The blocks of Ferentari

Spatial patterns and practices of a Roma community in Bucharest

Source: http://www.skieter.net/bucharest/photos/photo1.html  "Sector 5, Bucharest, Romania. Part of the city called RFG (Rahova- Ferentari- Giurgiului), three Roma ghettos."

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Abstract:

This project will research, examine and discuss about how the physical space affects its residents actions. We focus our investigation on Ferentari, what is area in district 5, Bucharest, Romania and is considered in public opinion to be a Roma ghetto.

To discuss actions of Ferentari residents we use Bourdieu concepts of habitus and social capital. To define place and its role in forming actions of its residents we use Badcock’s “restructuring and spatial polarization in cities”.

In order to perform this investigation we have used qualitative and quantitative secondary data and our own observations conducted during our study travel.

Our research questions have been used to outline certain concepts and analyse various aspects of our research problem. In first question we look on how Ferentari, district is built and formed as physical space, using Badcock's theory. In rest two research questions we use Bourdieu concepts. In second question we look on residents of Ferentari social capital and in third question we log in what activities residents perform in Ferentari and how these activities are shaped by physical space.

We conclude that the physical space affects the residents of Ferentari district actions by offering limited access to resources (education, employment healthcare) and leading to or reinforcing poverty where it is difficult to break through, because of social and spatial borders.
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13.1 Field Work
1. **Background:**

The Romani people also referred to depending on the sub-group as Roma, Sinti, Kale, Romani or Gypsies, are an ethnic group who live primarily in Europe but they also are in large numbers in the Americas. The Roma people originally originate from the Sind region in Pakistan, there are many speculations in why they chose to migrate westwards and how they migrated. The main belief is they did so either through army mercenaries or slaves. The lack of any written records on the Roma history or culture especially from the Roma people has led it to become very difficult to trace their history back to the start. It is though known that they started to migrate around 1000 years ago.¹

By the 14th century, the Roma reached the Balkans. Some Roma migrated from Persia through North Africa, reaching Europe via Spain in the 15th century. The two currents met in France. Roma began immigrating to the United States in colonial times, with small groups in Virginia and French Louisiana. Larger-scale immigration began in the 1860s, many Roma also settled in Latin America.²

Wherever they arrived in Europe, curiosity was soon followed by hostility. Roma were enslaved for five centuries in Romania until abolition in 1864. Elsewhere in Europe, they were subject to expulsion, abduction of their children, and forced labor. In Communist Eastern Europe, Roma experienced restrictions of cultural freedom.

The Romani language and Roma music were banned from public performance in Bulgaria. In Czechoslovakia, they were labeled a "socially degraded stratum," and Roma women were sterilized as part of a state policy to reduce their population. This policy was implemented with large financial incentives, threats of denying future social welfare payments, misinformation, and involuntary sterilization. In the early 1990s, Germany deported tens of thousands of illegal immigrants to

Eastern Europe. Sixty percent of some 100,000 Romanian nationals deported under a 1992 treaty were Roma.

Roma living conditions differ immensely, from the wealthier, technologically advanced countries like the United States and Canada to poorer, third-world countries including Romania as well. The Roma communities are usually stuck in the lowest standards of living in any society they enter.³

The Roma have a tendency to adapt easily to societies where there is an excess of consumer goods, which they can buy, sell and trade. The Romani historically are nomadic people, but often they choose to settle down a bit more permanently usually in a separate community for the non-Romani. There are also a few who chose to integrate or are forced to which is a bit more common. The Romani that remain nomadic usually have slightly better living conditions than the Roma that settle. Health wise their diet is more suited to nomadic culture, but it’s also poorer conditions when they settle because they are excluded from the society they live in left to survive on their own. This leads often to them living in run down homes with very poor sanitary conditions.⁴

Romania has the largest Roma minority in Europe. Approximately two million Roma, representing ten percent of the population, are living in Romania today. They are considered to be the most disruptive minority according to statistics from the Romanian police that reveal a high proportion of crimes are committed by Roma.⁵

Many Roma people in Romania lives in poverty, places with bad sanitization and in places which is even dangerous for health. For example Romanian law stipulates that people should not live within 300 meters of potential toxic hazards, but the Romani families are living well within this danger

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zone. People living there are sharing with experiences about the negative impact the smell has on their daily lives and their fears that it is dangerous to the health of the whole community.⁶

Roma community suffers from social disadvantages. These include a low level of education and training, leading to a lack of qualifications, high numbers of children to support, poor living conditions and no chance for employment on the regular labor market.⁷

The low level of participation in the labor market is the main problem in the Roma community. According to official data only 23 percent of the Roma population was part of the country’s actively employed population. More than 70 percent of the Roma minority has no qualifications that do not require any formal training. The proportion of temporary day workers makes clear they are in a difficult situation in terms of employment and have a minimum income for their needs. Many Roma lack any experience in legally recognized economic activity or have suffered long periods of unemployment.⁸

Insufficient income leads to a low participation in the education system (more than a third of the Roma population is affected by illiteracy). As a result, dropping out of school is more frequent in the Roma population than the national average. Moreover, Roma population lives in the suburbs with schools offering poor learning conditions. Many teachers refuse to take a job in such schools. Some discriminatory practices in relation to the population of Roma—including teaching Roma in separate classes—have only made their situation worse, for example: about 10 percent of Roma children enrolled in schools offering courses in their language.⁹

2. **Problem area:**

Romania with its approximately 2.2 Roma population has drawn wide attention after joining EU in 2007.¹ When its Roma citizens become EU citizens as well, and could legally travel in all EU countries and work in some.

In 2010, large attention was drawing on France expelling many Romanian Roma people, because of their illegal settlements and begging on the streets. These deportations have been criticized by many other countries.² Romanian's president Traian Basescu expressed urgent need for EU wide integration plan. Many Roma expelled, said that they will try to return in France.³ Because it is much better, than in Romania; what raised question about, what is live like for many Roma in Romania.

Bucharest as capital of Romania holds the best possibilities and the highest living standard for everyone, but also the biggest risk crime, segregation and poverty. In Bucharest lives around 2 million people⁴ Officially, Roma is 1.4 % of all population in Bucharest, but as many Roma lives without valid paper and are not registered, real number might be much more bigger.⁵

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Roma in Bucharest is not one homogeneous group, and lives all around city in different places, has different social and economical capital, therefore we narrow done our investigation on one particular Roma majority community in city. We wish to investigate how the Roma people mobilize themselves and navigate inside and outside physical space. What actions they take inside community and how these actions are shaped by circumstances they live in.

We chose Ferentari, area in district 5, in Bucharest, because we assume based on articles in media, that it is mainly Roma inhabited and socially segregated area, with social stigma surrounding it. We assume that through our observations in this area, where the great number of Roma people are living, we will have an opportunity to conduct knowledge how ghetto itself is formed and what particular actions can be taken of Roma’s inside and outside Ferentari?

This knowledge would give a possibility to see certain Roma group's place in urban environment and society and therefore is part of answer to bigger questions, such as, why so many Roma wants to leave the country, are they segregated on basis of ethnicity and how we can improve their status.

Three people from our group went there and through their observations and cooperation with NGO's, learned more about general situation of Roma’s in Bucharest and Romania, main struggles and challenges. Gain knowledge about Ferentari area, its formation and daily life there, meet people from area and people working there. And gather valid and beneficial secondary data on Ferentari and Roma situation in Romania in general.

We are taking in consideration the physical space in the form of city planning as well as, the social space, in the form of face-to-face interaction performance of the self. We will observe the Roma’s

navigation and interaction in different spaces in our field. The observations will be used together with our theories to answer our problem formulation.

Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus and the social space will be key words in our research. The concept of habitus is used to see how the subject or individual acts and organizes himself towards the structures and conditions surrounding him, which can give an understanding of the social life. The social space can be used to regard different positions and experiences of the society.

Badcock's theory about “restructuring and spatial polarization in cities” is relevant to our project because it focuses and deals with ethnicity and poverty in cities. The theory also explains how these two aspects influence social classes and how people situate themselves in the cities. It also explains how people with similar backgrounds are living in the same areas of the city.

3. **Problem Definition:**

How does the physical space affect the Roma’s action?

4. **Research Questions:**

In order to unfold our problem definition we ended up with these research questions:

- 1. How is physical space ghetto formed?
- 2. How is the Roma's, in Bucharest, social capital defined?
- 3. What daily actions do the Roma take in their community?
5. **Methodology:**

5.1 Ferentari as a case study:

We will focus our study on the district of Ferentari and focusing on the ghetto on Livelizor Alley in Bucharest Romania.

Poverty and social problems followed by it are concentrated in Ferentari – an area affected by physical deterioration and social exclusion, also defined as a ghetto.\(^1\) We will have special focus on the blocks on Livelizor Alley. Ferentari is viewed as 'undesirable', a ghetto and a 'no-go area' among the residents of Bucharest. This creates a social stigma and reinforces the exclusion, characteristic to territories of poverty. Access to resources, such as, education and public institutes, is limited.\(^2\)

Being populated by disadvantaged groups and the accumulation of social problems make this area of interest to our research. In Ferentari we can investigate how the symbolic and physical barriers create segregation and thereby reinforce the cycle of poverty, limiting the residents' actions.

We wanted, instead of victimizing the Roma people, to emphasize their agency – their ability to take action and to steer their own life. This is a challenge when choosing an area where the lack of individual agency is limited by poverty. In the media and NGO reports of the area, the residents are seen as victims of a “poverty bag” – a trap where individuals’ efforts are not necessarily enough to break through the cycle of poverty. We were aware of this fact when choosing the area of focus, but we also wanted to know what kind of actions do take place in such a community and what kind of a structure does the physical surrounding provide for individuals’ agency.

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2 Botonogu, Florin: Hidden Communities, Ferentari, The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities)
5.2 Research design:
With our research we aim to explain causal relationship between physical space- Ferentari area in Bucharest and its Roma resident’s daily life actions, possibilities and social, economical capitals. Therefore it is explanatory investigation, as we seek to find causal relationships and show relations behind commonly used explanations.3

5.3 Level of research:
Our research will focus on individuals and their daily life in a specific physical environment. We investigate one ghetto, in Ferentari, Bucharest and its resident’s actions, thereby we use Bourdieu to explain resident’s habitus and social capital and Badcock to explain impact of physical space on them residents. Therefore our research is on a micro-level as it deals with “small slices of time, space, or numbers of people.”4

5.4 Choice of methodology:
Our methods will, as mentioned earlier, be mainly qualitative. We will carry out observation of the physical living environment. We will focus on spatial layout, infrastructure, housing conditions, as well as the possibility for mobility in the city.

We will supplement our empirical findings with secondary data, which is mainly quantitative. We will use academical articles and previously collected studies to provide a wide understanding on the issue. Through the secondary data we can gain a general understanding of social and structural phenomena among the Roma.

As we have chosen to use both qualitative empirical data and quantitative secondary data, we have chosen a mixed methods approach. We choose sequential mixed methods strategy, where we will seek to elaborate on or expand on the findings of one method with another method. In our case, we will start with quantitative- secondary data, with what we aim to build background of factual

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4 Neumann, Theory and research p.49), BSCW: Neumann, methods file, 1st lecture
knowledge on Roma’s possibilities within Bucharest. And then continue with observations of spatial planning, living areas and spatial practices.

5.5 Data to be collected:

5.5.1 Observations:
We decided to conduct observations to gain knowledge on what the spatial structure of Ferentari is like, as well as, what kind of spatial practices and actions the residents take. We took the element of segregation into notice and looked into what kind of elements it adds to the people's possibilities for mobility.

We also needed observations to gain a general understanding of the area of research as secondary data on the field is limited.

As we did not have a wide knowledge of our field of focus beforehand, we decided to use less-structured field observations. We decided to do the observations casually, without forms in a natural setting of Ferentari. We observed by walking in the neighborhood and taking part in the pasts of daily activities we had access to for example shopping our groceries at the local market and visiting an afternoon club at the local school.

5.5.2 Validity and reliability of the observations:
We have to consider the quality of our research methods by reflecting on validity and reliability. In this paragraph we will concentrate on the matter we took to get reliable observations, as well as also limitations of our method.

