encore d'autres déchets pas triés, et qu'il a mis beaucoup de temps pour la sélection de ces déchets. Il m'a dit : on ne peut pas s'imaginer ce que les gens jettent. Il a sélectionné que le carton.

Marie : Dans ces poubelles-là ? D'accord. Est-ce qu'il se rappelle du prix auquel il vend ce qu'il collecte ? Les prix du carton, ...

H : ...

A-M : 0,40 lei pour le kilos de carton, au point de collecte de Manastur, et 0,45 lei sur la rue Salcamilor. 0,20 pour 1 kilos de papier. 22 lei pour 1 kilos de cuivre à Manastur, et 20 lei à Salcamilor.

M : Ce n'est pas la même entreprise qui achète sur la rue Salcamilor et à Manastur ?

H : ...

A-M : Non ... C'est la compagnie d'une femme. La femme s'appelle DIREM, et son mari s'appelle CONTINENT. Ce sont 2 entreprises pour le même projet, avec leur nom. Il me dit que chaque entreprise qui collecte les déchets, n'importe quel type de déchets, fait ça pour avoir des bonus financiers de l'environnement, je ne sais pas ce que ça signifie. Mais l'argent vient de l'Union Européenne, donc c'est seulement un moyen pour encourager un peu plus les personnes, pour valoriser la réduction des déchets. Pour chaque tonne collectée, l'entreprise reçoit 50€ de bonus. Ils ont ce type d'affaire seulement pour récolter beaucoup de bonus, car c'est de l'argent qui vient facilement, et dans une grande quantité. La plupart des déchets qui sont recyclables, sont utilisés pour l'export, même en France, parce que vous avez des technologies super innovatrices et que pour vous la quantité est reçue à un très bon prix, c'est pour ça que vous réclamez de l'acheter de notre pays, puisque les pays ne sont pas chers. C'est toujours le cas du carton, mais il me dit que l'Union Européenne donne ce type de bonus aux entreprises qui font de la collecte, mais en fait c'est juste une manière de s'acheter de la matière première à très bon prix, à un prix vraiment bas, et que ce bonus à une valeur très réduite, qui est importante pour un état comme la Roumanie, mais pour la France ou l'Allemagne, c'est une quantité négligeable. Il me dit que la Roumanie a des plateformes industrielles anciennes, et que les plateformes ne sont pas tout à fait mises à l'innovation, et c'est pour ça que les propriétaires de ces plateformes ont perdu, parce qu'ils n'ont pas la technologie nécessaire. Il y a un autre cas, d'une autre plateforme industrielle, à Petresti (Alba). Cette entreprise transformait le papier. C'était une fabrique qui produisait du papier, du carton, mais ils ont fait faillite.

M : Est-ce que ... il aurait l'adresse précise des points de collecte ?

H :

A-M : Manastur, strada Masinistilor, mais il ne connaît pas l'adresse exacte. Rue Salcamilor, c'est le siège du point de collecte. Il me dit qu'il y avait une autre entreprise de recyclage qui a fait faillite, mais le nouveau propriétaire est venu avec du matériel, et maintenant ça va mieux.

M : D'accord ... et pour en revenir aux personnes qui collectent, est-ce que c'est plutôt des hommes, des femmes, des personnes âgées, jeunes ... ?

H : ...

A-M : La plupart des personnes qui font la collecte sont des femmes autant que des hommes, mais la plupart sont des gitans. Il y a également beaucoup de personnes qui viennent avec leur propre voiture. Il me dit qu'en Italie, en ce qui concerne le PET, le carton, le papier, on ne reçoit aucun argent pour ce type de déchets, les seuls déchets qui sont payés sont seulement les autres, non-ferreux, ou d'autres déchets. Il me donne toujours l'exemple de ce camion dans la rue, mais aujourd'hui il ne va pas venir. Il y a une sorte de point de collecte informel, juste à côté du magasin qu'on voit juste devant. Toutes sortes de personnes travaillent ici, et lorsqu'ils ont du carton, ils vont le jeter là-bas.

M : Il n'a jamais de problèmes avec les autorités lors de son travail ?

H : ...

A-M : Non, ils ne sont pas du tout intéressés. Il me dit qu'il y a eu, il y a quelques années, des problèmes avec les gitans qui volaient certains objets de l'intérieur des immeubles seulement pour collecter du fer, mais c'était juste il y a quelques années. Maintenant, c'est une initiative de la mairie, pour démolir tous les garages. Ils ont essayé de démolir pour faire plus d'espace. Au moment où ils ont démoli les garages, il y avait beaucoup de gitans qui ont été là-bas pour prendre les matériaux à recycler. On a encore beaucoup d'autres quartiers où il y a des bâtiments pareils, donc ils vont venir de nouveaux pour les matériaux. C'est une initiative de la municipalité de détruire tous les garages qui se trouvaient dans la rue, puisqu'ils se trouvaient sur le domaine public, pour faire beaucoup d'espace, revoir l'esthétique du quartier ... Ils ont commencé à Manastur, mais tous les quartiers ont le même problème. A un moment donné, ces annexes ont été construites pendant la période socialiste, et ils sont restés, mais ils sont vraiment horribles comme esthétique. Peut-être qu'ils ont gagné 2 ou 3 places en plus, mais c'est surtout l'esthétique qui a changé. Au lieu d'un garage, on a maintenant plusieurs places de parking. Mais les habitants sont très fâchés, puisqu'ils gardaient toutes sortes de choses dans les garages, tout ce qui était supplémentaire et qu'ils ne pouvaient pas garder dans l'appartement, ils le mettaient dans le garage. Il me dit que même les gitans étaient un peu prétentieux parce qu'ils ne voulaient pas transportés avec leurs voitures certains matériaux de la démolition, donc ils ont choisi de transporter seulement le matériau le plus facile. D'autres questions ?

M : Je regarde ...

Ana-Maria : Je lui ai dit que tu cherchais à comprendre quel était le degré d'innovations dans la gestion des déchets en Roumanie, et il m'a dit que bon, en Roumanie, il n'y a pas d'innovations. L'Union Européenne nous a imposé certains plans de recyclage, mais en Roumanie, il n'y en a pas. Il me dit toujours que par exemple, si on verse une certaine somme d'argent à la mairie pour faire fonctionner les choses, là on fera peut-être preuve d'innovation pour Cluj-Napoca. Mais il me dit que même si tu vas aux abords de la mairie, dans les poubelles, tout est jeté ... Je lui ai expliqué la situation avec la mairie, la réponse qu'on a reçu sans signatures finalement, et il me dit que peut-être ils ont réagi vis-à-vis de nous seulement pour avoir une image positive, mais ils ne se pressent de rien. Il me dit que quand ils ont leur pause repas, ils jettent après avoir mangé, leur nourriture. Il dit que les employés de la mairie devraient être des modèles et donner à manger ce qu'il reste à ceux qui en ont besoin, mais ce n'est pas le cas. Il ne comprend pas pourquoi leur choix des gens c'est de jeter, avec de penser à demander si ça pourrait être utile à quelqu'un ... Il m'a dit qu'il a à la maison le livre d'Adrian Dohotaru, Pata. Il y avait des personnes de Suisse qui sont venus à Cluj-Napoca il y a quelques années, pour faire une sorte de film sur Pata Rât. Ils ont donné de l'argent à certains membres de la communauté, et ils ont réussi à prendre toutes sortes de très bonnes photos, mais il dit que la communauté a été très réceptive seulement parce qu'ils ont reçu une certaine quantité d'argent. Il y a un cas à Bucarest, il y a quelques jours, dans le secteur 1. Il y a eu un conflit d'intérêts entre l'ancien maire de ce secteur et l'opérateur de salubrité. Tu sais maintenant, le maire du secteur 1, c'est une Française ? Clotilde Armand. Il me dit qu'elle est venue en Roumanie à cause de son mari qui est roumain, je crois. Ils se sont connus en France. Elle est sénatrice de l'USR, l'Union Sauvez la Roumanie. Le maire de la capitale, de la municipalité principale de Bucarest, c'est un autre sénateur d'USR, qui a gagné 3 fois consécutivement le grand prix de l'Olympiade internationale de mathématiques. Il est vraiment génial, et je lui ai dit que sa femme est professeure de géographie ! Il a plusieurs fois essayé d'être maire, et il a réussi seulement au bout de la troisième fois. C'est vraiment une révélation, puisqu'il est très bon, avec beaucoup d'idées, une certaine expertise, entouré de personnes qualifiées. C'est un grand succès pour la capitale. Même s'il a seulement une année de mandat, il a déjà fait beaucoup de choses.

M : Est-ce qu'il a vu un changement avec la pandémie ?

H : ...

A-M : Non, il me dit que la seule différence ça a été pendant la période d'urgence de 3 mois, quand tout le monde est resté dans la maison. Mais, rien de plus. Même s'il y a des personnes très riches, il dit qu'elles ne se pressent pas pour donner. Il a des amis plus riches, et il leur dit : "Mais vous avez de l'argent, pourquoi est-ce que vous ne donnez pas à ceux qui vivent à Pata Rât ?", et bon, ils ne se pressent pas du tout.

### Entretien n°21 - Elena-Simina Lakatos, présidente et directrice exécutive de l'IRCEM.

Entretien le 10 juin 2021, à 10h, au sein d'un bureau de l'IRCEM - Institutul pentru Cercetari in Economie Circulara si Mediu/Institut pour la Recherche en Economie Circulaire et Environnement "ERNEST LUPAN" - [www.ircem.ro](http://www.ircem.ro)  
L'entretien dure environ 1h.

Elena-Simina : So, tell me, what do you need from me ? From seeing different stakeholders, maybe now you have a point of view on the situation in Cluj.

Marie : We haven't had so many talks about circular economy and we just want your point of view, your experience.

E : We work with the Food Bank. We are the owner, let's say, of the food waste bank. This is one part of the circular economy, the food waste. We have other activities related to textiles. We work on environmental projects in order to analyze how much textile we waste, per individual. But, in this area, we don't know very much, because our legislation is not so focused on that. I'll try to talk a little bit about each categories in which circular economy is involved, I hope it's ok for you.

M : Ok.

E : We tried to work a little bit with some companies that work with textiles, in order to transport textile waste and re-introduce it in the flow, but the activities are not so big, because the mentality of the consumer is not so used to it. When you say "recycled", "used", they start to think that the product is not good, that it's not a good

idea to buy this kind of product. But the idea is that it's not true, recycling the product is nice. There is that mentality in each sector, which is a problem, because equipment is costing a lot, initial investments, it's not so engaging in this kind of activity. The third issue is related to the market, we don't have a market where we can sell this kind of products. These are the major issues we have with textile, or within our organization, we are investment-bond, let's say. We are financing 21 projects in circular economy. One of them is in textile, to reuse some textiles and create some articles. As we are part of the European Stakeholder Circular Economy Platform, we are representing Romania, and it's our responsibility to map out all the initiatives in circular economy in the country. We found 5 models of companies who are circular in all aspects. There is a company in Iasi, in technical textile. There are also a few start-ups recycling different parts of the textile materials. One that I find very interesting transforms wool into some pallets for heating the rooms. Part of it, you can find it in our platform, where we are presenting some results of our research on circular economy. Related to food, because I started with food and the Food Bank, we have one example in Pitesti. They are using food waste to obtain biogas. There is another company, from south, but it is only on research, because we want to see if it really works, it's to reduce the waste by transform it into animal food. During our research, we found companies that have some circular aspects, but that are not completely circular. The technologies cost a lot, and another problem comes from the mentality, because they must teach their employees how to use the technology, reuse waste and put it into the flow. It's not an easy process. Related to the water sector, the same, we have companies, but mostly they are related to research. They try to use the sludge in agriculture like fertilizer, but again, here are again, there are different materials that are not allowed to be used in agriculture. Others are related to the wood industry, but again, it needs to be improved. Food, water, wood ... In the wood industry, we have a lot of problems. In Romania, the legislation is ... how it is. We have a black market and a significant deforestation and stealing of wood, in Romania. Because it is used on the black market, there are a lot of problems in different areas. The result of the process of cutting wood, it's very dangerous for fishing, for the waters, and for this reason, we try to find a way to collect this material to make pallets and other things, but a good thing is that right now, there are some social enterprises that want to collect the wood. Because all the biggest companies are changing their furniture, entities linked to the garbage, things we can re-use in schools or in other facilities. We tried to come with some proposals, on the market, related to "green acquisitions". We try to engage with the authorities, the citizens, it's a process. We try to make them to buy these circular products, to be at least 10% of all the acquisitions, of all the materials. We'll see if we can include this in our legislation. A lot of our proposals are based on green public acquisitions. Related to the energies, there are some nice ideas with cooperatives. It is an NGO, where they bring citizens together, who are interested in producing energy. They develop this cooperation. There are different companies, on the market, which are trying to transform waste into energy: from wood to obtain biogas, or from wind, water, in order to obtain green energy ... Another thing in this sector is related to the European Commission, where we shouldn't use any more fossil energies, and for this reason, everyone tries to find green energies : solar energy, wind, biogas ... We talk about hydrogen energy right now, it is a trend. The EU wants to change our habits. The people are becoming more aware that we are damaging our planet and that it's not possible to continue like that anymore, to sustain the life, and this is the reason why they are trying to find new sources of energy. There are other, let's say ... Cluster with projects in energy, and they develop very huge projects in biogas, in order to help the citizens from the center of Romania, to use wood waste, to transform it into biogas. Now ... cities. We want to transform cities into circular cities. To close the loop between resources and consumption in the city, because cities are the biggest consumers of energies and resources. For this reason, we come with different proposals: digitalization, ... How we can reuse different types of resources, from construction, how we can create or reuse buildings, in order to get all the energy from the sun, the light all day from the sun, all the heating from it. To regenerate buildings, all factories, in order to make them available for citizens, for different kinds of projects, and so on. This is a part of what circularity means in a city, it is necessary to share the space, to make the cities livable. There is another part of it that is shared economy. On that point, we are on the beginning, some of us are using Blablacar, Airbnb services, I don't know if you heard about Airbnb ?

