

NEVI SARA KALI

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Romane 3uvleance 3urnalo**

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The fact that we are here and that I speak these words is an attempt to break that silence and bridge some of those differences between us, for it is not difference which immobilizes us, but silence. And there are so many silences to be broken. (Audre Lorde: *The transformation of silence into language and action*, paper delivered in 1977)

Faptul că suntem aici și că eu pot să rostesc aceste cuvinte este o încercare de a rupe tăcerea și de a transcede unele dintre diferențele dintre noi, pentru că nu diferențele ne imobilizează, ci tăcerea. Și sunt atâtea tăceri de rupt. (Audre Lorde: *Transformarea tăcerii în vorbă și acțiune*, cuvântare din 1977)

O fapto ke sam khate thaj me shaj phenav kala vorbi si anda kodo ke zumavau te phagav o ashiamos thaj te nakhas pherdal vare-save difference so si mashkar amende, anda kodo ken a e diferencie inkerenamen thaneste, ma kodo ke ashias adar o mui. Thaj si kade buth ashiamata te phagas. (Audre Lorde: *E transformacia e ashiamoski ande vorba thaj kerdimos*, sikavimos de andar 1977)

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andar
O AKCESO LE ROMANE JUVLEANQE
P' O FORO LA BUTIAKE

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prin
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NEVI SARA KALI

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LETIȚIA MARK

■ MESSAGE TO THE READERS OF NEVI SARA KALI

Now, when we have published the third issue of Nevi Sara Kali, and we are near the closing of our project “Equality through Difference. Roma Women’s Access on the Labor Market”, I want to thank to all contributors / collaborators who have helped during this period.

“NEVI SARA KALI” was an ambitious project; the pages of the international journal – edited in three languages – have intended to give space to voices of Roma and non-Roma women, who are concerned with the fate of their community manifested through either civic activism or academic studies. Now, when we are editing the third issue, we can say that we managed and we can be proud of the results.

In the area of written cultural expressions of Roma, our journal – a true mosaic of ideas and professions of faith – has generated interest first by the novelty of its name, symbolical – metaphorical, as I have already said before, it alludes to the ancestral force inherited from Indian culture (goddess Kali), to which we trace our past, to Europe and Christianity (St. Sara) and to the avant-garde involvement of contemporary Roma women (Nevi) in promoting equal opportunity and public recognition.

The three issues of our magazine have consistently pursued the intended purpose; writers/ authors have shared some of their recent scholarly concerns in academic studies, and research papers, and in terms of activism, through actions addressed directly to communities they belong to.

We encourage young Roma students to give voice to their dreams and hopes that animate them, to dare more, to believe in themselves to overcome their shyness and inexperience inherent at their a wonderful age to convey mobilizing messages to other Roma girls / women. Everyone has a life story; our stories have in common a sometimes desperate attempt to overcome our condition, to overcome visible and invisible, known and unknown barriers. Whether we are mature women or at the beginning, we learn by doing to adapt to the complex situations of our times. Leaving the protective and conservative domestic space, family, is sometimes painful, and not without sacrifices. We try to understand our mothers and sisters who have remained faithful to traditional family values, we admire their consistency, sometimes we envy them for the strength they have to live guided by the old duties passed down from generation to generation. The sense of responsibility for the future of the family remains a constant we not only admire in our mothers and grandmothers, but we can not live without it, no matter how emancipated we are.

Our pages recorded sometimes the voice of those who wanted to be heard. It gives space to echoes of lived experiences in front of direct discrimination. We would have wanted the experience of past prejudices and encysted in anonymity, not to be repeated.

Affirming our identity, we adhered to democratic values, hoping to live in a normal society, in which Roma women, Roma in general, are appreciated by what they are or trying to become, in which stigmas and labels are past. Unfortunately, the journal contains articles that still speak of expulsions, homelessness, and garbage dumps where Roma children dig to find recyclable materials to secure food for a day.

Faced with crowds of women, children and elderly people at Timisoara airport, on the day they were expelled from France, surrounded by policemen and journalists cohorts, we went silent because we did not know how to react to such humiliation. People were accused without evidence, crime; various journalists put aggressive questions about the robberies committed making them to react in a similar vein. A question remains, why France has rewarded these alleged criminals with money and free transportation. Striped bags of raffia and some cheap clothes, probably collected from the bins, showed us the saddest aspect of poverty and denied any arguments against these “security” measures taken by the President of France to increase his political capital. The country of Human Rights banned poor Europeans! It is an issue that needs more debate, and which young Roma journalists and others can explore.

Affirming identity was one of the main topics in all issues of the journal, as well as its construction in the new circumstances in which affirmative action (positive discrimination) has opened high schools and faculties for more young people through “special places” reserved for Roma. Affirmative actions have been contested by some, but there are beneficial for the formation of Roma intellectuals who will engage in the long process of emancipation.

Favorite themes of the authors remained faithful to the central idea, e.g. equal opportunities and the implementation of this goal that is still idealistic, or utopian, in our country. Corroborated with other results targeted by the entire project, our contribution to the practical application of the idea of equal opportunities will be measured, hopefully in time, also by the courage to address an issue regarded with detachment and superiority.

To sum up, the Nevi Sara Kali journal has been built on the desire to be publicly recognized. It was valued, given that all copies were taken during information campaigns and other activities in the project “Equality through Difference. Roma Women's Access on the Labor Market” such as training sessions, conferences, seminars, national and international meetings. Many readers confessed that they were deeply impressed by the form and content of the journal. Translating modern concepts in Romani has shown that it is a living language, and has the resources needed to be a written, internationally spread language, understood by all Roma not only in Europe but worldwide, because our journal has reached also the New World.

MARLENE KADAR

■ THE DEVOURING TRACES OF ROMA IN THE HOLOCAUST/ PORRAJMOS

This article addresses the Holocaust as it was/is for Gypsies/Roma whose experience of the event is still largely unknown beyond their communities. One reason for our lack of knowledge has to do with Romany history. Gypsies comprise, according to Romany historian Ian Hancock, a largely non-literate culture, and so rely on oral traditions, such as song, for recording their histories (“Gypsies in Nazi Germany”) and passing on their stories from generation to generation. The paucity of surviving or found records suggests that the vast majority of Roma, especially women and girls, could not document their lives. In this circumstance, scholars need to rely on other peoples’ stories or witness stories and on examples of oral texts for auto/biographical inscriptions of Romany life in the Holocaust, or the Porrajmos, a Romany word meaning “Devouring.”

In either case, I want to argue that another person’s commentary on a life, however cursory, can stand in for a biographical text, whether it is an archival report authored by a witness at the time of loss or in remembered time, or a Nazi camp deportation list with unknown authors, unnamed scribes who are required to enumerate inmates for transit. Similarly, a personal lament can itself stand in for the autobiographical where no other finished, polished, printed, or published autobiographical or life-writing texts exist. Romany survivors have not recorded their experiences of the Holocaust in the usual fashion—that is to say, in the more conventional autobiographical genres: the memoir, the testimony, or the autobiography. Thus, we are lucky to find their stories in traces or fragments of autobiographical telling and, indeed, these traces and fragments must stand in for autobiographical genres if we are to recover the history of the Devouring. Thus, I want to propose the fragment and trace as member-genres in the taxonomy of auto/biographical practices.

In probing what she calls “difficult education,” Deborah Britzman asks herself who and what are lost when history itself is lost? (After Education 1–32). Britzman’s question is also my question. If the history of the individual Roma experience of the Holocaust is lost because we do not have whole, stable, authored, or published accounts that would fit into, for example, my own (flawed) 1992 definition of life-writing texts, what are we to do (Kadar, “Coming to Terms” 12)? Is that “who” us—and not only the Romany victims—and is that “what” a deeper, fuller account of both the different ways in which traumatic events are remembered, and a reconfiguring of the sub-genres of life writing so that we can reclaim lost

stories, and thus, lost histories? Memory registers what it felt like, not exactly what it was like² and that slippage from “historical fact” to individual feeling and yearning is crucial to remember in our work in Autobiographical Studies, especially as it is used to understand traumatic events through fragment and trace. Can these kinds of texts tell us what it “felt like,” even though they do not meet the literary standard of an autobiography? Can they also give us a sense of who is lost when the loss has rarely been documented in the first person narrative we describe as autobiographical?

My theoretical objective in this article is to question earlier assumptions about the nature of life writing as a genre-unity of texts about or in the form of the autobiographical and in which the fragment or the trace plays no part. Genres are policed, Leigh Gilmore writes, reproducing generic hierarchies that exclude impurities, both formal and aesthetic (“The Mark” 5–6). Celeste Schenck pulls no punches: “beneath the Western will to taxonomize lies not only a defensive history of exclusions that constitute a political ideology but also a fetishizing of aesthetic purity...which has distinctly gendered overtones” (283); I would add distinctly racialized, as well. Linda Hutcheon has said, “Some intellectual problems simply do not belong to a single discipline” (20) and this project is one of those. Julie Thompson Klein, Linda Hutcheon, and Giles Gunn all explain in their theorizations of interdisciplinary method that it is the subject itself that calls out for an interdisciplinary methodology. In this case, I have used historical and archival information to understand the Porrajmos, but in order to cover this subject fully I want to broaden the terms of life-writing texts to include traces and fragments as stand-ins for life stories and auto/biographical practices discussed elsewhere in this collection.

For my purposes, an interdisciplinary method deepens an appreciation of the mutability of knowledge, itself a fragment in Maurice Blanchot’s sense: an unfinished separation that is always reaching out for further interpretation (58–59). In this article, I have tried to integrate historical knowledge about the Holocaust and the Porrajmos with autobiography theory and some theory about witnessing and its effects. Stories about the Porrajmos constitute what Britzman wisely calls “difficult knowledge,” creating pain in the victims but also in the witnesses, both long ago and today, in the classroom (Lost Subjects 117–20). Dori Laub contends there are emotional and thus intellectual hazards to witnessing in the time of learning—the present—as well as in the time of loss and the original traumatic experience. Dori Laub and Shoshana Felman also argue that because there were no witnesses at the time of the trauma (they speak metaphorically to a degree), “the event could thus unimpededly proceed as though there were no witnessing whatsoever, no witnessing that could decisively impact on it” (Laub 84), so that witnessing must continue in the present. We perform this witnessing when we read Ida Fink’s story or a haunting deportation list, when we listen to the Gypsy lament or look at the eyes in the portraits of children who have died in Hitler’s camps, each of which I will discuss below. Practically speaking, however, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, archival collections in the former East Germany, such as those at the Ravensbrück (Fürstenberg/Havel, Germany) and Sachsenhausen (Oranienburg, Germany) Concentration Camps, have opened to western scholars and thus the repertoire of experiences narrated has increased. Thus, too, our opportunities to provide witness have also increased. Finally,

for every time there is a season, and for a variety of complex cultural, psychoanalytic, and pedagogic reasons, only belatedly can certain stories be heard, even by the self/teller. There are many examples of Holocaust memoirs created late in the life of the survivor—both Ibolya Szalai Grossman's blended autobiographical text and Elizabeth Raab's memoir come to mind. We might also note what has become the ever-expanding "new" text known as the Diary of Anne Frank, and how much it has changed since the first English translation appeared in the US (see Ozick). Some of the changes have come about as new parts of the diary are "discovered" and members of Anne's family adjust to the life and loss of the diarist, young Anne Frank.

The three haunting images which are the subject of this paper—"no tattoo," sterilized body, Gypsy girl—are linked to the not-straightforward remembering of the Porrajmos, and each one bespeaks its own separate and remarkable dissonance. I have chosen to focus on these images because they poignantly speak to the little-known, often-contradictory information we have to date received about the experience of Roma in the Porrajmos. In order to address my questions about the images, I had to rely on fragments and traces of story and not on finished autobiographies. The power of the fragment or trace is undeniable. Maurice Blanchot provided the theoretical impetus to pursue the fragment and trace as genres that both contribute to our previous theorizations of the genre of autobiography, and also as necessarily unfinished genres that call out to us to attempt to finish them. I say attempt because the job can really never be accomplished. The time of loss has already been passed and yet the loss is still with us. How do we find auto/biographical texts that help us to realize this awkward state of affairs, especially when the autobiographer is essentially absent from the conversation we wish to have about the disappearance of possibly one-quarter of the Gypsy population of Europe? Thus, the auto/biographical fragment or trace can be used by life-writing scholars as a legitimate hermeneutical source,³ another auto/biographical practice, replete with stories about lives lost when finished stories do not exist.

These images represent for me a certain dissonance in my own learning that cannot be resolved even with "new information" and even if we could fill in the absences in our knowledge about the Holocaust in general and the Porrajmos in particular. For me, the task at hand is to find a way to make the incoherence of our history meaningful, to make "the present able to live with itself" (Barnes 6). This is difficult to do in the face of both the horror of any state-sponsored systematic annihilation of a people, and in the face of mere traces and fragments of lives left behind, in the wake of genocide. In order to speak about specific texts, I must first speak about the status of traces or fragments—traces or fragments of memory, text, and story. I take my lead from a short story in which is embedded a theory of memory and trace. The traumatic nature of the event forces the memory to capture the remembrance as highly mediated, and yet this is all we have—highly mediated, partial, unfinished, or irregular narratives that at the very least infer an auto/biographical being, a being that bespeaks a self, however transitory. Traces of story and memory are interwoven, and yet as incomplete as they are, they achieve a status of permanence in our lives and in our cultural memory. At least, this is what Maurice Blanchot insinuates in *The Writing of the Disaster*.

"Traces" is the title of Ida Fink's dense three-page story, published in the 1987 collection, *A Scrap of Time*. In a highly neutral voice, the narrator describes what might seem like an everyday occurrence. She is sitting with an older woman whom we assume is Polish and Jewish. She witnesses the older woman's minimal reactions to a momentous photograph. The photograph reminds her of a horrifying day when the village's Jewish children are compromised by the SS officer's trickery and cruelty, and she explains in halting tones what transpired on that day. Fink's readers always remember the image of "traces of footprints" in the snow (135, 136). These footprints are the remains, the traces of a past traumatic event for the witness who is, we imagine, talking to the narrator/writer/Fink. They represent the impermanent and yet recorded remains, mediated by so many variables, including the weather (the snow records prints, but only as long as the cold temperatures remain), the passing of time (both the time of the story and the time of the remembering, and also the time of reading/learning), the quality of the photographic paper, the trauma of the interlocutor and, especially, the trauma of the witness(es). The witness in the story sees the footprints in the snow in a photograph, already just a copy of a copy—a "clumsy amateur snapshot" that is "blurred" (135)—but it jigs a shadowy, and yet precise, memory of an unnamed "butcher shop ghetto" somewhere in Poland, we assume, because it is on Miesna Street, or "Meat" Street (136).