It is difficult to reach full objectivity when observing. We are, after all, products of our culture and customs. This affects what we see, what we pay our focus on and how we interpret it. Despite this inevitable cultural bias we tried to limit subjectivity in our research by being aware of it and comparing our results with other studies.

Each time we were in Ferentari, we were two or three observers and we took separate notes. This way we wanted to avoid affecting each other’s observations. Comparing notes we could see how consistent they were and also compare them and see if findings are reliable.
Our goal was to write notes as soon as possible in order to avoid memories' effects in selectivity in note taking. We tried not to intervene in observation situations to keep the setting natural. On the streets the people (subjects) we unaware of our observations but in the afternoon club children and workers were aware of our presence and it might have had an effect on their action.

In conclusion we tried to keep our observations valid and reliable by comparing results between observers and to secondary data. We also acknowledge that cultural background and social context affect our interpretations and in this light we are critical towards our findings.

5.5.3 Secondary data:
We will supplement out own first-hand findings with secondary qualitative and quantitative data. We will utilize interviews and surveys conducted by other academics, additionally we will use internet sources, such as blogs by people living in our focus area. Qualitative secondary data will provide us with insight of the lives of the people in our target group. This enables us to analyze their actions within their living circumstances. Quantitative secondary data, in the form of surveys, provide us with generalized data, that we can use to get a general picture of the circumstances and phenomena in our area of focus.

We will be critical towards our sources, especially those on the internet. We will be using reports conducted by NGOs. We will bear in mind that the organizations may have their own interest in game when they interpret data. We will compare their results with other academical writings and our own findings to limit the possible bias of the source.

Our main source and precious book in general we were using to write this project is called: "Hidden Communities Ferentari" by Florin Botonogu, published in 2011.

During the field trip in Romania, Bucharest, three girls from our project group had a great possibility to meet the author of this book and be introduced more with Ferentari area. We started use "Hidden Communities Ferentari" book in the second part of our project writing period, because then, the most important parts of our project, such as: problem area and problem definition have already been decided. Therefore, we immediately find it the biggest part of this book relevant for
us, with a lot of useful information, data, tables and facts which we wouldn't be able to find about Ferentari area while searching Internet.

Immediately after entering Ferentari community, it was immediately visible why our investigations should be focused on exactly this area: it has the biggest number of Roma people in whole Bucharest, social and economical problems were present in the area and also, as we found out later, quite much investigation has been made and videos filmed. Nevertheless, as we already mentioned before, information available in Internet was incomparable with "Hidden Communities Ferentari" material. Then we started to read this book, it encouraged us and ensure that our decision about our main focus area was initiated right.

"Hidden Communities Ferentari" is a study and concrete analyzes of relationship between social exclusion and physical space, in Romanian context. According to author, the most appropriate and suitable example to show how the social exclusion and space influencing each other is reflecting on ghetto definition. That is why, he and the fellow authors, decided to reflect on Ferentari district, Livelizor Alley. Moreover, this area was chosen, because it has many characteristics and examples which were found in specific literature for defining ghettos.

Furthermore, despite "Hidden Communities Ferentari", we were using some academical articles and other secondary data we collected via documents we found in Internet. It helped to get broader view and gain deeper understanding about Roma history and migration which we were talking about in our background and problem area. What is more? In order to decide and understand on our theoretical material, we used books of Bourdieu which we found in library, and as well, extracts from our PSR lectures to gain more knowledge about Badcock, which we are talking about while reflecting on physical space.
5.6 The Process of the Project Work:

5.6.1 Starting Point:
We started out the project with a small knowledge about Roma people being socially excluded in Romania, by house segregation, discrimination, poverty etc. Our wonder was based on why this high level of discrimination and social exclusion was taking place to the ethnic group of Roma’s not only in Romania but in all of Europe, and why the Roma people was trapped in these poor living circumstances.

We wanted to find out where the problem came from, if it was lying in the Roma peoples own culture to exclude themselves from the society or if it was the European people who had shed anger toward this group. We wanted to use a sociological approach and in order to make it interdisciplinary, also an approach from spatial planning and resources, but we were yet not quite sure how exactly we could get a meaning out of spatial planning and resources. Our research started from this point.

5.6.2 Expectations:
We expected our project to solve the question why the Roma’s were being discriminated. We saw our project as being able to explain a different culture living in poor circumstances, which weren't understood by the Romanians and other Europeans. We wanted to explain why the Roma people where living and acting as they were, in order to make other people understand the culture, which could end up in increasing the discrimination.

5.6.3 Development of Ideas:
We started to read about the history and culture of the Roma’s, and got more and more interested in the Roma's culture which seemed to differ a lot from our own. In our group meetings we used contrasting words, such as traditional and modern societies. Our interest turned to be how the Roma culture was contrasting today's European culture, and how the Roma people interacted with the Romanian culture.

We considered Erwing Goffman’s concept of Stage and Backstage and was interested in how, it could explain how the Roma people navigated and took daily actions in their backstage – their own cultural community, contrasting to actions and navigations taken in the stage outside their cultural
We also started to be aware of the ethical and methodological problematic of victimizing, and we therefore wanted to turn our project in a direction where the Roma are seen as active participants in their own life. Roma’s are often perceived as victims both as a result of historical incidents and due to the fact that they are often living at the extreme margins of society. While we did not want to contest this position we were simultaneously aware of the dangers involved in simply accepting this position. We thought that if we started out questioning the Roma’s about their experience of being victims, they might end of reproducing stereotypes of Roma’s as extremely marginalized and therefore in need of external help. They could, we thought, have a strategical interest in representing themselves as victims and therefore in need have help. Such a perspective would perhaps be useful to explain how Roma’s experience obstacles in their daily life, but not in explaining how the physical space affects their daily actions.

We ended with a problem formulation investigating how the spatial circumstances and resources were affecting the Roma people’s daily actions. We were considering our own daily actions and responsibilities and found it interesting to research, how a poor Roma community’s daily tasks would look, with the knowledge of how different spatial circumstances we had with them.

Theoretically we were in need of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social capital and habitus, and from the Spatial planning theoretical approach, we decided to use Blair Badcock and his writings about restructuring and spatial polarization in cities.

5.6.4 Field work:

Expectations and preparations:
We started out by searching on the internet, by Google “Segregated Roma community in Romania” and “Roma Ghettos in Romania”. We found different humanitarian projects working with discriminated and disadvantaged Roma’s, for example Amnesty International, whom we contacted and got information about a Romanian Humanitarian organization, Romani CRISS that worked with the discrimination of Roma people in Romania. Since we from the beginning had decided to go to Romania’s capital Bucharest to conduct a field research we decided to contact Romani CRISS, with the hope that they could give us knowledge and be our link to get in contact with a
Roma Community, we could investigate. We got an appointment with Romani CRISS which made us believe that the contact to a Roma community would be established.

We expected that we, with the help of Romani CRISS, could observe a Roma community from inside, interact with the Roma’s and follow their daily days. When the contact was established we would start to conduct our interviews. We had a community in mind where only Roma people lived in poverty segregated from the rest of the Romanian society, and here our investigation would take place.

**Humanitarian organizations and NGO's:**
During our field work we met two very different NGO's working with Roma's in Romania. Romani CRISS, whom seems to be working mostly on a political plan all over the country, and Policy Center for Roma Minorities who seems to work more sociological on a micro level with a specific chosen community in Bucharest.

Since we had a short time in the field, we were in need of getting access to this through the organization who was already working in this field. As mentioned before, we thought that this access could be reached through Romani CRISS, but what we could give to Romani CRISS seemed to be on a point zero. Romani CRISS have been existing for a longer time working with big and highly accepted humanitarian organizations, such as Amnesty International and UNICEF, therefore Romani CRISS were able to give us information’s to help our project, but did not see necessities and gains of letting us in to the field. On the other hand we were not in the same field, since their actions where politically and based on the human rights and our project reach towards daily actions in a certain community.

The finding of Policy Center of Roma Minorities was for us certainly a better access to the field we wished to communicate with. Since they are working with the communities living in Ferentari on a micro level, communicating directly to the field we researched. Policy Center of Roma Minorities had an interest in letting us into the field in order to spread more awareness. Still some limitation and barriers for letting us too much in can be found. Since we did not have time to actively take part and create activities in the community, we could not reach much contact to the people living in the community. And discussions within the members/activists of Policy Center for Roma Minorities were circulating around the ethical problems about showing us around in the community.
Parts of the organization was aware of that the residents from the community started to feel like object people could come and consider, and it gave them (as mentioned by the organization) a "monkey in a cage" feeling. Also the NGO had used to build up a trust relationship to the residents, which needed to be taken care of. Other parts of the NGO were focused on that ethical problem but saw it with big importance that students, like us should be let in, to shed awareness. Policy Center of Roma Minorities gave us an access to the community, which might have been able to be developed further.

Doing fieldwork within NGOs is challenging due to a number of reasons. Importantly for this study is that local NGOs are in need of external funding and donor support and due to that have an interest in making use of specific vocabularies appealing to (Western) donors. Roma’s is exactly a term used to attract external funding – and NGOs are well aware that they by targeting a minority group as the Roma’s will improve their chances of attracting donor support. For example; Policy Center of Roma Minorities, have a name which implies that the work they are doing is for Roma minorities. But what we found very interesting was the fact that in practice they themselves navigated these rather rigid categorizations. It was actually the NGOs who made us aware that Roma’s are not necessarily more marginalized – and in need of help – than other poor Romanians. And the work Policy Center of Roma Minorities are doing is not limited ethnical but more spatial since it is working with the poor people living in Ferentari. When asking the workers/activists from Policy Center of Roma Minorities, about the Roma’s in the area, we got the answer that the ethnicity was not of importance, cause all people living here needed help, and they were not aware of who were Roma and who were Romanian(Or other ethnic background).

5.6.5 Observations and security:

Our observations were taking in a place in Ferentari in Bucharest’s district 5, we went there several times observing the spatial area and the people in here. We were especially interested in the grey blocks on Livelizor Alley, but there were different risks and limitations for going there. These ghetto block are in Bucharest seen as a ”no go area”, this means that normal people living in Bucharest do not go there without having an aim for this, and since we did not have an excuse for going there other than observing, we might have drawn some unwanted attention as three foreigners in a wrong area, staring at people, who might not wish to be observed by strangers in their private homes (much of the private life is going on in the street between the blocks, not in the apartments).
Another fact was that we several times were being warned of different crime risks if we went there, and since we did not know the reality of the area ourselves, we had to consider these warnings. It was still possible to observe the blocks to some extent, we kept to the main streets around the blocks, without going into the middle of them. From this placing we could observe parts of the life between the ghetto blocks.

5.6.6 Shift to reality:
After a couple of days in Bucharest and a meeting with the organization Romani CRISS a turning point, in our idea of the problem, was shown. The main issue was not the ethnic background of Roma’s. We found out that we had seen the Roma people as one big common cultural community, all living in segregated communities, caught in poverty and with traditional Roma culture. But in Bucharest we saw many different Roma people. Across the street, where our hostel was placed, lived different Roma families in the same circumstances as the Romanian families who also lived in this street. When walking around in Bucharest, we saw rich Roma’s and poor Roma’s. We found out that the Roma people may have a shared historical, cultural background which comes from many 100 years ago, but today different living circumstances, daily actions and culture differs from each group of Roma. After visiting the Ferentari district, where we saw Roma’s and Romanians living under same circumstances with some of the same problems, we understood that the problems was not based on the ethnicity but in this case on the spatial circumstances. People in Ferentari's ghettos are socially excluded from the society, but not because they have a certain ethnic background, more because they are caught in poverty in crime settings, which “normal civilized” might not wish to be a part of or interact with.

5.6.7 What we gained:
The field trip did not turn out the way we expected, since we did not conduct interviews or followed a Roma community from the inside. Instead we got an understanding we had not seen if we did not want to do our research by ourselves. We got a big chance in our understanding of the conditions for the Roma’s, and we understood that we had considered the reasons for the problem in another way than what we saw in Bucharest. For our project we also gained some important secondary publications from the different organizations we interacted with. We gained some skill of how to conduct field work, the different ways you can do it and the different problematic of getting contact to the field you wish to research.
It might have given us some other results if we had gained more knowledge about the conditions we researched in Bucharest before we went there. Also if we before had used more time on understanding our access possibilities to our field, we could have gotten into the field from another way than we did, which could have given us some other results.