M : Yes, I'm currently in an Airbnb.

E : Ok, so other platforms, in order to share their tools to use for their home, and not to buy new ones. There are some steps here to. Related to the waste management ... It's the more problematic part, but not only in our country, in other countries in Europe it's kind of the same. But, let's say, we have some problems with waste management systems, because Romania received a lot of money to develop these systems from each region, but the stations were not very well managed, because it's been almost 10 years since this system is being implemented, and it's still not working here in Cluj. It's a problem related to the different parts of all the system, starting with land, and finishing with selective waste collection ... In comparison with other regions, or cities in Romania, we do step in what is called a digital part. We have some collection points that are digitally connected

and that warn us when they are full. The authorities succeed to collect the different categories of waste in the residential areas. The collection is good for citizens living in houses. But, at some point, this was not very well managed. It's not only the fault of the authorities. The citizen's fault is the same. My point of view is that both parts have a responsibility in this.

Ana-Maria : It is a shared problem.

E : The biggest problem is related to the Pata Rât waste. I cannot say more, you saw it by yourself, it's not a really nice image. It shows us that we have a very big problem because it should have been closed years ago, and it's still not closed.

M : You mean the temporary station ?

E : Yes ... and it's not temporary. A few kilometers away is the new center, but I don't know what they are doing. It's the same problem with other waste management system in Romania. Only some systems are correctly working. For this reason, we are trying to engage with the authorities, at least because we are from Cluj, and we can try to influence the situation on Pata Rât, which is our ... I don't know ... black point. Related to other parts of circular economy, on innovations, redesign, sorting materials, ... We are only on the beginning part, because our research system is not supported with investments, in order to support the development of innovations. Most innovations here, in the circular economy, are related to digitalization, and a few are related to secondary raw-materials. Ok ... Life-cycle assessments, in order to extend the duration of a product. We are doing steps in this part, but we are not so engaged. Related to the education, we started a course on sustainable development, we have a curriculum, in universities. We want to educate people, children, and so on, on reusing, recycling, regenerating, but we want to develop a strategy on circular economy. Right now, the government must develop a strategy, and the Romanian government has a department on sustainable development. This is very important, this department focuses not only on recycling, but also on redesigning, regenerating ... I believe this is all, tell me if I forgot something.

M : I was just wondering, could you remind me when the IRCEM was founded and by whom ?

E : IRCEM was founded in 2012, from an initiative from young students of the university of Cluj-Napoca. We started as a research center, then in 2019, it became a research institute, when we became part of the European stakeholder circular economy platform. From that day, we became a research institute. We have different projects, coordinating and supporting Erasmus students. Because of the pandemic, right now, there are not so many people, we prefer to work at home, but we are trying to come back to the office safely. I hope that during the next months, we will come back to the institute ...

M : Are you collaborating with the city hall or with the county council on some strategies for circular economy ?

E : No, we have only 2 projects for strategies on circular economy. One is in Ruzau, a town, the first city in Romania to have a circular economy strategy, from 2018-2019. They started to do this work in 2018. The second project is in Cugir, a small city, who intends to become a circular city. We started these 2 projects to see how they are working, and because the authorities were very motivated, very engaged in what we said, and they want to adopt the circular economy. In Ruzau, they launched a circular school, reusing the water, using green energy, cultivating their vegetables, ... and they received a prize from the German government, in order to finance more projects, there. They really liked our strategy, we have more projects there, and they want to finance a part of them. In Cugir, we hope to finish the strategy in September 2021. We need to explore all the resources, what is used per citizen, assess it all ...

M : And how are you financed ?

E : From projects, research, from the European Commission directly, or from Romania developing funds, or from consultancy, from authorities, companies, universities ...

**Entretien n°22 - Mariana Ratiu, directrice exécutive du service du développement et des investissements, au Conseil Départemental.**

*L'entretien se déroule dans le bureau de Mme Ratiu, au sein des bureaux du Conseil Départemental, 2ème étage, service des investissements, à Cluj, le 10 juin 2021, vers 12h30. Durée d'environ 45min. Entretien en roumain et en français, avec l'aide de Mme Pop pour la traduction.*

Au début de l'entretien (préenregistrement), il a été dit que le rôle du Conseil Départemental dans la gestion des déchets est d'assurer le bon fonctionnement du SMID, avec comme responsabilité de créer le CMID. Selon Mme Ratiu, l'ADI Eco-Metropolitan est responsable de "tout le reste". L'UE suggère qu'une seule personne juridique soit responsable des infrastructures, mais le Conseil Départemental n'est qu'un membre de l'ADI, donc la responsabilité du SMID, du système, au niveau départemental, est bien celle de l'ADI.

Marie : Thank you so much.

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : Eco-Metropolitan sont ceux qui sont responsables de l'administration publique des 3 aires géographiques. Ils ont déjà finalisé la procédure de récitation pour 2 aires géographiques, et ils ont comme bénéficiaire Supercom. Le procès d'évaluation pour la première aire géographique est toujours en train d'être faite. Ils sont, en tant que conseil départemental, responsables seulement de la procédure de sollicitation publique pour le CMID, le centre intégré de gestion des déchets.

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : Le SMID est presque entièrement finalisé. Ce qui n'est pas encore réalisé, c'est la création de la station de transfert, et la création de la station de tri mécano-biologique.

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : Ils espèrent pouvoir finaliser la construction avant la fin de cette année, ou maximum avant mars 2022.

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : Elle pense que même la procédure d'évaluation pour la première aire géographique, qui se superpose sur la ville de Cluj-Napoca, va être finalisée avant la fin de cette année ou au début de l'année prochaine. De cette manière, ils auront un moyen d'avoir tout le SMID finalisé, intégré, au même moment.

Marie : Before the SMID project, was the county council involved in waste management ?

Mariana : No, no + ...

Ana-Maria : Pas du tout. Ils n'ont pas une telle attribution vis-à-vis de la loi. C'est seulement la mairie qui a cette attribution du point de vue législatif. La gestion des déchets c'est juste une attribution de la mairie. Ils sont entrés dans cette équation seulement à cause de la présence du SMID. Toujours ici, au Conseil Départemental, il y a un service spécifique pour les affaires liées à l'environnement, mais ils n'ont pas les attributions spécifiques pour la gestion des déchets, donc seulement pour l'environnement.

Marie : Est-ce qu'ils souhaitent me donner leur point de vue sur la transition d'un système de gestion municipal, à une gestion au niveau de l'ADI et du département ?

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : Elle ne veut pas faire de comparaison, puisqu'ils n'ont pas eu cette attribution du Conseil du Département, donc ils ne peuvent pas supposer quelque chose, puisque ce n'était pas leur responsabilité. Elle m'a dit qu'avant le SMID, le principal problème en ce qui concerne la gestion des déchets, c'était d'avoir beaucoup de dépôts illégaux pour ces déchets. Au niveau du département, il y avait 6 types de dépôts illégaux, parmi lesquels se trouvent également Pata Rât. Ils sont tous fermés, maintenant. C'était juste la partie négative qui caractérisait la gestion des déchets avant le SMID. Même conformément à la législation européenne, c'était tout à fait obligatoire d'avoir fermé tous les sites de dépôt illégal des déchets, et c'était une des conditions essentielles pour la création de ce SMID, d'avoir fermé les dépôts non conformes à la législation européenne. Un des grands avantages du SMID, toujours par rapport à la situation d'avant, c'est cette vision intégrée, qui fait que la mairie de Cluj-Napoca n'a pas la possibilité de faire tout ce qu'elle veut, donc c'est obligatoire de respecter les

circuits de la collecte, du transport des déchets, jusqu'au moment du dépôt au sein du centre de gestion des déchets.

Marie : D'accord. Et est-ce qu'avec le covid il y a eu des soucis, ça a ralenti les choses au sein de la gestion des déchets, des choses au sein de la réalisation du SMID ?

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : Non, non, pas du tout. Ils n'ont pas eu de prolongation du contrat à cause de la pandémie donc ce n'était pas le cas. Ils ont eu d'autres problèmes qui ont un peu prolongé la situation, mais c'était à cause de facteurs naturels, comme les glissements de terrain, et qui ont imposé la nécessité d'avoir des travaux de restauration, qui nécessitent des moyens financiers supplémentaires, et qui sont un peu durs à implémenter.

Marie : Et donc à l'heure actuelle, ce qui est ouvert au sein du CMID, c'est ... la première cellule ?

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : C'est toujours la cellule au sein du CMID, et la station de transfert, qui sont déjà fonctionnelles, et ils sont en train d'ouvrir la troisième station de transfert de Huedin. Huedin est une autre ville du département. Donc 2 stations de transfert fonctionnelles, et la troisième sera fonctionnelle au moment où Eco-Metropolitan va finaliser la procédure d'acquisition publique. Mais elle est déjà en train d'être faite.

Marie : Et donc tous les déchets du département devront arriver au sein du CMID, à Cluj ?

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : Oui, tous les déchets devront arriver dans un seul lieu, mais elle espère que la quantité de déchets sera réduite, qu'il y aura plus de valorisation, d'une autre façon.

Marie : Ce ne sera pas la responsabilité du département, de mettre en place des choses pour réduire la quantité de déchets produite ?

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : Ils ont une consultation française, c'est une entreprise très bonne. Ils ont une très bonne relation avec elle. Ils vont utiliser le processus ... Donc, le projet a été fait par des gens de Bucarest. Ils ont reçu seulement la documentation finale, ils ont essayé de finaliser, de le mettre en pratique. Ils ont beaucoup appris ces dernières années. La réalité, c'est tout à fait différent. Ils disent qu'ils ont une seconde étape, après la finalisation du SMID : c'est de valoriser leur expérience, et de l'adapter aux spécificités locales. On ne peut pas avoir une formule similaire sur le territoire en entier. Dans la seconde étape, l'Eco-Metropolitan est toujours responsable de la stratégie créée par le conseil départemental, d'assurer la population avec toute la logistique nécessaire, donc la multiplication des poubelles, pour assurer correctement la sélection des déchets. La responsabilité de ce projet appartient à Eco-Metropolitan. C'est toujours leur responsabilité parce qu'ils doivent avoir une vision très intégrée, même concernant les possibilités de l'opérateur de salubrité qu'ils ont choisi. Ils ont la responsabilité d'optimiser le centre intégré de gestion des déchets. La cellule, qui existe maintenant, est projetée pour 7-8 ans. Ils se trouvent maintenant dans une étape où ils doivent penser quel sera le futur du centre intégré de gestion des déchets, soit s'ils vont créer ou proposer la création d'un incinérateur, soit de choisir de solutionner avec la pyrolyse, soit de choisir un autre type d'équipement. Ils veulent implémenter un projet pour digitaliser tout ce qui a à faire avec le SMID. Ce projet va mettre l'accent sur toutes données, tout ce qui peut être automatisé : le système de mesure de la quantité de déchets, tout ce qui est lié à l'automatisation ... pour créer un système intelligent intégré de gestion des déchets.

Marie : Et c'était la responsabilité de qui, de fermer l'ancien dépôt, de stopper la station de transfert temporaire ? De la mairie ?

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : Conformément à la loi, la responsabilité est celle de l'opérateur de salubrité. A cause du fait que les opérateurs de salubrité avaient une certaine manière de fonctionner, c'est toujours l'UE qui a dit "On va vous donner de l'argent pour fermer les anciennes déchetteries et ouvrir les nouvelles". Ils ont beaucoup de problèmes pour implémenter le SMID avec des coûts très grands, liés aux problèmes de Pata Rât avec les glissements de terrain, les lixiviats, ... Mais évidemment, on sent déjà une amélioration de la situation avec le

nouvel opérateur de salubrité qui a remporté le marché. Ils ont une fantastique infrastructure et logistique pour les déchets. L'opérateur de salubrité a fait une démonstration pour le conseil départemental. Par exemple, ils ont une machine qui collecte mais aussi qui lave les déchets à l'intérieur de la machine, pour être plus écologique.

Marie : D'accord ... Dans l'ancienne zone de dépôt, près de Pata Rât, il y avait des personnes qui triaient les déchets de manière informelle. Ces personnes ne seront plus autorisées dans le nouveau centre ?

Mariana :

Ana-Maria : Non, pas du tout. C'est toujours la responsabilité de l'opérateur de salubrité. S'il veut employer certaines personnes, il doit assurer toutes les conditions nécessaires pour avoir un contrat en règle, fonctionnel, tout doit être légal. Elle sait déjà qu'il y a un problème social avec les gitans de Pata Rât, elle sait même que jusqu'à présent, il y a des personnes qui collectent des déchets dans le dépôt temporaire, ça existe encore, mais elle espère que le nouvel opérateur de salubrité va assurer leur intégration comme employés. Elle ne connaît pas exactement, mais elle est sûre que la mairie a déjà des plans pour l'intégration de cette communauté, pour intégrer une grande partie des gitans dans la structure d'organisation du nouvel opérateur de salubrité.

Marie : D'accord, puisque le fonctionnement du centre sera délégué à un opérateur de salubrité.

Ana-Maria : Oui, à Supercom.

Marie : Il n'y a pas de différences qui seront faites selon les secteurs, selon les villages ?

Mariana :

Ana-Maria : Peut-être qu'il y aura des petites différences, puisque chaque aire géographique comprend des villages et des villes, donc il y a déjà des différences entre les villes et les villages. Mais l'opérateur de salubrité doit appliquer partout les mêmes règles. Une autre différence qui peut être spécifique à certaines communautés rurales, c'est la différence entre la taxe spéciale et le coût, qui est payé directement à l'opérateur de salubrité, pas à travers la mairie.

Marie : Et il y aura une station de compostage au sein du centre ?

Mariana :

Ana-Maria : Oui. La station de traitement mécano-biologique est en fait juste la station de compost. On a depuis peu de temps la loi sur le compost, qui est vraiment une bonne chose.

Marie : Comment est-ce qu'ils expliquent que la durée de l'implémentation du SMID soit aussi longue, ici à Cluj ?