The story is even further mediated by the witness's initial unwillingness to remember, but eventually the elderly woman narrates the memory of living in the animal stalls, like an animal. As shadowy as her memory is, it cannot be 'wasted.' She insists that "what she is going to say be written down and preserved forever, because she wants a trace to remain" (136). The trace she means is not represented in exact terms because it is unrepresentable; it is also not represented in the photo, except as absence. However, the photo expresses another image, a palimpsest, or a manuscript in which one text is written over another. This method allows a belated witnessing, a time that is rarely witnessed in its present. The palimpsest story is the one that truly haunts, and is more a trace than the story about the ghetto stalls. The SS discovered eight children (the eldest was seven years old) hidden in the attic of the Judenrat, or Jewish Council. These children, we are led to believe, refused to identify their parents—they remained silent—and were then all shot by the SS.⁴ The narrator says that the witness to these traumatic events will "later...tell how they were shot" but later, understandably, never comes (137)—the survivor cannot bear any more memory. The story ends on that note, abruptly and without expression, and as readers we think we are all granted a reprieve. However, the temporary reprieve comes at a cost that will be borne by the culture in time to come. Readers rely on Ida Fink's story to teach us to tolerate times of losing and times of being lost, when the contentious history of a traumatic story "meets those other contentions, our selves" (Britzman, *Lost Subjects* 135). We can think of this moment of abandonment by the author as a repetition of crisis in witnessing that both Fink's narrator and reader feel. Psychoanalyst Dori Laub explains how this crisis is learned and repeated: "It was not only the reality of the situation and the lack of responsiveness of bystanders of the world that accounts for the fact that history was taking place with no witness: it was also the very circumstance of being inside the event that made unthinkable the very notion that a witness could exist, that is, someone who could step outside of the coercively totalitarian and dehumanizing frame of reference in which the

event was taking place, and provide an independent frame of reference through which the event could be observed" (81). Fink's witness cannot provide that independent frame of reference for us, so memory becomes a method and "fiction," the medium, the contradictory dynamic of fits and starts, remembering and forgetting, finding and losing. Fink's story invokes the realization that "the lost ones are not coming back; the realization that what life is all about is precisely living with an unfulfilled hope" (Laub 91), while at the same time suggesting that the witness has an important role to play as a companion (92). Laub explains further that "the testimony is...the process by which the narrator (the survivor) reclaims his position as a witness: reconstitutes the internal 'thou,' and thus the possibility of a witness or a listener inside himself" (85). Readers of Fink's story take on the role of witnessing, too.

Dori Laub uses the example of National Socialism to explain what he means when he says that "no witness" was allowed to exist at the time of the horror (83-84). The Nazi system was foolproof: no witnesses on the outside and no witnesses on the inside. We can imagine Primo Levi's "grey zone" (see Levi 16; Agamben 24-26), where not even the children have the capability to bear witness and say, the emperor is naked; he has no clothes on (Laub 83). "The event could thus unimpededly proceed as though there were no witnessing whatsoever, no witnessing that could decisively impact on [the trauma]," Laub notes (84). Our need for what James Young calls "redemptory closure" cannot be fulfilled, and yet the traces must be followed at "memory's edge" (37-38).

For me, incorporating what Britzman calls "difficult knowledge" into interpretations of the history about the Porrajmos meant revising the genre of life writing. In other words, fragments of texts and traces of memories not only communicate the quality of difficult knowledge, but can also stand in for conventional finished forms of life writing, many of which are published as memoirs and autobiographies by Jewish survivors or their children.⁵ However, to my knowledge, only one Porrajmos-memoir by a Romany woman exists, and so the history of the Porrajmos is again lost.⁶ This loss is all the more complicated when we recall that some Roma lived in traveling caravans,⁷ and their life stories may be more often recorded in song, or perhaps in less fixed texts, fragments, and traces of texts, spoken by a knowing "I" or by others, by witnesses.

In its crudest form, then, I imagine autobiographical traces being able to do the following work: the interpretation of a deportation list as if it were a biographical account, as a stand-in for more legitimate biography. For example—the authors of this biographical stand-in, a 1941 inter-camp deportation list (see fig. 1), are largely unknown Nazi officials or *kapos*⁸ whose categorizations of inmates and the numbers used to replace names tell stories about their victims, some of whom are Zigeuner or asocial, marked as AZR (see, for example, prisoner names Gustave Fiehn, #14, and Joseph Papay, #43, in fig. 1). I will also interpret a collective and ever-changing lament, transmitted orally, as if it were an autobiographical account. I will begin by telling stories about the three images in my title, and I will end with a presentation of the lament. My primary objective is to use the three images as symbols of a modest correcting of received knowledge about the Holocaust and Porrajmos (the Porrajmos is itself a correcting of our notion of "Holocaust") and about the status of life-writing texts and autobiographical practices.

LISTE DER DEPORTIERTE, WEICHS NR. 10.12.41 NACH DACHAU/HITL.San.					
Lfd.Nr.	Name	Vorname	Geb.Dat.	Hftl-Nr.	Hftl-Ort
1	Bedzinski	Wenzel	18.9.11	4936	Pole
2	Blaszczyk	Johann	14.1.09	3382	Pole
3	Bochenski	Stanislaus	20.3.04	5983	Pole
4	Boguslawski	Georg	9.10.11	5984	Pole
5	Bralczyk	Kasimir	4.3.17	70	Pole
6	Brenda	Ignaz	30.7.01	1191	Pole
7	Camons-Portillo	Eduardo	18.3.00	9082	Spanier
8	Criado	Jose	27.2.13	9154	Spanier
9	Czajkowski	Siegmaund	21.1.02	142	Pole
10	Dobierzynski	Eduard	17.9.99	3515	Pole
11	Danielski	Ignaz	20.5.17	6097	Pole
12	Dojnikowski	Johann	10.7.10	1361	Pole
13	Dutkowski	Theofil	24.4.18	3449	Pole
14	Fiehn	Gustav	16.6.87	7496	AZR/Deu
15	Garcia	Francisco	4.10.17	9256	Spanier
16	Grabowski	Romuald	27.3.14	265	Pole
17	Heinrich	Hieronimus	25.3.02	3703	Pole
18	Herok	Johann	9.12.81	3705	Pole
19	Herweck	Heinrich	3.2.10	2136	Schutzl
20	Jedrasiak	Stanislaus	7.4.21	3775	Pole
21	Jurkiewicz	Georg	10.9.12	7584	Pole
22	Kaczmarek	Josef	22.12.93	5203	Pole
23	Kaliszozuk	Johann	5.3.14	8052	Pole
24	Klimczewski	Johann	29.4.96	402	Pole
25	Kozlowski	Thaddäus	14.2.94	459	Pole
26	Krysinski	Josef	18.3.19	6543	Pole
27	Labadzki	Stanislaus	21.3.01	7655	Pole
28	Lange	Siegmaund	20.4.15	6598	Pole
29	Lossmann	Eduard	12.10.05	1951	Pole
30	Luczko	Georg	10.10.06	8586	Pole
31	Maczynski	Bronislaus	2.2.02	4112	Pole
32	Maniewski	Johann	9.7.17	8601	Pole
33	Marchewka	Josef	2.11.06	5429	Pole
34	Markowski	Stanislaus	11.10.14	8104	Pole
35	Max	Johann	13.12.03	2038	Pole
36	Mazanek	Alexander	15.3.21	4161	Pole
37	Migalski	Stanislaus	24.4.09	6728	Pole
38	Mirek	Johann	21.1.00	5469	Pole
39	Niemczyk	Franz	6.12.16	12690	Pole
40	Nowacki	Marian	2.2.09	8665	Pole
41	Nowacki	Stefan	31.8.22	5510	Pole
42	Odría-Ibarlucea	Jose	11.1.22	9511	Spanier
43	Papay	Josef	4.5.16	12631	AZR/Zige
44	Parada	Thaddäus	22.12.08	6555	Pole
45	Pastewnyczny	Ivan	23.5.13	12292	Pole
46	Pastor-Delgado	Antonio	25.12.20	11579	Spanier
47	Ratajczak	Leo	2.6.16	6960	Pole
48	Rogacz	Konrad	9.10.16	5637	Pole
49	Serwach	Johann	23.11.23	8815	Pole

Figure 1. Deportation List to Dachau Concentration Camp, 10 December 1941, found in Mauthausen Concentration Camp Archives, Vienna, Austria (July 1999).

No Tattoo

If I asked you if prisoners were tattooed when they entered Concentration or Extermination camps, what would you say?

"Yes."

If I asked you if all prisoners were tattooed, what would you say?

"Yes"; "probably"; or, "I don't know."

If I asked you where they were tattooed, what would you say?

"On the inner or outer forearm."⁹



Figure 2. Arbeit Macht Frei ["Work liberates," or "Work brings freedom"], Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp, Oranienburg, Germany, August 2002. Photograph: Marlene Kadar and Gary Penner

I was surprised when I learned that Romany girls who were sterilized in Ravensbrück Concentration Camp had been tattooed. Jack Morrison, an American historian who worked in the Ravensbrück archives soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall (2000), insists that no one was tattooed upon entering the camp. How could this be? I knew that memoirists who had been incarcerated in Ravensbrück bore tattoos on their bodies, most notably the Romany artist Ceija Stojka and the Romany singer Ruzena Danielova. As far as we know, no official documents from the period exist on the Nazi policies about tattoos. George Rosenthal and Josef Buszko explain that, for this reason, our knowledge about tattoos is anecdotal or remembered.

This is what I learned. Tattooing was an imperfect feature of the otherwise highly organized Nazi concentration camp system. We can understand it as one aspect of the larger system of categorizing prisoners as soon as they arrived at the gates of the camp. Ravensbrück Concentration Camp (which was really an extermination camp¹⁰) was designed expressly for women and girls and for the precise purpose of harnessing healthy bodies for long days of back-breaking labour in one of the many nearby colluding factories, such as Siemens Engineering. Even though it was primarily a factory/work camp, Ravensbrück ironically did not have the infamous National Socialist slogan above its gates: Arbeit Macht Frei. A nearby camp, Sachsenhausen, did have the slogan above the gates (fig. 2) emblazoned in iron in a style we remember from other camps, most notably Auschwitz.

In order to signal its benevolence, Siemens has recently set up a Holocaust Fund of twelve million dollars to pay compensation to inmates they used as slave labour at Ravensbrück. But this “sign” begs the question: how would a former slave labourer in the Siemens factory at Ravensbrück prove that she was there? The answer would have much to do with the successful numbering of inmates either entered at Ravensbrück or transported from other camps in order to work or die at Ravensbrück. Although the most vile form of numbering consists of burning a number onto the body, inmates were numbered in numerous other ways, thanks to the invention of the Dehomag (Deutsche Hollerith Maschinen Gesellschaft) Hollerith machine (Black 9) and punch card system during what Edwin Black has called “the I[n]ternational B[usiness] M[achines]—Hitler intersection” (23–51). Victims and survivors of the Holocaust/Porrajmos are “numbered people,” and as Black explains—referring to the “mental notes” of the Dutch prisoner, Rudolf Cheim, who was assigned to work in the Labor Service Office with the Hollerith punch cards and their coded numbers—prisoners were identified by descriptive and, yes, biographical cards (20–21). Each card had columns and punched holes detailing various aspects of one’s identity: “Sixteen coded categories of prisoners were listed in columns 3 and 4, depending upon the hole position: hole 3 signified homosexual, hole 9 for anti-social, hole 12 for Gypsy. Hole 8 designated a Jew. Printouts based on the cards listed the prisoners by personal code number as well” (21). In our historical memory, tattooing is viewed as the most abject method of numbering human beings. But for the “numbered,” it may have had positive connotations as well. We have learned from Jewish survivor remembrances that when prisoners entered Auschwitz Concentration Camp the question of tattooing had immediate dissonant life-death meaning for them. Anne Karpf, author of *The War After*, interviewed her own mother, Natalia Karpf. Natalia begins by saying, “We weren’t in Auschwitz long, because in 1944 the front moved nearer and nearer, and they started talking about liquidating Auschwitz. One day

there was an Appel again, and they said they are going to tattoo our numbers” (89). At the thought of having the painful and humiliating “operation,” we are surprised to hear Karpf express relief. Karpf continues, “When they said that, we knew that we weren’t going to the gas chamber, only they were going to transfer us somewhere else. So we were pleased about the tattoos, although it hurt...My number was A-27407, I think—I forgot already because I don’t look at it [Checking] yes” (89).

Soon after, Karpf was transported to another camp for women, a small one of 3,000 women in Lichtewerden by Jagerndorf in Sudetendeutschland. Other inmates were transported to Ravensbrück, especially as the Russians advanced from the east. Another Jewish survivor, Carol Frenkel Lip-son, A-24742¹¹ remembers that “We were worried when we weren’t given numbers right away. We knew if we didn’t get a number, we were destined for the crematorium. In Auschwitz a number meant life” (Adler 76–77). Lip-son is grateful that her particular Schreiber [scribe] was “neat and gentle in her work.” Josef Buszko claims that only 405,000 prisoners were registered at Birkenau or Auschwitz in this way, so not included in any form of registration were the “vast majority of the Auschwitz victims, those men and women who, upon arrival in Auschwitz II, were led to the gas chamber and killed there immediately. Also not included were those prisoners who were sent to work in other concentration camps not belonging to the Auschwitz system, such as Ravensbrück. Still another group of unregistered prisoners were those who were designated for execution after a short stay in the camp. That group consisted mainly of hostages, Soviet army officers, and partisans” (Buszko 110–11). Thus, the Gypsy girls and women who were sent to Ravensbrück from Auschwitz were likely tattooed, whereas those who were sent to the gas chambers immediately were not.

According to George Rosenthal, a survivor of Auschwitz and a historian, the Auschwitz Concentration Camp Complex (Auschwitz 1, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Monowitz) was the only location in which inmates were tattooed in a systematic way—imperfect though the system was—during the Holocaust. Prior to tattooing, prisoners were issued serial numbers that were sewn on their garments. Different shapes, symbols, or letters were attached to the numbers in order to identify the status, nationality, religion, race, or sexual preferences of the prisoner. This practice continued during and alongside the period of tattooing, and this was also the practice at Ravensbrück.

In May 1944, numbers in the A Series—as with Natalia Karpf and Carol Frenkel Lipson—were first issued to Jewish prisoners, beginning with the men on 13 May and the women on 16 May. George Rosenthal explains that the A Series was to end with 20 000, and then the B Series was to begin, but an error “led to the women being numbered to 25 378 before the B Series was begun” (Rosenthal). This still doesn’t make sense if we listen to Karpf, whose number was A-27 407, because A-27 407 comes after A-25 378, by which time the B Series should have begun. We cannot assume that the practice of tattooing was consistent or rational, nor can we know exactly how it was used to number Romany girls and women.

Tattooing began in Auschwitz in 1941 with Soviet Prisoners of War (Rosenthal). The soldiers who were not designated for immediate death were stamped with a metal plate (full of interchangeable needles) on the left side of the chest, and then dye was rubbed into the wound (Rosenthal). It wasn’t until spring of 1943 that other prisoners were tattooed, even those who had been registered previously in another way. Notable ex-

ceptions included ethnic Germans, re-education prisoners, and inmates selected for immediate extermination (Rosenthal). Although in 1941 the tattoo was placed on the left breast, in later years, the inner or outer—as is the case with Ruzena Danielova—forearm was used (Black 352–53; Holý and Necas, 62–63). Black explains that “as the chest became obscured amidst growing mounds of dead bodies, the forearm was preferred as a more visible appendage” (353). For infants and little ones, the location was, however, the upper left thigh.

All Zigeuner (the German plural noun meaning “Gypsies”) were tattooed with the Z for Zigeuner. Some of those tattooed late in the war were then transported from the Gypsy Camp at Auschwitz to work at Ravensbrück, which is why Ceija Stojka, for example, deported for work as a teenager, arrived at Ravensbrück already tattooed, Z-6399. On three occasions in 1944 during the time when tattoos were used more regularly, there were transports of Gypsies to Ravensbrück, totalling 1,107 women between the ages of 18 and 25 (Morrison 51). So although the Ravensbrück women should have no tattoo, the complex details of their transportation from one camp to another meant that they entered the “women’s camp” with a tattoo.