5.6.8 Ethical limitations of the project:

Ethics is very important for us as researchers of social science and especially when we investigate topic related to the community life and segregation. Firstly, because scientific community has traditionally focused on protecting humans and groups affected by research, and also because it is important is to put emphasis on possible harms and benefits for the community, caused by research.5

We think that rising awareness on Roma and poverty issues within EU, can contribute in improving the situation. And the ethical way to handle this investigation respectful towards the people living in area and organizations, which with their work aim to improve conditions there.

During our field trip to Bucharest, Romania, we faced several ethical dilemmas regarding the process of investigation. The main struggle was with observations of our chosen community in Ferentari district. It is closed community, both by spatial planning and social space. Also other researchers have admitted difficulties to collect data or to hold interviews with residents of community, because of resident’s reluctance speak freely with outsiders.6

As we approached “Policy Center for Roma and Minorities”, organization, doing grass root work in Ferentari, with wish to get guided tour in area, we got denied because of following ethical reasons. Because of attention to this area, there have been many organizations and people from outside coming to observe community lately- local and international media, organizations, EU institutions and others. Some of residents have expressed feeling like “monkeys in the zoo”. Also members of this organization told us, that these unwanted visits, might negative influence their trust relationships with some of the residents and so for their work in the community. Regardless of everything, spatial planning of community allowed us to make observations from outside, bigger

6Florin Botonogu, Hidden Communities, Ferentari, The expert publish house, 2011, page 19
streets surrounding the community.

We wanted to take our own photos, but because of ethical reasons, mentioned above, we decided to use materials available on internet, media and taken by NGOs, as we cannot provide unique footage - we do not need to disturb resident's life.

Our ethical limitation, might be extended, by taking more time in the field and doing something meaningful either in the community, or with residents, for example as volunteers for one of the NGOs. In this way we could create relationships, which would help us to investigate topic.

6. **Theories:**

6.1 Pierre Bourdieu – *The Habitus and Social Capital:*

To unfold our problem formulation we have chosen to reflect on Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus and social capital, introduced in his books about habitus and social capital. Pierre Bourdieu has stated that social capital occurs in networks of social relationships. Further the society, organizations, family, network and nation helps to create what Pierre Bourdieu calls social capital. Pierre Bourdieu believes that conditions of existence both generate and shape practices and representation through habitus. Bourdieu focuses on the face to face interaction and living circumstances, which suits the nature of our investigation, as we are interested in the effect of the concept of habitus is used to see how the subject or individual acts towards the structures and conditions surrounding them, which can give an understanding of the social life. The social capital can be used to regard different positions and experiences of the society. We find it relevant to reflect upon the Roma people and society through these concepts and upon which of its characteristics have an effect on the self of the society.

He is known for its many theories and concepts. Bourdieu used his theories and concepts to analyze the dynamics of social fields.
6.2 Habitus and Social Capital:

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) is a well-known French sociologist. Pierre Bourdieu is particularly known for its field concept he has developed throughout his career. He explained why he believes that our society cannot and should not be regarded as an entity but rather as a series of small social sum. Bourdieu calls the field of social micro-cosmos. The social space is composed of networks of social relations between actors. For both the writer and reader to understand the project a definition of the concepts applied in the project is necessary. The concepts will be used further in the analysis of our empirical data, which is why this chapter will end with an outlining of the aspects of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus and social capital we will apply in our project.

As there has been mentioned before Pierre Bourdieu defines social capital to be that social capital occurs in networks of social relationships. Further the society, organizations, family, network and nation helps to create what Pierre Bourdieu calls social capital.

Social capital arises in networks of social relationships and is an expression of society, organizations, families, networks and nations. It is then understood that social capital as a resource to cover the human's needs. An individual who is alone in the world has no access to social capital.

Pierre Bourdieu means that the body is the social life of memory and that people have a tendency to control against and repeat the previous situations in our lives through our habitus.

Habitus is a way in which social actors perceive, judge and act in the world. This led to a further some of safety to humans, and a different way of perceiving our lives. In this way we gain a confirmation of previous positioning, social location. In this context therefore is a kind of social

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7 Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori, Akademisk Forlag 1994, p.9-11
8 Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori, Akademisk Forlag 1994, p. 60
9 Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori, Akademisk Forlag 1994, p.21
inheritance. Therefore Pierre Bourdieu means that we all have a habitus, which is achieved through our experiences in life.\textsuperscript{10}

We will elaborate on the following concept of habitus, as Pierre Bourdieu divides into three categories of capitals:\textsuperscript{11}

1. Social Capital
2. Economic Capital
3. Culture Capital

When we talk about social capital, it is about social networks, friends - and family relationships. These relationships may have an impact on one's position of power in later life.

When we talk about economic capital, it is about material resources. These resources must be understood as income and cash, which is the most obvious factor that may play a role in relation to a child's life chances.

When we talk about cultural capital is very much about education and knowledge. In other words, it is the act possibilities, orientation possibilities and dispositions we use in our daily lives.

The education and family socialization are two main sources when we speak of habitus formation. Therefore family's position plays an important role in the social structure. For example, the experience of growing up in a family that is poorer or richer than most, is the same as growing up in a society without enough resources.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} Pierre Bourdieu, \textit{Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori}, Akademisk Forlag 1994, p.57
The same goes for the family's relationship to education and culture, from the educated uneducated, from business to humanities. It would also be possible to identify the differences between growing up in village or urban. Last habitus differences also arise because of sex. We know that girls and boys are different from each other and therefore these two genders cannot be the same.¹³

Habitus is in fact our capitals and experience. Habitus can be said to be a person's pattern of action as rooted in a specific values. That is, the concept of habitus can be used to explain why people act/tackle situations the way they do. Moreover, habitus a dynamic and active principle, which means that we all possess related social reflexes. According to Pierre Bourdieu is the only freedom make it possible to in relation to these reflections is to them to know and be able to resist them.

Pierre Bourdieu stresses that habitus is to be understood as a long-term change in society. The concept can also be used in practical. Thus, if one wishes to examine its hypotheses, one can use the concept in empirical research.

6.3 Badcock’s theory “restructuring and spatial polarization in cities”:

Badcock’s theory about “restructuring and spatial polarization in cities”, focuses on ethnicity and poverty in cities. It deals with how these two factors play a role in increasingly segregating the communities and how it even causes segregation amongst the poor communities. The result is that often its people with similar backgrounds whom congregate in these ghetto communities and furthermore causing them to end up even further away from a way out of this poverty.

In Badcock’s text it is argued that is being created a new class of poverty, which is creating a change in the view of poverty. This new view on poverty is described as “coming together of the spatial and racial concentration of poverty with the change in the nature of that poverty as the

¹³ Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inde for sociologi og kulturteori, Akadamisk Forlag 1994, p. 56
‘outcast ghetto’. \(^{14}\) This ‘outcast ghetto’ is then explained to a further extent where, these new circumstances the poor are being faced with are leading them to be ‘truly disadvantaged’. These neighborhoods poverty has reached such a severe state that it causes these underclass communities to be completely detached from the rest of the society.\(^{15}\)

His thesis sheds focus on “explicitly racial dimension of economic marginalization and deprivation,”\(^{16}\) through giving examples of various communities in different cities. He shows how ethnic groups through poverty experience spatial entrapment in the cities. This can be compared to the extreme poverty that the Roma community has been situated in and how this leads them to be collect in certain communities, like the Ferentari community. Badcock argues that not only does this situation the communities are in separate them from the ‘mainstream society’, thereby making them outcasts of society’s socialization. It also puts them in of a position of unemployment or ‘dead-end jobs’ that give them little or no chance of escaping this poverty.\(^{17}\)

In Romania, the relationships between the global, national and local dimensions, in the context of poverty, are becoming more and more obvious nowadays. “The 2008 world economic crisis generated a context favorable to a political debate on the type of welfare a state should offer citizenry. This debate materialized in a restriction of access to a series of social benefits.”\(^{18}\) Public sector wages were cut by 25%, which only consequence was increasing the number of workers living below the poverty line. Local authorities are also facing big problems in paying and distributing social welfare benefits from the local budget. Under these circumstances, it is being predicted that the number of poor people will increase and majority of them will move to excluded, segregated places such as: slums or ghettos.

\(^{14}\) Progress in Human Geography 21,2 (1997): Restructuring and spatial polarization in cities, Blair Badcock, pg.254
\(^{15}\) Progress in Human Geography 21,2 (1997): Restructuring and spatial polarization in cities, Blair Badcock, pg.254
\(^{16}\) Progress in Human Geography 21,2 (1997): Restructuring and spatial polarization in cities, Blair Badcock, pg.254
\(^{17}\) Progress in Human Geography 21,2 (1997): Restructuring and spatial polarization in cities, Blair Badcock, pg.254
\(^{18}\) Florin Botonogu, Hidden Communities Ferentari The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities) Bucharest, Romania 2011: page 26
6.4 ‘New’ Urban Geographies of Poverty and Social Polarization:¹⁹

Badcock argues that the continuing polarization tendencies in cities lead to questions being raised about ‘space’. “The social impact of economic restructuring upon urban communities [...] has been indelible enough to begin to force a reappraisal in some quarters of spatial policy [...] or more correctly, draw attention to the lack of it.”²⁰ He then goes on to explain that by forcing the poor into ghetto islands within the cities, transforms the experience of poverty, so they are being marginalized by, “Not so much by the lack of money but by geography.”²¹

“Another reason why space is important is that not only the poor determine the setup of a disadvantaged area. The inverse of this relationship is also valid. Once in these neighborhoods, the possibility to escape poverty is even smaller the stigma associated with living in these places being the main cause for this.”²² People living in ghettos are socially disadvantaged and have limited access to various resources (from transportation to legal employment).

Poor communities are constantly being pushed to the outskirts or outside the cities. Their spatial exclusion and being far away from everything is permanent danger that can compromise all other integration measures.

In Romania, the debate of poverty focuses mainly on vulnerable and marginalized groups, and less on territorial communities. Poor areas are usually associated with Roma people. There has been made a lot of studies on Roma communities but the association between poor places and ethnicity is not always relevant. There are poor communities that are segregated along ethnic lines and there are poor communities with a significant percentage of Roma inhabitants. The lack of data and research concerning ethnicity in these Romanian areas does not allow formulating a clear opinion and

¹⁹ Progress in Human Geography 21.2 (1997), Restructuring and spatial polarization in cities, Blair Badcock, pg.256
²⁰ Progress in Human Geography 21.2 (1997), Restructuring and spatial polarization in cities, Blair Badcock, pg.258
²¹ Progress in Human Geography 21.2 (1997), Restructuring and spatial polarization in cities, Blair Badcock, pg.258
²² Florin Botonogu, Hidden Communities Ferentari The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities) Bucharest, Romania 2011, p.26
making a certain impression, but it's visible that many of the Romanian ghettos, especially the urban ones, are not established exclusively on ethnic grounds, but rather on economic criteria.\(^{23}\)

In the theory it is explained that because of these social inequalities in cities and because of polarizing tendencies. The spatial patterning of poverty and social segregation in cities differ from city to city, but still maintain certain similarities, which makes it possible to adapt the theory to fit various cities.\(^{24}\)

Then can be drawn parallels between the theory and the Ferentari community in Bucharest. By using many of the same factors and circumstances, they can be applied to the Ferentari community in order to explain it. Not all poor communities can be labeled as ghettos. It is because all ghettos are segregated, but not all segregated areas are ghettos (for instance, the rich districts around the cities). While ethnic communities are formed based on connections and solidarity between persons of the same ethnic origin, the ghetto is formed rather with some persons being excluded from the rest of society.\(^{25}\)

"The external meaning of the ghetto, especially regarding the Ferentari area, is that of a "refuge" area for outlaws."\(^{26}\) Very few are willing to look beyond the criminality and poverty aspects, since this image is quite convenient and well - known to the mainstream society because it does not involve, at first sight, any kind of responsibility regarding these areas.