Mariana :

Ana-Maria : Ils ont dû résilier des contrats. Ils ont maintenant un contrat avec la RADP et ils ont maintenant une très bonne collaboration, c'est pour ça qu'ils sont maintenant en train de réussir à finaliser la procédure de création du CMID. Elle a dit qu'elle reconnaît qu'Eco-Bihor sont les meilleurs dans la gestion des déchets, et que depuis plusieurs années, c'est une bonne chose, d'avoir accès à l'expérience de l'étranger. Les déchets, c'est vraiment un vrai trésor, si on sait comment les utiliser. Ils veulent même maintenant créer une station de biogaz, mais c'est juste une idée, donc ils n'ont pas encore tout à fait un projet sur ce sujet, mais ils visent d'autres projets de valorisation des déchets. Elle a eu des contacts avec des personnes qui ont des technologies suisses, ils ont toujours des contacts avec la Suisse. Des personnes qui essaient de créer du biogaz, mais également de capter le dioxyde de carbone, et de le neutraliser pour mettre en place une véritable économie circulaire. Je lui ai dit qu'Eco-Bihor souhaite mettre en place un parc photovoltaïque, et elle me dit qu'on se dirige vers une vraie révolution verte. A l'origine, des personnes ont créées à Berne un système de valorisation des déchets, du biogaz, qui permet de ne pas dépendre du système énergétique national. La firme, l'entreprise, c'est Hofstetter firm. Cette entreprise a même proposé d'utiliser les liquides, les boues, ce qui sera très utile pour réduire les coûts de transports au sein du CMID. Maintenant, les dépenses vont devenir liées à l'ancien dépôt de Pata Rât, c'est plus de 10 000 lei. En 5 ans, avec cette somme, on peut créer une école. C'est pour ça qu'ils essaient dans la seconde étape, de créer des solutions, d'optimiser la valorisation des déchets. Après avoir finalisé ce CMID, toujours dans la seconde étape, ils essaient de miser sur des campagnes de sensibilisation du public, pour mieux comprendre



ce que c'est que la gestion des déchets, mais elle est très consciente du fait que le peuple roumain a encore beaucoup de choses à récupérer, et qu'on a encore beaucoup d'années jusqu'au moment où on arrive au niveau de la Suisse, par exemple.

Marie : D'accord ... et donc comment elle voit le futur, les prochaines années ?

Mariana : ...

Ana-Maria : Oui, elle est optimiste. Cluj-Napoca a vraiment une très bonne chance pour faire partie de cette révolution verte.

### Entretien n°23 - Diana Gheorghiu & Ciprian Popovici, consultants chez Green Partners.

*Entretien le 10 juin 2021, l'après-midi, au sein de l'entreprise Green Partners, à Cluj-Napoca. Durée : 1h.*

Marie : Would you like to begin by introducing yourself, your company ?

Diana : Yes. I'm Diana Gheorghiu, I'm an environmental consultant with Green Partners. So, our company is turning 20 this year and we do work a lot on waste management. Unfortunately, not so much in Romania, and even less in Cluj, so I really hope we can be helpful for you ...

Marie : Maybe you could make a few comparisons ?

Diana : Yes, between what we've seen in Cluj and what we see happening in other cities, yes. Are you interested in all aspects of waste management ? Or just on one ? From generation, to collection, treatment, disposal ?

Marie : All aspects, I would say.

Diana : Yeah, so we've been on the market for 20 years, I would say. I'm in the company since 2014. We've been working on waste management in developing countries, mostly. Also, in Romania, we develop waste management strategies, plans, and things like that. We work in consultancy mainly; we don't implement any services like collection or recycling. But we also work with industries in Romania, and they have to deal a lot with the management system. What I have to say about Cluj, is that we recently, 5 years ago I think, started to have this separate collection, with wet and dry waste at a household level, not huge blocks of flats, just household levels. And, that worked well, it was a pilot project. The awareness campaigns started, but it was a bit of a hit and miss, because the awareness campaigns started, but the system was not implemented. The awareness campaign was to separate on 4 fractions I think, all the recyclables separately, and then, a few years passed, nothing happened, so ... the awareness campaign was in vain, basically. Then, the pilot project with separate collection at the household level started, on wet and dry fraction. In the beginning, I think there was a bit of a deduction in the text, for the citizens that implemented this, so that helped. But people got used to it, so the text and system changed, there was no incentive anymore, the people got used to it and they were aware of where they should put the recyclables, so they kept going. Now, since, I'm not sure, 2 years ago, we started collecting on 4 fractions. I live in a house, not in a block of flats, so we have different days for collection: plastic, paper, glass and municipal waste. It's working really well, at least in Gruia, in the neighbourhood where I live. So that's on the collection side ... About the treatment, I wouldn't be able to tell you much. In Cluj, I know there is Salprest, a company which further separate the household waste. But what happens to it, I wouldn't know what to say. On the disposal level, on the other hand, the waste dump - it's dump, I'm sorry to say it, but it's a dump ... We've worked recently in the Caribbeans, and some of their dumps are way better managed than ours, and the Caribbean is not a developed area, from a waste management point of view. They have no separate collection, no anything, but some of their landfills, or dump sites, are way better managed than ours. I mean, it has this deep-set fire, and often you would have actually open fires in the landfill, and often, they would say it's generated by the informal sector, but it's actually something that they need to do, because they don't have anymore space. So, I'm not really sure who sets up the fire, but the fires don't necessarily ...

Rires.

M: The fires are started in the temporary dump site, you mean ?

D : Hm ... In the old one. Yeah. I'm not sure about the temporary one, if they still use it. From what I remember, I go by this area sometimes, and they still use it.

M : Ok, they still use it ? Because we've heard so many different things about that temporary landfill, and ...

Ana-Maria : Everybody has a different opinion, and we don't know for sure.

D : What I can tell you is that, last week, I was there. My parents live in Pata, it's the village ... right after you pass the first village. I used to feel the smell of the garbage, when I was there, but last week, you could still smell it. Normally, the wind blows the other way, towards the airport, so ... it must be really bad. And you can see, because when you take your car and go in that direction, it's nice, it has been rehabilitated. There is that very deep slope, that is not okay, it could collapse. They have a wall there but ... Are you aware of that disaster that happened a few years ago, with the leachates and all that ?

M & A-M : Yes.

D : I can suspect that it's going to happen again, unfortunately, at some point, ... But, above that, so behind it, they are still using it, because they don't have an alternative. If you go for the new site, the CMID, it's also a landfill, by the looks of it. It doesn't look like they started operating that one yet. It's very clean, it's beautiful, but it's not used ... And we did, at one point, a bid. There was a call for an environmental management system for that landfill site, solid waste management centre. I remember from reading the documentation that they sent, that they didn't have any machinery for operating the landfill, and they had a reverse osmosis system for treating the leachates. But I haven't seen any leachates pumps next to that system, so I'm not sure how they're going to treat it if they don't collect it? So, it looks very-well built, the actual cells of the landfill, but not leachates pumps, or at least you can't see it from the roads. It should be there; it should be visible. But if they don't take the garbage there, where do they take it? It must be to another city, but ...

M : That's the question ...

A-M : Everybody told us that it's illegal, to transport the waste to another county now. Even people from Eco-Bihor told us that they don't receive any more garbage.

D : It would be super expensive to transport it to Eco-Bihor, I think. Eco-Bihor is a well-managed site ...

M : Some of it could still go in the temporary dump site ?

D : I would say it definitely goes there, yes, next to the old one. Or they opened another one behind it. Have you been there?

M : We've been there, but not in the CMID.

D : I think that, if you go in the village above it, you could see the waste, uncovered, not compacted.

M : They haven't been able to move it, I heard, because of the smell ?

D : Yeah. Lots of citizens complained. I mean, when they start operating the new landfill, they should have a layer of garbage. That's how you normally start to operate a landfill, putting a layer of fresh garbage underneath. And when you start digging, it starts smelling, of course. It has a deep-set fire. The moment you open it, it's gonna smell.

M : You also said that you haven't seen any machinery in the new center, in the CMID ?

D : I haven't seen it, I haven't seen what they are using. They could be a lot of machineries there, but I'm not sure it's landfill related, for the garbage to be actually compacted, sorted, covered ... They only talked about collection vehicles in that environmental permit that they have. At one point, I called to ask about the bid and to say : "Ok, did you analyse it or something ?" and they said that they didn't analyse them yet. And I said : "You know, I'm worried about this, because I haven't seen many things about the operating machineries in your document, so do you have it ?" - "Yes, yes, yes, we have it" - "Ok ...". They said they have it, I don't know where it is. I hope that they have it because otherwise it's gonna be just another really expensive dump site.

M : I talked to Istvan Szakats at some point, I don't know if you know him ? He is really active in the civil society in Cluj.

A-M : In Pata Rât.

M : He made a film, a documentary about it, it's on YouTube, if you want to take a look at it.

D : One of our colleagues, but he is in a meeting now, he worked on it, he is a consultant specialized in social matters.

M : Well, Istvan showed me some drone videos he made a few weeks ago, and the CMID is empty, apart from a cell where they are starting to put some garbage. The composting station is not there ...

D : I don't know if they have all the elements to start operating in the way it was intended, or the way it should be. Because, it looks like the cells are very well constructed, it has all the layers, ... It could be very well operated, if they had the leachates pumps, and the machinery elements, a lot of ifs ... I can't say much about it, if it's gonna be well-operated, since I haven't been really involved, but I don't know where they take the garbage. And I suspect it's there, from the smell. They take it to the old dump site, I think.

A-M : Or other dump sites.

D : Or to other sites.

A-M : Years ago, I heard that they were taking it to an old mine.

D : It could in theory be used as a ... Temporary means that they shouldn't leave the garbage there, but if it's underground, I don't know how that can happen, because of the methane and the decomposition ...

A-M : I don't know ... More unanswered questions.

D : Cluj is interesting on so many levels but waste management, they are ... I mean it's a good thing, that CMID. Until it starts to be operational, I don't think we're doing well. The source separation is a good thing, that it starts to be implemented, it works well. I mean, it's a first step in any good waste management system, I'd say. I think, we could do more on waste reduction, honestly.

M : I've been asking people about ... I wanna talk also about innovations, in my research project. It can be social, territorial innovations, not only technical ones, which people are trying to focus on. But yeah, I've been asking people if there are some initiatives amongst citizens, NGOs, regarding waste reduction in Cluj.

D : One thing that I'm doing personally is composting. It was actually prompted by the municipality. It's not actually them telling us to start home-composting, but it's them having a very high fee and not collecting green waste from the households. So, because we are not allowed to put green waste in the municipal waste, they won't come to collect it, or if they come, they'll ask for a fee, it prompted us to do our own home composting. So, that's a good thing. Of course, we are telling friends, because it works very well, that's awesome thing to do. So, at least, at a household level, I think that we could definitely promote that.

M : I was told that they weren't coming to take the biodegradable waste.

D : They come, if you ... Not the biodegradable, the garden waste. Yes. Green waste from tree cutting and stuff like this. Normally you're not allowed to put it in the trash, you can hide it between ... But why would you ? You can compost it. Also, another very good initiative that they have, it is the construction/demolition waste. They have 2 centres now, in which they, you can take the demolition waste, and they recycle it, or they use it for something else. I've never done it, so ... But I know that it was a big problem, because a lot of construction is happening in Cluj, and it also costs a lot. You have to hire a huge dumpster, but it's really expensive, per day. So, we have these small contractors, which are kind of informal thing, that you can pay and that take care of the waste, but you don't really know where they take it. Sometimes, they use it as filling material, other times they can dump it on agricultural ground or who knows where ...

*Arrivée de Ciprian Popovici.*

Ciprian : I'm sorry to interrupt. I was wondering if I could help Diana, somehow.

D : Do you know where the municipality takes the garbage now ?

C : Now ? Here !

D : To the old site, right ?

C : Yes.

Rires.

M : And by the old site, you mean the temporary site ?

C : The temporary one, absolutely. Some of the villages around the city, like my village, we take it to Oradea.

D : Really ? Eco-Bihor ?

C : Yes.

A-M : I thought that it was impossible, to transfer it to another county.

C : Yeah, well ... We are paying more, first, and the company is paying more. But we are not allowed to bring it to Cluj, this is what they told us. I live 15 km away from Cluj, in Gruia. It's on the way to Oradea, so it's the second village from here. Floresti, and then Gilau. So ... the companies are not allowed to bring it here.

D : Do you have a contract, as a person, with that company ?

C : Yes. Because in Cluj, it's Romprest and Brantner.

D : Romprest ? Not Rosal ? Romprest is just the street swiping.

C : I heard that they ... Supercom ! Ok, yeah, confusing.

D : I thought that they were going to change the collection schedule, so I saw the change in companies, but it's just the street swiping. They changed it to Supercom.

M : And in Gilau, which operator is it ?

C : Its name is ... Ecosalubri, something like that ? It's a very "no-name" company. Many many problems, as far as I know ... They tried to do this separate collection on 4 fractions, and then they take everything together. They say : "We just wanted you to learn how to do it.". Yeah, right. For 2 months, they did it correctly. They came based on schedule, Mondays, yellow bin, everything ... 2 months. After 2 months, they dropped it.

D : Too expensive to respect the schedule and to come on different days ?

C : I don't know ... They have strange connections, contracts with this regional centre, so ...

D : We were talking about the 2 centres, for construction and demolition waste, that the municipality has set up. I think that's a very good idea. It was too expensive to hire a truck, in front of your house. So, you have to sort your waste, put it in bags, and take it there.

M : Do you know where they are ?

D : One is in Marasti, I know, I think it's under that huge bridge. On the city hall's website, you should have it. You should look it up. The mayor talks a lot about those. For electronic waste, there are some companies that you can call, and they come to your house and they pick up electronics, so it's a good thing.

C : Is there still campaigns for electronic waste ? I think so, yeah ?

D : I think so, yeah. There was a national thing. Super successful, yeah. But they do have certain days, they can set up certain days, where they pick up everything from the streets, these events that the city hall does from time to time. I don't know what they do for hazardous waste, for the households ... You're not allowed to put it in the municipal waste, but ... Like paint, for example.