Just because women were not tattooed on the body does not mean that inmates at Ravensbrück were not numbered. After undressing and showers, Stojka explains, Zigeuner received a small piece of canvas with three symbols on it: the black triangle, usually the symbol for asociality (the German word is *Asozial*, and the category was often used to indicate “Gypsy,” but also others, such as prostitutes, unemployed people, and vagrants); the letter Z, the first initial in Zigeuner; and a prisoner number. Donald Kenrick and Gratton Puxon concur with Stojka’s claim (129), although other sources say black was used for vagrants and lesbians, and brown for Gypsies (Sinti and Roma 7). This number was sewn on their civilian clothes because Roma were not always issued prisoner clothing. The prisoner number, whether it was tattooed or sewn on or both, replaced the name of the inmate for the duration of her detention, and this is the most important point to be made. Although this action helped to dehumanize the inmates, it had other meanings for them as the genocide developed. It also served a practical purpose in a political system that legislated the extermination of Jews, Roma, and others. It enabled the ready identification of cadavers so that death lists could be kept and deaths registered and, I assume, in this way a new Series could be re-issued.

What can we say, then, about the meaning of the complicated and paradoxical phrase, “no tattoo”? I think there are a number of observations we can make here. Most importantly, we can speak about the tattoo or the Nazi camp number as a paradoxical auto/biographical symbol of both an erasure of identity and evidence of a life. The Ravensbrück women felt lucky that they did not have their numbers branded on their skin, but prisoners in other camps had reason to feel differently. With clarity and frankness, Carol Frenkel Lipson—A-24742—writes, “a number meant life” (Adler 76-77). Edwin Black describes a further wrinkle in the historical account: Dr. Mengele used his own private tattoo system on inmates he used for his barbaric experiments. When we add this to the mix, we must agree with Black that “Tattoo numbering ultimately took on a chaotic incongruity all its own as an internal, Auschwitz-specific identification system” (353). Although Ceija Stojka and other prisoners were inmates at Ravensbrück and had tattoos branded on their forearms, no tattoos were administered at that particular camp site. Instead, Gypsy women and girls who were healthy must have been deported from the Gypsy Camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau in order



Figure 3. Paintings by Ceija Stojka in the yard outside a central factory building, Ravensbrück, August 2002. Photograph: Marlene Kadar and Gary Penner

to provide slave labour for the conglomerate of factories on or near the Ravensbrück site, or at other camps, such as Bergen-Belsen.¹² We can therefore say that “no tattoo” embodies dissonance: it can be read as both a sign of “good luck” and as a further erasure of identity from history, and either way, it is an autobiographical trace, or a trace of the autobiographical. In some cases, the tattoo or its absence (no tattoo at all) is all that remains of the life, and thus in an eerie way the tattoos “persist on account of their incompleteness” (Blanchot 58). While we want to preserve the autobiographical traces of “numbered people,” we must remember that according to the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, bodily mutilation, in addition to forcible detention and relocation, constitutes “deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to destroy a group.” Here we have the ultimate irony: the trace of an autobiography lives within the tattoo, but the tattoo is also evidence of bodily mutilation, and therefore an act of genocide. At the same time as the group was being destroyed, the tattoo was a sign of the Nazi state’s permission to live, at least for a short time.

Sterilized Body

The second image, “sterilized body,” is a blatant reminder that a sterilized body was a source of medical information for Nazi physicians and scientists inside the camps and for anthropologists on the outside. Anthropologists often worked for the Eugenic and Population Biological Research Station. Most famous among them is Dr. Robert Ritter, Hitler’s race scientist in charge of the Nazi classification of Gypsies and an expert in “asocial youth.” Ritter and his team of younger female race scientists invaded Romany caravans and homes, measured heads, and analyzed blood in order to feed their predetermined racist conclusions. Among these race scientists were two prominent women, Eva Justin and Sophie Ehrhardt. Ritter and Justin—a trained nurse who was often referred to as Ritter’s “assistant”—concluded in 1936 that 90 percent of Roma were Mischlinge (mixed race) and therefore should be deported and exterminated (Morrison 50–51). Till Bastian explains the complex formulae that Justin and Ritter developed in order to determine various degrees of “Zigeuner-Mischlinge”: the more Gypsy blood, the more primitive, work-shy and, thus, asocial the person will be (Bastian 38–40; Lewy 140–43). The degrees of mixed-race blood were formulated “scientifically” using what was called a “scientific method,” and a team of accredited anthropologists and behavioral scientists educated in Germany’s most esteemed universities “gave form to the new ideology, or better religion, which at the time seemed to offer such promise for the salvation of the Fatherland and of capitalism” (Müller-Hill 93–96).

It may surprise us to learn that women were included in the carrying out of this “murderous science” (Müller-Hill). Women scientists observed and documented the Romany and Sinti communities of Germany and are often seen in photographs measuring head circumferences or examining other body parts (Lewy 46). Sophie Ehrhardt, for example, was a member of Ritter’s team of anthropologists (Adolf Würth and Gerhard Stein were also members of the team). Although she was valued as a nurse, Eva Justin began to work with Ritter at the University of Tübingen. She went on to receive a doctorate in anthropology in 1943 after completing a dissertation about Gypsy children (Lewy 44). Gypsies, Slavic peoples, “social misfits” (including people with schizophrenia and epilepsy), and other individuals classified as asocial (AZR, or asozial) were reduced to “subservient depersonalized object(s)” by the bond that held “the psychiatrists, anthropologists, and Hitler together” (Müller-Hill 102). Most interesting for us is the fact that asociality was treated as a disease for which sterilization was one cure, and in the case of the Roma, asociality often stood in for Zigeuner or “Gypsy” and therefore can be read as a racialized category. This point has been made by others, most notably by Gisela Bock in 1983: “‘Asociality’ had been an important criterion in the sterilization courts...race hygiene theory had established the hereditary character of the disease, ‘asociality’ with such efficiency that it had become a central category of racism” (Bock 408, 412; see also Hancock, “‘Uniqueness’” 57). Numerous non-Gypsy memoirs and oral testimonies report that groups of Gypsy women and girls suffered at the hands of Ravensbrück doctors, Karl Gebhardt, Rolf Rosenthal, and Gerta Oberhauser, among others (Morrison 241, 246–47). Oberhauser is remembered by memoirist Gemma Laguardia-Gluck, “Prisoner 44,139” (My Story 38) and other prisoners; and her various surgical operations are recorded in a variety of prison documents

collected in the Ravensbrück Camp Archives. While conducting research in the archival collections at Ravensbrück (in Fürstenberg, the former East Germany) in the summer of 2002, I found a note written by Laguardia-Gluck, which attests to the sterilizations of Gypsy girls (Archive Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück, Box 32, 581-98). In a letter written to the Committee of Ravensbrück Prisoners (Report Number 590) soon after “liberation,” Gluck writes, and I translate from the German “Dr. Oberhauser had forcibly sterilized completely healthy women in Ravensbrück Concentration Camp, including numerous children from the age of 8. The procedure used to sterilize was radiation, extremely painful—and in many cases led to death” (Box 91, 590). Others have commented that Oberhauser used “a high-powered X-ray machine” or a “High tension apparatus” in which one electrode was placed in the vagina and the other over the abdominal wall near the ovaries. This was “experimental medicine, to say the least,” preferred to surgery by Dr. Clauberg because it was simple and effective (Lifton 269–302). Oberhauser, along with twenty-three other physicians and scientists (including Clauberg), was tried at the infamous doctors’ trial in December 1946. She was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment for her crimes, but like many of her compatriots was released in 1952. She became a family physician in Stocksee, Germany, but her license was revoked in 1960.

Jack Morrison corroborates this archival fragment in the extensive Oberhauser files (Band 36: 40-375). He explains that Gypsy girls were subjected to a cruel ruse in Ravensbrück. Just before the New Year in 1945, the overseers—there were approximately 150 in Ravensbrück in 1944 (not including trainees) and all of them were women—came to the Gypsies with a deal. They said that the “authorities in Berlin” “had agreed to release any young Roma women or girls who would ‘volunteer’ to be sterilized” (52). Morrison reports that “almost all agreed to the procedure and signed the consent form” (52–53). In theory, the signatories were volunteers, but of course, none of them was released as promised. The young girls who were sterilized did not sign for themselves; tragically, the mothers of the victims signed for them, thinking they were doing the best thing for their children (53).

It is unlikely that the mothers understood what the procedure entailed: many would not have been literate, and, in any case, they might not be familiar with the word “sterilization.” It has been reported by Morrison, Kenrick and Puxon, and others that the mothers of the young victims often signed documents they could not read or understand. Even if the mothers understood some of what they were told, like all prisoners, they were desperate for their children’s freedom. Thus, we know that between 120 and 140 Romany women and girls were sterilized in Ravensbrück Camp, almost all in January 1945 (Kenrick and Puxon 148; Morrison 53). We know from Michael Berenbaum’s study that “Dr. Clauberg sterilized all Gypsy women and their young daughters between the ages of five and eight” (qtd. in Feig 167)—“presque encore des enfants” writes a former prisoner (qtd. in *Avec les yeux des survivants* 24).

Involuntary sterilization was another way the Nazis tortured young Romany women and girls in order to ensure the erasure of Roma from history. If Romany women are sterilized, their history is lost, and a people are at risk of genocide. We are lucky to have at least biographical traces of stories about unnamed Gypsy girls and their sterilized bodies.

Gypsy Girl

The third image, “gypsy girl,” invokes a variety of other images, but primarily the words connote absence, the absence of children from our cultural memory on a number of levels. There is a dearth of information about young Gypsy girls who survived the Porrajmos, but we know, for example, that by 1944 there were around 500 children at Ravensbrück, half of whom were Gypsies, not including infants. Rarely does the history we do have take race, gender, and age into account. A study could be made, for example, of the practice of “camp motherhood.” Jewish survivors of Ravensbrück have commented that they would often become a child’s “camp mother,” a serious job of child protection, but one that gave the inmates pleasure



Figure 4. Sidonie Adlersburg, a Romany girl born in 1933 and adopted as a young girl by an Austrian family in Steyr. She was removed from her family by town officials and deported to “the Gypsy Camp” at Auschwitz-Birkenau on 3 October 1943. Photograph from Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, A-1010 Wien.

(Hebermann 150–51). Odette Fabius and a group of French prisoners adopted an eight-year-old Gypsy girl: “Through her [the Gypsy girl] we felt ourselves to be mothers once again” (Morrison 263). Even the Tuberculosis Block at Ravensbrück had a “Lagerkind [camp child],” a four-year-old Spanish girl named Stella. As camp mothers disappeared or were exterminated, others stepped in to take their places. Because the few stories we do have about the Romany experience of the Holocaust are transmitted orally, our research methods need to be attuned to this kind of text and research methods adjusted accordingly.¹³

Before I begin the discussion of the performance/oral text, I would like to tell the story of Sidonie Adlersburg, a Romany child who has been memorialized in a “novel” by Erich Hackl (see fig. 4). The novel, *Abschied von Sidonie* (Farewell Sidonia) was published in 1989 for young readers and translated into English in 1991. It commits to public memory the genocidal crime of “Forcible transfer of children by direct force, fear of violence, duress, detention, and other methods of coercion,” again, a pertinent clause in the 1948 “Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.” Sidonie was taken by force, suffered enormous duress and fear of violence, until she was deported and exterminated. It is remarkable that a trace of her life story has been preserved and popularized in a fictionalized biographical genre by Hackl, and it is particularly compelling because Sidonie was indeed stolen by Aryans, when the usual (racist) legend insinuates that the Gypsies steal non-Romany children. This legend is enshrined in age-old anti-Gypsy verses and songs, such as “My Mother Said,” written below.

Sidonie was born to a Romany family in 1933, but grew up in the Austrian town of Steyr as a foster child of Josepha and Hans Breirather (Hackl 1–27). She was removed from her family as the institutions in the town colluded to sever her from their Aryan world. “Local welfare workers, the mayor, the school teacher and principal” all rushed to purge Sidonie, even though no command came from above (“The Case”). She was deported at the age of ten, in 1943, and died the same year in Auschwitz. I found this portrait of her in Vienna’s Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Archive of the Resistance) in 1999. Sidonie would have been at greatest risk among camp children because she was under the age of fourteen and therefore possibly considered too young to be a productive labourer.

There is a great irony about the abduction and murder of Sidonie. One of the racist myths that supports what Ian Hancock calls “the Pariah syndrome” is that white children are always at risk of being “stolen” by Gypsies. The fear is deep-seated in Europe, even today, where this anonymously authored poem, “My Mother Said,” was republished in 2000 in Eric Kincaid’s popular *Children’s Book of Rhyme and Verse*:

My mother said I never should
 Play with the gypsies in the wood;
 If I did, she would say,
 Naughty girl to disobey.
 Your hair shan’t curl
 And your shoes shan’t shine You gypsy girl,
 You shan’t be mine.

And my father said that if I did
He'd rap my head with the teapot lid.
The wood was dark; the grass was green;
In came Sally with a tambourine.
I went to the sea—no ship to get across;
I paid ten shillings for a blind white horse;
I was up on his back and was off in a crack,
Sally tell my mother I shall never come back.¹⁴

In Sidonie's story, the characters are reversed. The Gypsy Girl, and not Sally, is stolen from the white folk who love her, and she never does come back except in the current time as remembered. If we imagine what might have happened to Sidonie or another girl like her, our story might look like this: the girl is forcibly transferred from her home to a ghetto and then a concentration or extermination camp; she has no tattoo, she is sterilized, she is successfully purged from her community by her own neighbours and respected members of her community—physicians and teachers— and then murdered by the state and its leaders, lost to history.

Ian Hancock has determined that between one third and one half of the Gypsy population of Europe was lost in the "great devouring" ("The Roots of Antigypsyism" 38). There is, however, much debate about exact numbers for a variety of reasons, including the paucity of consistent records, and still unexamined records, the details of which are explained by Hancock ("Uniqueness" 48–49). As a consequence, the great misfortune is that Romany survivors often leave only traces of their experiences in other peoples' accounts, or in camp records newly released, and sometimes in song and poetry. Thus, their stories are often invoked by "traces" more than by complete texts that conform to the generic rules of autobiography. Fragments of historical information are then delivered to readers and other kinds of audiences in fragments or traces of auto/biographical genres. They are either taken down by a variety of amanuenses or transmitted orally by a community of singers, or in texts whose status may be read as auto/biographical in order to adjust the historical record accordingly. Indeed, such traces function as unfinished separations, but they are not always only "written," as Blanchot writes (58). In this sense, fragments that are sung are also, as Blanchot explains, prolongations which thankfully "persist on account of their incompleteness" (58).

The following lament is one such "trace," but it tells us much about the Gypsy experience of the Holocaust. According to Susan Tebbutt, "Given that Romani is largely an oral language and that for many generations the nomadic lifestyle meant that the level of schooling was low, with a high incidence of illiteracy, it is hardly surprising that there are relatively few written works by Romanies" (133). The haunting tune is performed by an unnamed Slovak Gypsy in Tony Gatlif's film about the immigration of Gypsies from Northern India to Spain over 1,000 years ago, *Latcho Drom* (Safe Journey, France, 1993). It bespeaks both the autobiographical experience of the singer whose journey has not been safe at all, and who does bear the

tattooed number on her forearm. The singer without a name wails her sorrow, but her song is not her own in the literal or generic sense familiar to contemporary theories of autobiography. The unnamed survivor has borrowed the song from another autobiography, that of the Romany singer Ruzena Danielova (1904–1988), Z-8259, who like Stojka was tattooed in Auschwitz and then sent to Ravensbrück. Danielova was born in Mutenice/Mutenic, Moravia. She performed the song often, and each time she did, it is reported, she began with a prologue and ended with an epilogue. The prologue goes like this, and I am translating from the French: “It is necessary that I say why I sing this song and I want the world to know about it. I was imprisoned for two years and I received the cruelest treatment” (Necas and Holý 22–23). And when she finished the song, she said, “my five children were killed at Auschwitz: Jenda, Majduska, Thomas, Misanek and Suzanka, and my husband also. He was a very good man. I am the only survivor in my entire family” (23).