\(^{23}\) Florin Botonogu, Hidden Communities Ferentari\'The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities) Bucharest, Romania 2011, p.27
\(^{24}\) Progress in Human Geography 21.2 (1997), Restructuring and spatial polarization in cities, Blair Badcock, pg.256
\(^{25}\) Florin Botonogu, Hidden Communities Ferentari\'The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities) Bucharest, Romania 2011, p.28
\(^{26}\) Florin Botonogu, Hidden Communities Ferentari\'The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities) Bucharest, Romania 2011, p.33
7. **Research question 1: How is the physical space in the ghetto formed?**

7.1 **Introduction to the chapter:**

In this chapter we will provide a description of the Ferentari district, located in Sector 5 in Bucharest. We will describe the physical environment, location and infrastructure. We will evaluate which characteristics build symbolic and physical barriers that are creating the segregated character of the area. The special focus will be on Livelizor alley and discuss to what extent it resembles a definition of a ghetto. Furthermore we will focus on the demographics of the area and the housing equipment level. We will provide the reader with knowledge of the area and enable us to look into the factors that create a spatial environment for the inhabitants.

We will apply Blair Badcock’s theory of spatial polarization to Ferentari in order to reflect on the segregated character of the area. The chapter will use approaches from Spatial Planning and resources, which will be used to understand both the urban planning of the city area, in which our target group lives, and the physical resources which here are available to them and in this light we will be able to analyze what kind of barriers does segregation create in an urban environment. We will also discuss that kind of a meaning does the physical space have as a place of action.

7.2 **The spatial context of Ferentari:**

7.2.1 **Introduction to Livelizor Alley:**

The population of the Ferentari neighborhood is around 120,000, 80% of which is part of the Roma minority. According to the Association for the Ferentari Community Development (ACDF), the disadvantaged groups from the Ferentari neighborhood include approximately 12,000 persons, Livelizor alley is a sub-district area with small and dese housing on small lots. The alley consists of 26 apartment buildings a park and a school. The apartment buildings have previously served as dormitory housing for industrial workers of the area, once a location for active industry, and now

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abandoned and deteriorated. The apartment buildings are unofficially occupied by rural migrants and young families with no home, majority of which have settled after the year 2000. The area is known as a Roma ghetto among the public in Bucharest. Even though in reality it is ethnically heterogeneous, Roma being still the majority.

The Bucharest “ghettos” appeared by a spatial concentration of Roma population and of poverty in zones with an unstable infrastructure. The inhabitants of these areas are pressured to live in such spaces, mainly because of lack of participation in the labor market, low level of education and professional qualification. Previous reasons exclude the “ghetto” population from social participation and from getting access to urban areas of better quality. Livelizor alley is the biggest space affected by urban segregation ending in a closed community of the ghetto type. The residents of the Livelizor alley face many problems, such as poor sanitary services, drug consumption, lack of playgrounds for children and lack of communication with the authorities.

7.2.2 Description of the infrastructure in Livelizor Alley:

Infrastructure consists of services and structures that make a community to work. Buildings, public transport, energy and water services and information networks create the technical infrastructure.

The buildings in Ferentari consist of small, densely located houses with yards and typically high fences around them. The conditions of these houses vary. Some are newly renovated and some are on the verge of collapsing or fixed with temporary solutions and have a “shack-like” appearance.

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28 *The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos*, Viorel Mionel and Silviu Neguț pg. 206
32 *The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos*, Viorel Mionel and Silviu Neguț pg 197
33 *The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos*, Viorel Mionel and Silviu Neguț, pg 207
34 *The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos*, Viorel Mionel and Silviu Neguț, pg 206
Livelizor alley consists of all together 30 apartment buildings, built in the 70's. The buildings, originally built to serve as dormitories for industrial workers, are severely deteriorated. The block buildings form a courtyard with entrances facing inwards, on the opposite sides of the streets. These courtyards are not paved and lack green areas and playgrounds. This is also the case in public spaces. There are no green areas and vegetation is scarce. Public areas are not maintained and accumulate trash and attract street dogs and rats. Streets are, according to our observations, in a good condition, even though some smaller side streets are not paved.

Bus and tram networks stretch across the Ferentari, but are not of the same width as in other parts of the city. (3 bus lines and 3 tram lines compared to 11 tram lines, 22 bus lines and 1 trolleybus line in equally sized Rahova). According to our observations the buses and trams that are used, are new and the public transport network stretches to main streets providing access to the city centre, even though more limited than in other parts of the city, creating segregation.

Sanitary services in Ferentari are lacking, and locally even inexistent. The trash has accumulated on the streets and in the courtyards. Many people throw their household trash straight out of the window. The continuous presence of trash creates health issues in the area and is most dangerous for the children, who in the lack of playgrounds play amongst the trash containing used syringes and other harmful components. Trash also generates a horrible smell and attracts rats and parasites.

The access to information networks is generally low in the area, as 30% of the households have a computer attached to the Internet.

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35 Appendix observations
36 Appendix observations
The infrastructure of the area is insufficient and degraded. The local administration is unable to provide the area with sanitary and maintenance services. The urban planning of the temporary industrial housing, turned into unofficial habitation of the block houses creates the living circumstances for the population of the Livelizor alley.

7.2.3 Housing Facilities:
In the Ferentari communities there is a limited possibility to utilize enough amount of physical space that is required for decent living conditions. Some of the main reasons to this are lack of proper hygienic conditions, the lack of decent living conditions, a small living space and a humidity which deteriorate the apartments interior condition.40

The level of house equipment varies between apartment buildings and apartments. Some habitants have seen more effort to maintain their apartments, but still the overall living standard is generally poor. Livelizor alley consists of single room studio apartments and double room apartments with a kitchen and a bathroom.41 The inhabiting surface in these rooms/studios does not exceed 17 m². In many cases, such studios habited by three to four family members; sometimes even more.42 This creates overcrowding, which 65% of the residents state being the major problem in their housing circumstances.43

Most of the households have access to water and electricity (both 98%) but there are many problems in accessing other basic facilities, such as gas (one out of 6) and hot water (20%).

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42 *The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos*, Viorel Mionel and Silviu Negut, pg. 207
Lack of sanitary facilities causes the accumulation of trash, which causes hygiene problems and this attracts parasites and rats.

Many of the apartments are insufficiently isolated. This is cause for the presence of humidity that destroys apartments. Basements have also been flooded for years. The degradation level in many apartments is so high that repairs and maintenance have become impossible, which only leads to a further decline in living conditions and worsening in standard of physical space. Overcrowding, low hygiene level and poor isolation crate daily challenges for living. According to a survey 61.7% of the habitants see their living circumstances as 'poor' or 'extremely poor'.

7.3 Ghetto conditions:

“Theoretical notions about “ghetto” and “ghettoization”:

The process through which the formation of a closed physical and social space, as well as a marginal space is formed in an urban area where ethnic, racial, sexual etc. minorities live, due to poverty and other social constraints is called ghettoization. [...] This definition [...] states that the ghetto is the geographic area of spatial concentration, that is forcefully used up until the dominant society separates or limits a group of persons, defined as racial, ethnic or foreign and which is treated as inferior by the dominant society.

In Bucharest in specific neighborhoods there are large areas in which the residents are mainly ethnic minorities and a large number of these are Roma. In these neighborhoods that include the Ferentari district, living standards are very poor.

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45 The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos, Viorel Mionel and Silviu Negut, 198
46 The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos, Viorel Mionel and Silviu Negut, 198
The stages of ghettoization process through the disadvantages cycles, the process of ghettoization involves certain stages in the formation and development of the ghetto (Figure 1):

1. the discrimination on the labor force market;
2. the economic devaluation of the zone;
3. the discrimination on the real estate markets;
4. the discrimination regarding the access to services;
5. the architectural space degradation; and
6. the isolation and self-isolation.48

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47 The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos, Viorel Mionel and Silviu Negut, 199
48 The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos, Viorel Mionel and Silviu Negut, 199
The various stages listed above are all self-generating and are causes for poverty and segregation. These different stages are subsequently named the disadvantages cycle. These stages are not causes of segregation, but are also in turn caused by segregation. In Bucharest the exclusion has become so severe that the geographical area that the ghettos cover are seen as an entirely different physical and social reality, with the residents being always looked down upon. Those parts of ‘mainstream society’ rarely dare to venture there due to their presumptions about the area.49

The new view upon poverty which Badcock describes as ‘outcast ghetto’, this term can in a number of ways be seen in the Ferentari community. This can be seen when we look at how the ghettos in Ferentari take form and also how they drift further away from the rest of the Romanian ‘mainstream society’. The ghettos in this area are being exposed to an social exclusion, on various levels; global, regional, national and local. This exclusion happens also on an economic, social and political level. When being exposed to such a level of exclusion, it also has an impact on the amount of physical space available to utilize.50

“Space is an essential element to anti-poverty policies, due to the dynamics of capitalism, permanently seeking a cheap labor force, favorable work relations, markets and favorable political conditions. This continuous movement of capital generates flourishing places, but it leaves behind poor communities.”51 Another reason why space plays a major role in the ghetto communities is first that after residents arrive in these areas, it becomes very difficult to escape these areas again since the conditions are very poor. There are limited amount of resources and the housing and living conditions are very bad. There are at the same time made a very limited amount of investments in these areas and access to public services is limited.52

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49 The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos, Viorel Mionel and Silviu Negut, 1995
52 Botonogu, Florin: Hidden communities Ferentari, The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities)
7.4 **Space and Ethnicity:**

In Romania ghettos and especially the Ferentari area is often associated with being dominated by Roma’s, but this is not always the case. The reason for this not necessarily being true is because poverty and ethnicity is not always connected.\(^{53}\) Badcock explains that in these outcast ghetto communities are populated of different ethnic groups that have not been able to situate themselves in ‘mainstream society’, and therefor they gather together and have a hard time of escaping these areas, as the possibilities are poor.\(^{54}\)

There are three points to the argument residents are not more mixed than just Roma (segregation, poverty and ethnicity):

First of all not all poor communities are ghettos and not all segregated areas are ghettos. A ghetto serves different functions for the community and society. “*While ethnic communities are formed based on affiliation and solidarity between persons of same ethnic origin, the ghetto is formed rather with some persons being excluded from society.*”\(^{55}\)

In these poverty-stricken areas the decisions on intervening be it done politically or through investments, must not be decided by looking at ethnicity. Even though the area may mainly be dominated by Roma, by basing ones decision on which one thinks are the main residents, it heavily influences the choices that will be made. In Romania this can play a vital role since he view on Roma is quite negative.\(^{56}\)

Finally there is the criterion of relationships between the state the poor areas are in and the willingness to be made intervention in the communities. This relationship often grows more and

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\(^{53}\) Botonogu, Florin: *Hidden communities Ferentari*, The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities) Bucharest, Romania 2011 pg.27

\(^{54}\) Progress in Human Geography 21,2 (1997), *Restructuring and spatial polarization in cities*, Blair Badcock, pg.254

\(^{55}\) Botonogu, Florin: *Hidden communities Ferentari*, The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities) Bucharest, Romania 2011, pg.28

\(^{56}\) Botonogu, Florin: *Hidden communities Ferentari*, The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities) Bucharest, Romania 2011/pg.28
more distant since spatial relationship grows larger between the poor community and the mainstream community. The reason for this distancing relationship can be seen with the mainstream society not wanting to recognize these poor living conditions in the ghettos.57

7.5 Creating “places” in the “undesired space”:
The Ferentari ghetto and ghettos in general are most of the time associated with violence, danger and a feeling of being inaccessible. There is also often a belief that in a ghetto there is maintained order through a violent authority that replaces the official one. This leads to discrimination to coming from two sides, from the outside ‘mainstream society’ and from the inside where there is a general alert atmosphere, where the residents follow a different set of norms. This two sided discrimination limits in a large way the resident’s physical space. The case in ghettos is usually that it also creates a housing discrimination and segregation. It is often the situation that the economic disadvantages are very clear. It is also evident that in these areas, lack of resources and access to public services is a major concern. It is not only the ‘mainstream society’ that considers Ferentari community for a ghetto, but also within most of the residents sees themselves as living in a ghetto (92.9% state that they live in one).58

In the sources we have had access to the ghettos are seen as a fixed setting and the terms of “poverty bag” and “urban lock up” have been used repeatedly. The ghetto space is presented as a trap, once one ends up, it is impossible to find the way out of this circle. The stigma creating and reinforcing the symbolic barriers around the ghetto. Ghettoization is seen as a force from outside and has a strong negative connotation. The residents of the neighborhood are seen as victims of this development.