C : There is nothing. Batteries, you can take them to some shops.

D : But some hazardous waste, yes, it would just end up in the garbage ... or down the drain.

M : Do you see differences in waste management between Gilau and here, in Cluj-Napoca ? Or differences in neighbourhoods of Cluj, in waste collection, sorting ... ?

D : I don't know what happens in the blocks of flats, because we do have the separate bins, and they have those underground ones ...

C : I think that there are no big differences between neighbourhoods, because investments have been made all over the city. Even in Gilau, my village, they distributed bins, they gave it to us. So, I think that investments have been made. The way they are operating might be different; there are differences between companies, but not in the city. Obviously, it's maybe not always clean near the bins of the blocks, but the company is still passing there. If you look on the map, with Cluj, where you can complain, My Cluj, or something like that, you will see a lot of complaints about waste. Even here, inside this building, there is one collection point, and I was just walking there one day, and one guy shouted at me, from the second floor, saying : "Hey, are you from the municipality? I don't like these bins that are here!". Because I was looking at those bins, taking photos, they were very nice ...

D : So citizens are not always happy about those.

C : Yeah, citizens are not always happy about them, because there is a little bit of litter around. Between neighbourhoods, I think, it's almost the same. I didn't visit Manastur lately, I don't know.

D : Yes, this system of 4 fractions is implemented everywhere now, blocks of flats and residential areas.

M : And how many months ago did they give you the different bins ?

D : I'm not in Gilau, so I never got any bins.

C : It's been 2 year I think already, in Gilau. But here, in Cluj, the 4 fractions ...

D : 2015, I'm not sure. 2019 ?

C : No, 2019, earlier ...

M : I read that it was in July 2019.

D : It is when it became mandatory.

C : Yes, but prior to that, we had a lot of time to adjust that awareness. We did a campaign in 2015, all over the county.

M : A campaign for 2 fractions, or for 4 fractions ?

C : 4 fractions.

D : But, at the household level, before, there was a project with 2 fractions, wet and dry. It worked, at the household level and on blocks of flats.

C : It went well.

M : Have you seen here, in Gilau, in Cluj, some informal actors working in the waste management sector ? Could you tell me more about it ?

C : Yes. In Cluj, yes, in Gilau, not really. In Cluj, there are many. On the landfill, on the street, ... Some of them are highly specialized, collecting only cardboard, or only plastic, and you see them on the streets. But yeah, as you most probably have read about Cluj, or Pata, all these things, ... Nowadays, a lot of them have moved from there, in the city, somewhere. So they try to collect directly from the collection points, to sort it. With these underground ones, they cannot really do anything anymore, so it's less access to materials, for them. I've seen, even here, at the end of our neighbourhood, waste pickers, informal actors, because there is an area where you have a lot of bins, like 10 bins maybe, in one place, at the end of the neighbourhood, next to the Somes river, on Fântânele street. Sometimes, early in the morning, you see them with the cars coming, and trying to sort some materials, plastic mainly. Cardboards, also. There are also those collection points for clothes, and even though they are boxes that trap clothes, you can't take them out, in those, they also collect textiles, and bring it from there.

M : They manage to open them ?

C : Yes, easy, you can open it up. With a child in. This is how they do it, come on. Well ... I don't know if you have visited a collection point ? If you stay like, 2 hours, 3 hours there, you will see how many are coming.

M : I'm gonna try.

C : Yes, try to see. It depends on the days, but there are people coming, bringing materials. But they won't tell you much. Usually, they always say that the population is bringing them materials, but population means a lot of things. In fact, there are many informal pickers who are bringing sorted materials from whatever place they can.

M : Have you seen any changes in the waste composition, waste collection, during the quarantine, or even right now, during the covid crisis ?

D : Well, a lot of masks ...

C : Yes, thrown all over. Even in the buses, I've seen masks thrown away like that. Near school, you can't imagine how many near schools, because parents give masks to the children to take it to school, and children are just throwing them when going out. Yeah ... I think. And a lot of packaging, because people ordered a lot of food. It's huge. Even us, I'm sorry to say it.

D : Same for me. Every single item you order is packaged separately. Even items that do not need a lot of additional packaging, there's bubble wrap, boxes, ...

C : A lot of cardboards. We did a lot of e-shopping during this period, so yes, a lot of packaging.

D : This is a thing that happened in the city especially, because you could order online, and you have this delivery services, Glovo, so many of them ... Especially during the lockdown.

M : I was surprised when I first came here in Cluj, by how many different companies you've got, for food delivery. We don't have that many companies.

C : I think covid amplified this. There were some, but not as many.

D : And now, all restaurants do it. They have so many restaurants on their platform. It doesn't help with waste.

M : And so in Gilau, you're paying a fee directly to the salubrity operator ?

C : Yes, we have an individual contract, and we pay monthly, a tarif. It's exactly the same I would say, even higher than in Cluj.

M : It hasn't changed in recent years ?

C : In the last 2 years, no. I think that there was no increase, no. So, yeah.

D : I checked the bills, and in the last year, it didn't change, no. Because, I have an apartment here as well, so, we pay the waste management in both places.

D : You can compare.

C : During the week, we are in the city, and in the weekend, we go there. So, we pay both, and it stayed the same. Soon, they will open the new landfill, and everything will increase, because we know how they will reform the prices and ...

D : As it should be.

C : As it should be, yeah. We are producing way too much waste, we should try to put just less, then we pay more.

D : But we pay per person now. So, we should pay per weight.

C : Yes, but first, let's put a high tax per person, so that it really feels like we produce too much, you know.

D : And then we can decrease. I think it's a wrong incentive, because I think that if you put a high tax, people will just complain, they won't reduce. On the contrary, "if I pay a lot, I'm going to throw everything".

C : Yeah, it might be the opposite.

D : It should be proportional to the quantity, otherwise people won't be aware, yeah. When they started separating everything into 2 fractions, that's when my mother said : "I didn't know that there we produced so much recyclable waste". That's when people became more aware.

C : When we received the home composting unit.

D : You received a home-composting unit ?!

C : Yes ! A black box.

D : You received it as a gift from friends, or from the municipality ?

C : From the company, not the municipality. Then my wife realized how much organic waste we are producing, from leftovers, vegetables, ... and we already had a separate green waste bin for the grass we cut in the garden, we put it separately. So, it's huge, because then the amount of waste in the municipal waste decreased by more than half. It's very nice, because now we are producing compost as well.

M : And you're using it in your garden ?

C : Yes, we put it in the flowers, and we have a few vegetables. I have one oignon from you !

D : Ciboulette ?

C : Sorry, this is not ... I hope we have not destroyed your interview.

*Rires.*

D : I'm gonna go, I have a call in 5 minutes.

*Départ de Diana Gheorghiu.*

M : I wanted to ask you also about initiatives. Have you seen initiatives from citizens in Gilau ? People trying to reduce the amount of waste they produce ?

C : No, no, no initiatives. We are living in a small community, in Gilau, that is a separate neighbourhood from the village. Inside this community, there are 60 houses I think, and in there, there were some initiatives from neighbours. There was one, to do compost together for example. Nothing to reduce the amount of waste generated. We have a contract with the company, and that's it.

M : One more question maybe : what do you think of the waste management here, in Cluj-Napoca ?

C : Well ... I don't know. I think that, knowing other systems, the way they are managed, seeing what is done in other countries, it's not the best, and it's not the worst. It's an average system; I would say. It's definitely highly influenced by the infrastructure development, especially the constant debates and political struggles to have a regional centre, and all these things. As in all other countries, waste management is ... Politics are influencing very much waste management. And also it's a sector people do not care too much about, like waste, politicians, they do care. A lot of money is rolling around, in waste. It's a sector that has a lot of budgets allocated for this, and I think Cluj is not one of the best examples in the country of performance management in waste management. To see exactly how to improve the overall performance of the system, that means from all perspectives: technologically, economically, socially, environmentally ... So, from this perspective, the system is not the best, I would say. This is my opinion. I've seen worst, I've seen better. It's difficult, I would say, because the project that was planned, the whole regional waste management project was one of the first in Romania to be prepared, but then it got detoured, delayed, ... A lot of political influences operated. I think that changed a bit also the perception of people, on how this centre is approached by the municipality, and on the county, because county interfered as well. These administrative problems you might be aware of, to find a location for a landfill, it's a nightmare. I think they should, as I told you, introduce more and more performance management in the public services, to have clear indicators of what means performance, how the system works, and what do they truly want. Sorry, where are you from, in France ?

M : Le Mans, do you know ? More in the North-West of the country.

C : Ok, I don't know.

M : Do you know a little about waste management in Romania during the socialist area?

C : How was that organized ?

M : Yes, how it was organized, but also, I've been told that in Cluj, everything was going in a waste dump, but do you know if there was some recycling companies ? I've heard about glass bottles being recycled.

C : Yes, there was a waste dump. There was glass bottles being recycled. Also, cardboard. Everything was taken to the paper factory, to Dej, to the paper mill. So, only cardboard. I'm not from Cluj originally, but even where I come from, Baia Mare, which is around 150 km away from here, everything was brought to Dej. They were making paper out of the used paper. Glass, all my childhood, I bought ice cream based on the recycling of glass. I was washing the jars, bottles, and I bought ice cream based on that. I also bought a ball, for football, and other toys. Metal, there was metal recycling. So, there was a sector. People used to sort these materials. Of course, quantities were very small. People used to reuse a lot. We now have the tendency again to go back to prolonging the life of products, so that we use more something. A lot of repair shops were available. We used to repair everything : shoes, everything was repaired as much as possible. Mainly because you couldn't afford to buy new things. So, we were, from that perspective, better than today, I would say. Now we throw away very easily, whatever product can still be used, we throw away. The rest of the municipal waste was collected altogether. Construction and demolition, there used to be a facility for recycling, reusing mainly, for roads and everything ... What else ? Everything else was dumped in the dump site. I would never call them landfills, they were dump sites. Not properly managed, burning all the time. You were paying some very few lei for waste management; you would never have known that you paid for waste management because it was covered in some monthly tax or yearly tax, and you never saw a bill. The system was organized that way. All the municipal services in one bill. That's it. I think these are my memories for the waste management. This was very dirty, very dirty. There were huge collection bins, and there could be one week until they collect it. There was like a mountain of waste around. There were no plastic bags, to put the waste in it, like there is today, so we were just dumping everything there. Lots of rats, bats ... Sometimes, it smelled horrible. Nice waste management. Yeah.

#### Entretien n°24 - Marius Mornea et Marius Moga – association Clujul Sustenabil.

L'entretien dure 2h30 et se déroule au sein du parc central de Cluj-Napoca, le 11 juin 2021. Marius Mornea et Marius Moga sont désignés par leur nom de famille dans cette retranscription.

Mornea : Do you want to wait for Marius or do you want to dive right in ?

Marie : We can start talking, if that's ok.

Mornea : I'm taking my agenda and the reason why is because I actually have some notes on one meeting with the city council. I just need to write my head around that. I mean, I think there are several different ways of looking at it. I'll just try to weave together different arguments; we'll see where it takes us. So, as an NGO, we are not too focused on a specific topic, we are more of an ecosystem player than we are necessarily focused on one thing that we are trying to solve completely. Part of that takes us in context where we meet other players, like for example the notes I'm looking at here are notes I took from a meeting with the city council. Actually, the county council, not the city council. Because, there is like ... Civil society has gone through several stages in Cluj. Initially, there was next to none, up to the early 2000's, 2005's, let's say, there was no civic society at a scale where it would be visible and have an actual impact. Most of it was, I don't know, trying to save kids that had special conditions or sick people, very little public pressure related to this topic. Then, we've seen, maybe the best decade, beginning of the last decade, starting with 2010, where we've seen some big movements, like Rosia Montana, ... That's a really big event of the time scale of social and civic movements, that's like the gathering point of all the energies and the first very big success. But then, a lot of people grew tired, so right now this is kind of this phase where activists are tired, and also the city hall, the administration are also ... They know all the activists and they kind of have this position where they avoid some, and they engage with some. We, because we are new players and we chose this neutral position, we are actually in a good spot. We are perceived as non-threatening, so people were really open to talk to us about different problems. This gave us the opportunity to talk very informally with the city council, the county council, people from the NGO sector ... and this is a good thing, but we're also really getting to know information that we don't have the power to change anything about, or to do a lot of change. But we're slowly building up on that. Anyway, this was more of an intro about the context, so you understand how some of the information we've got reached us. I think, first, I would like to map out the major players on waste management, if this would help you ?

M : Yes, please.



Mornea : The biggest player and probably where the most discussion would happen is the integrated management center. There is a lot of backstory there, but very shortly, this is what the European commission saw, at one point, as the solution, pushed to a lot of states, including Romania. Romania, back then, was not mature enough to implement it properly, so now we are left with this legacy legislation, legacy protocols, way of doing things, where we have very centralized systems with those management centres. Ideally, those would be very good and would work very well, but practically, we haven't launched it. I don't want to go into the details but ideally, the idea is, it should have been launched 5 years ago, it was not. Because of that the recycling flows, everything really doesn't work, and we're lagging behind with that. European Commission again, seeing that this is happening, they pushed new legislations to force states that are lagging, to do the right thing. One such legislation is the compost legislation, it has been adopted by Romania this year, starting in January. There are still some norms that established by the government, but some players out there are already doing it, because there is the legal framework to do it. So, this can be seen, of you zoom out at the biggest level, this can be seen like a checking balance from the EU, who's saying : "Ok, you're not doing your job properly, this is additional stuff you need to do." Another example of this is the policy for warranty return, you know, there needs to be a mechanism in place to get the packaging the consumer bought back to the producers, through the distributors. There is also another player in here, I don't know how familiar you are with the system, but there are some aggregators that purchase services from the producers, and they take on the responsibility to gather stuff and they negotiate ... so they are more like a broker, packaging retriever-brokers, something like that.