The film version of the song, and the four-stanza “Oshwitsate,” the first line of which is “Oh, at Auschwitz, there is a big house,” has been translated by Canadian Romany historian and activist Ronald Lee, author of *Goddam’ Gypsy*, and posted to the site of the Roma Community and Advocacy Centre. Another version of the song has been translated into French by Ctibor Necas and Dusan Holý and published in *Cahiers de Littérature Orale* in 1991: “A Auschwitz il y a une grande prison.” In both cases, the lyrics record an “unclaimed experience,” to use Cathy Caruth’s term for the nature of the belated experience of trauma. Yet the template for the song is pre-twentieth century (Stewart, “Igaz beszéd”; *The Time*). Recent research on Hungarian laments and ballads by Michael Stewart indicates that many versions of this song circulated, at least three of them before the war. In their book, *Zalujici Pisen* (Accusatory Song) (147–48), Dusan Holý and Ctibor Necas record eight versions of the song, including Slovak, Moravian, and Polish variants (94–96), and document its ancient roots. What do we make of this? Even more interesting is the fact that when Danielova began singing the song publicly, she did not claim to have composed it. By 1957, we are told, she changed her mind, and called herself the author. It is typical of oral traditions that communal songs circulate, but it is also true that by this time, Danielova wanted to put her imprint on the song and on the traditional communal material. We might say that she wanted to put her name to the song to recover the lost history of that sterilized gypsy girl with no tattoo. Danielova, however, was herself tattooed before arriving at Ravensbrück with the number Z-8259 (Holý and Necas 62). Dusan Holý and Ctibor Necas publish a photograph of Danielova with her left arm outstretched and her sleeve pulled up so that we can see the number on the top of her forearm (63).

The 1957 performance of “Oshwitsate” was also recorded by Radio Tchechoslovak of Brno. It was sung during a family birthday party and therefore not performed in a studio. Danielova’s version, or so it is said, has been translated from the Romany by Ronald Lee:

Oh, at Auschwitz, there is a big house
Where the man I love is imprisoned
He stays there, suffering his captivity
And forgets about me.

Oh, that blackbird
He will deliver my letter for me,
Take it to my husband,
Who is confined at Auschwitz.
Oh, there is starvation in Auschwitz,
We have nothing at all to eat,
Mother, not even a piece of bread,
Those starving us are bad karma.
Oh, if I only had a pitchfork
I would kill the tormentors
If I only had a pitchfork,
I would kill the people starving us.¹⁵

Not only do I have to argue that the song be considered/stand in for a life-writing document in the absence of conventional forms of life writing such as autobiography or memoir, but I also have to underline the idea that autobiographical practices can only achieve the goal of representation and inclusion if the genre is expansive. Convention has it that “true” (Winslow 2) and “notable great” (Holman 49) autobiographies are stable, fixed, single-signature, written, and usually published personal accounts “of one’s own history.” Many life-writing theorists no longer think of autobiography in such limited terms and can therefore accommodate such fragile and unfixed elements as song into our thinking about the autobiographical genres and practices. It is the gift of all autobiographical practices to illustrate where people have lived and how. “Oshwitsate,” for example, illustrates in undeniably powerful terms where Gypsies have lived during the Porrajmos, and what the experience has done to their families and their people. The “I” of the first verse unites with the “us” of the fourth, demonstrating the enduring strength of the community of Roma, if not the individual singer. We understand that the singer’s level of literacy is irrelevant in this case, another reason to make room for oral texts, the primary aesthetic vehicle of non-literate communities. This idea is underscored when we realize that the song has been used as a shared autobiographical text, and versions have been revised as needed. Helena Malikova, Z-9953, sings a very different version of the song for Necas and Holy than Danielova. The Czech scholars describe the performance as trance-like—Malikova cares only about calling up a moment of profound emotion from her soul, the emotion that is stirred by “an unclaimed experience,” a trauma too great to be reproduced straightforwardly, a trauma shared by an entire people—in this case, both traveling and sedentary Roma of Western and Eastern Europe. Ian Hancock claims there was the “Endlösung der Judenfrage” and the “Endlösung der Zigeunerfrage”—two final solutions, not one (Hancock, *Pariah Syndrome*; “Uniqueness” 45–50). Preserving the song means preserving a dissonant trace of Romany history.

What is important to note is that autobiographical practices do reference verifiable historical information, but they also work with personal experience and the rich character of personal responses to that experience. Thus, that which expresses more than what happened, that which helps us to understand

what the particular event means to the subject, can be read as autobiographical. What is important is what it felt like, not exactly what it was like. The song does not indicate exactly what transpired during the Porrajmos; but it registers the significance of what transpired for the singer—and it is for this reason that we can also have many versions of the same event in the autobiographical genres. The song I mention here is based on improvised verses, free and crudely tailored. At the same time, each version of the song is carefully structured and repeats aspects of this structure with some regularity. The song delivers the experience of the singer, preserving the wailing, the sighs, and the knowing dissonant cries. The song stands in for the memories of horrors of living in the camps, and as such it functions like a stand-in for memoir. It is useless to try to establish the “real” autobiographer or a fixed theme. All we have are “traces” of the facts and the stories. The want of concord or harmony is perpetual; the quality of being dissonant is consonant with the survivor’s wish to live when, as Lawrence Langer puts it, living means enduring a death, enduring the haunting phrase “if only”: if only the blackbird would deliver my letter/song; if only we weren’t starving; “if only I had a pitchfork.” If only, in the end, this pain of integrating mourning and sorrow taught us more about ourselves and our capacity to love, even as we love the numerous autobiographers who have stood in for that first historical witness in this song.

Notes

- 1 An earlier version of this paper was presented as part of the Laurier Interdisciplinary Lecture Series on 24 March 2003. The author is grateful to the Canadian Centre for German and European Studies at York University for their generous assistance, and to Professor Christl Verduyn, Wilfrid Laurier University, for hers. I also want to thank the Centre for Jewish Studies at York University for their support. For assistance with research in Toronto, I am grateful to Shannon Gerard, Nancy Gobatto, Michelle Lowry, and Rai Reece; and to program assistants in the Graduate Programme in Interdisciplinary Studies at York University, Ouma Jaipaul-Gill and Jan Pearson; and in Germany, to the excellent staff at the Archiv der Gedenkstätte Konzentrationslager Mauthausen, Vienna and the Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Ravensbrück, Fürstenberg/ Havel, especially Cordula Hoffmann and Mrs. Erler.
- 2 Deborah Britzman said this in a conversation about memoirs and the matter of veracity and memory, at York University, Toronto, 12 March 2003.
- 3 One might argue that all life stories are unfinished in the most cryptic sense of Blanchot’s prose. But for the moment, I am taking Blanchot quite literally. The author’s intentionality may be illusive, but the majority of readers know when a genre has enough shape to be assessed as “finished.”
- 4 When I read this part of the story, I often think about the officers who were the parents of young children themselves, and the fact that orders to kill children were considered complicated by leaders in the SS. We know, for example, that many officers were indeed loving fathers even as they murdered other peoples’ children. See, for example, “Report by the military chaplain, Dr Reuss, to Lieutenant-Colonel Groscurth, 1st Generalstabsoffizier, 295th Infantry Division” (Reuss 141–43), or SS-Obersturmführer August Häfner’s heart-wrenching description on the killing of the children (Häfner 153–54).
- 5 Traces of Romany stories live in published memoirs such as Dr. Lucie Adelsberger’s or Toby Sonneman’s. Adelsberger was a Jewish prisoner doctor in the Gypsy camp at Birkenau; Sonneman is the daughter of a Jewish survivor who has traced the lives of members of the Mettbach-Höllenreiner family, “Sinti Gypsies in Germany and Austria” (5). Traces of the Romany experiences of the Holocaust also live in archival documents such as those found at YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City (NYY). Protocol #3590, for example, records the story of Mrs. Aladár Berger, a

- survivor of the Csillaghegy ghetto (Csillaghegy is a suburb of Budapest, Hungary). Berger remembers two “mass-graves at Pomáz” (a town four kilometres north of Budapest) where sixteen Jews were buried. It was reported to Berger by “the cemetery-guardian” that the corpses “were stripped bare by Gypsies [sic]” (159). This Protocol #3590 was taken down by Franziska Pollák and translated by Jacques Sarlós for the Jewish Agency Palestine, pp. 153–59 (YIVO).
- 6 The memoir is written in German: *Wir leben im Verborgenen: Erinnerungen einer Rom-Zigeunerin* [We Live in Hiding: Memories of a Rom-Gypsy]. The book is the first part of Ceija Stojka’s autobiography written with Karin Berger. It focuses on Stojka’s youth in Austria and her time in Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, and Ravensbrück.
 - 7 Although some Gypsies travel by caravan, it is well known now that only a fraction of the world’s “nine million or so Gypsies are truly nomadic” (Hancock, “Uniqueness” 50, 54–57). Gypsies have been forced to keep moving in Western Europe, explains Hancock, but not in parts of Eastern Europe, where they were enslaved until 1864 (in Romania). Hancock explains, “By the 16th Century, a Romani child sold for the equivalent of 48 cents. By the 19th Century, slaves were sold by weight, at the rate of one gold piece per pound...Slaves were able to escape periodically and take refuge in maroon communities in the Carpathian mountains” (“Roma [Gypsy] Slavery” 3).
 - 8 A kapo is a kind of “supervisory inmate,” whose status in the camp is complex. Michael Marrus writes that kapos “directed the laborers and were themselves controlled by a small group of SS who remained in the background. The general impression is of a highly stratified system, in which the Nazis encouraged division and widespread corruption, broadly referred to in camp jargon as ‘organization’” (129).
 - 9 This text represents an amalgam of common responses to the questions posed here. The responses have been culled in the classroom and at other presentations over the last few years, 2000–2003.
 - 10 Although Ravensbrück was designed primarily for girls and women, it also housed some 20,000 male prisoners at one point. The reason we question its status as a “concentration” camp, at least for the entire period of its operation, is that many inmates were expected to die there, and there is no question that gas chambers were operated on camp grounds until they were destroyed by the SS in the final days of the war (Morrison 289). In order to handle the dead bodies, crematoria were installed. In 1942, Ravensbrück implemented Himmler’s Extermination Through Work Program, which required the crematoria to complete the program (Morrison 243, 290–91; Black 19–22). Survivors estimate that 6,000 women were gassed during the two months in 1945 when the gas chambers operated (Morrison 291).
 - 11 Because Lipson’s number is lower than Karpf’s, we might want to conclude she arrived before Karpf, but because of errors made by camp scribes, we have learned that we cannot necessarily make this assumption. This is another of example of how difficult and complex the topic of numbering was.
 - 12 Although many of the women whose stories are included in Joy Erlichman Miller’s *Love Carried Me Home* were deported to Ravensbrück from Auschwitz, some were instead sent to Bergen-Belsen, including Alice C., Helen G. and Lily M. (27, 55, 64). Morrison explains that the reverse also happened: prisoners were sent from Ravensbrück to other camps. Morrison notes one incident in particular where a number of women and most of the children in Ravensbrück were sent to Bergen-Belsen (292).
 - 13 Michaela Grobbel has explained how important oral performance is in our consideration of Gypsy autobiographies from Austria and Germany. She writes, for example, that a performance [of a song] is a “doing” and an “un-doing” at the same time. Very much like philosopher J.L. Austin’s notion of the performative utterance (1962), which does not refer to some extra-linguistic reality but rather literally enacts and produces that to which it refers, this “it” of performance only exists in the precarious moment of the here and now. Thus, it is historically and culturally defined as part of a specific time and site, and—very importantly—bound to an individual body. Research in contemporary performance and ethnographic studies has taught us to see how culture is created and how it grows through various instances of local performance that contest assumptions and conventions. Performance, then, as a “doing and a thing done, drifts between past and present, presence and absence, conscience and memory,” as Elin Diamond says (2).
 - 14 Ian Hancock has reproduced another rhyme, “The Gypsies are Coming” (“Self-Identity” 52), where the story goes, “The gypsies are coming, the old people say./ To buy little children and take them away.” There are many songs and rhymes that speak on this theme of kidnapping.
 - 15 The original Romani version of this lament is printed at the website of the Roma Community Centre, Toronto, Canada.

"Oshwitsate"
 Yai, Oshwitsate, hin baro ker
 De odoy panglo mro pirano,
 Beshel, beshel, gondolinel,
 Yoi, opre mande po bishterel.
 Yoi, oda kalo chirikloro,
 Lidjel mange mro liloro,
 Hedjoy, lidjoy, mro romiake,
 Yoi, me, beshel, Oshwitsate.
 Yoi, Oshwitsate bare bokha,
 Na me amen, nane so xas,
 Deya, ni oda kotor manro,
 Yoi, o bokharis bi-baxtalo.
 Yoi sar me yek furkeri djava,
 Le bokharis murdarava,
 Sar me yek furkeri djava,
 Yoi, le bokharis murdarava.

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KINGA KALI

■ RECYCLED TRADITION

The *Romani Design* brand has surfaced in Hungarian fashion only recently; it is meant to fill a market niche by turning into fashion certain elements of traditional Gypsy wear, or by adapting forms, specific motifs of Gypsy clothing style to the conditions of modernity according to designer concepts. We can say that *Romani Design* 'recycles' the particular Roma tradition (more precisely parts of it) in the region.

A metaphoric brand

The stirring *Romani Design* collection has been created from exuberantly colorful, beautiful and noble fabrics by the team of Romani Fashion Studio led by Erika Varga, an agile business woman committed to her community. Her career is a real success story: she started as an accountant, then was working as a goldsmith for nearly a decade and entered the world of fashion as jeweler; and throughout until today, she has been the editor-in-chief of the Roma children's magazine entitled *Glinda*. She confessed that the idea to re-conceptualize elements of traditional Gypsy wear into a fashion collection came to her mind for the first time during her jewelry-making years. The plan was concrete and elaborated already in 2007; her goal was to establish a Romani fashion house which would serve the needs of her own group, the Roma community and commercialize fashion products – clothing, accessories, and jewelry – overtly based and inspired by Romani tradition; meanwhile it opens up as well to majority society and the brand would cater for the taste of non-Romani consumers by creating items wearable in the modern urban environment.

Founded as a family enterprise (after a successful application for funding at the National Employment Public Foundation of Hungary), the initiative turned into a fashion house after their first runway show held on July 24 last year (which was the first Romani fashion show in Hungary); at the same time Erika Varga and Heléna Varga became fashion designers. The *Romani Design* fashion collection has been created under politically hypercorrect conditions, so to speak, or under the sign of multiple tolerance, as the designers involved disadvantaged or long-term unemployed people (although this fact prolonged the working processes since the workers needed training as opposed to professionals in the field). The Romani Fashion Studio was established in January 2009 after two years of preparation; presently it is operated as a social cooperative, as a purposefully community oriented public benefit enterprise. The results are outstanding,

as the success attained by the fashion house is way beyond the imagination of its creators. However, their carefully defined social mission is overly formulated: their objectives are to preserve Roma cultural heritage and to employ the disadvantaged; and, I would add, to *uplift them* as well.