It is impossible to look away from the poor conditions, but a matter that has not attracted a lot of action is that the geographical space crates the setting for the life of the residents, but what gives it a

57Botonogu, Florin: Hidden communities Ferentari, The Expert Publishing House (Policy Center of Roma Minorities) Bucharest, Romania 2011 pg.28
meaning and a purpose is the actions happening within and the meaning the residents give it. Geographical and physical place gets its meaning as a *place* through action within its barriers. In our field observations we made a remark that despite the deteriorated state of the public space it was used as a private setting for action. People were sitting and socializing outside, washing laundry on the yards and the children were playing outside. It can be seen that the segregated image of the area not only hinders the outside involvement in the area, but also transfers the public space into a place where private actions take place.

Even though the physical space of the Livelizor alley is fixed, and the residents have little chance of improving it. The nature of this place is not static, but constantly evolving the usage of this space, in the form of social interaction and daily activities, gives it the meaning. Under the surface of” a space of misery”, lies also a place for action.

### 7.6 Part conclusion:

Even though in Bucharest the Ferentari neighborhood is considered a Roma area, it is actually also populated by a number of other minority groups. It is a common denominator for all the ethnic groups that reside in the Ferentari neighborhood that they are trapped in a ‘disadvantage cycle’. In other words once the residents are situated in this community, they are placed in a situation where escape is extremely difficult.

There is a continuing distancing between the neighborhood and the ‘mainstream society’, in both the mental and physical sense. This leads to not only further isolation in the ghetto, but also to an ever worsening state of the area. This constitutes a negative spiral, because the ever worsening conditions create an environment which is increasingly tough to survive in and to escape from.
8. **Research Question 2: What is the Roma’s level of social capital?**

To answer question we will use Bourdieu concept of social capital and its various forms- social capital, economical capital and cultural capital. First we examine social capital, with focus on the Roma community, second part is focused on economical capital of residents of Ferentari- income, possibilities to find and keep work, and third part of this chapter is dedicated to cultural capital, how education and knowledge passing happens and how cultural capital of Ferentari residents looks like.

8.1 Social Capital:

Social capital refers to social networks as family relationships and friends, as these are important in achieving other capitals as economical and cultural.

Coming to Bucharest to compete and be in great uncertainty for housing, job opportunities, better education and a new beginning has placed the Roma people in an even more insecure and unreliable situation. They are forbidden from obtaining proper housing and controlled in finding job opportunities; their children are degraded and held back in school. *In general, the Roma working class, if gainfully employed, are engaged in civic sanitary services, garbage pick-up, street cleaning, restaurant dish washing and other menial services that continue to hold them enslaved in economic bondage.*

One of the problems in the Bucharest, particularly talking about Ferentari community, is that so many of its children do badly in school, if they go and try to attend it at all. The parents are the most responsible and one's who should be blamed about such situation: Either they do not have the time to help their children with schoolwork (in Romania, you work 10 hours a day for a meagre sum), or they are so burdened by day-to-day worries and duties so that they have no energy to make their children study. Either that or they don’t believe education is important in general. If they’re lucky, their children will work as beggars or other marginal works in the streets. As well, kids have a

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possibility to attend educational clubs created by NGO's or help organizations which are working with purpose of developing youth's, whose family is not able to take proper care, skills while having different educational and practical activities.2

In Ferentari, Bucharest’s most depressed district, the so called "invisible child" is for example the girl whose father acts as her pimp. Stories are told of how by night she prostitutes herself to earn the family livelihood and a little bigger welfare. By day she is a pupil at the local school which actually is for children with disabilities and attends a day centre for disadvantaged children in afternoon. She is a good, honest and sincere pupil and daughter. She is clean and presentable to look at but her childhood has been failure because her parents are out or do not have possibility to work.3

One of the biggest problems social workers within the area face is the large number of abandoned orphans and pre-teen homeless children who rambles in the streets and lives in sewers and canal systems. The Council of Europe estimates there are approximately one thousand street children in Bucharest; however, estimates from social agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working the streets state the figure at ten thousand or more in the city. Roma or Gypsy children account for about eighty percent of all children abandoned in Romania.4

Roma’s often leave their infant or bigger children at orphanages for a “provisional” length of time, which often becomes permanent without any limits. The practice was actually encouraged during the rule of Nicolae Ceausescu (the leader of Romania from 1965-1989), who promised that children would have a place in an orphanage if families could not afford to support them.5 Since the collapse of Communism, poverty has only grown up for the Roma people. Eventually, many orphaned and neglected children find their ways to the alleys and sewers of Bucharest and ghettos around.

Because of the elimination of social work programs under Ceausescu, post-Communist Romania had no trained social workers or adoption or family advocate services. It was not until 1997, under

2 http://worldpress.org/print_article.cfm?article_id=2015&don't=yes "The Roma of Ferentari and Nushfalău" Crina Museranu, Read 21-05-2012
the Constantinescu government, that policies were enacted to establish a universal social welfare program, a domestic adoption and foster care service program. It was into this void that foreign agencies entered to stem the tide of human right abuses widely circulated by Western media in the early 1990s.6

Like everywhere else in the Europe, Roma people in Bucharest are also having a lot remaining problems with drugs and crimes. Ferentari is famous because of drug dealers and from our group members observations it was obvious why it is so. Weather it was day or night, at least few Roma people were openly injecting drugs in their venous openly and in front of everybody in community of Ferentari. It goes without saying, that kids also are being part of that, even though they do not start using drugs in very early age, but in Ferentari streets some 14-16 years old teenagers were using drugs while adults were standing just right next to them.

These kinds of actions inevitably appear as consequence living in such environment in long time. Moreover, social network as family friends are always present and children from the early age see drugs as daily using activity. Moreover, nobody really cares and explains that it's not the right thing to start live with and that consequences of using drugs in the future could affect youngster's life very dramatically.

Drugs are inherent activity from criminality. It's only the question of the time, then person's money will go to the end, and he/she will start to steal from others, rob houses or do such things in order to satisfy the need. Moreover, it's especially actual in round of Roma, because poverty in Ferentari community is very common and children from the early age can see their parents begging on the streets or trying to produce money in different ways, such as: stealing, prostitution, etc. It affects kid inevitably and immediately starts to shape his/her identity and direct the development in the way which obviously not beneficial for individual.

Roma’s are being affected by actions of their parents or older friends every single day and they do not have a choice to create and live their own lives because of the lack of experience and knowledge. Sadly, they do not have good and proper examples close to them and damage and affect which are made on them from their early years, remains sad consequence during all the life.

8.2 Economical capital:

According to Bourdieu, economical capital is economical resources- salary, social benefits and other financial income.

Economical capital of Roma living in Bucharest, especially in Ferentari area, in district 5 are inevitably connected both with economical situation Romania, and with social capital and possibilities for people living in specific districts and circumstances

Romania’s already vulnerable economical situation was strongly affected by world economical crisis in end of 2008. In result of changes in welfare model access too many social welfare benefits was restricted, current debate suggesting shift from 54 to 9 benefits. Public sector wages was cut by 25 %, in result increased number of people living under poverty line. Local authorities also have problem spaying social welfare benefits from local budgets. According to Europe Union statistics, Romania is second in “risk of poverty” and as first concerning children and youth up to age of 17. Romania also has the highest percentage of workers living under poverty threshold- 17%.

Cuts in pensions, social benefits, and medical assistance, have transformed Romania to minimal welfare state. Countries economical performance is not remarkable. Together with one of the

highest economical inequality rates in EU it is a reason for why Romania has a highest rate for risk of poverty in EU. It creates poverty trap, where poor just gets poorer.

Most of the people living in ghetto area of Ferentari, has a relatively low economical capital compared with major society. Survey shows, that the main reason why people have migrated to live in Ferentari is lower prices for the houses (49%). 78% of households encounter problems to pay utility and maintenance costs from their current income. Many of the families have huge debts.

Survey, done by “Policy Center for Roma and Minorities”, shows community of Ferentari as poor and economically vulnerable. 50% of respondents claimed that families’ main source of income is salaries, 9.1% - welfare checks and unemployment benefits, 8.3% received money from other members of family, and about 30% mentioned that they have other sources of income, without giving more detailed information. Of all receiving salaries, 70% was less than 1000RON (1 673 DKK). For majority of the people it is not enough to cover basic expenses of the household.

In achieving a higher economical capital, employment situation is very crucial. Access to the economical resources and social services is low, as because of the low status and poor social networks with wider society of members of community. Areas that are marginalized from an urban point of view, often display big risks of exclusion in labour market.

Main reasons for exclusion of labour market, for residents of Ferentari are social stigma, stereotypes and lack of education and professional skills. From ethnical point of view this area is not

exclusively Roma, but definitely majority of residents is Roma, and as neighbourhood is perceived by larger society as “gypsy neighbourhood” also non-Roma residents often is perceived as Roma.\textsuperscript{14}

Most of the employers and employees are against of hiring new Roma colleagues.\textsuperscript{15}

Lack of education and professionals skills another very crucial obstacle for inclusion of labour market. Close to half of residents have finished just middle school; some people have not graduated any school at all, or have completed only primary school. 10% off all residents are illiterate.\textsuperscript{16}

Those who work are generally employed as unskilled workers. Only quarter has a stable, permanent job, around half of working has some qualification.

The leaders of the Roma community in Ferentari, Mr Muzacov and Mr Baicu, are working in association with Romani CRISS and other NGOs to create more job opportunities for Roma people. ‘Of course, the crisis is affecting the poorest and very visibly at that. Politicians who live in denial should drop by Ferentari.’ In a single stroke, Mr Filipescu dispels the myth that the economic meltdown and the ensuing austerity measures have not had a significant impact on the most vulnerable. The financial situation of a family with amount of children in Ferentari area is only one of the eight EU criteria used to assess child wellbeing.\textsuperscript{17}

8.3 Cultural Capital:

According Pierre Bourdieu, cultural capital is about education and knowledge. Moreover, it is the act and orientation possibilities and different dispositions we use in our daily lives.

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Livelizor Alley considers schools to be important factor in solving the area's problems. There can be several reasons for this: the school's role and low impact, the low interest of the residents in education, the existence of much more visible issues in the neighbourhood (drugs, trash, violence) or problems with immediate effects (severe poverty).  

District 5 (where Ferentari ghetto is located) is the district with the highest number of students repeating school years (school year 2009-2010), both in the primary cycle (159 children) and in the secondary cycle (386 students). The number of students earning awards at international competitions (195) is higher than the number of students earning awards at national competitions (102). In this area, it's possible to see an approximately 30% gap between the lowest percentage of achievement and the national average.

For the latest evaluation exam (2010-2011) carried out at School 136, out of the 43 students who showed up, only 11 obtained a passing grade (25.5%). In general, the evaluation exam average grade is lower by 2 percent than the student's grade point average for the fifth to eighth grades. The highest grade at the national evaluation was 6.65, while the average for the fifth to eighth grades for the same student was 9.47. An each single student was accepted to a regular high school, while 20 others were accepted to technical or industrial high schools. The low scores in evaluation exams result in less than 50% of students who continue their studies beyond the eighth grade.

The number of permanent and substitute teachers in schools provide a sufficiently acceptable image of the teaching quality and of the fluctuation of personnel. If in the case of primary – school teachers the situation is better, in the case of primary – school teachers the situation is better, in the

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case of middle school teachers, and there are several schools where the number of substitute teachers is close to or outruns the number of permanent teachers.  

At the level of the municipality of Bucharest, 76.78% of all teaching jobs are held by permanent teachers and 20.48% by substitute teachers.

When analysing the high percentage of fifth grade students who fail classes and repeat school years, it’s possible to make conclusion that the transition from the primary to the secondary cycle is challenging for students. This may be caused in one way by the poor quality of the education received in the previous cycle, but also by teachers' incompetency in working with children.

Three of our group members while making an investigation in Ferentari, poor community located in Bucharest, where many Roma people are being located, got an opportunity to see how “Policy Center for Roma and Minorities” organization, educational club, is working and having impact of Roma children daily lives.

Information about this organisation which will be mentioned below in this paragraph definitely conforms reality and is giving to Roma children opportunity, through different fun activities get overview about education. While communicating with centre's leaders, our teammates got to know, that children are very satisfied being part of this club and experiences which they get there, help to children formulate their goals and be aware about future perspectives and possibilities. While visit the class where the club is taking place, it was visible that despite rough and negative background and current conditions of living, kids seemed actively participating in activities created by social workers.