*Arrivée de Marius Moga.*

Mornea : So this is the context. Because this is the macro-legislation, this way, you have a system that should have solved the problem, who doesn't, and then you have additional legislation coming in to force to solve the problem, each additional legislation helps, and also disturbs the system. Now, I'll give you examples that very clearly demonstrate that. What we're seeing in the past 5 years is, people from the diaspora, Romanians who have moved abroad, who are coming back to places like Cluj and they want to implement new solutions. One such example is WeRecycle, with Alin Muresan. Have you talked to him ?

Marie & Ana-Maria : Yes.

Mornea : Ok, so you understand his context. He lived in France, he came back, he did this start-up where you pick up ... But the problem with WeRecycle is that, it's illegal. There was a slight readjustment of the legislation in 2018, where they kind of pushed the idea that the garbage is the property of the one who is responsible for the waste management. So, in a sense, all the garbage is the property of the CMID, the integrated centre, so in a way, if you have a player that innovates like WeRecycle, who comes in and improves the recycling rate by training people in companies and really helps with clean plastic being recycled properly ... In a way, they are stealing precious resources from the waste manager, waste management centre, who have their own sustainability profil, where they know that "If we sell this plastic, we cover those costs and this is how it works". Some players were driven out by that. Another example is compost with Madalina and Robert. They distributed bins, they collected the bins, and they had one place where they did composting at a medium scale. The plan was to do a platform level composting. Again, what I've heard from them, in informal talks with the authorities, people from the waste management companies, somewhere in the chain told them that it's not ok what they are doing, it's outside of the current legal framework, and they were asked or ... advised to stop doing it. In a sense, the big legislative context can create opportunities for innovations, but it can also ruin a lot of new, upcoming initiatives. What's interesting now for compost is that we have a completely different situation because of the new legislation. There is a very strong line where you, as an owner, own you waste and are encouraged by law to make local compost. Because of that, one could argue that you could start a business in composting and you could find a wait for it to be legal, and it would be a very hard battle now for the current players to stop you doing it in a legal way. They could try to influence you but I don't think they could win a legal battle against you, because you can always do what you always do before it becomes garbage, it's your property, you do what you want with it. This is the bigger picture. In this context, what we are seeing actually is innovations coming in a weird way. I don't know if you've talked with Sandor Korosfoj, from RDE Harghita ?

Ana-Maria : Only with Alin Muresan.

Mornea : They are an interesting example because Sandor was an activist for years. Maybe he had 10, 20 years of activism at Floarea de Colt, an NGO he was part of. After bugging the mayor of Targu Lapus, the mayor said, at one point, "You know what ? Just join us. I need a waste manager in the city hall, so just join us and do this, instead of bugging me." He joined the city hall and he started a very aggressive program for collecting the

recyclables and I think they also do compost. They had very good results. In a couple of years, they went from 0 or almost 0 – I don't know, the official national rate right now is 14% properly selected garbage, but unofficial numbers are between 7 and 9% and we're supposed to be somewhere near 40, 50% and soon the quota will be 60%, I mean, we are lagging behind a lot - to 62% of the garbage properly selected. After that, they couldn't filter the remaining 40% and then they implemented the compost strategy, which really helped with the remaining 40%, and actually improved the other fractions as well. Everything was cleaner. RDE Harghita grew, because of these results. They partnered with Eco-Bihor, from Oradea, and now they've become a bigger player. They won the contract for waste management in Floresti, which is in the metropolitan area, so it's very relevant. So because they did a good job, they attracted people like Alin Muresan, and now they are actually doing a very good job. Of course, they're still small, of course, they could do better, but they are continuously trying to improve. They have a pretty decent collection point in Campia Turzii, where they separate all the plastic, try to continuously invest in technology, in some automatic equipment, things like that. The interesting part is that, if you have a waste management operator that really performs and has strong values, it will attract collaborators, or it will employ people, new innovators that were not able to succeed due to the new legislation. What I think is, when you get a new legislation, it creates opportunities, you will get new players, that will try to fill in some gaps. Of course, if legislation makes it difficult, they will probably seek refuge. I think of, a cycle kind of thing : if there is a room for innovations to happen, some players will try to profit of that, and if that room is being closed by different changes, then they will seek refuge. Some people bounce back and force, some people, once they changed sides, or context, they kind of keep to that. One such context is now, but I'm not really sure about it. There is, recently ... I'm trying to see where I can get the name from ... For example, what happened with Alin, 4 years ago I think, now happens again because Alexandra Mates, she wrote to us a month ago saying : "Hey, I saw one of your talks. I moved from London. I worked in plastic waste management in London. I moved back to Cluj and I want to start a business in plastic recycling." I told her that it happened with Alin, and she said : "Oh I know, I talked with Alin." "But I think there is not much room in plastic recycling." "No, no, no, but we have a different approach. We want to buy plastic from the collectors and we want to either use it and create extra value from recycled plastic, actual products, or we want to improve the quality of the plastic and then sell it again." So they wanna be somewhere in the flow, which puts them in a position where they are not bound by the problem of the legal ownership of the garbage, so they're more bound by the context. If they can find a niche, they can create something. I put them in contact with ... They wanted to do some lobby with the PNRR, the National Resilience and Recovery Plan, the big european one as a national one, the Sustainable Coalition of Romania. It's an effort from the Romanian Embassy of Sustainability, it's an NGO. This NGO has very good connections with the government, and right now they are the official civil society contact for the durable development bureau. In a sense, that's a very good connection to explore, because if you can manage to get help to do some lobby with the government, get some legislative changes in this specific niche ... But, I mean, things like that, Alin did not try. We're seeing kind of a growing trend where people come back with more mature experiences, so instead of them asking : "I wanna find a local niche", they start asking directly "I wanna create a network that allows me to do some lobby to take the opportunity of the green new deal to make a bigger thing". So what you're seeing is initiatives ... I don't think they are better educated, because Alin knew this as well, but they are trying to tackle things that happened in the past and that destructed the ecosystem in the past. So if we've seen WeRecycle fail because of legislative changes, we see a new initiative that tries to tackle legislation first, so they make sure they are creating a safe place where they can develop. It's interesting, because you can see the ecosystem learning from past experiences. This is very new ... I don't know where this will go. I don't know if Alexandra will manage to do something, but she reached out, and this is where the ecosystem is right now. You see people that are trying to create new initiatives. Then, there is another thing that matured, this is civil society. Compost in Cluj is, because of efforts like Marius's and Somes Delivery, we see ... Somes Delivery is a festival that tries to improve the relationship and the attitude people have towards the Somes river and towards water in general in the city. By doing this, it supports other people, like illustrators or artists, or singers ! We have a band that is called ...

Moga : Trash songs ?

Mornea : Trash songs. They speak about pollution, picking litter from the river, ...

Moga : We are making sounds with it, transforming it into a soundscape and we are adding it into those music, but also the lyrics are with things, references, ... Now, they are to the point where they developed a full album with it, and they can record their full album for this project.

Mornea : And what I was hinting at is that artists start taking activist stances. One such example is Roxana Oroian. She came in and said : "Ok, look, you started Clujul Sustenabil, this was one year ago. I really wanna do something

about composting. I wanna create an app.” My background is in IT, so she said : “You’re both an environmental concerned person, part of the civic society, and also an IT engineer, great, I wanna create this app with you.” I challenged her back and I said : “So, why do you want to create this app ? This will take months of development, it will generate some costs that we need to take into account, so why don’t you start a Facebook group and see if there is a community interested in that, try to understand their habits, and after that, see if you can create an app.” She created this group “Compost in Cluj”, and now we are 800 members. We’ve done 3 or 4 webinars. We’ve started to do some guided tours, where we went to ... When we did the webinars, we started to talk with local experts. Such experts are Robert, who started Pimp My Garden, this small business that grows worms for compost. He pours compost in bins, he works with businesses, schools, individuals who want to learn about composting solutions. He grew a garden for a Montessori kindergarten, and we made an event there where we helped him build some compost bins. He brought a worm farm, a worm composter, an actual product from compost – worm juice, anyway, he made an intro and people were really curious and happy with that. I brought that up because he was disrupted by the ... He was part of that initial effort with the compost, that was pressured to give it up, but now because of the new legislation they are doing it. Because of the maturity of the ecosystem, they are getting support and they are creating a market for such initiative. In a way, when you consolidate 800 people, 1000 people in a Facebook group, small businesses no longer depend on big marketing costs, they can just market to this group. So the group starts to help out. The point I was making is, it shows how illustrators can get inspired by a festival, then they reach out to activist, and the activist because of his background says : “Ok, let’s just create a community instead of building an app.” and then, other players who have businesses are drawn to that community, and start to weave together and to work. The good thing is that, once the community is big enough, you start to get more information. The information was that there is an app called Shared Waste, it’s exactly the app that Roxana wanted to build a year ago. What it does is, you can add on a map a private compost bin, people can sign up to place leftovers in that bin, and you can share waste ... In Cluj, it’s small but it’s growing. Initially, there was like 5 compost bins. Now we have 12 or 15, and I have a task, which I’m not doing but I will do it at some points, which is to start a campaign to promote it more aggressively, maybe some weekly reports. People start to talk. This week we had a plant exchange, it’s getting late in the season but not everybody managed to plant all their seedlings, so before throwing them in the compost, we tried to save some of the plants and exchange them. At the end of the day, we can’t save all of them, but we can save some by connecting people. When we met, we talked again about compost, the Shared Waste app ... We had this really interesting lady. She came from Apahida, she was full of energy. She said “Oh, I’m so happy I got here on time !” - she was an hour late - “I have this and this, and I want that !”. She changed the mood completely, and after that, she started asking questions : “I’m happy I got you. I wanna do gardening and I don’t know how thick the layers should be, how many straws, I have so many questions ...” This is what happens, you meet for one reason and you end up exploring lots of them. So, I think, the ecosystem is in a pretty decent spot now. You have different initiatives popping up, but you also have enough of a community so that some people will act upon those, to connect them, to do more interdisciplinary projects and approaches, and that create some feedbacks, improves the system and makes it even more active. Now, it all sounds wonderful. In truth, it’s not. I mean, 15 composting bins for a city this size is so little, but the good thing is we talked to ... we had an interesting event. One member of the community wanted to create a compost bin, a community compost bin next to his apartment building. His name is Zoli. For a month or so, everything looked very well. People started to gather, a whole community building there. People started to know what to throw in there, the collective started to improve the compost ... And then there were complaints to the police. The policemen came and said : “I’ll give you 2 hours to clean everything up or I’ll fine you”. He reached out on the group but it was so sudden that he said “I don’t wanna risk anything, I don’t want to get a fine for this. I just need some help cleaning this.” Somebody from the group that has a house next to the city said : “I’ll just drive right now and take the compost, I can take it off your hands.” So the group helped, but it didn’t help enough to have the pressure to stop that intervention from the police. So what we did is, we said “Ok, it’s too late now, the bin is gone, but let’s take your example, invite Sandor Kolochvoi and have a debate : Is this something we can avoir ? Should we know about this ? How do we deal with this ?” and we had a 2 hour-talk, and this is actually one of the discussion that would really help your project but it’s in Romanian, so ... It’s a discussion about compost that we had one month ago. I can send you the link if you don’t know what it is. The whole debate there was: me, as an individual, if I live in an apartment building, if I live in a house and both are in the city – because outside of the city, the law is very clear, if you’ve got a house with a yard, you are allowed to compost. The apartment buildings are different because there is too little room for actual in situ composting, so you have the biowaste, which will be picked up by the city hall. But, you are free to try to do your own composting, as long as you are not doing anything illegal. It’s interesting because Sandor looked at this particular situation and said : “You know how you didn’t have garbage there, because if it was collected by people, if it’s just waste, than it’s in the same legal framework of the waste that people are storing for compost

in a yard. So because of that, it's compost, which can't be considered 'illegal waste deposit'. So you're not doing an illegal waste site, you're doing composting, which is different. I think there is room for legal interpretation here, for you to be able to stand up to the authorities. The problem here is that, depending on the individuals lacking proper training on an administrative level, it depends on the policeman that you get. If you get somebody that wants to be a mediator, to solve the problem by gathering everybody and by saying 'I won't fine anybody but let's find a solution that works for the whole community', they don't wanna force a law, but they wanna make it work in a community. We've had an example of this happening in an animal protection zone, where we have a new law, and a new organism, kind of like an animal police now. They are not functional yet, so the legal framework is one that protects very specific species, but there is nobody to enforce it, so it falls on the general police, but the general police not being trained, they take very very distinct decisions. In one case, they could not accept the organization that was saving the cat, and they protected the owner of the cat, even if he was abusing the animal, while in another case they made the owner understand that this is a very big problem and that the cat will stay with the NGO until they solve the problem. It is the same with compost. There is no training being done, because of that the officers can have a completely different attitude. In this case, we had an officer that sought of it as a problem. If we had a different police officer, maybe he would have said "this is fine, let's just the most out of it. This is the new law, we need to abide to it." One take-away was that we should maybe reach out to the local authorities, to have a common training, a common view on how to deal with these situations, because they will keep popping up, because of the new legislation, even if an apartment building won't be doing this, you might still get complaints for houses with yards. The compost needs to be 10 meters away from all your neighbours, which means that you need to have very big yards, which is not true. It's impossible to apply the law to the letter, so you will need to choose which law you are favouring: the law that makes compost mandatory or the law that makes the place where you do the compost nice to your neighbours. So, we will probably get complaints, people complaining about the smell. So, we need to train the authorities so that they know how to react. This is the take-away we had from the webinar. But the point I was trying to make with the webinar is that it's interesting that we can have this dialogue. A waste management company that was trying to be proactive and talking with citizens, inside the framework of the law, and so soon the civil society was trying to understand what happen there. At least, for compost, the conclusion of the debate was that there is not much room for economic players like start-ups to innovate, because of the current legislation, but there is enough room for civil society's initiatives, or individual initiatives, where, if we manage to negotiate the problem in our local communities, and when authorities they also mediate conflicts, because there will be conflicts, there is room for a lot of composting to happen in situ. So, I think I covered the start-up, the innovation, the context ... That's the biggest barriers, I think. I covered some innovations that happened because of individuals, communities that become good grounds for start-ups and other civic initiatives ... There is some maturity in the sector where you have managers of waste management companies who are willing to do the right thing, not just for profit. The big players are very big enterprises that are hard to negotiate with, because they are focused on profit. What I did not cover is that ... there is a very big big big gap between the amount of garbage we are generating and the impact of the individual initiatives. Impact wise, these are just ... small experiments right now. We are generating tens of tons of garbage, and we are maybe composting a hundred kilograms. It's happening, people do it, but it's still very small, and so ... Another thing that is important, I just want to add it on the map. Some of the civic society pressure has turned on the big players. In the past, maybe 7 years, 5 years, we've had a couple of big players - Istvan Szakats is one of them - who have placed constant pressure, constantly watched the CMID, and because of that the general public has been made aware of things like pollution of the Zapodie river. The county council had to set up a very expensive treatment plan, made by a German company. Of course, they bought the infrastructure but they didn't pay for the services so the thing was lying there, but because of the pressure from Istvan and the civic society, at one point, they started doing it. Now, it's, I think ...