Because the rationale of the Romani Design project is not less than preserving the traditions of the Roma in the face of the ethnic group and, according to their declarations, building a kind of 'cultural bridge' toward the majority, non-Roma society by using the playful tools of fashion in the spirit of peaceful co-existence so that various cultures in Hungary would eventually fuse with each other in terms of dressing. The new brand melts elements of traditional Gypsy wear known in the region, their motifs and particular chromatic universe into everyday/casual urban wear elevating it to the level of metropolitan dressing. Although to the taste of outsiders the creations of *Romani Design* may seem as being obtrusively full of roses, the designers' intention is to reform the majority Hungarian taste through them. The designers are convinced, as they have repeatedly stressed on several occasions, that fashion can invisibly dissolve the borders between 'us' and 'them' so that various co-existing ethnic groups will become more open and tolerant toward each others' traditions. In the eyes of the majority society, the creations of



the brand confer attractiveness to the values of the rather segregated Gypsy culture from the region by challenging the now trending mentality and disrupting the structure of deep seated habits; thus within the discourse of intercultural dialogue it can be interpreted as an effective act of communication – at least for the world outside.

According to the designers' own confession, the frame for accepting otherness has been an important criterion, because fashion is an open and changing system, as opposed to museums for example, which has a structured way to preserve. Consequently, it is important to 'provide coexistence', to put certain elements of otherness next to those already accepted, to line up symbolically (which at the same time means the metaphorical lining up of the Roma to the majority society). Because a museum, instead of providing space for dynamic evolution, it is rather preserving certain states; its closed and static conditions cannot compete with the constantly changing and vibrant everyday fashion, which, at last but not least, is human-friendly as well.

At the same time, the *Romani Design* brand name constitutes a metaphoric formulation of Roma cultural presence; it reproduces a cultural position that is different from Hungarian representations that we have seen until now: it is free of any submission and emphasizes equal values and the equality of the Roma. But does this politically very correct concept attain its full purpose, *does it really preserve* Roma traditions by elevating traditional Gypsy wear elements to fashion status?

Keeping traditions

Even if we do not get into the details concerning the semiotic function generally attributed to national costumes in the life of an ethnic group (or within a country, province or a region, all of which we should delimit very carefully since the Gypsies are stateless), we have to mention their value as a primary sign system. National (ethnic) clothing items, the traditional decorations, motifs, but also their colors – strictly following life-cycles – reveal not only the gender, but also implicitly the age and social status of the wearers. And, in our case, traditional Gypsy costumes signify of course the belonging to specific Roma groups or tribes.

Well, the *Romani Design* collection invoked by using elements and motifs of traditional Gypsy wear is crushing this primary sign system (which seems anachronistic in the context of the present urban environment) for the sake of a higher cause; in other words, it is *recycling tradition* and creates a new secondary system of signs within a different context. The new context is set by progress compatible with preserving traditional values, freedom ensured by the big city, and the stage of cosmopolitanism: here you will find different cultures in co-existence, the colorful, exuberant cavalcade of the infiltrating multiculturalism, tolerance and all sorts of other influences (to which the population of a contemporary metropolis might be exposed to), and the loosening up of borders.

Therefore, we should look first at how this secondary sign system functions as *sign*; to put it differently, we should examine whether the concept attains its main purpose – that is to confer *Gypsiness* to

urban fashion wear in a playful way. Or conversely, it might be subject to opposite meanings without its creators realizing it, by generating confusion among the Roma and giving false illusions to the outside world, being that either the majority society or somebody watching from abroad.

Is this decontextualized 'tradition' really suitable for adequately preserving Gypsy traditions if this is declared as the main concept? The pieces of the collection are beautiful, although one has a *deja vu* sensation, to say the least. There is not a great *trouvaille* here regarding forms, unless we consider that the collection features whole outfit pieces borrowed from Gypsy women's costume (which have been, of course, assigned a different function from the original one). So the novelty lies in their effective combination, their uniqueness emerges through the right pairing of the items. Out of the three Gypsy groups living in Hungary only the Vlach Gypsies have kept their traditional way of dressing, as both the Boyash and the Hungarian (Romungró) Roma/Gypsies quickly adapted to the majority society; their outfits have been entirely urbanized and adopted what they see as a 'gentlemanly' clothing style. Within the region, the dress of Gypsy women is known to have kept its characteristic features, so in order to stay conceptually consistent the Romani Design project can rely primarily on this tradition. For instance, in her interviews Erika Varga has mentioned field research trips made to the Vlach Gypsy groups in both Hungary and Transylvania, Romania.

Indeed, the most trenchant line of the collection is perceptibly inspired by the Kalderash Roma clothing (who belong to the Vlach Gypsies), or more specifically by the clothing of the Transylvanian Kalderash (known also as Gabor Roma in Hungarian regions). In their case the garb means colorful and floral



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ankle skirt mostly from cashmere and with pleats, apron coming down to the ankle, colorful or floral blouse, and rose patterned headscarf (for married women). The Romani Design team abstracted these garments into fashionable women's wear; the shapes, cuts and motifs of several pieces often appear on the runway. Of course, all of them were almost mandatorily *recycled*, i.e. dismissing their original function or place within the primary sign system.

But is it possible to keep *any* code of the primary sign system while dismissing traditions (although in a playful way)? What is the meaning of these decontextualized garment items for either the traditional Roma or the majority 'gadjo' society? Let us take a look, for instance, at the 'convertible' Kalderash apron, the *katrinca* freely falling down (looking like a wrap-around skirt), which, as the presentation suggested, can be worn according to the mood of the wearer (in the vein of 21st century modernity) either above the breast or let down to the waist, as Kalderash women wore it originally. Similarly, we can mention the evening dress cut down to the belly button and exposing ones breast, or even the appealing cocktail mini dress – apparently preserving Gypsy tradition – that was featured in the collection, and so on.

Well, the gesture has absolutely no meaning from the perspective of traditions (even if the playfulness of fashion is obvious, thus it is no use viewing things through a conservative, rigid lens): the Romani Design team is building in vain the Romani tradition (one may wonder which one?) on the one hand if on the other hand, they are undermining it by eluding one of the most important component of the Vlach Gypsy culture, namely the *marhime*, or the custom of ritual purity which is prevalent especially among the Lovári and Kalderash Gypsy groups.

The fashion collection that exhibits only the surface Gypsy characteristics does not take into account the complex system of rules of the *marhime*. According to Romani belief, observing rules by maintaining ritual purity ensures luck, health and fertility for members of Roma community. Moreover, the declared aim of the same collection was to give fashion status to well-known fortune symbols as well, by applying these motifs in jewelry and accessories; to mention just the cog shaped pendant or the cloverleaf and coin motifs on the jewels.

According to the *marhime* (nota bene: the name refers to both the system of habits and customs and to ritual impurity – here it means custom) the lower body is impure, while the upper body is clean; consequently there are many rules which univocally define and separate habits related to both parts of the body (the same logic says that the exterior of the body is unclean as opposed to the cleanness of the inside, and also that the Roma women are unclean in opposition to Roma men). Thus the *marhime* forbids women to wear clothes that do not separate the lower body and the upper body: the skirt considered unclean needs to be taken off by pulling it over the clean upper body, so traditionally Roma women can wear only skirts and blouses.

Expecting a fashion show to rigorously hold on to an anachronism past system of habits would be of course a conservative and exaggerated position to take, after all the designers intention was exactly to escape a closed system and to align next to the majority culture in the name of progress by aligning also to modernity. Even featuring Roma women on the catwalk (i.e. subjecting Roma women to public gaze)

would qualify as ‘unclean’ from a traditional standpoint – moreover, the collection obviously included many dresses, one-piece outfits since the purpose of fashion that is to dress people. However, precisely because of this, preserving traditions should not be stressed at conceptual level: one cannot perpetuate tradition solely through speech acts. As the Roma poet and ethnologist Károly Bari succinctly formulated it, „our traditions keep us”. And in this case one cannot disregard this fact; by the sole fact of speech acts one cannot break rules that have been systematized throughout centuries without disturbing other rules of the group and without displacing certain functioning set of rules or customs. Some pieces of the collection might have been conceived especially for Roma women, while others might have been created for non-Roma members of the society (with the power of remembrance, we should add).

The shadow of the context

Thus, in my opinion the first Roma fashion collection from Hungary is not so much about plain maintenance of traditions (because it cannot generally fulfill that role) as it is about signaling a recognizable *ethnic presence*. Then, irrespective of the will of the designers, this feature makes it suitable for political show-off, which is, of course, dependant on the context or the location of the catwalk show. Let us think about it: a metropolitan fashion house is targeting the upper social strata; accordingly, the Roma from Hungary are suggested somehow to belong to the well-off category. No doubt, the initiative is great, the clothes are beautiful, we have to agree with that; as for me being a gadjo myself, I would be more than glad to wear any piece of the collection if I could financially afford it. The *Romani Design* products are sold in a fashion boutique on Akácfa street in the price range between five thousand – two hundred fifty thousand forints, while the accessories cost a few thousand forints. The brand was presented first during the Bánkitó Festival in one of the most representative locations in downtown Budapest, the Gödör club and cultural centre (in July 2010). The next presentation was held in autumn at and under the patronage of the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest; the event featured also an exhibition, while the runway show included also other designers’ fashion products which also reinterpreted at their turn Gypsy motifs (the products were submitted at the two-staged open call for design ideas entitled *Living tradition*, co-organized by the Romani Fashion Studio and the Amaro Trajo ‘Our Life’ of the Roma Culture Foundation).

From there the success led directly to the House of Terror Museum – although it is inexplicable why they chose that location, as the Museum of Ethnography would have been more appropriate to host the tradition-keeping and definitely conceptually based event (if it really can be seen as preserving tradition). The late autumn fashion event at the House of Terror included also an exhibition (open between October 2010 – January 2011), with the purpose to present various tools used by the Roma. Even the title of the exhibition (*Sentenced to each other: Contemporary Romani Design and Gypsy identity in the 21st century / Egymásnak ítélve: Kortárs Romani Design – Cigány identitás a 21. században*) is not kosher; it is another type of speech act, as being ‘sentenced to each other’ suggests a predestination that borders rather on



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some kind of punishment since it stems from the verb to sentence, from its legal connotations. Such a title emphasizes the *confined* enchainment and its acceptance and maybe even without the creators realizing it, plainly states 'that's it, we have to accept it'.

Considering all these, we can say that, although in the beginning the Romani Design fashion collection served primarily design and aesthetic purposes, now it has been extended into another semantic field namely that of politics. Because the hype surrounding a regular fashion event makes us wonder whether the phenomenon seems to be too much of a mirage; does it really paint a true picture about the (*contemporary*) situation of the Gypsies from Hungary? Do politics cling too tightly to it aiming to fill with entirely different content the representation of the fashion house's presence there? And, as a direct consequence, have not both the original meaning and the intercultural dialogue changed at a certain point?

So, much depends on the context of intercultural communication: in our case, the context is given by the 'positioning' of the catwalk stage and the 'lightning' of the exhibition space. Because the Romani Design collection is a readymade materialized evidence, which proves that the Roma are so well-off; which in general terms is far from being true. Statistically speaking, or rather asking, are *in general* the members of the Roma ethnic group in such an (economic) position that their needs could be served by the Romani Design creations, as so often has been declared regarding the fundamental concept of the collection? To put it differently, can the Romani fashion house sustain

an ethnic Roma clientele? From this perspective, the Romani Design brand serves rather as a show-off, at least if we consider its 'afterlife'. And, although the statement might lead us into a slippery area, it seems as if keeping tradition is not that important as the social-cultural representation stating that the Roma in Hungary have their own fashion house.

Comparing the hype around the Romani Design brand to the nomadic collections of fashion houses in countries where fashion gained recognition, we can see that the various fashion collections *absorbing* Roma/Gypsy motifs have not intended to overstress Roma features; the case is similar to the seaside garment of djellaba worn by women whose Arab origin did not need any emphasis. To use a single example for all these: the cyclically returning multicultural, nomadic creations of the *Etro* fashion house from Milan never had to prove that they respect Roma culture so thus they wore garments inspired by theirs; so the interpretation has not have to struggle its way up from a negatively seen value area to the illustrious *contemporary* feature of the present modernity. There the designer's playful 'juggle' with otherness was at the forefront, the artistic creation itself. However, the scarf shirts presented by the Romani Design creators as a sensation, were featured in fashion magazines from the 1970's already.

In spite of all these facts mentioned above, the establishing of the *Romani Design* brand is very welcome; both the designers who made the collection and the foundations that paved the way of the envisioned collection right from the beginning need to be congratulated. However, regardless of that we need to say that the phenomenon does not fully present the Roma reality of present-day Hungary. The discrepancy is much too striking: within an act of show-off, a noble albeit political gesture can neither put the Gypsies into the upper crust nor make them contemporaries as long as segregation and persecution of Gypsies is going under right now. Because the Romani Design feels like an illusion in this small country of ours; I would risk saying that it is meant for the foreign eye (which is true to some extent since the Romani Fashion Studio exports the brand abroad as well; which is also a laudable fact). The effect is similar to what tourists see when descending from Buda Castle: the beautifully lit Chain bridge, the elegant Roosevelt square, the sumptuous ship-restaurants or the exclusive hotels nearby – the great Hungarian luxury.

ENIKŐ VINCZE

■ THE INTERSECTIONALITY OF SOCIAL STATUS, ETHNICITY AND GENDER IN SCHOOLING

The analysis presented in this study resulted from the EDUMIGROM research conducted in Romania between 2008 and 2011,¹ in particular from the community study carried out in Transilvan town in three schools and nearby Roma communities.² The paper aims to describe and interpret the ways in which schooling practices and experiences in the 'Roma community' under scrutiny are shaped by the intersection of social, gender and ethnic identifications, and how are all these eventually defining one's opportunities and options for particular life paths.

Identities are constituted at the interplay of subject positions prescribed by the political economies, institutions and discourses of the outside world, and of concrete peoples' subjectivities (lived experiences and actual performances).³ In this sense, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, socio-economic class and status exist as continuous practices of identification, including negotiations on the meanings of the prescribed subject positions. Identities are relational, are always produced and used in the process of creating/ maintaining/ destroying the boundaries between "us" and "them", being at the same time about inclusion and exclusion, integration and separation. Identities are also situational: a person's/group's performed identities are constituted by and constitutive of the situations into which they are part of on different domains of life. They are both cultural constructs (set of meanings) and processes of differentiation/ signification: people create them as they react to what is happening to them in their daily life, while creating themselves as similar with some and different from others. Ethnic identification (as theories of intersectionality demonstrate, Crenshaw 1989, 1994; McCall 2005; Magyari-Vincze 2006; Lutz, Herrera Vicar and Supik, 2011) is intertwined with

- 1 The three-year research project entitled *Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an Enlarged Europe* aimed to conduct a comparative investigation in ethnically diverse communities with second-generation migrants and Roma in nine countries of the European Union. The project was funded through the 7th Framework Program of the European Commission. It involved 10 partner institutions from across Europe and was led by the Center for Policy Studies at Central European University in Budapest Hungary (<http://www.edumigrom.eu/>).
- 2 The name used to define the location of our community study is fictive as there are all the other denominations given to districts, communities and persons
- 3 This concept is based on those processual views on identity which define it as the meeting point between subject positions and subjectivities (Hall 1992; Woodward 1999; Moore 1988, 1994; McClaurin 2005).

other markers of differences and systems of classification, they function through one another, and together they create inequalities and sustain power relations and social hierarchies.