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Furthermore, leaders of organisations are happy about achievements and developing ideas hot to improve and make club more popular in the nearest future.

Policy Center for Roma and Minorities officially opened the doors of an alternative educational club at the Elementary School No. 136 located in the Ferentari neighbourhood, Bucharest. The project aims to create a new, fun, safe, but open, creative and challenging space and environment for the children living in this area.

The children will have the opportunity to explore new perspectives and opportunities in order to forget at least for a while the current negative examples to which they are currently exposed while living in the community. The goal of organizations is: through a wide range of activities developing the children’s social and practical skills and stimulating an improvement in their school performance.¹⁴

“We are very happy that we could create this educational haven for the children in Ferentari, which is very well known for it’s bad socio-economic conditions “, said Radu Răcăreanu, the coordinator of the Alternative Education Club and Policy Officer at Policy Center for Roma and Minorities. “Most of the children here lack healthy role models, which can lead to several problems like school drop outs and bad educational results. We are comitted in showing the children there are other ways in which they can develop and fulfill their potential as human beings”, added Radu Răcăreanu at the end of the opening event.²⁵

Through activities like sports, children are learning fair play and how to work together as a team and one unit while still having fun and enjoying their time. A new optional class challenges them and provides with the possibility to learn new practical skills such as video-making, stimulus and develops their own creativity. What is more? It facilitates the communication with their class-mates

and teachers. With an every-day schedule, different tutors and trainers are working with all the children who wish to join the activities.  

8.4 Part Conclusion:

Roma is encountering many difficulties and challenges regards weak social capital. All types of social capital is interconnected, as problems in financial capital has negative impact on families and so for passing of knowledge from generation to generation and achievements in school, therefore cultural capital.

9. Research Question 3: What daily actions are taken by the Romas’ in their community in Livezilor Alley?

The following chapter will present the Roma's actions taken in the ghettos of Ferentari, it will mainly focus on the Livezilor Alley ghetto, but examples from other ghettos in Ferentari’s area may be utilized for comparison and deeper explanations. The chapter will consider the social situation in Ferentari in order to understand the daily actions taken there. In this part Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of Habitus, will be used as a theoretical explanation of the actions taken by (mainly) the Roma’s. The chapter will mainly be based on secondary data such as Florin Bontongo's book: “Hidden Communities, Ferentari”, Viorel Mionel & Silviu Negut's academic paper: “The socio-spatial dimension of the Bucharest ghettos” and our empirical data in form of observations from Bucharest’s district 5, Ferentari. In order to answer our problem definition we need to know what actions are taken.

9.1 The residents of Livelizor Alley and their habitus:

Ferentari's ghetto Livelizor Alley is in Romania often defined as a “Roma Ghetto”, though it is not only Roma people who live there but also Romanians and other ethnic minorities. But since it is one

of the areas in Bucharest with the highest population of Roma people, it is possible to stigmatize as being a “Roma Ghetto”. Beside ethnicity, the residents living in Livelizor Alley have other similar characteristics. They deal with some of the same problems and live under the same circumstances. According to Pierre Bourdieu the circumstances of living are what create peoples habitus, so when people live in the same circumstances, we can argue that they have a common habitus. We will in this part analyze how the common Habitus of the residents in Livelizor Alley is utilized to deal with their life world, and what structures the habitus creates in Livelizor Alley.

Poverty is one of the main issues between the residents, and clearly it is something which has a big impact on the structures in Livelizor Alley. By poverty between the residents is meant that they do not have a high economical capital, the income in the area is not high, since not many have a formal job with a sustainable income, and this makes the level of the economical capital low.

According to Bourdieu, the constructivist structuralism is something existing in the social world and not just in symbolic systems, such as language, myths, etc. He argues that with constructivism, there will always be two sides to view from: perception, thinking and acting patterns, which are called habitus, on the other side the social structure and the known fields and groups. This is also called social classes.

Bourdieu describes the social group as a society where it divides individuals after masculine / feminine, high / low, strong / weak, rich / poor. Therefore it is possible to say why there is such a high percentage of poverty in Romania. In Livelizor Alley people live because the rent is cheap (for the ones who pay), and it is similar to the residents that they all live under poverty with an under average income, as a social group they therefore might be seen as poor and weak according to Bourdieu.

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Perspectives for the Children in Ferentari” 2010, Policy Center of Roma Minorities, Read 21-05-2012
According to Bourdieu, education and the environment people live in, for example Ferentari are very important and helps to create peoples identities and life circumstances. This means that the circumstances in Livelizor Alley will create the social actions of the residents living here, if people were living in the wealthy part of the city, their habitus would be different, and thereby also other actions would be taken. Further, Bourdieu argues that the economic capital is judging the individuals role in the society. He means that if you do not have a high enough income, you cannot create a healthy life chance for the family and children. Therefore, economic capital plays an important role in relation to a child's life chances. Without a good financial capital, one can easily end up in the bottom of hierarchies. Most of the residents have no educational background, which is also shown in the minor activity in the labor market. This means that the residents of Livelizor Alley are dealing with problems with their economic capital, dilemmas of how to raise their children, and a low status in the society of Bucharest.

Many of the residents living in Ferentari, Livelizor Alley have no official documents; this means that they are not all in any municipal system. In this way it is possible to find a reason for being socially excluded, since one cannot be provided with services from the municipality without being a part of it and this also means that the state cannot control and therefore they have less influence on the area of Livelizor Alley.

Due to the high percentage of unemployment in the area, normal and legal work, is not one of the main daily activities taken by the residents, instead hanging out in the streets smoking cigarettes etc. is a main activity in this area of Bucharest. The NGO (Policy Center of Roma Minorities) working in the area have the idea that many of the residents seem to have given up looking for job and are waiting for the system to take an action, since they do not have the power themselves to solve the problems.

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60 Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori, Akadamisk Forlag 1994 p. 52
61 Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori, Akadamisk Forlag 1994 p.57
62 Viorel Mionel & Silviu Negut: The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettoes, Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences, Page 207
The people living in Livelizor Alley are to generate people socially excluded from Bucharest’s municipal systems and society, they are dealing with different and common social problems, which exist according to their circumstances, therefore we can talk about a common habitus between the residents. The residents in Livelizor Alley are stigmatized as being Roma’s or Gypsies, and are thereby being excluded ethnically, even though not all residents are of Roma background.

9.2 Community life in the ghetto:

The life in the blocks in Ferentari reflects a community life. The residents are bounded together by the physical space they live in. The physical space may on Livelizor Alley have a bigger influence to the community life compared to other physical spaces, because it is seen as a “No go place” in most of Bucharest. This means that the persons who show themselves in the streets are the people who either live here or have a connection to someone living in here and not many outsiders (people living in other areas of Bucharest) decide to go for a walk in Livelizor Alley. There are neither shops, open centers, work places or other attractions to make people visit the area. It can be compared to Bucharest's city center and the area around Piata Unirii. People from all over the city comes to this area, goes to the restaurants, cafes, and shopping or working places. As mentioned earlier the residents of Ferentari identify themselves with the physical space they live in. To support this, it is possible to argue with Bourdieu. He calls these forms of the structure the social reality. According to Bourdieu, the construction of a social reality is divided into three points, the first point is that this construction is not done in a social space, but it has undergone a structural coercion. When we reach point two we see that the social realities are structured, because they are of social origin, thirdly, the construction of social reality is not only an individual task, but can also be a collective task, like in a community, the reality of the life is constructed together with the other individuals through for example their social actions together.63

Since it is not normal to see “outsiders” in Livelizor Alley, the residents must be aware of whom most of the people that are coming to the blocks are. People know each other and deal some similarities in the daily life where they are in need of interaction in between.
Another fact affecting the community life is that a big part of the daily day is used outside in the streets/yards between the blocks. When passing by Livelizor Alley, one can see women washing clothes together, men sitting on stairs smoking cigarettes, children playing in the garbage and so on. Most probably the reason for that can be explained by the poor conditions in the apartments, when simply that many activities are unavailable to work out inside and therefore they are moved outside to the streets. This creates a social connection in between the residents, which promotes the community feeling. The community is also a part of the social circumstances in Livelizor Alley, this means that the residents have a cultural capital, which navigates their actions through their habitus which is shared in the community. This creates the daily actions taken in the community.

The fact that Livelizor Alley is being defined as a ghetto is already creating a community in itself, as Florin Botonogu writes: “A ghetto is a type of residential area for marginalized communities...” When a group of people is being marginalized from a society, it creates a unity in this certain group.

So the question might be what is this community based on? Marginalized groups are often ethnic groups of people in this case the Roma’s. This might give the belief that all Roma’s have a shared culture and habitus, which creates a community. The Roma’s might have a shared historical and some cultural identity but since different groupings Roma’s have been observed in Bucharest, whom did not share the same living circumstances, also different habitus’, and since not all the community in Livelizor Alley are by the ethnicity of Roma, the cultural and ethnic identity might not be one of the main basics for creating this community. Instead the fact of that all people living in Livelizor Alley are dealing with poverty related problems and live in a shared space is a more relevant reason which can be the basic for creation of this community, therefore we can see that the development of a habitus is created across different ethnicities. When daily actions are taken in the community, they are often taken together with other people from the community so the daily actions are a common activity in Ferentari.

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63 Pierre Bourdieu, *Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturtære*, Akademisk Forlag 1994 page 60
In order to understand the different groups in society Livellizor Alley it is necessary to point out Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which he divides into three categories.

Pierre Bourdieu sees the body as the social life of memory and people have a tendency to control against and repeat the previous situations in our lives through our habitus. Habitus is a way in which social actors perceive, judge and act in the world. This leads to the safety to humans, and a different way of perceiving our lives. In this way we gain a confirmation of previous positions and social locations. In this context there is a kind of social inheritance. Therefore Pierre Bourdieu means that we all have a habitus, which is achieved through our experiences in life. Further Bourdieu regard the habitus as something you create from your society and living circumstances.

Pierre Bourdieu divides the capital into three categories: 1. Social Capital, 2. Economic Capital and 3. Cultural Capital. When we talk about social capital, we talk about social networks for example friends - and family relationships. These relationships may have an impact on one's position of power in later life. When we talk about economic capital, it is about material resources. These resources must be understood as income and cash, which is the most obvious factor that may play a role in relation to a child's life chances. When we talk about cultural capital, such as the education, knowledge, language skills - things that make it easier to navigate in the society. Further Bourdieu mean that cultural capital is what you learn and get from our parents and education.

### 9.3 Employment and Unemployment:

Florin Botonogu argues that; “employment is the main area of life where discrimination is felt...”

This fact is causing big difficulties for the Roma people in Romania to enter the labor market.

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66 Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori, Akadamisk Forlag 1994 p.21
68 Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori, Akadamisk Forlag 1994 p.57
69 Botonogu, Florin: *Hidden Communities Ferentari*, Policy Center of Roma Minorities – The Expert Publishing House,
Livelizor Alley is an example of a group of Roma's whom yet not succeed in entering the labor market, it should be mentioned here that also other people in Livelizor Alley, without the ethnic Roma background, face difficulties while entering the labor market. But the discrimination problem here can still be grounded to the ethical reasons, and almost half of the Roma’s are not active in the labor market.\textsuperscript{70} This is of course influencing their economical situation too.

When so many barriers are met to find jobs for the Roma’s, other activities to get an income must be found. One way used by many Roma’s or poor people are to collect metal pieces from garbage cans or other places and hand them in to the recycling center that returns a small amount of money.\textsuperscript{71} Other find illegal jobs or tries to get an income through the crime market.

Others just live out of the social benefits and do therefore do not have an activity for getting an income, as mentioned when talking to some of the social workers in Ferentari, many of the residents simply gave up and do not use their day trying to get some income, but they are waiting for the municipalities to solve the problems instead.

When the Roma’s are having a low level of income, they naturally also have a low Economical capital. According to Bourdieu the economic capital is characterized as material or physical, while others characterized as immaterially.