Marie : I saw Istvan this morning.

Mornea : I'm not sure if it's 14 million euros ...

Moga : The cost of the ?

Mornea : No, no, no ... I thought so but no. I don't have the exact number but I remember something between 1 to 3 million euros. The cost to do, let's say, the yearly cost to treat leachates, what flows from the deposit. They are treating that with a cost from 1 to 3 million euros a year. Actually, they are very frustrated. It was kind of hard for them, because what happens is : the old waste deposit was here, then there is the temporary ramp, and then there is the new waste management center. But on the other side of the hill, there is another private player, who has another temporary ramp here, which is ... Let me see if I can find the name ...

Ana-Maria : Supercom ? Brantner ?

Mornea : No, I don't think it's ... Ok, so there is an additional one, and that has been closed, so it's no longer officially working. BUT ... they are polluting the river. So, anyway, the point is : there was this huge scandal, all eyes were on the county council, because they were polluting. The flow goes here on the river, on the creek, Zapodie, the creek that goes in the Somes river. There is pollution that happens here, and now, the other polluter is here, and now, the centre for waste management is here. The centre has management in place to avoid this. It was expensive, it required big investments : both the investments for treating this, and the operating costs, let's just say 1 million euros. Now, the clean water that flows from here, which is clean because they invested in this, flows to a creek that is polluted from here. The water is clean, then it's polluted, and clean water comes from here and the water is polluted. And now, because Istvan is focused on the CMID and the temporary ramp, all the hate is focused on this direction, all the attention flows in that direction. They have to do it at a huge cost, but actually, the environmental benefits are smaller than we think, because even if that water is clean, this water is still polluted. The county council, they were upset in the discussion with us, they were like : "Why aren't you going after these other guys as well ? It's not fair, if you really care about pollution, you should really be going out for the other guys as well, because the pollution is still there, it's just no longer happening from us. Actually, we are wasting a lot of public money for something that you asked for, but in a sense that doesn't do anything, just wasting money. I mean, yes, we should be responsible for our garbage, but if they are not doing it, this money is just wasted money, we should stop doing it." This makes it very complex, because, on one mapping, we mapped out 15 different institutional players involved in the waste management process at the county level. Those are all institutions : you have the environmental government de mediu, the environmental agency that has 3 different organisms, one is the punitive organism, then one that gives you fines, one is the one that creates recommendations, bigger frameworks or something, and then there is the one that gives you authorizations or things like that. Those are 3. Then, there is the actual service providers, the companies that pick-up the garbage, the ones who transport the garbage, the ones that collect from the garbage dump, the collectors of recyclables, ... So they are a lot of players out there. We are still young, as a civil society, so we don't have enough (*inaudible?*) will to target all of them. So, we reach situations like this, where we pick-up a fight, we actually initiate change, one player starts to be responsible in one area because of this, not because they want to, because they're forced to. But then, we can't cover everything, so there is still pollution left and at the end of the day, we didn't manage to solve it. I think ... One good thing is that we grow the awareness, then you get different people picking different fights, and we might reach a critical mass where results are actually a creative environment. But the reason I brought this is, the big players, the city hall, the county council, they really look at the big problems. If you talk to them about composting in a yard, they're like : "Yeah, yeah, sure, yeah, yeah ...". You really need to come with county-wide impact for them to take notice, and that's really hard for small-scale innovations. So, when you say innovations, it's more of a mental switch than an actual impact. When we say 'social movement', we had our successes. I'm not saying it's bad, I'm just saying we're not there yet and the main responsible for it are the administrations, they hold the power, it's still not something owned by the community, or the city. Most of the time, citizens actually don't need ... One discussion I recently had is that, at one point, the mayor announced that we should increase the prices for garbage collection.

Ana-Maria : Yes.

Mornea : But then, in the same announcement, he said that because this will take a toll on the citizens, he will subsidize this from the budget. So, the endpoint price doesn't increase, the price increases at the local level, the management level, but the city will pick up the bill, which is a very quick way to gain popularity, and it's a very populist way to announce it. But it's a false problem, because if you ask citizens, like, this is just a guess, but most of them will not know how much they pay for their garbage. They know it's maybe 10 lei, 20 lei, but they don't know exactly, and I think it's 14 lei. Ok, so ... One thing would be to try to see, if we actually raised costs of garbage closer to the actual costs they generate, both as an indicational tool but also as a fair thing to do – if I pollute, I need to pay. At the European level, this is the mantra : the polluter must pay. In that case, the citizen pays, because he is doing the polluting. I think Cluj, with the current lifestyle costs, definitely can support 30 lei, maybe even 40 lei a month for garbage. If you create a very detailed, metered system where they see how much they pay, they have an actual measurement, and then you have layered pricing, where they pay a lot for going overboard, but then the price settles at a reasonable rate, for a reasonable amount of garbage that you generate ... There's plenty of statistics, both European-wide, national-wide, and local ones, I think we could definitely build this price scale. Then people would be aware, and they would change habits. But now, you see families who generate a bag of garbage a day, and they don't care! Because, there is not cost! I mean, for 14 lei, I can generate all the garbage that I want, you know. So, I think that the real problem is that most of us don't really pay for our

garbage. We could definitely pay more. When you will try to do this, you will very quickly have, at least, a couple politicians that will profit from this. Some of them will say : “No, no, think of the poor old lady who can’t afford more than 5 lei !” and that’s a way of getting more votes, as a politician, or “Let’s increase the cost, but because we are so generous, we will subsidise this for a couple of years, so that you get used to the idea. So, start to get used to the idea, because it’s fair for the planet, let’s just do this.” So, you have at least two answers that are very populists, none solves the problem. Actually, they make it even worse, because you can aside with the polluter on this one. So, from this perspective, even the general public, even the NGOs, even the authorities, are still in a very irresponsible place. They don’t wanna pay for their garbage, they don’t wanna take responsibility for it, and there is nobody willing to tackle this subject fully. It’s something we ignore. If it smells really bad, because sometimes the wind blows, we will probably complain on social media but we won’t say “Ok, city hall, you need to increase the price, you need to solve this in the next 2 years or we won’t vote for you anymore.” We don’t see that. So it’s a thing people are pretty much ok with. This is pretty much the length of the monologue I can go to without any input from you, I would start to appreciate some input from you or from Marius.

*Rires.*

Marie : Ok ... So, you don’t have the name of the company you told me about, that is polluting the creek ?

Mornea : I’ll look for it again. RADP ...

Moga : What happened is, also maybe in reaction to this is that, a water company came in and we had a debate, public debate yesterday. We found out, everybody found out, I was aware of it because I talked with the administration there. They developed a few projects. They are focusing now, the company is focused now on unpolluting water, this is what they chose to solve, in a way. They have a few projects here, I don’t remember their names exactly, on cleaning water, in certain streams that flow into Somes river. One of them is Zapodie, and ... So, they developed some ecological project, they applied to European funds, they won, and they say that they need to implement this project in 2023-2024, so in the next few years, they might be projects that will start to tackle the ecological problems there and to improve water quality in the streams. I don’t know exactly when and where, but if you want to found out more about it, you can call the Serviciul de Gospodarie a Apelor SCA. They operate everything that happens, the companies and engineers that collaborate with all the projects happening on the river, all the interventions, all that needs to be done, between the river banks. They can actually develop projects for cleaning water in this case. They really want to collaborate, to cooperate. You can find out how they manage to adress this problem, what are the streams, where, how they want to solve this problem ...

Mornea : I found the name. The old name, because they changed names, the old name is Salprest and the new name is Strict Prest. The reason why they changed names, I think it’s a legal problem. They probably bankrupt, Salprest, and then they started Strict Prest, I don’t know when but they rebranded it. I also have the number, so it’s 10 million lei a year for cleaning the Zapodie river, and the water is clean for a 100 meters. After that 100 meters, it meets the pollution from Salprest, and it’s dirty again. This was a really big point for the county council, they were like : “Why ?! Why are you just on our case and don’t go after those ?! Those are really bad, just go for them !” ... What I don’t know is, when those guys went bankrupt, I don’t know, I don’t wanna suppose, because maybe they are partners with RADP, which ... RADP are currently managing the temporary deposit. They are close to the city hall. In a way, at least on this topic, publicly, the city hall and the county council are at work, publicly. They keep passing the blame, from one to another. The CMID is not ready, so the city hall is kind of saving our asses with the temporary ramp, but the temporary ramp is doing the pollution, and the county council are kind of being like “Ok, but why are you blaming us for you not doing your job properly?”. This is what the public sees. Unofficially, the leader of the county council and the mayor are very good friends, and this is just a war for the public eye, not a real war there. But, I think with Salprest being with RADP, which is the city hall manager, I think the county was just trying to take a jab at the city hall again, though this complaint that they handed over to us. I don’t know, you need to look at information very carefully, it’s not always what it seems, but this is true, they do have the osmotic treatment plant, they do clean their water, pretty late because the very big leachate lake was sent into the river 2 years ago I think. I mean, the big pollution happened already, but whatever, now they are no longer polluting for a 100 meters, so this is fact, this is something we can go check in the fields, so I think this is a bigger problem than what the political game is. But this pollution is there also because of the political game. Probably, Salprest, if they would work properly together, than they would just offer their solution to Salprest, link together the pollution sources. With 10 million lei, and I think this is lei, I have to be sure, but with 10 million lei ... The other deposit is pretty small, from what I know, at least compared with the big one, the temporary one. So, I’m sure that if they would deviate the leachates from that one, with the same installation, with just a small increase in costs, they could actually have a clean river. But they don’t have it,

because they don't work together. They are kinda like : "This is your responsibility, we are at war ! If you want to clean it, you need to invest you own money, your own millions and do your clean up as well ! We don't want to pick-up the bill for you, you were a jerk when we were in the spotlight, now we're being jerks when you're in the spotlight." I think that's kind of what happens.

Marie : And from what you know, right now, where is going the waste that is collected in Cluj-Napoca ? You told me ...

Mornea : The temporary ramp, some of it. There's a weird magical thing happening, where we've been at capacity for 2 or 3 years already. There is one alert that's being triggered when you're at 75% capacity, I'm not really sure of the legal quota, what it is. But that's one alert that is being triggered, and we triggered that alert several times. It's been 2 years, so we've sent garbage that way continuously, and it still seems to magically keep fitting in. So it's very weird that it took us 7 years, I don't know how many years, to fill 85%, and now we're in this spot when years keep passing by, we still can't manage to fill the last 10%. This last 10% seems to be really big, like there is another 50% there ...

*Rires.*

Moga : Yeah, probably.

Mornea : The second thing is, because of that, we are selling a lot of garbage to Oradea. So, Oradea, they have another deposit, and we are transporting a lot of garbage there. Actually, civil society, I don't remember who, but they've done this estimate that the amount of money we paid Oradea to take our garbage, is enough for us to build another CMID centre from scratch. This takes us to an interesting place, because we could do that, but if I remember correctly, we can't do it legally, both on an international and national level. The framework from the EU was "you need to create those integrated management centres, you can't create a new one, you need to launch this one", so even if you spent the money that would allow you to create 4 other dumps, even if you had the money and spending it, you're not allowed to do it. I mean, maybe there is some legal problems here, but even that can be overcome. The real reason is, if you do it another way, you will lose the financing that you've got for this centre, which means you need to give all the money back. If this happens here, this happens all over the country. There is a local political pressure, because even the local city council or county council, they would have to pay back 20 million euros, which is something that Cluj could probably afford, but they don't want to do that. It would be a big hit, they could, years of investments budget, but if you need to, you'll do it. This is the local problem, where the politicians don't want that happening. Then, there is a nation-wide problem, and in Cluj, this can happen, with a domino effect where nation-wide, the system collapses, and you need to return a lot of money to the European Union because several investments need to be brought back and this triggers a whole political problem. Nobody will do it, because it will trigger a big effect.

Moga : Nobody wants to pull the trigger.

Mornea : Yeah, nobody wants to be the one that started it. So, we're in a place where you can't build another one, you can't return this, the only solution is to wait until it finally starts working, then complain of its under-capacity and then apply for new financing to create an another one or an extension of the existing one, and only then you will start to be close to a working system. So ... this is where the real situation and the real problem lies. I mean, yes, the public can only do so much, and they are doing their part, but in reality, the big players are the ones who matter, related to this. So that's a big question.

Marie : Yes, ok ... Because we went to Oradea, during the beginning of the week, and they told us that they weren't receiving waste from Cluj anymore.

Ana-Maria : From the county, yes.

Mornea : So probably, they are just forcing the current temporary ramp. They are good with the fact that it works, until now.

Moga : There will be bigger issues when they will start to move it, the temporary one is, well, temporary, and it needs to be moved into the new one, and an even worse pollution could happen.