In its first chapter, the paper characterizes the socio-economic condition of the investigated Roma community by emphasizing similarities and differences within. Afterwards, with this context in the background, it describes the patterns of thinking about the importance of schooling Roma boys and girls. The third chapter of the paper focuses on people's identity strategies as defined and sustained at the intersection of ethnicity and gender. It describes how do people make cross-references to their ethnic and gender identity while naming and positioning themselves in front of each other and in the front of the external world as individuals and groups that value formal school education, or on the contrary, look for alternative practices of preparing for the adult life. In its fourth chapter, the paper addresses the intersection of ethnicity and gender in the othering process, and it describes how, besides other markers of differences, 'Roma women' are constructed to develop a sense of belonging to a group and to signal the desire of remaining different from 'others'.

1. Socio-economic conditions of the 'Roma community'

Romania has the largest number of ethnic Roma in Europe. In the 1992 census 401.087 people (1.8 percent) identified themselves as Roma, and in 2002 the number of those self-identifying as such increased to 535.250 (2.5 percent).⁴ In Transilvan town, the broader site of our qualitative research, according to the latest census, the percentage of Roma population was around 0.95 percent of the population totaling around 250.000 (being quite below the urban average that was 1.8 percent). According to the estimations of Roma leaders, in the town there might be not three (as declared in the census), but five thousands Roma. Transilvan county is situated in the North-Western region of Romania, which is one of the areas with the highest rate of ethnic Roma (3.5 per cent).

The 'Roma community' under our scrutiny is settled in three nearby north-western neighborhoods of Transilvan town, where the observed School 1, 2 and 8 are also located. Their environment is marked by the mixture of pre-modern/rural and industrial/post-industrial elements. The hybridity of the area as a whole might be observed in the housing conditions, but if one would like to identify general patterns that differentiates among cases, than he/she should note that individual houses are predominantly present in Forest district; blocks of flats host Roma from Flower district; and improvised homes mostly distinguish the

4 Sociologists assume that even if it shows an increase during a decade, this figure is a robust underestimation of Roma. Due to the stigma that Roma identity bears, there is a reluctance of many Roma to identify as such in front of an official interviewer. On the base of this recognition, there are several 'unofficial' estimates of the actual figure of Roma in our country. In their survey conducted in 1998, the Institute for the Research of the Quality of Life estimated on the base of hetero-identification that in Romania there were between 1.452.700 and 1.588.552 ethnic Roma persons, out of which 65.3 per cent identified themselves as Roma (IRQL Report 2002).

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condition of Roma living in Water district. The investigated territory on a large is also characterized by a relatively diverse pallet of occupational statuses (farmers, pretty traders, manufacturers, industrial workers, unemployed, day laborers, small entrepreneurs). These not simply denote differences in community traditions but most importantly indicate niches of survival during communism and post-socialist times, or ways in which people followed diverse strategies of life as a reaction to their socio-economic condition.

Daily life at and around home

Five of the Roma students of School 1, interviewed in the summer of 2009, lived in the last block of Babilon street. Out of them, a 15 year old and a 17 year old boy (Andrei and Aron) just graduated the eighths grade of School 1 and in the fall of 2009 enrolled into the ninth grade in a vocational school.⁵ Three interviewed girls are among the current eighths graders of School 1. Two of them (Ioana and Andrea) are fifteen and are mates in the class enrolling five self-identified Roma out of twenty pupils. And the third one (the sixteen years old Anca, sister of Andrea) is repeating the eighths grade due to her absenteeism, being the one and only self-identified Roma in another class enrolling eighteen pupils. Another eighths grader of School 1, Laura (17) lives in a house on River street in a neighborhood mostly inhabited by elder Romanian families. Magdalena's (15) enlarged Pentecostal family shares a relatively isolated "Gypsy" courtyard placed in the vicinity of blocks that is somewhere on the half of distance from both Babilon and River streets, but still in the surroundings of the former socialist industrial milieu. Claudiu (15) moved recently to his mother's and stepfather's apartment that is quite far away from Flower district and for most of the times he is alone at home.

The majority of these students are living in a two room apartment with their family of more than four members, so having to share rooms with older/younger sisters and brothers. Some of them express a feeling of dislike toward their neighborhood and – as a sign of this – do not sustain friendships here and look for alternative programs elsewhere (possibilities for this being very restricted). The sense of not really belonging to one's vicinity and longing to be somewhere else is stronger in the case of students who do not have their schoolmates around. But the Pentecostal girl's perception about and possibility of making a choice in terms of locations for a desired daily life is restricted by her family's religious affiliation. The newcomer boy – not connected to his schoolmates nor by previous collegial bonds, or by his home, and

5 Since a few years in the Romanian educational system ten grades became compulsory, but schools have not changed administratively. With the exception of the lyceums that run classes from the first to the twelve grade, children of the schools of primary and lower secondary education have to move to other school units after graduating the eighths grade. The schools of our surveyed sample belong to this category that is why it happened that at the time of our survey (spring of 2009) these children were still students of School 1 but in the fall of 2009 moved to another school to continue their studies. They were admitted on the special spots for Roma as there was a repartition of pupils among schools according to their previous performances and options.

not being controlled by his family – hangs around most often in the city (mostly spending his time at gyms) with his former friends.

The mother of Anca and Andrea observed a generational change among herself and her daughters: „*when we were young, went for walks, to cinema, to disco and balls together with Romanians and Hungarians, we hanged around a lot anywhere in the city; but these kids of ours do not go anywhere, just stay in this courtyard or the nearest park and chat and chat, they do not make parties, do not go out for a film, nothing.*” However, she also stressed that she was afraid of letting her teenage daughters going to the afterschool educational centre that was in the other part of the city because “*men on the streets might be dangerous.*” These types of generational changes might be explained by the growing social inequalities and distances among the (very) poor and (very) rich, by the more rigid divisions of the public spaces that informally impose whom they might be attended by and whom they do not tolerate, or by the increase of the costs of the recreational and entertaining programs. People of the interviewed families do sustain that ethnicity does not count in the way in which one chooses friends and spends his/her time with them, but in the real life their choices are really very limited to their immediate networks predominantly formed by other ethnic Roma.

Three of our students from School 2 lived in Singular neighborhood of Water district in a relatively acceptable condition, Claudiu (15), Denisa (14) and Adi (14). The home of four more students from School 2 is located in the intermediate zone to the poorest vicinity, that of Daniel's (14), Sorin's (16), Cristina's (15) and Iulia's (13). At the time of our research we found three girls at School 2 from the poorest area of Water district, Bianca (15), Geanina (15) and Mari (15). Altogether, Water district's students' home environment is the most isolated from the rest of the city and bears the stigma of the poorest “Gypsyhood”. Their families moved here from other parts of the city or of the country. These two elements strongly restrict these children's chances of spending their everyday life outside the colony. The most impoverished are forced working along with their parents on the wage dump. Their material shortages and isolation from the outer world result in the fact that they do not even have dreams about socializing or spending time elsewhere, nor in a shorter or a longer perspective.

Families we talked to in Forest district lived in this rural-type area in houses built by the time of colonies brought by industrialization. They are not very comfortable, being composed by one or two rooms. The apartments are in one or two story buildings that are in poor condition, without modern infrastructure. The lack of funding of infrastructure is most visible in the case of the road that has not been rehabilitated for years.

For many times, children struggle to disconnect from the given frames of their daily life and in this effort they look for the moral support of their chosen significant others. Feri (16) lives in an extended Gabor family, and his life patterns are strongly dominated by its traditional practices regarding jobs and schooling. However, he is having alternative dreams about his future and not necessarily those prescribed by his parents, but he keeps them in secret, enjoying a sort of freedom due to the fact that his parents are travelling a lot. His significant others and models are people (young students) he meets at the church he

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attends, or adults that managed to do something else in their life (like the school mediator). For Anabela's (14) daily life the back and forth movement between home and the nursing institution represents a serious burden. She takes her life in the institution as provisory and waits for the moment she will be 16 and move in with her elder sisters.

In other cases, the material constraints resulting from the lack of father's support, who is missing from home – like that of Lavinia (13) and his brother Stefan (15), or that of Viorela (14) – and the fact of living in their mother's extended families, create a situation in which their main preoccupation becomes helping each other in each and every aspect of the harsh daily life.

The 'Roma community' from individual families through colony to ghetto

The term 'Roma community' does not cover a homogeneous group of people, as far as the latter is shaped by several internal differentiations generated – among others – on the lines that separate families living in deep poverty from those with better socio-economic status. The community of Water district (harshly separated from the outer world) massively lacks the elementary conditions of a decent life and is pushed on the edges of legality (in terms of housing, labor or identity documents). However, due to our research methodology (using schools as a departing unit) we could observe differences even within this area by visiting families whose children were enrolled into school and therefore enjoyed more secure economic backgrounds. Inhabitants of Flower and Forest districts (living in compact groups or dispersed families) were doing slightly better, the block apartments or the houses that they owned or not, in the majority of the cases (even if usually were small spaces of one-room-and-kitchen) besides electricity, did have running water inside and gas, and access to sewerage.

The severity of ghettoization is another factor that produces and maintains differences within the studied community. The space of Roma colony might be both source of solidarity and support, and of deprivation or even exploitation. We could learn about cases with relatively better socio-economic conditions (like those in Flower district) showing that compact groups of Roma could attract more support in their living arrangements than families who lived isolated from their Roma peers. However, on the overall, according to an interviewed local NGO leader, Roma families dispersed across the town (and as such integrated into the broader urban community) are doing much better economically than the ones living in colonies on the town's peripheries. This is because the latter are formed and maintained by "attracting" people from or outside the town who lose their apartments and jobs, and are desperately looking for solutions of housing and for a support that informal networks supposedly offer. The mechanism of reciprocal assistance might indeed function in some cases and aspects, but it could happen that under these conditions marked by several shortages, competition on scarce resources, mutual suspicions and the inability of jointly organizing would structure the order of cohabitation. Moreover, as the case of families from the wage dump of Water district illustrated, people living in encapsulated spaces might become dependents on and at the mercy of local informal leaders and entrepreneurs, who exploit their cheap labor force. The huge difference between

the case of the Roma group from Babilon street and that from Donald colony rests in the degree to which the colony transforms into a ghetto, the latter being characterized by an acute isolation from the outer world, as its inhabitants are living and working in the same space, where the resources are very limited and children do not have an opportunity for schooling.

The investigated Roma families (all having children enrolled into the seventh or eighths grade) look like a community as far as they share major common concerns (even if these have consequences of different severity), among them: living on the margins of the town; frequent changes of homes; unemployment and day laboring in the informal economy; low level of school education (which is the lowest in the case of the mothers in their 30s) and difficult access to quality school education; but also higher educational aspirations of/for their children and a desire of integration into the majority society. Last but not least these families (living in compact groups or dispersed) become a community because they are perceived as 'Roma' by the outer world (a term designing a supposedly homogenous entity living in poverty) and share experiences of unequal treatment and exclusion on different domains of life (labor market, schooling, public health, or housing).

The embeddedness of 'Roma community' into the broader urban context

The studied 'Roma community' is characterized by two major patterns of embeddedness into the outer world: one of relating directly to it as an individual (family), and the other of developing and sustaining temporary contacts with it through the mediation of particular groups of 'their own'. As far as the latter – otherwise predominant – paradigm is concerned, according to its sources, it knows four types of community cohesion: one built around a sense of ethnic proud (mostly in the case of Gabor Roma); another constructed on a religious faith (as in the case of Pentecostal families); a third one generated from the desire to integrate together into the majority society (in the case of the "Romanianized" Roma from Babilon street or from Forrest district); and a fourth one produced around reciprocal dependences (as in the case of Roma living in deepest poverty, especially those from Donald colony).

At their turn, these types of internal cohesion – as they are both resulted from and fuelling a sense of identity –, are linked to different degrees of integration into/ separation from larger communities conceived as others incorporating difference. Gabor Roma (besides their superficial contacts of trading with the majority), with a well-developed sense of ethnic proud, maintain strict boundaries between "us" and "others". Pentecostal Roma (sustaining that their faith connects them to other ethnic groups, too) equipped with a confidence regarding "their own" authenticity, see their integration and emancipation in the earthy life as a way of preparation to what comes afterwards. Romanianized Roma, expressing a strong will and also sense of belonging to the majority community, while explaining their failures in integration, maintain their sense of positive distinctiveness by distancing themselves from the Gabor Roma. The Roma inhabitants of Donald colony – under severe material constraints – identify themselves with their marginal position (they are those who are not wanted by the outer world) and interiorize the related negative images of people

making a living out of others' waste; in these conditions the desire to be accepted by the outer world (at school or at the working place) receives very weak and fragile positive feedbacks.

Regardless of the degree of the internal cohesion and embeddedness of the groups to which they belonged to, all the interviewed children expressed a strong will to socialize with the ethnic majority (but less with other groups of Roma) and to accept other life models than those that were predominant in their families and immediate communities. For them, the school definitely is a channel through which belonging to the outer world might be practiced, but – under the impact of different sorts of material constraint that their families are faced with and of the recurring anti-Gypsy attitudes they encounter in the school or on the street – this path is under the risk of locking up and redirecting them back to encapsulation.

2. Patterns of thinking about the importance of schooling

Due to the EDUMIGROM research methodology that used schools as sites of departure for our investigation from where we connected to the selected ethnic community, we encountered mainly those self-identified Roma youth who, in socio-economic terms, were doing relatively better than their less fortunate peers who abandoned school and were not enrolled into the seventh and eighth grade when our research was conducted. But on the other hand, one has to note that these were the Roma students, who were attending the schools of the town's peripheries due to their residence in these neighborhoods, which were, at their turn, the socio-economically disadvantaged areas, sharing with their Romanian schoolmates many features of their life.

Ideas about the importance of schooling

Romanianized Roma, whose identity strategies are centered on integration, view school as an instrument for Roma emancipation. Everybody agrees that our-days school is necessary for a successful life at least in the sense that one cannot make it without school education. But very few are convinced that the latter really makes a change in one's life, sustaining that while one cannot succeed without, might not be sure either that he/she could have a better life with it. Gabor Roma perceive school as something necessary (mostly for alphabetization in the case of girls, or as a criteria for getting a driver license in the case of boys), but definitely not as a favored institution. For very many of our interviewees school is part of a foreign world that cannot become truly theirs.