Therefore, Bourdieu believes that a capital is a fixed process, namely, exchange and value. Bourdieu also incorporates what he calls material and immaterially capital forms that can be characterized by a greater or lesser duration in the world. In exchange, Bourdieu believes that a

\textsuperscript{70} Botonogu, Florin: \textit{Hidden Communities Ferentari, Policy Center of Roma Minorities – The Expert Publishing House, Bucharest, Romania 2011: Page 188}

capital with more or less trouble can be exchanged for one of the other forms of capital. He argues further that all the intangible forms of capital can exchange for economic capital. Finally, Bourdieu puts the point about the existence of intellectual and cultural forms of capital. Obviously, making use of economic prosperity, which today is discussed under the term social capital, and it is this form of capital that will be in the focus here.72

According to Bourdieu it is connected to a provision that a type of environment (the material conditions of existence) associated with a socially structured environment that produces the 'habitus'. Habitus is a list of objectively organized strategies without being a product of strategic plan.

It will be possible to conclude that because of these particular types of environment existing in the community in Livelizor Alley, it will automatically be stigmatized, in the society of Bucharest, as being a ghetto and the people living in here will be labeled as coming from very low in the hierarchy. The residents of Livelizor Alley has been forgotten by the civil society, and thereby socially excluded. Some ends up as being street sellers, drug dealers or living on social benefits therefore not have an income high enough to live life under acceptable conditions, and will have a life, living in bad circumstances and cannot guarantee a healthy growth way for the child, and this creates a circular flow.73

9.4 Crime as an entrepreneurship:

It is not possible to speak about Livelizor Alley in Ferentari without mentioning crime and especially drug trafficking as one of the main actions taken in the ghetto. When you walk around in the area it is impossible not to notice that it is hard loaded with drug addicts and drug dealers. Syringes is lying everywhere in the garbage and if you plan to visit the area you will be advised to go there before 2 p.m. when the drug dealers wake up. According to the residents living in

72 Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori, Akadamisk Forlag 1994 p.71
73 Viorel Mionel & Silviu Negut: The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos, Transylvanian Review of
Livelizor Alley around 70% of these are taking drugs, this means that taken drugs and dealing with the drugs is one of the common social actions taken in between the residents of Livelizor Alley. So according to Bourdieu the social field in Ferentari and the residents living in here have a common habitus, they are acting according to their environment, field, they live in, therefore the explanation of why so many in Livelizor Alley are taking drugs, must be find in the environment here.

As mentioned before Livelizor Alley is by the definition a ghetto area, people here are caught in poverty, they have no jobs, education and are socially excluded from the rest of Bucharest’s society, since not many wish to enter the area which is stigmatized as a Roma ghetto with violence and crime, and not a society one wish to interact with.

It cannot be questioned that the people living in here has harsh circumstances, and many of them have difficult social backgrounds they have to deal with in their everyday life, and therefore one explanation of the big amount of drug user might be explained with a way of escaping from all the difficulties they have to deal with in their daily days.

The fact that there is a big amount of drug dealers also living in Livelizor Alley might reflect the low activity and difficulties facing for the Roma’s on the labor market. If people don’t have access to a job a thereby also and income, they will have to find other ways to get an income and food on the table, and when there is such a big market for drug consumption in Ferentari this might be the most obvious way.

When there is a big demand for a good in this case drugs, there of course also needs to be a supply, therefore many drug dealers comes to the area where they can sell their drugs. This creates a connection between the drug dealers and Livelizor Alleys residents, and the drug market becomes a part of the living circumstances. Since the residents have difficulties interacting in the formal and
legal market, they can instead take action in the informally and illegal market existing in their neighborhood, and in this way create a status and an income, through this activity.

One may question is crime can be a successful carrier. But where there is consumption a market is created and in this way it is also possible to make a carrier in this certain market, it is a business. When living in a society you will have most success to participate in the markets, and in this way develop your life opportunities. In Livelizor Alley there are no job centers or many different possibilities for creating a carrier, therefore drug dealing, seem to be as the most successful business market in here and it is a visible entrepreneurship in this area, and at the same time where many of the carrier related actions are taken.

9.5 School and education:

The importance of education is not something, which is highly accepted between all of the residents in Ferentari. Almost 50% of the parents do not see education as the way of escaping poverty, instead it can be necessary that the children and youngsters helps in the house or tries to find a job. Many do not themselves have an educational background, and must therefore have a hard time understanding the school system, and are not aware of what education can offer, and what happens at a school (not to generate, some might exactly see the importance, because they are aware of the result of not taking an education themselves). Only 10% of the parents declare in PCRM's (policy Center of Roma Minorities) survey, that they do not help their children with homework, while 15% declares that they help the children all they need. Though the children living in district 5 (where Ferentari is placed) might not have the best support for going to school, 75% of them are studying in the school 136, which is placed around 200 meters from Livelizor Alley. The school is the one school in Bucharest with the highest percentage of Roma's, and here the children have their daily

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school activities. The school lies on one of the main streets in Ferentari, and it looks like every other normal primary school.

According to Bourdieu, the most important factor to be able mobilize and navigate in a society is education. To take action in the education system field, Bourdieu points to the cultural capital. He defines the right cultural capital to be where families have enough resources to grow up their children. Parents who are placed in a certain 'cultural capital' have often taught their children fit into this cultural capital and taught them skills to take actions which can be recognized as “normal actions” taken in this field.

Primary school has a tendency to sort these skills out, in order to preserve the existing social order, where there is an unequal power relation between dominant and dominated groups.

When we talk about the perception of the symbolic struggle of the social world, there is an objective level. Objective power relations tend to reproduce themselves in symbolic power relations. In other words, this means that to be recognized in society the actor is forced to reproduce and reinforce the power relations that forms the structure of this social space.  

It would be possible to achieve this recognition from educational qualifications. The children in Ferentari is having hard times to go all the way through the education system, so according to Bourdieu they will also have a hard time take action in Bucharest’s society outside Livelizor Alley. Bourdieu reflects on two sides of the symbolic struggle, on one hand, the symbolic order of a mechanical addition of individual orders. Whereas on the other, not all photos have the same weight in determining the objective classification and hierarchy of values assigned to individuals and groups, and those who have a high symbolic capital is considered acceptable and also in education. Therefore it might be relevant to consider the symbolic capital in between the residents in Livelizor Alley, since it has an influence on their difficulties on actions taken in the educational system.

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78 Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori, Akadamisk Forlag 1994 page 64
79 Pierre Bourdieu, Centrale tekster inden for sociologi og kulturteori, Akadamisk Forlag 1994 page 65
9.6 NGO related activities:

The main NGO working in Ferentari is Policy Center of Roma Minorities (PSRM). It is an NGO working with communities in Ferentari and their main focus is on children and youngsters, and to keep them away from the harsh life on the streets. Even though their name implies that it is an organization working with Roma’s it is not of any importance for its social workers. They work with all the poor people living in Ferentari’s ghettos, and ethnicity is not something which have an influence on the social work. PCRM takes interaction with the community through different developing activities. Policy Center of Roma Minorities have a club in school 136, where the kids can come after school and get help with their homework or join activities ex photography, drama, basketball or football classes. In this way they create both social and self-developing activities for the people in the community. They can develop skills under an activity they choose themselves according to their interests. PSRM are trying to make the parents interact with them and involve them in the project they are doing with their kids, in this way the parents can take part in the decisions on how their kids should learn, and the hope here is to make the parents positive about education for the children.

PSRM are using direct communication with the ghetto communities in Ferentari for example when they try to make kids join their club, they go directly to the ghetto and knock on the doors to get in contact.

Also they create activities inside the ghetto such as inviting local stars to for example come and play basketball in the ghetto together with the residents participating in the club or making a “cleaning day” in the ghetto together with the residents to clean up the garbage.
All in all PCRM are trying to create better possibilities for the kids and the young, creating a better environment in the ghetto's and trying to make the residents active and to take action themselves to improve their community and circumstances.

9.7 Part conclusion:

Pierre Bourdieu’s different capitals can be used to understand the circumstances surrounding the residents in Livelizor Alley, while his concept of Habitus, can explain how the residents acts according to these circumstances. The daily actions in Ferentari, Livelizor Alley are strongly influenced by these social and spatial circumstances of poverty, drug environments and poor conditions of the physical environment. Therefore the daily actions are taken first to get an income which can provide survival and next to escape from the bad circumstances, as seen with the drug abuse. Still the residents seem willing to interact and take actions with the local NGO (Policy Center of Roma Minorities), who are creating activities in where the residents can enjoy participating and actually develop skills, these activities seems as a positive influence on the neighborhood. The residents in Livelizor Alley might not be capable of starting up new activities on their own, but it is seen as a positive and developing factor that they choose to participate, in these activities provided.
10. **Conclusion:**

In this chapter we will answer our problem formulation based on our investigations and research questions and will give a short summary on process of the project and change in directions.

The physical space affects the residents of Ferentari district actions by offering limited access to resources (education, employment healthcare) and leading to or reinforcing poverty where it is difficult to break through, because of social and spatial borders.

Ferentari district is a modern ghetto and so for is a closed physical and social space, as well as a marginal space in an urban area. As physical space it is segregated from a rest of the city by weak in comparison weak public transport network and urban planning of block buildings, which are mostly with face to inside yards and therefore limits interaction with outside.

There is a continuing distancing between the neighborhood and the ‘mainstream society’ in the mental sense. This enforces the *disadvantage cycle* where residents situation are reinforced by circumstances, for example- as longer one is out from labor market, as harder it is to get a job.

In achieving and maintaining higher economical, social and cultural capital, social and physical space is very important. Most of residents have come to live in Ferentari because of bad social ad economical situation, therefore we cannot strictly argue, that Ferentari ghetto as place creates disadvantages in achieving higher economical capital, but it definitely maintains and worth-tens situation of residents. All three types of social capital are interconnected, so for weak social capital in form of no connections with wider society and people from different social classes, leads to problems to access official labour market and therefore achieve higher economical capital. Both social and economical problems, creates struggles for passing knowledge and rising children and in this way passing also social and economical disadvantages to the next generation.
According to Bourdieu, education and the environment people live in, for example Ferentari are very important and helps to create peoples identities and life circumstances. This means that the circumstances in Livelizor Alley will create the social actions of the residents living here, therefore habitus. Exclusion from official labor market leads many of the Ferentari residents to another income generating activities, such as crime, prostitution and drug dealing and trafficking. These activities take place both in community and outside in other places in Bucharest. For example, drugs are mostly sold in the Ferentari, while robberies and pocket thieves works mostly in another parts of city. These activities create a parallel economical system and career prosperity.

According to Badcock, large exclusion on social, economical and political level lead to limited amount of physical space available to utilize. Therefore most of actions what takes residents of Ferentari are taken within community or are community related. As many people do not work officially, do not take any education or do not use public services, they do not have much contact with general society of Bucharest. Some of resident’s claims never left the Bucharest. This lead to most of social relations and social capital being built within community.

As we started our project, we started with ethnicity in the centre, and with reasoning how belonging towards Roma ethnicity leads towards social exclusion and marginalization. One of our first conclusions was that in the case of Ferentari, it is not ethnicity which plays the major role in formation of community, but poverty. First, because we cannot look upon Roma’s in Bucharest as one homogeneous group- their living standards are different from place to place and also their social capital and habitus differs. Even, if Ferentari is Roma majority ghetto, ethnicity does not play crucial role in forming habitus. Therefore, we cannot talk about Roma residents being involved in criminal activities because they are Roma’s, but we can talk about Roma residents of Ferentari being involved in criminal activities, because of poverty and social exclusion. In our opinion, it is very importance difference and often in public opinion these are being mixed.
11. **Afterthoughts:**

Now that the project is finished and we have written the final conclusion, we are able to view the project as a whole. We can evaluate the process and the different directions the project could have taken and what issues can be further investigated.

We started this project from an interest in the conditions of the Roma people in Europe. From an early stage of the project, we wanted to emphasize the agency of the Roma – them as self-steering individuals and not only as victims of discrimination. The fact that we chose to focus in an area of extreme poverty, has challenged this stand point. Most of our observations and the data that has been available to us have viewed the residents of Ferentari and the Livelizor alley as miserable and not much in control of their own lives. At this point we also have to be critical towards our literature, which were mainly studies ordered by NGOs. Organisations have their interest in creating a poor image of the people they are helping, in order to gain funds and support.