Mornea : Yes, this is why we visited them. Most of my notes are about this, the fact that we need to move the temporary ramp to the new one. That's where we got into the details of the budget and stuff. The problem is ... There is a good news there and a bad news there. The county council, for example, reached out to Sandor, for

behind-the-door/informal consultation. He told them of different solutions: there are ways to avoid fires by implementing some pipes, and then you can burn some of the gas, I think it's called deposit pocket gases. You can get to those, burn them, and then start to take away the garbage without risking self-combustion. Their expertise is getting better and better, and the pride is not so high so that they don't try to get that expertise. It's not paid for, it's not what it's supposed to be, but still, the main actors are trying to talk to each other and to solve some problems. So, this is the first good news. The second good news is that, while debating what to do, we are also considering an in-situ closure of the temporary ramp, because it might be cheaper and less damaging for the environment, to make sure that you contain the pollution there, instead of moving everything and generating new kinds of pollution that we didn't even know of. It's not clear if we can do it, further analysis is needed, but this is an option. However, this is a tricky option because of the national context, and we get back to the domino effect we spoke about earlier : even if in Cluj, we could do it, and with the money, we would do a proper job of it, if we create the precedent for an in-situ closure of a temporary ramp, this will incentivise all the mayors, all around the country, to ask for in-situ closing, and they will do it, but they won't probably do it properly, so ... we're just opening the opportunity for a lot of abuse, so we are very prudent. We don't really want to push that, even in the public debate, we don't want to ... really back-up this solution, because we feel that it might turn ugly in the national context. But I think in Cluj, talking to the experts, they said that this would probably be the best thing. To do a decent investment in containing what we have there, keeping it there, to not move all of it, because we might end up with a full CMID in 2 or 3 years, a lot of leachates, and at the end we would still be there. The cost would be very big, because legally, they can't just move the garbage to the dump. They need to pass through all the selection process, clean-up process, with this huge washing machine ... So, you can't put anything on the new ramp, unless you've cleaned it and sorted the recyclables. For the current state of the garbage, on the temporary ramp, this is a huge cost. There is no capacity ; they say that there is capacity but if you were to respect everything, it would probably take at least 20 years, to at least process the current garbage, and in those 20 years, we would continue to generate more and more garbage, and because the CMID is live, the garbage should not be authorized to leave the county anymore. All of the garbage will need to go to the CMID and to be treated, the costs will sky-rocket, and we will have a politician giving the news to the general public that it costed them hundreds of lei for the current garbage and hundreds of lei for the old garbage. They didn't pay for years but now they will have to pay for it. The tricky part is, most of the hour we spent talking with them, we tried to find financing sources that could solve this, that are not in conflict with the current European funds. One would be to get the national security council, call in an environmental crisis, and allocate funds from the national security disaster recovery funds, regular funds that exists for flooding, earthquakes, so you can get financing like that. But that means that they need to acknowledge that the situation here is so dire, that it requires national security intervention, which would mean acknowledging that the current administration has failed at the task ... which they are willing to do, as long as we are not going to point fingers and laugh at them, as they get enough money for it to work. If they get like, maybe, in the range of 10 of millions of euros to solve this problem, they would say : "Ok, we messed up, just give us the money." and they would probably make it work. If they don't get that much money, a couple of millions and they need to put their own money in, and they still get the public penalty, they won't do it. They will just delay it, the citizens will pay slowly and slowly, and they will solve it in 20 years, whenever the European commission will make their life hard, they will do something or think about it. So, again, macro level, very very complicated. Very tied to fundings and very, both locally and nationally, very dependent on political image. I don't think we can solve this with a conversation. The most that we can do is to talk to them, give them hints, that we, as a civil society, we understand how hard it is, and maybe we won't really make a big fuss about the best solution, if they pick the best solution. But if not, we will keep making a fuss about it. For example, if they don't pick this, one thing we could do is that we could ask for independent investigations, publish the results, and if we find, which we already did, find a pollution that exceeds by huge margins the accepted values, we could actually get a national security council call for a disaster happening without the local politics being ok with it. We can enforce a national step in over the local authorities if we would publicly force this, that it's a disaster. We haven't taken that route, it's a last resort kind of thing, but we did talk about it. We could, because independent surveys show, maybe Istvan told you this already, heavy metal pollution in the range of 10 000% over the most dangerous threshold European Union considers as a threshold.

Marie : Around Pata ?

Mornea : Around Pata and around the fields of the temporary ramp. So, the wind, the repeated fires, and just the seeping of the pollutants, has led to huge, huge pollution levels there. If we do a very proper environmental audit there, the conditions for a national security disaster being called, they are there, so I am sure we could get



it. But that would mean, for at least 5 to 10 years, that the administration would hate us and would definitely not work with us anymore. But it would be worth it.

Moga : At one point, we will have to decide.

Marie : And I just wanted to ask you ... About informal waste pickers here, in Cluj. You probably know that people in Pata Rât, in the old dump, worked, collected waste, and there are still people probably working in the temporary dump site. What have you heard, from the city hall, about informal waste pickers ? ... I've asked them about it, but they told me "We don't know anything" basically, they answered "No".

Moga : They ignored completely ?

Ana-Maria & Marie : Yes.

Moga : The town hall, for sure, ignores the situation, but I'm not aware of this topic. Personally, I don't know that there are a few people involved with what's happening there, one being Istvan of course. There is another one, I don't know her name, but ...

Mornea : There are several activists.

Ana-Maria : Eniko Vincze ?

Moga : Might be Eniko Vincze, yes.

Mornea : Yes, she is really working on social housing, and they actually sued the city hall for the living conditions there, and they are the ones who have access to ... Actually, they paid for the audit, for the pollution levels there. They paid for them in regards to the people living there, the conditions in which they live there. It's a very weird thing where the results were not shown to them, because the city hall kind of blocked that, as a public safety concerned thing. So, it's very weird that they paid for something that they can't see, but, based on what the judge and their lawyer told them, levels are very high and at some point, they got some copies of the results, which got used by Istvan, but it's very complicated there ... But, that's one aspect, now, on the record, there are 3 problems here : there is general poverty, there is racism, and there is a lack of technical investment. Let's take them one by one. Most people think it's a racism issue because they all say that the gypsies are there, the Roma community, but in truth, based on Istvan's experience there, it's just poor people. This city is continuously generating poor people that move there and it can be of all ethnicities. It's not, like, only the Roma ethnicities doing this. All the efforts of the local associations to get people out of there, move them in social housing or kind of help them to rebuild their life, cannot keep up with the influx of people that move there. This will get worse, I don't want to be pessimistic here but it will get worse because things get worse with the crisis, more poor people will be ... The way this city deals with poor people, is just that they ignore them. If you are a beggar in the city centre, depending on what kind of beggar you are, you could get away with it for a while, but at some point, if you're a homeless person, you will be pushed out of the city. You know, San Francisco has this policy where, to keep homeless people from the residential area, they tolerate them in the financial district, so in the best place of the city, you've got people sleeping on Market street, which is the biggest boulevard, and they just improvise shelters there. Of course, it's California, it's sunny, it's easy to sleep outside. Same thing in San Jose, where all over the Silicon Valley, they have this same policy : keep the homeless in the centre. They sacrifice a park, where you will have a huge concentration of homeless people. In Asia, sometimes it's the same, like Japan does the same, they tolerate homeless people in the city centres.

Moga : Even in Budapest, it's one of the cities with the highest number of homeless people. Some places, like in the metro have a high concentration of homeless people, so it's a kind of toleration ...

Mornea : I mean, I don't really like the system they employ, but the reason they do it is to not bother the suburbs. Because if you push them out of the city centre, they might get to the suburbs, and then you get social unrest there. In the suburbs, there is not much surveillance, they turn to crime, it's complicated. They keep them in the city centre so that they can keep an eye on them. In the financial district, there are cameras everywhere, police everywhere, and they stand out, because in the city centres you have the suits and you have the bums. In the suburbs, a cleaner bum could look the same as a citizen, you don't know who to target, you target the wrong person, you get a scandal on your plate ... In Cluj, they just push them out. Whenever they created a small colony, it took a couple of years for them to build up enough complaints, and at one point there will be another evacuation. Cluj deals with poverty by evacuating it. This generates a continuous influx to Pata Rât. This is the first topic, the social aspect of it. The second aspect is ... the racial profiling which makes it even harder to solve

that. You could create a flow to get them out of there ... but we are not there yet, as a society. As long as we label them as gypsies and not as human beings, the public will say "I'm not ok with spending this amount of money to get them out of there, it's their fault if they are there, they are here because they don't wanna work." And there will be a politician ...

Moga : There is, let's say, a common misconception, about the Roma people, that they don't deal with their own problems, that they should get out of there by themselves. So it's not our responsibility, even as a town hall, to deal with these people. Of course, here, a few years ago, we were standing in a discussion with Petrovich, who is very aware of this situation, that the society actually produces this kind of situation because it is not well-developed. It's not mature yet, so it's why those groups of people are marginalized, here especially the Roma people. This is just a sign that the society is not well-organized in order to absorb and to melt this problem by absorption. It is a problem of how well you can organize the city, on one hand, but this is an information that, at that time, was overseen completely because they were convinced that this is not their problem, and it's their own life-choice. I don't know if they still think that, or if they understood more ...

Mornea : I think that the general capitalist system pulls you by yourself, and the poverty myth it's the same thing. I don't think ... We had some hopes with the new political party, USR, they didn't have a clear ideology before, but now it seems that the winning ideology is the liberal one, where they actually have the same thing : if you're not a successful entrepreneur, a start-upper, then you're not making a successful contribution to society and it's your fault, deal with it. We're kind of seeing that, so I don't think that USR will help. Overall, it will take a lot for us to solve this. The third problem, and this is where it gets really unpleasant, is that it is cheaper for the managers of the dump to employ human labour than to make investments in technology. Because investments in technology will show the real dimensions of the problem, but human labour, it's kind of like, it gets you enough of a progress to say "We're doing the best we can", not enough to see the real dimension of the problem, and you can also hide behind the social aspect : "We can't just throw these people away from here. In a way, we are employing them, this is their work. I know it sounds bad, but for them, it's their way of life." They hide behind the social aspect to hide the inefficiency of the system, and this is, I think, the biggest problem. I think that they are actually exploiting that community in several different ways, from actual work to having them as an excuse for other problems. This is the biggest elephant in the room, but I'm not really sure, I feel this is more an off-the-record thing, it's ... In our talk with the county, what we found out is that, the temporary ramp is not just a temporary ramp, but the city hall paid the manager of the ramp, RADP, both the price for transport and temporary storage, and the price for sorting, cleaning-up, and depositing at the new CMID. Ok, so this is including the price they paid. BUT ... There was no actual money transfer happening because RADP is a city-hall-owned-agency, and the city hall was supposed to pay itself for this. So, what they did, they just did a double-booking kind of thing, where they said : "Ok, we're paying you, we're not paying you, but we will mark down as we paid you." and this happened for 7 years now. Now, in the books, they have clean garbage that just waits there to be moved. In reality, they have very dirty garbage, a lot of pollution, and no technology to sort it. They can't complain that they don't have the money, because in paper, that money is there. They kept on, they stored it, until they started the procedure for movement, but I'm sure that money doesn't exist. So now, if the civil society comes and says : "We want you to fix this, we want you to move the garbage from there to there. We know that you already paid for it. You should have the money. We want you to do this". They will say : "Well, there is a capacity issue here." So, we, as the people who paid for it, we could say : "Well, you have 30 million euros. We are willing to put another 10 millions for this expensive technology that could sort all of it. Now, we can solve the problem, right ?" We could push this story, but they don't have the 30 millions, and if we push this story, they will be in a very big problem. This is actually a very strong incentive for them to say : "We don't want technology because the technology will drive away the social problem into a very bigger social problem". So, they hide some double-booking they did, behind the social issue. So, the real problem is that the social issue is a cover-up for some very shady practices related to how they were supposed to take care of the garbage. So, I think, the reason why they are not fixing it, it's because it would expose the bigger problems.

Moga : So, now, try to work at the county council ... To be hired there, it's worth it.

*Rires.*

Mornea : The real thing is that actually, if you talk to them, off the record, they will say : "This is the issue. How to acknowledge it publicly without getting a shitstorm of hate ? But also to get the public on our side and to say, ok, let's just call for ground 0, let's start from here because there are solutions from here." You just need to create that opportunity for everybody to accept it as it is, but because, in politics, this is a very hard thing to achieve, it's mostly up to the public. At least, now, the public is bloodthirsty, so nobody want to be the good guy

saying : “Ok, we understand, it’s a mountain of garbage, you mismanaged it, we’re all at fault here, let’s start from scratch”. The public is not the better person here, the politicians are definitely not the better person here

...