Schooling is seen as a way of proving that Roma stand on equal feet with the majority. In this regard, the father of Andrei from Flower district, who only graduated five classes, stressed: *"Romanians or Hungarians should not believe that they have more fingers than we have; they should not treat us as fools; that is why we need to go to school, and to prove that we are their equals, we are gentlemen Gypsies."* The father of Andrea and Anca, the informal leader from Babilon street with a reduced school education and

some problems in writing, sustained that Roma need to be educated not to be fooled by Romanians, when they look for a job, or make a business, or try arranging something at the institutions. Magdalena's mother (with no school education at all) considers that it is not only that *"school helps you to become somebody,"* but by schooling one demonstrates that *"a Gypsy might be a sir alike a Romanian, and is entitled to have the same rights."* The mother of Laura from School 1 stressed that school attendance by Roma is a mean by which they might be accepted by the majority society: *"we are civilized, went to school at least for a while, we are not like the other Gypsies who do not do schooling at all because of their traditions, and Romanians appreciate this; this is why we never had problems of being accepted by our neighbors, or other Romanians, they did not even believe that I was a Roma."* The idea of school as an instrument of emancipation is also sustained by Magdalena's father, who is the Pentecostal priest of the district. His ideology is embedded into religious belief: *"our church is the church of Roma, however we do have Romanian and Hungarian brothers, too; as such it is dedicated to the emancipation of Roma, and their integration into the broader society, and among others it propagates the duty of attending school for which reason we also sustain a Sunday school not only for children, but for everybody who wants to learn reading the Bible".*

Generally, all of our interviewees from Water district affirmed that school is a unique opportunity to succeed in life or to have a positive occupational career. Some of the parents even emphasized that children's education is worth every effort and most of them believed they have done and still do everything for their children's education. An appropriate example of this would be the case of the two Roma children enrolled into the eighths grade. However, it is to observe, that no parent has ever participated in a school meeting with parents, did not respond positively to school calls, and did not show any interest about their children's absences. In some cases this equals with school failure. Daniel, for example, is endangered of repeating the class due to his absences. As it would not be linked to their current low school performances, parents often talk in a contrasting manner about children's school success and achievement. Daniel's mother talks about her son's school success and her desire to continue his studies and finish at least twelve grades. Mari's mother said that she wanted that her daughter to become a lawyer or a teacher, and that she believed that learning is the most important thing for that reason. However, she does not have any contact with the school, affirming that *"my daughter tells me what happens there and she has good relations with her colleagues."*

The case of Geanina is similar: she is having very poor learning results, but her father appreciates her results: *"I am happy with how my child manages herself with school work,"* probably because he does not know anything about his daughter's school situation. Cristina's father expressed the most enthusiastic view about his daughter and her school career by saying: *"My daughter is a model (...) and she must continue to move forward. I am proud that my daughter arrived at the level where she is. I am keeping telling her, girl, go on, and learn a job."* As mentioned above, school is on the one hand considered to be a way to succeed in life, but on the other hand, is perceived as a foreign world. School rules and daily participation in activities with children of different ethnicity is – because of old customs – a threat to the tradition of the Roma community. The school children are very often looked upon with admiration by their parents because

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they manage to cope in a foreign world, even a discriminatory one. Mary's mother says that her daughter *"is doing better among strangers, at school, she succeeds better than I did"*. She *"speaks better, she is better understood at the school than I was"*. Therefore has perfect confidence in her daughter. She explains her distance from the school by recognizing her inability to communicate by the alleged institutional rules.

Our interviewed, relatively well positioned Roma students from School 2, repeated common places about the importance of school and education, like Bianca, who affirmed: *"Well, without education you cannot do anything, you can not commit to have a job."* We could not observe any significant differences on ethnic lines regarding educational aspirations or the related views about the importance of school education. All students know and use explicative patterns, which are often used in their social environment. They practice a well developed duplicity by praising that school and learning are the only means for upward social mobility, while, at the same time, lacking the real interest in school attendance (reflected in their absenteeism). They motivate the latter and their poor results by their social situation, extreme poverty or even the existence of discrimination. A counter example to the view about the direct impact of economic condition to school performances is the case of Mari. She is a very talented student however her family lives in poverty. But she needs to take care of their household and her younger sisters, therefore she also has many absences, which shows that disadvantages might affect through different channels Roma children's school carrier.

In Forest district we also met families, which considered that school education was the base for a successful life. There are parents who start from the premise that the world has changed so dramatically that parents are not able to transmit essential knowledge to their children. Therefore, it is important for children to acquire information and knowledge efficiently and for a long period. The fact that parents have these ideas does not necessarily imply that their children think the same. Pupils are more skeptical regarding abstract knowledge provided by the school. Information provided in different classes is often overridden by everyday life realities. Teachers have a sense of this attitude of the pupils and every now and then, they accept or dismiss it. As an example stands the concrete story told by the Romanian language and literature teacher, voicing his puzzlement regarding transmitting information that has not been used for decades, for example the telegram as genre. Teaching it generated discontent among pupils. In the same time we should highlight that while parents believe that the modern educational system is something worth investing in, because it gives opportunity to pupils for developing their talent and abilities, pupils have reached a more pragmatic standing, next to the already mentioned skepticism.

In the case of other families school education is viewed as something necessary, but they do not rely too much on it. The family of Lavinia and Stefan holds that it is important for their children to be part of the educational system. However, they give few incentives to them, cannot help or support them. However, based on the children's school performance they hold them accountable for the work done in schools. Afternoon school duties are fulfilled jointly with others in special centers with the aid of teachers or social workers. Lavinia and Stefan, along with many of their colleagues, do not accept domination in school, the prevalent hierarchy and they do not want to integrate in the system but confront it. Thus, they create their

own little group of resistance. They smoke together during breaks, there is a permanent conflict between them and their teachers and they are disobedient as weekly occurring events certify. Parents do not even know about these. They are penalized within the school. And last, but not least, among the interviewed families there were some that saw school as something that integrates children in a society whose values are rejected by the family. Thus they do not take into consideration education as something beneficial. In this case, the attitude to school has different implications for boys and girls. Gender stereotypes are more powerful in these families. The girls do not reach other level of education than that of secondary school. There are many cases in School 3 when Roma girls abandon school because of family traditions, for example, they marry at the age of 12-13. In a class (eighth grade) in which I done research I came across a similar situation when a Roma girl married in the fifth grade in spite of the protest of her teachers. Teachers and pupils alike have recounted this story during discussions. In the case of boys, parents are more permissive. Although, the family attitudes are prevalent along with the lack of trust regarding education and the emphasis on the gratuitous nature of education, the school succeeds – with the help of intense campaigns – in keeping in schools those children who choose a life path different from the customary. They see success in schools, and models are taken from the school. For example, Feri's model is the Roma school mediator because *"he attended to school and became somebody"*.

Generational practices of integration and separation by schooling

Our interviews with Roma parents and students show that in terms of separation/isolation from the outer world an inter-generational change is going on. The strategy of sharp isolation or enclosure into kinship networks, which is a sign of marginality, is less pronounced in the case of youth. In all of the studied cases we observed that younger people had a more powerful desire to comply with the requirements of majority society. They did not interiorize mechanisms of exclusion as profoundly as their parents did. Voicing the lack of group solidarity was more important for traditional, religious and socially disadvantaged families. Obviously, they are more exposed to mechanism of exclusion prevalent in mainstream society.

Behind their general way of discussing about *"accepting anybody as my friend regardless of his/her ethnicity"* there were some hints in children's talk that signaled a stronger will to open up more towards the outer world than their environment allowed. Andrea from Babilon street complained about living in this neighborhood because *"too many Roma do live here, and I would like to see around myself more Romanians"*. She, alike to her older sister, has a boyfriend from another part of the town, but dislike of her, her sister, Anca, would like to stay in this very neighborhood when she marries. Anca was the only child who stressed that she was proud of being Gypsy: *"Gypsies help each other, and help the ones who are in a need, offer them food or so, Romanians do not do that, and they say that we are black, but they go to solarium to get bronzed, we are naturally bronzed, and this is good."* Andrei, from the same vicinity, told us that he has only two friends here and they are *"avoiding to hang around this building as the other kids do all*

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day long”, and like visiting the far-off after-school educational centre. Aron, who was accepted by her aunt to stay in their apartment alongside eight other persons, was dreaming about times when *“I am going to have a job and may afford to move out and to have a home of my own”*. While protesting against the strong control that her mother practiced on her, Laura, whose family lived isolated in a Romanian neighborhood, was happy about having more friends outside her immediate environments (school and home), mostly from the milieu of her older brothers.

The strategies of integration/separation of Roma students observed in Water district differ from those of their parents. There is definitely a youth orientation toward cultural assimilation in the sense of adapting to the challenge of consumerism of today’s society. They are open to wider societal values and means of their achievement, so they are more opened to the majority. The students’ narratives show an ambiguity around their relations with the inner group and inter-ethnic relations. They affirm that they have Hungarian or Romanian friends and colleagues, buddies that get along very well with. But usually meet them only in the school or in public places. These friends, no matter how sincere they are, keep a certain distance from them, *“never forget that we are ethnic Roma”* as Bianca said. Daniel explained that his friends were Roma, but *“we get along well also with Romanians”*.

Interviewed families from Forest district try to organize their living with or next to majority society in different manners. For older members of the Gipsy-Gabor community staying apart from majority is the accepted norm. For their children, especially for sons who attend school and stay close to the educational system for a longer period integration serves also as model. The rest of the families are pro-integration. They see successful integration stemming from education. Families with more stable economic and material status want a better and easier life (football player, car mechanic, and waiter) for their children compared to their own life as hard blue collar workers. Mobility and better life through work appears as a real and relevant possibility for families living in extreme poverty. In their case, however, perseverance is much more often impeded by hardships of their existence.

People’s will to integrate into the majority society may evolve into the direction of assimilation – *“we become like Romanians”*, as they say. Or, on the contrary, under the pressure of discrimination, the disadvantages and failures experienced *“in the world out there”* might make them to return to their secluded ethnic identity and social networks. If – after leaving school – children’s networks of inter-ethnic relations, for any reason, disappear, they may be ready to restore their bonds with the *“community of their own”*, and even to desire living in ethnically homogeneous social spaces. Our field observations in Donald colony show that former students who did not continue their studies returned to their family relationships, reproducing the communal daily activities (like gathering and sorting waste from the landfill), losing almost totally their trans-ethnic relationships developed in their former school environment. Many adults shared with us what a good relationship they had with their fellow ethnic Romanians or Hungarians in school, but that they lost these contacts after leaving the school (started work or married) and returning to the community. This situation is also characteristic in the case of those who, by losing their jobs lost their inter-ethnic relations sustained at the workplace. Leaving school or work meant withdrawal into their close community or family

and ending the relationships with the outer world. As a general rule it can be said that the continuation of studies means for Roma children a channel for inclusion and the chance for developing inter-ethnic relations. Likewise, a regular job implies deeper and more functional inter-ethnic relationships for the adults, the parents of the investigated pupils.

In addition to the diverse motives for integration by schooling on the side of parents and children, one should also note that the importance they give to school education also depends on the educational system as a whole. In these terms today there are more mechanisms that open up the schools towards enrolling disadvantaged groups than there were when these parents were at their school age during the 1980s. Some of them are part of structural developments (like the decrease of the number of school aged children, or the liberalization of school enrolment regardless of their catchment areas). Others are pieces of affirmative action policies, like the separate spots for Roma in high school (and at university level, which might make attractive and reachable such carrier paths), the existence of school mediators and of the Second Chance Program (that might result in the sense of being taken care, as Roma, by the Romanian state). Ethnicity is engraved into both of these factors. Losing their pupils, schools from the peripheries would be more and more interested in attracting and keeping Roma children who previously did not attend school and who “happen” to live in their neighborhoods. Despite their positive effects, affirmative action plans dedicated for Romani people (without enforcing their sense of self-confidence or even pride, and without breaking down the negative self-fulfilling prophecies sustained by the majority population in relation with Roma) might reproduce the risk of their (self) exclusion especially if these actions are not consequently applied, but remain temporary experiments and if are not sustained by the diminution of socio-economic inequalities. Moreover, periods of times marked by crises (like the collapse of socialist industries, or the recent wave of economic recess) do not only decrease the already disadvantaged people's chances to keep or obtain jobs, but also endanger the system of public (educational) policies aimed to secure their social welfare.

3. Identity strategies at the intersection of ethnicity and gender

My analysis outlines how identities look like as practices and outcomes of reflecting on people's socio-economic situations, communities into which they are embedded, and experiences and desires related to schooling. I am going to address these outcomes as identity models, and these practices as identity strategies nurtured and followed by the interviewed Roma people while situating themselves in their everyday environments as gendered and ethnicized individuals of a particular age and material condition. One must note first of all that the identified models and strategies do not exist as pure entities, but they are always mixed. Nevertheless – depending on how people are socialized as Romani men or women, adults or children, poor or more established, schooled or with no school education – their identity-economy is dominated by particular models and strategies. But regardless of their gender, age and socio-economic

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status all of the interviewed people shared hybrid identity strategies and models, however in different moments of their life-path and depending on their embeddedness into informal networks, they favored certain ones over others.

At any rate, they practiced a threefold identity strategy, which included the separation from other types of Roma communities than theirs (as embodiments of negative identities), the integration into the majority community (as container of a desired life), and the maintenance of a third, hybrid but positive identity that gave them the sense of a particular body related to and bridging between different life-worlds. This condition and sense of in-betweenness is reflected, among others, in the perception of the aspired and the *de facto* gender orders of the studied ethnic minority community. The new aspirations of the girl children are not only made possible, but also limited by their socio-economic environments, and in themselves – without the changes of broader political economies and cultures of minority-majority relations –, are hardly enough to structurally transform the life conditions of those who are practicing them.

The ethnic identity of persons included in our qualitative sample who self-identified as Roma is not a singular and static one, and it always intersects with other identifications, like socio-economic status, gender and age. It is permanently (re)built in accordance with the political, economic, social, cultural, interethnic, gender, age, and other contexts and is a function of all these various situational factors. Values, ideas and principles that guide people's life strategies are subordinated to learned ethnicity, but also to their economic and social problems. Which element is determinant is function of social and economic condition, and it can change several times during one's life. In the case of parents we noticed the existence of a strong sense of ethnic identity built around home, language, family, kinship, tradition, or on the contrary, the expression of aspirations to assimilation (*"we are Romanianized Roma, we do not have traditions"*). The assumption or rejection of Roma identity is considered by them as something taken-for-granted and static: they acknowledge and recognize their ethnic identity as a given, something from which they cannot escape. Some try to keep a distance to their ethnicity, but resign on the impossibility to be accepted by the majority society. Attachment to ethnic identity and the strong wish to preserve it was manifested in relation with the future of children, primarily in terms of their marriage. The majority of Roma parents hoped that an ethnically homogeneous marriage would assure and reproduce their 'ethnic origin'.

In the case of students, ethnic identity is not such a well-anchored construction, but a more fluid, relative and contextualized one. Through their movements from school to public places and back to families they changed their language and attitudes according to the particularity of the situations they were faced with. Trying to conform to their parents' expectations at home, their attitudes were controlled by them (due to this it was almost impossible for us to approach them face to face without the presence of the parents or relatives and siblings). In the schoolyard or in public places they manifested different attitudes. The latter, practiced in the absence of the eyes and control of their parents, expressed their tendency to integrate into the peer community and to identify with their schoolmates, belonging to the majority population. If at home children affirmed that they were proud of being Roma, in the public places often they tried to hide their ethnic identity.

The hybridity of identity strategies and ambiguities of self-perception

The hybrid life strategies of interviewed people from Flower district (that combines the desire of integration with the will to be kept separated from the outer world) shaped their attitudes towards school education: aware of the necessity of schooling they still occupied an oppositional position in front of the system, being unsatisfied with what the school offered and how treated them as Roma. The adults' such attitudes were having an impact on their children, too. The latter ended up being ready to socialize with Romanians, but mostly preferring their Roma peers when it came about more intimate relations. However, we also encountered cases of parents and children who felt uncomfortable in this environment, desiring to leave it. In the eyes of the majority being identified through their belonging to this Gypsy environment (*țigănie*), willingly or not they saw their source of troubles in their Gypsiness as something negative. But predominantly the sense of collectivity that these people maintained gave them the force to transcend victimhood and pejorative identities towards creative and resourceful strategies of survival and positive self-evaluation. Their voluntary ethnic differentiation (also shaped by residential segregation) was only partly based on Romani language and shared past, as their history was mostly about finding niches of personal and collective survival under the conditions of changing ethnic regimes, or about their abilities to maintain Romani while shifting from Hungarian language to Romanian and vice versa. The "Hungarianness" of those who stressed their mixed (Hungarian-Gypsy) origins, was mentioned mostly as something exotic, part of their childhood, but not a belonging that had any current cultural significance. At the most it was referred to as a generational borderline marking the difference between them, today's adults, and their own parents, while suggesting the similarity they shared despite this differentiation: Gypsiness was in this context the condition shared across the changing ethno-political regimes, which demanded or Hungarianization or Romanianization, a challenge to which both their parents and themselves were able to accommodate to as they learnt, when it was needed, or Hungarian or Romanian.