If we had chosen one of the less disadvantaged Roma communities in Europe, the results of our investigation might be different and we might have more emphasis on the agency. On the other hand our original interest to the Roma subject rose from investigating inequality and discrimination. At this point, we can state that we investigated action in a place, where possibilities are scarce. This challenged us to broaden our view on what is considered as action and include also crime as a way of gathering income. The finding that the possibilities are limited also gives emphasis on the ghetto as a structure and highlights the importance of physical space affecting (and limiting) action.

Our field trip to Romania gave us insight to the issue that would have been difficult to grasp, working only form Denmark. Our findings, such as that the main issue in Ferentari is poverty, not ethnicity, brought up new points of view that altered the direction of our investigation away from ethnicity.
The empirical work also opened up new directions to investigate further. If the issue is a poverty issue, how come the Roma are more likely to live in poverty, compared to the rest of the population in Europe or Romania? More empirical work could give insight in the distribution of poverty and how it limits the actions of individuals and groups. This project opened up new possible fields of investigation that could be covered in future project.
12. **Literature List:**

12.1 **Books:**


Bourdieu, Pierre: *Udkast til en Praksisteori*, Hans Reitzels Forlag 2005


12.2 **Academic Papers:**

Badcock, Blair: *Restructuring and Spatial Polarization in Cities*, Department of Geography, University of Adelaide, South Australia, 5005, Australia 1997, Progress in Human Geography

Viorel Mionel & Silviu Negut: *The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos*, Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences

Neumann: *Theory and research*, BSCW: Neumann, methods file, 1st lecture

12.3 **Webpages:**


http://www.ce-review.org/00/41/dragomir41.html, (accessed at 27.05.2012)


Margaretha Järvinen, p. 349


http://worldpress.org/print_article.cfm?article_id=2015&dont=yes "The Roma of Ferentari and Nushfalău" Crina Museranu


Open Society Foundations:

Udiverden.dk,Rumænien, last updated on 2012, available on:

BBC News Europe, Q&A: France Roma expulsions, October 2010, available on:

France 24, Roma expelled by France land in Bucharest, August 2010, available on:


AGNIESZKA SKIETERSKA,Gazeta Wyborcza, Break free from a gypsy ghetto, available on:
13. **Appendix:**

13.1 **Field work:**

3 girls of our project group (Laura, Sini and Santa) took off to Romania for one week in order to make a field trip. Expectations before going to trip were: to observe particular Roma community in Bucharest and see how the spatial planning is being proceeded, what actions our target group (Roma’s) are able and allowed to take inside and outside segregated communities. As well, use the contacts with NGO established while still being in Denmark and with its' help possibility get inside the community.

In the following chapters days of field trip and research will be presented and experiences during staying in Bucharest – analyzed.

**Day 1:**

The beginning of the trip and first days were spent getting to know Bucharest better. Practicalities such as: how and where to take metro? Getting to know routes of trains and buses in order to make it easier to move around in the following days of staying there. Girls were sharing with impressions seeing old and not maintained houses around hotel they were staying at. Already in the first day they had a possibility to see Roma families: kids playing in the streets and adults doing laundry and sitting outside.

Bucharest itself gave impression as modern and city in the process of rapid development: wealthy looking city center, new building, many parks, etc. Nevertheless, images of beggars, Roma people selling different kind of stuff all around the city were unavoidable and present during the entire journey.
Day 2:

Time of second day in Bucharest was used on writing the midterm paper and collaborating with the rest of the project group via Internet.

Day 3:

As it was already mentioned before, girls have established a contact before going on trip with NGO called CRISS. It's the biggest organization in Romania working with Roma people and it is placed in Bucharest, sector 2. A lot of hopes and expectations have been put in this organization. Therefore, before going to the meeting, girls made agenda about showing interests in their work and experience, asking for help to get inside the field and conduct interviews and observations.

While visiting office, girls met a woman who told them that CRISS works with discrimination issues concerning Roma. They are trying to promote the Roma rights and to raise awareness among the general public and professionals (such as teachers and policemen). As well, woman mentioned that one of the problems is that then Roma’s are going to hospitals, they needed to pay a huge amount of money in front of, what other Romanians have to pay.

Moreover, they got to know that the poverty issues are concentrated on the countryside and that there are no poor Roma communities in Bucharest. Worker said that the Roma live among Romanians in the city.

Unfortunately, girls found out that Romani CRISS could not help them to confirm their expectations. It is because CRISS is not working with communities and also don't see our project as a problem for the Romani people but more for poor people.
After the not very successful and efficient meeting with CRISS, girls were a little bit confused and disappointed about too high expectations towards this organization. However, they agreed that the project from now one should have more focus on poverty issues inside the communities.

In the same evening while searching Internet, girls found out that Bucharest Sector 5 is consisted of 3 ghettos (one of them is Ferentari) where mostly Roma’s of Bucharest city are located. As well, girls found other organization called "Policy Center of Roma Minorities". These accidental findings brought girls back on the root and encourage continuing and following up the original plan.

Day 4:

From the early morning girls were trying to contact the newly discovered organization but due to connection problems this was a bit problematic. After some unsuccessful calls, girls wanted to go and explore community by themselves. However, stories about drug dealers and addicts, dangerous streets and people, made this thought a bit harsher. Eventually, they decided to make a way there by public transport and at least through windows of bus try to get impression and experience life in ghetto.

After the moment then girls stepped out from the tram at the final stop, they could see small houses, and people walking on the street. The contrast to the city center was big and the area seemed poor, but there were people walking on the streets. They of course were a bit nervous but the area did not seem dangerous. Girls walked along the main street to find the next tram stop. On the way seeing kiosks, restaurants and houses where people live. They noticed that there is a bus going more directly through the area and decided to wait for it. In the bus stop there was young and old people waiting and dogs lying on the street.

Despite the poverty of the area girls recognized small businesses, many of them car-related. Car-washes, mechanic shops. Also there were corner shops, restaurants and scrap metal dealers.
People washing carpets outside of their houses, collecting scrap metal or sitting and chatting with others. Majority of the people seem like Roma’s, thus not all. People are dressed in Roma clothes or modern clothes. On the main street you can see street dogs lying in the shadow or looking for food,

Some social problems were present in the area. The appearance of some people let assume that they had drug or alcohol problems. This is where girls have chosen to focus our investigation. Even though it is not only Romani people living in these blocks, it is still one of the areas in Bucharest with the highest percentage of ethnic Romani’s, and since the research is now more focused on the poverty in the community of Romani’s, girls found these blocks extremely relevant as a case. Why we can call this a community, these specific blocks, is because people are mostly hanging in the streets: 8 women cooking together and under these circumstances there is a need to work together with the neighborhood. In other words: creating a community caused by the spatial circumstances existing here.

On the way back to the city center girls crossed a market where people selling food etc. to get an income for the daily living. The first day in Ferentari gave to girls a small insight, in the spatial circumstances of Ferentari and what kind of people they are actually dealing with.

Day 5:

Despite the bad connection via phone girls decided to take initiative and visit "Policy Center of Roma Minorities" by themselves.

Center for Roma Minorities is an organization working in the community living in Ferentari, mainly in the blocks of Livelizor Alley. They have a club in the three schools placed in Ferentari; school 136, the club is having different activities (basketball, football, drama classes, photography, help with homework etc.) for the poor youngsters and kids living in the ghetto blocks in Ferentari.
The aim of the club is to keep the kids (mainly) and youngsters away from the streets, not to be involved in prostitution, drugs and other crimes.

They also have different researchers such as sociologists are working in the blocks and at the same time writing academic papers about the blocks. Girls found out that Livelizor alley is a goal for many academic tourists writing about social exclusion etc.

All the information girls got from financial coordinator Alexandu who actually would have agreed to show the ghetto, but his boss was concerned that bringing foreigners to look at human misery in the area would cause the people to feel like zoo-animals.

Alexandru said that he would discuss with his boss and possibly show girls around the following Monday or Tuesday. Girls as well met a sociology student who was working for the organization and doing research in Ferentari but she was busy and when Alexandru asked if she would show the ghetto, but she refused. He called the people working in the club, they were not willing to show them the field either.

However, girls got the possibility to visit the school where the club is held. Alexandru said that it is relatively safe to walk on the main streets. The worst ghettos are a small area and that it's not advised go to the ghetto on your own, due to high crime rates and drug abusers. He said that the junkies wake up at two and buy their doses and after that time it can be dangerous.

Alexandru gave to girl’s booklets about their education program and organization and also contacts to the education workers.
After the visit to the office, girls headed to Ferentari by metro and bus to visit the Alternative education club. The school was the same one we had seen on our previous visit so it was easy to find. They called the contact they had gotten from Alexandru and a worker came to pick them up at the school yard. She took girls to the class room where they had some children about the age 8-14 doing their math homework with her assistance. Some children were playing with toys. The room was cozy and there were tables for working, toy-corner, bookshelf and computers. The children in the room seemed lively and active despite their possibly difficult background. The children were curious about foreigners in their class and some of them wanted to take contact and some of them spoke a little bit of English.

Girls met the coordinator of the Alternative education club – a man called Floran. He told them about their work and the area in general. Moreover, he emphasized that there were a lot of social problems in the ghetto.

He told girls that he had recently written a book about the area and promised that we could pick it up later on to give it to girls to get more knowledge about area. Floran left and educational activities coordinator Mihaela Grida arrived.

Mihaela told about the area. She said that most people don't have a job and live off social benefits or crime. She said that many people have lost their hope and just sit smoke cigarettes and complain. The education club is trying to provide an inspiring environment for the children and alternative views on how you can develop yourself. The club is also trying to involve parents, which is important because education is not valued in all the families in the community.

Mihaela told that previously when asked the children could not say what they want from their future but now after the program they have dreams and goals for their life. She also said that the children are now more likely to stay in school and complete their grade on time. Michaela seemed fond of
the children and said that it's important to work with them. She was positive about the results the Alternative education club has made.

Mihaela showed girls a movie that the children had made in the movie club. She said that it's not easy to watch and it's not for children to see.

The movie started with a view of the ghetto on Livelizor Alley. The images were people going through huge trash piles in order to find something of value. Untidy hallways where the children were walking. On child's home was viewed. It was a small apartment that was untidy and only very few furniture. Two adults were shown to inject drugs in their veins. The picture projected through the beginning was extremely miserable and it is hard to imagine that any child grows up in such circumstances. The children at the club seemed healthy and lively despite the fact that many of them come from similar homes than the one showed in the movie.

The second part of the movie was portraying the Alternative education club. Through showing different activities it showed how the children see hope in the program.

**Day 6:**

On Saturday few girls went for a simple walk in Ferentari. They took a different bus there this time. On their way they saw a small flea market on a field. Girls decided to hop off the bus and take a look. People were selling various used things, such as clothing, old electronics, jewelry and toys. Some had tables to spread out the goods and some had spread a blanket on the ground.

From the market girls continued walking towards the center of Ferentari. They passed by a small vegetable market and outside on by the trash can there were young men, obviously drug addicts looking for something to utilize.
Girls could see young men collecting scrap metal and at one yard they seemed to be selling it. As they had seen previously too, there was variety in the area. There were many families renovating their houses or gardening. On contrary there were also abandoned lots with piles of garbage. What is more? People were enjoying their weekend by sitting outside or having ice cream.

Girls paid attention to numerous fancy cars on the streets, Mercedes and BMW among others. These cars stood out from generally poor area.

They were looking for a market that they had seen on our earlier visit. When walking in the area girls saw the block buildings they had seen before from the bus. Men were sitting in their circles on the yard and playing cards. The women and children were socializing outside and talking. Girls didn’t dare to go inside the yard but we walked around it.

Girls found the market that was close to the blocks. They shopped some vegetables and walked around in the market. Most of the people buying and selling goods seemed to be Roma. Some had a table inside the market and some were selling vegetables outside of the market.

Impressions and experience after field work:

Even though Laura, Sini and Santa did not confirm all the expectations they had before going on field trip, they all agreed that it was very educational and memorable field trip. They got an understanding of the field that would have not been accessible through secondary sources. They saw how diverse the Roma people are in Romania – they don't form one community. Moreover, they discovered that ethnicity has minor significance when talking about Ferentari.

Girls also realized how difficult it is to approach a closed community in such a short time.
They had to also consider ethical aspects of research when we wanted to visit the area. Poverty and social problems are strongly present in the area and we wanted to avoid people feeling like zoo animals.' The major thing they learned was how to face the challenges, arising when collecting data.