Moga : This is a general situation within all aspects in Cluj, also with urban development. In order to have a better environment in the city, you need to develop green spaces which were not ever thought in advance, to be present in the new neighbourhoods. It’s like the same development of residential neighbourhoods, of blocks of flats, of housing and everything all narrowed on very small streets, which can’t be solved ... You cannot improve the well-being there with nature, with green. This is the same that also started this, and now, they want to have a policy of regreening the space but they cannot actually do it properly because, well, you need to expropriate, you need to enter this kind of management of ownership of land, and they are scared of this. Only now, they start to deal with this, they avoided this situation for years and years and years. They didn’t manage well the public property, and now they’re also not in the capacity of solving this thing, so the level of all things, general, if you look at it, the garbage, it’s one huge aspect behind the scene, but there is also a huge aspect behind the urban development, that are triggering, and that will produce social problems, and that are already starting to produce social problems. For example, people that left Cluj for Floresti 10 years ago, and now they move back to Cluj, but they keep their house there, as a weekend house, because nobody will buy it actually. They cannot. So, yeah, during the week, nobody is there, and during the weekend, people will be there. So, what this will cause, we don’t know. It will start depleting, in a way. Everything is too narrow, people start appreciating the good spaces, green spaces, closer to school, to everything that you need, facilities ... All of these things were never there on the paper, or even as a thought to be done in this development. The manner all these things were treated in the last 20 years in Cluj, it was just opportunity, new stuff, new stuff, and never dealing with what they were actually developing, going through the processes correctly. Understanding the persons that were involved there, as politicians, the incapacity that they have as professional preparation for their jobs, in the town hall or in the county council ... Actually, they have a power position directly, because they sign a paper and they will give you the permit for you to build, or to move your trash there, or to do everything, and it’s just paperwork, nothing more than that. Yeah, it’s a stacked situation, and here, it’s another direction that we tried to cover, to get to these green infrastructures that can be developed better in Cluj, in order to raise resilience in the face of climate change. But this is again, poorly understood, it lacks complex schemes, analyses, measurements, and involvement. This is again, it’s another level of discussion, that somehow is connected with the trash. You can find a lot of trash in nature, still. Connected again with the Romas, another community is in Floresti, by the river, and they are targets for the trash that comes in Cluj. That’s “their problem”, we have the problem because of this community there, which is again not being integrated, at the limit of the river, between Floresti and the river. They somehow sort everything ... I don’t know, there is also a, not that big but still, an ecological issue because the water there, it starts to be a bit contaminated, also chemically, with everything that was thrown. You can find this trash, and that management of the trash, still present, and avoided for 20 years or more, when the city grew and everything was thrown in these places, by the river, by the forest, in some places where you can find a lot of trash. What we try to do at Somes delivery now, is a plan for cleaning the river. We now try to develop a discussion. We have access to some finance from Lidl, that is on clean water, and we will try to work with all the administrations that are responsible for, let’s say, “cleaning” : the water administration, the town halls of Cluj, Floresti, Apahida maybe, and the trash companies that are working in these towns, and all the others, to form a plan, to clean a part at least, but completely, and also to avoid interventions in nature. In order to get that out, you have to see where to put it, how to transport it, how to take it out, without cutting the trees and destroying the nature there, and all of this garbage needs to be placed somewhere. There are huge amounts of garbage, and you can constantly find it in the river. The town hall of Cluj started projects of developing the river, and now it’s obvious that the last problem that still persists is the garbage. The rest can be solved. There was a context “Rethinking Somes”, ok, it was fun, there are possible developments that will start soon, but still, the garbage in the water, it’s a problem that is somehow avoided, it’s just cleaned when it’s too much or when it’s a necessity. They organized themselves, or they are organized between water companies, there are 2 companies here, and the town halls, and when there is a problem, they work together. They call the Hidroelectrica, they stop a bit the water for one day and the level of the river increases ; they go there with trucks and escalators and they take off the trash. I don’t know where they put it, but there is no measurements, how much is covered, how big is the problem? This is leading already to a worse water quality in the river, in Cluj, not only after Cluj. We also did some small projects like laboratory projects for children, in order to explore the microbiology of the river, look at it under a microscope. There is a wide range of organisms in the river, and the more there are, the better is the quality of the river is. There are usually more in the entrance and less and less as you exit Cluj. It shows out a little bit the problem, again. This is, let’s say, something that also needs to be solved, in a way. The problem is

not only in Floresti, it's also up the stream, in Apahida, higher and higher as you go, up the stream. You discover that it's actually 50 km away, closer to the stream, it's also the same problems, and now the project that the water basins ...

Ana-Maria : Catchment ?

Moga : The catchment, yes. Actually, it's the whole system. They developed this project focusing on thinner water, but yeah, biologically, you can treat it, but physically, it's still dirty. Maybe you can solve it, but you have another problem with the grass that is growing ... There is an explosion of species of grass that is growing and that invades, it's chemistry. The water can now sustain this kind of weed that was never there before. It wasn't ...

Mornea : We'll keep on seeing this with the explosion of algae, we'll keep on seeing problems like that. It will happen. The weather gets ... The climate changes.

Moga : Warmer. The water gets warmer. But they don't really know if that's from the climate change or from the chemistry of the water that is changed by the trash.

Mornea : Probably both ?

Moga : Probably both.

Mornea : I wanna circle back on your interest in post-socialism.

Moga : I don't know if there is something that I can add, I don't know exactly the topic, but please, let me know.

Mornea : I wanna make a point of what Marius was building up to. The fact is that we are in this weird, as a post-socialist position, where you have a mix of neo-capitalism, whatever, if you can call it like that, and some old socialist habits, and then some in between, where we have people for neither. What you can see, is what you can see exactly what Marius said : where you have the ghetto of poor Roma community, that were driven in Floresti, next to the river. Then you have the small businesses which were, as the construction boom in Cluj happened – there were several waves of construction boom – you could pay somebody to take away the construction's debris, because the city, the garbage dump, would not take it. So, there were small entrepreneurs that would take away the garbage from you, and they would dump it newt to the Roma community, because that's where the garbage goes, close to the ghetto.

Moga : In nature, back to nature.

Mornea : Yeah, and you would have people complaining: "Look! Romas are polluting !". Ok, there are huge amounts of garbage, they generate some plastics, but they don't generate construction waste, they don't build buildings. I mean, if you look at their housing, their housing is generally put together as residues, so it's just like a front. They use it as a front, small people gaining some small money, big people gaining big money. You have the big construction projects with a few people profiting off of that, then you have some small entrepreneurs who take away the garbage in nature, and then they blame the Roma community for it. We're not in a social society where you would have, maybe, a strong state saying: "Ok, we will punish everybody". We don't have a pure capitalist ecosystem where you have different problems being solved by healthy competition and different entities. You can have a mix where you profit off of the lack of strength of the state by exploiting that, and then blaming somebody, and then asking for social support from the state for those people, but actually covering up for the money you made from actually profiting off the system. So, from this perspective, we're in a weird place. But, to give some good news, because we've covered a lot of bad news, the first good news is that we are talking about this. I mean, we have access to a lot of information, we can openly share it, it means that we're still in a good society, because nobody is stopping us from sharing it. The second good news is that Cluj has been built on a model where we use culture and civic pressure to do some changes. I wanna emphasize culture because we didn't cover this so far. The project with Somes Delivery, the festival, it's more of a cultural manifestation than a civic protest. We mentioned an illustrator, a band, making music out of trash, ok, it's closer to culture than it is to civic unrest. Ok, then, La Terenuri, which was this initiative, maybe you've talked to Silviu Medesan and Rala, they did this ... La Terenuri is this project where we had urban gardening, back in the communist period where people were forced to move to the city, they kind of found refuge near the apartment buildings and appropriated some lands. The translation would be : "the fields". People just kind of settled there. At one point, the construction pressure, the expansion of the city placed pressure on that. There was an idea that they could just build apartment buildings there and a local architect, with a local ... I don't know, Lala is an anthropologue, they

banded together and made this project where they had shows, movie screenings, all kinds of events, and they built a brand out of La Terenuri, and they said : “This needs to be a public space, this needs to be a civic space, this needs to be a green area for the city where cohesion happens, where we debate.” And it worked, to some point, because the city council took notice, they couldn’t ignore it, and they said : “Ok, we will build a parc/sports base”. It’s a very anthropic environment, everything is very controlled there, there is a fence and there is a parc and a clear place for you to play and whatever ... And they kind of lost the urban garden aspect because it wasn’t included in the final project. There are some leftover urban gardens, they weren’t caught in the new project, but ...

Ana-Maria : Is the city hall responsible ?

Mornea : I mean, it is a success in the sense that there was not a ghetto there. It’s not a success in the sense that they hijacked the initial spirit of the project, which was ‘let’s build a community hub, oriented on the roots of the urban gardening movement’, and it’s more of a ‘let’s make another park, with another sport facility’ but ... it’s proof that the civic society can create change of pretty noticeable impact, and they did it through culture. We have another organization, Cluj cultural centre, who is very close to the city hall. Some of their initiatives are very tamed by that, but they also have a very strong personality, and they do try to improve the quality of life in the city through culture; so they’re pretty close to their mission. Maybe they’re not like Istvan, they are not very outspoken, but they are doing a lot. They are putting the spotlight on a lot of things, and ...

Moga : They have researchers. They have done a lot of good, let’s say, discussions. They bring new information about different topics, also about, youth, and ...

Mornea : Well-being, mental well-being ...

Moga : They have finances for a lot of projects that are going in good places, that could bring more awareness on those topics.

Mornea : And it’s kind of happening outside of an ideology. It’s not a socialist or a capitalist thing, they had a bid for European cultural capital, they failed to win the bid, but they decided to implement it anyway, so in a sense it’s European-spirit driven. They keep going with it, they are a cultural institution, they keep going with it, they understand the role of culture in a society, so it’s outside of a political logic, it’s more this view of society being driven by culture in a way. I think it’s one of the strongest points we’ve got in Cluj, because this mix of culture and activism, and now we have a young but strong generation of green activists, those 3 interact in a way that continuously builds a mass of people that will take a stand. So far, none of these have been politically captured. Like, there is no green party that polarizes everything, there is no elite party that would take culture away from the public. We’re kind of in a place where it’s a common good, it’s owned by society at large, it’s not owned by anybody, and I think it’s one of the best thing in Cluj. So, it kinds of comes back to your interest in post-socialism. I don’t know how long it would last, but it’s where we are right now.

Moga : Yeah, it is definitely a reactive situation. 5 or 6 years ago, people started to be more aware of our presence, of the civic public cultural actors in the city. It started early but it grew to them, this idea of transparency, somehow. They got this, and they turned this into this CIIC ...

Mornea : Civic Innovation and Imagination Center – C.I.I.C. It’s translated into the Center for Innovation and Civic Imagination.

Moga : Which actually takes place here. They started to do public discussions ... It’s outside of ... They were obliged to have public debates before, in the town hall, and only a few people went there. But here ...

Mornea : It’s an European project, and here, it’s better.

Moga : Somehow, they came here, and more people are coming, participating to these debates.

Mornea : I know, but I mean, as a PR move, they are selling it as participatory debate, and it sounds like this, but it’s much better than it was before, or where it’s at in other cities ...

Moga : It’s just one debate on one huge aspect, if it’s there, it’s good, but if you’re not there, ... You have 2 hours, 80 people, it’s still not a real debate, but everything is presented, recorded, you can check it, you can enter the site, you can visit all the information, look at the files uploaded, analyse better, so it’s a better place to find all this project. Otherwise, it was impossible to find this information, you would have to go to the town hall, file a

paper, to ask where the project is exposed before the discussion ... So, this is a step forward, and this brings a lot of debates, of problematics, that weren't there before. They are facing these issues, or more complex situations that weren't there before, and somehow, they acknowledged, at least, that this is the public opinion.

Mornea : They are selling it as participatory democracy while, in fact, what we get out of it is transparency but that's great. I mean, it's not full transparency, but it's still great. These are good steps.

Moga : International contest are happening in Cluj, and this is another good thing. But yeah, this shows actually that there is an increasing interest in developing better, and being more in tune with everybody, and try to do better for more people. But there are places where these things are going all right, but still, there is this elephant in the room that is urban development and its huge problems ...

Mornea : We have another example of that, participatory budgeting, which tries to deal with different things. In Floresti, one was related to garbage in the river, so, when they are called up, they touch up on the major subjects. Again, there is a limited impact there, but it's still a small victory. We need to stop right ? Sorry ...

Marie : Can I have your names again, or could you write it ?

Mornea : I don't think so, no.

*Rires.*

Marie : No, but I mean, you could also want to be anonymous, and that's fine.

*Rires.*

*Pause : chacun se prépare à partir mais la discussion continue.*

Moga : ... the river, that we have in Somes delivery, it turns out also one of the triggers for CIIC. At one point, in 2015, there was an issue with a street. On the site of the city hall, it was written that you "should have access to water" and blablabla, but it was a huge scandal then. Istvan and me, and other NGOs employed a lawyer, we wrote a complain about it. Some discussions took place. They were pissed off, completely, because "we're losing European money". It was a complete mess, but we saved those one hundred trees or more. They somehow, at that point, started to have a better solution for this. It was somehow triggering. Also, another experience around water : we tried to connect and form an alliance around 'United Waters' in Romania. We have a project now together, and we can develop, let's say, a working group, at a local level, but also at an administrative level, and at a governmental level, either to change things, or to have a better management of how you have access to water, but also when there are issues, that the laws can be changed at the national level. It just started, but still, it's something that actually gathers different initiatives from different kinds of citizens in Romania. There are few aspects that this project brings: one is a democratic acces to water. The surface of water is like a public space, it's administrated by some but it's actually a public space. You should have access to it, in a good environment, but there is a problem of natural heritage. Somehow, natural value, it's not included in any kind of law. So, there are, let's say, historical buildings, water mills, and things up the stream, in the mountains, that were broke down. So, some things that are destroying the landscape, and the streams themselves, destroy a natural and cultural heritage, that society built together with nature in a sustainable manner. It is seen as they don't exist, because it's not written down. This project includes going in ministries, in the government, and actually there are at least 3 : natural resources, the environment, this is one, the other one is regional development, and the other one is cultural. All these things are connected with streams, rivers, everything that we do, and it's interesting that it's not only the Ministry of nature. So there are others that should be ... you can work and have a lobby and actually change things, to include this in a cultural, patrimonial heritage. With those initiatives, NGOs, we might have more chances to change things.

Mornea : But I will translate that in some words you can research. There is Consiliul Apei, this is the legal framework, it's an entity where you have interdisciplinary people who can handle the needs of the water. They exist but they are not used. But now the civil society has become smarter, wiser, so instead of creating new structures, you wanna hijack their structure by creating projects which ask for the water council to work. This project, what it is doing, is that it brings together a lot of different actors and makes sure that the water council works. The point is that, if we try to create an additional structure, we won't make a change, but if we hijack an existing structure, there is a greater chance for us to create legislative change, which is a sign of mature ecosystem. The different NGOs that are in this project reached a point where, instead of fighting the system, they are trying to populate it, and to change it both from the inside and from the outside. This is what Marius

mentioned, the different Ministeries ... We're bringing together social concerns, natural resources concerns, patrimony concerns, and we're making those structures the interdisciplinary structures they were supposed to be. The state is not populating them, so we are populating them.

Moga : And this is a natural evolution, a natural development.

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