Bianca from Water district thinks that Roma and Romanians are not different in basic features, and even more, some of her majority colleagues are jealous on the gipsy kids' port and dances at the school celebration. The very openness of Roma children towards entertaining with others is demonstrated by Cristina's words: *"I guess I have even more Romanian friends as Gipsy"* and *"I also have some friends who are poorer than me."* Daniel was strongly differentiating between friends and buddies: *"my friends are Roma, but my buddies could be Romanian as well."* Geanina compared her sense of Gypsiness with that of her grandfather's who lives in downtown: *"he is not proud of this, but I am"*. The grandfather (on her mother's side) is an ethnic Romanian – and is probably not too happy that his daughter married a Gypsy man and her grandchild assumes her Roma identity as something natural. Iulia's situation is special, because she has an ethnically mixed family origin, having a Roma father and a Hungarian mother. Sorin made some short and pragmatic remarks on his ethnicity: *"I am a Romanianized Roma. We have no traditions. Our family only speaks Romanian."* Some parents emphasized that despite their will of integration they keep a distance from Romanians. Mari's mother told us: *"I'm proud to be Roma. We have*

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friends of other ethnicity. Even in the downtown I know people very well, but they do not visit me.” Other Roma peoples are altogether isolated as Sorin’s mother confessed that she does not have any friends, but maintains warm relationships with Roma neighbors. Daniel’s mother (a good Romani speaker) affirmed: „I’m glad that I’m a gypsy. And I am glad that they say we are not Gypsies, but we are Roma. In my life I had both won and lost due to my ethnicity.”

Among the interviewed Gabor Roma families from Forest district there were some that saw school as an institution, which integrates children in a society whose values are rejected by the family. Thus they do not take into consideration education as something beneficial. In this case, the attitude to school has different implications for boys and girls. Gender stereotypes are more powerful in these families. The girls do not reach other level of education than that of secondary school. There are many cases in School 8 when Roma girls abandon school because of family traditions, for example, they marry at the age of 12-13.

Strategies of separation backed up by a positive self-perception

The home environment of an interviewed Roma girl from School 1 was marked by the family’s belonging to a community of faith, and most importantly by the father’s position who acted as the Pentecostal priest of Flower district. They lived in a mostly Romanian neighborhood, but their large family of seventeen members acted as a small community on its own. Due to the way in which his belief conceived the role of religion in Roma emancipation, they exemplified the case of a self-conscious acceptance of ethnic minority affiliation while giving importance to social integration. They were proud of Gypsies’ gift in singing that they practiced during the church rituals creating in this way a public space where this ability was applauded. The positivity of Gypsiness was also sustained by the idea that Roma Pentecostals do not only facilitate the integration into the majority society of their own ethnic group, but they show the “true path of life” to the former, too. They promulgated the value of transgressing ethnic boundaries by creating a community of people who were ready to dissolve their personal and group individuality in the ideal of melting into Lord Jesus. The Pentecostal’s community promised to function as a supportive and protective network for its believers, based on mutual help regarding any kind of problems that they faced from inter-personal relations through housing to accommodation to the school environment. As such they acted as a group with a separate and distinct identity both in front of the Roma, and the majority larger community.

In cases of people from Forest district, religious identity is characterized by searching. Parents and pupils who were socialized in a religious system (orthodox, reformed or catholic) and have not turned to other religions are more relaxed regarding belief and observance of religious norms and rituals. Those who search new models and communities with definite rules are more observant and their attachment to religion is more intense. The problem of what and who is worth following is a matter of constant thinking both for pupils and for their parents. From this point of view, the norms of Gabor communities do not make room for doubts. However, as we have seen, when young individuals are exposed to outer stimuli, they choose eventually models given by the outer world and not by their family. For the Gabor-Gipsy families from Forest

district the model of extended family, keeping traditions, and distance from the majority population represent the foundation of identity strategies. They try to keep distance not only from other ethnic groups but also from other Roma groups. Ethnic identity for them is very self-conscious; they call themselves Gabor-Gipsy and not simply Roma. During interviews and discussions, no one used the term Roma. Instead, they use the term Gipsy. Their identity model built on their own particular traditions cannot accommodate outer systems of norms used by majority society. Therefore, education does not occupy a prominent place in their life. The two older sisters of Feri were not allowed to go to school after they finished four or five grades. Apart from the specific identity building mechanisms of this family, all other families emphasized integration through education. These parents identify themselves as Roma. However, the pride found in Gabor-Gipsy families does not appear here. Children of these families willingly and consciously depart from the Roma identity. Take for example Mircea and Viorel. Mircea applied as a Roma pupil for admittance to the ninth grade on special places reserved for Roma pupils. However, his younger brother, Viorel identified himself as Romanian not Roma. Their father, coming from a musicians' dynasty, was bitter about it, but he did not want to intervene and stop the process. All these examples add to the observation that children do not necessarily follow identity models provided by their parents.

On the base of our participant observations conducted in classrooms at School 1 we may affirm that students of the 'weaker' classes, among them Roma, are mostly active in the sense of resisting to the teacher. Students of these classes, also under the impact of the disagreements coming from their teachers and the dominant system of assessment, might easier feel that they do not really belong to this school, and they could have a strong impulse to manifest their resistance to the school's order reinforcing their sense of belonging to a marginal peer-group. Moreover, absenteeism, early school abandonment or the avoidance of enrollment might be forms of protest against a school and system that remembers them that they are not really theirs. The frustration and shame felt by these students due to their socio-economic background, completed with a generally contestant attitude characteristic of their age were fuelling on their part the tensions in their relationship with the school that erupted from time to time in explicit conflicts.

Lavinia and Stefan from School 8, along with many of their colleagues, do not accept domination in school, the prevalent hierarchy and they do not want to integrate in the system but confront it. Thus, they create their own little group of resistance. They smoke together during breaks, there is a permanent conflict between them and their teachers and they are disobedient as weekly occurring events certify. Parents do not even know about these. They are penalized within the school.

Having a good performance in school matters is something to be proud of in the elite classes, but it is a sign of weakness in the other classes (in the sense that who learns is '*tocilar*', is accepting what the system dictates). So one may conclude that in the context of the peer-groups, in the former class it might be good to be a (stereotypical) girl, while in the latter boys are more respected, as far as they protest against the teachers sustaining a sort of competition around who dares to bully more the teacher. If one juxtaposes the ethnicized and gendered systems of classification and stereotypes, might conclude that in this regime

'Romanians' (in the sense of those who are more teacher-friendly and successful, but also obedient) are girlish (or feminized), while 'Roma' are manifesting the features of powerful masculinity (like resistance and rebellion).

Negative self-perception and the strategy of assimilation

Strategies of assimilation involve by time to time the push of ethnic origin into the background. Living in vicinities mostly populated by Romanians (one of them closer, the other quite far away from Flower district) the two investigated families were not belonging to local Roma groups through which they could have sustained their feeling of separation from the majority society. They had not have networks of support neither in the sense of maintaining Romani language, nor in the sense of solving pragmatic problems that they were faced with. One may conclude that mostly they were struggling with the difficulties of being in-between two worlds: defining themselves as "not traditional", so as ones who aimed to integrate into and become accepted by the majority society, despite of this will of theirs, remained on the margins. Unable to change their situation, out of the observed cases, they were the most predestined to interiorize the negative label of Gypsiness promulgated by the majority society and become the most isolated, however, paradoxically, they acted as the "less Gypsy-like" peoples (which was reflected by their experiences of talking to Romanians who were surprised to hear that they would have had Roma origins, which otherwise they did not hide).

Aspirations of assimilation were also expressed by Cristina's father in Water district, when he confessed that they considered that by now „we are almost Romanians, we are not gypsies any more”. Geanina's mother explicated where do they stand in terms of their ethnicity and expressed their tendency to assimilate to the majority: „*we do not know our traditions, and actually we really do not have traditions like, by the way the Gabors, or tent dwellers (Corturari) has, we are Romanianized Gypsies, we do not have traditions or specific port.*” At the same time she affirmed that she was proud to be Gipsy. Iulia's father talked about losing his former ethnic Roma identity with a kind of nostalgia. He said that all Roma people are Romanianized by now, because they live between Romanians and they left their original social environments.

Students' ethnic identity from the perspective of teachers

Asked about the role of ethnicity (and gender) in shaping the pupils' school performances and carriers, teachers from School 1 usually referred to the fact that they do not make differences between Roma and Romanians (or girl and boys), and they treat everybody on the same ground. The normative discourse about how things should be, prevailed above the acceptance of the fact that there might be something about ethnicity that counted in these terms in the case of Roma, and consequently in their stories the normative became the real.

This attitude might be explained by the fact that teachers were convinced that they were not having anti-Gypsy stereotypes (if referred to these by any sense, they located them in the past) and that Roma kids shared their destiny with the fortune of many Romanians with similar socio-economic status. Moreover, they believed that their school made everything that one might do in order to integrate Romani children into the school, and they also had a positive control on what was happening in the relationship between Roma families and the school. Teachers mostly considered that the lower level of school performance was determined by the children's family background (they said: some do not have homes; some do not earn anything; others are raised by single parents or grandparents; others are having many siblings whom to take care of). They also affirmed that this was linked to the fact that under these conditions parents do not present interest to their kids' school education (as teachers told: they did not participate on the announced meetings; they think that it is enough to enroll them and they should not attend the classes; they suppose that they may come only at the end of the year asking for forgiveness and promising that things will change next year). Others judged this problem in the terms of the pupils' and their parents' character, which, as they said, was also about the interest one shows towards the school and about the degree of consciousness regarding the importance of school education.

We heard opinions according to which the inferiority complex of many Roma makes them to feel discriminated and to act in a way that a teacher does not really like. Whatever would be the explanations behind, teachers were convinced that absenteeism was the major cause of pupils' failing one grade or another (they affirmed: if children would have attended regularly the classes, they could have passed the grades; we do not expect too much of them and they could have assimilate that little in the classroom, because it is clear that they do not learn anything at home). They acknowledged that for one reason or other, absenteeism was occurring more often among Romani children. Asked about the possible reasons behind different types of conflicts between children, nobody thought that ethnicity would have something to do with these. They affirmed that intimidation, frightening, or harassment usually happened between children of different ages, and it was very rare when these were about very serious issues. Among the latter were those when smaller girls were harassed by older boys enrolled into the second chance program.

Our participant observations in School 2 show that the general climate between the students and teachers might be characterized by tolerant, maybe even friendly relations. But there are some clues that may indicate mechanisms of the unequal treatment of Roma students. While the principal told us that the students are enrolled by chance in the parallel classes, we could observe that the „English special class' was populated only with non-Roma students living in better conditions and having higher school performances. The Roma students were enrolled into the 'other' or the 'second' class starting with the fifth grade, continuing to be together till the terminal class. But more generally, at the enrollment time into the first and the fifth grade, a great part of Roma pupils are advised to choose the special school. The criteria of enrolling someone into a special school, is both the low level of his/her previous school or kindergarten performance, and the children's social background.

Relations between students from different ethnic backgrounds are revealed by our interviews with teachers and students. According to the class masters, the students with Roma ethnic minority background are acting generally together with the majority students, and vice versa. Two of three teachers said that co-operation in studying or spending breaks together are typical for those who belong to the same class, and that bullying appears only occasionally or never. Students declared that interethnic relations were basically peaceful and tolerant, if not even friendly each time. Altogether, it is interesting to observe that conflicts between the students occur more frequently on a gender basis, than on the base of ethnic differences. The existence of bullying on gender basis was indicated by two class masters (out of three) from the seventh and the eighth grade.

In our interviews, teachers from School 8 affirmed that gender, or ethnicity was not a principle around which they or anyone should make distinctions between the school pupils. However, during our informal talks they put into discussions the phenomenon of ethnic discrimination, an issue mentioned both by the children's parents and teachers, but mostly by the formers. A mother told us the story of a case of an interethnic bullying and fight between children that occurred, according to her, due to the negligence of the teachers and to the fact that they did not take a stance. In our private discussions, the leadership of the school complained about the teachers' abuses on Roma children (for example some of them did not accept Roma kids to extracurricular activities). At their turn, Roma pupils also confessed that they did not participate on such programs, and felt that they were not really wanted. If one compares the children's, the parent's and the teacher's position in relation to their opinion about the existence of ethnic discrimination, may observe that parents were more eager to explain the failures of their children in these terms.

Pupils' seem to be more sensitive towards gender differentiations. Many of them mentioned that usually it was considered that boys were bad and pugnacious, causing more troubles. They also thought that the key element of school success was discipline. Consequently, argued that because girls were more disciplined they had a bigger chance to a successful life at school. Ethnic and gender differentiations were overcome in the smokers' community. Smoking for them was a way of neglecting the rules imposed by adults, but also a chance for affirming their sense of belonging to a smaller group.

4. The place of gender in the ethnic othering process

Ethnicity (as a set of features attributed to 'us' and 'them') works as an instrument of the othering process, for it creates and maintains boundaries, being used by people as a compass that shows them whom they should relate with and how. Behind the general (normative) acceptance of anybody under the umbrella of humankind, and despite the consideration of material conditions as something that matters most in one's life carrier, narratives of negative experiences with the ethnic/cultural other are building blocks of identifications. Now and again ethnicity is intersected with other types of differentiations constructed by appealing to religious faith, and definitely with those generated by references to gender. The way in which

all these are happening, is marked by age that differentiates between the integration/separation strategies of adults and their children.

Othering knows various layers and is situational, and the otherness of 'others' is grasped in different degrees. He/she might be 'The Romanian', 'The Gabor', 'The Pentecostal', 'The poor', and – according to this – the one who might be dangerous, foreign, ignorant, and for that reason should be dealt with, or accepted, or contrary, totally avoided. Anyway, the embeddedness of individuals into broader communities is mediated by their belonging to restricted groups ranging from the nuclear family, through the extended kinship relations, to neighborhoods, peer groups or communities of faith.

The latter are always having the added value of being chosen, even if options are structured by socio-economic conditions, age, gender or cultural traditions. The informal networks, as alternatives to the formal institutions, have the potential of supportive webs that not only function as symbolic and material resources, but also counterbalance the shortcomings of unsuccessful integration. The separation from the foreign, dangerous or ignorant outer world works through the integration into the inner circles of trust, but the delimitation of these two is always relative and under the pressure of renegotiation. Most importantly, in the triangle of ethnic majority, 'us' and the 'Gypsy Gypsies' one constantly aims to build and maintain a positive sense of distinctiveness. We could observe that the latter endeavor functions even stronger in cases when 'the others' are rejecting one's attempts of integration into their (desired or envied) world.

The informal networks of the studied 'Roma community' form internal community bonds and build boundaries that separate the inner and the outer world, and creates the meanings of 'us' as not necessarily opposed to, but different from 'them' while it sustains communication and cooperation with the majority. Studied children are part of these networks, so their experiences of belonging or those of being othered are under their influence however, at their age – mostly due to schooling – they have their own ways of othering and being othered.

The community of people living on Babilon street is experiencing its otherness both internally (when it acts for joint purposes as a single body) and in the front of the external world (when it is rejected, at school or on the labor market, despite of its will of integration), but also in relation with Gabor Roma. The Pentecostal community of faith is built around the promise of an 'integrative Other' that lives a pure and innocent life, and in exchange it asks for the complete dissolution of the individual into Lord Jesus and for that reason, into the men propagating His words. The poorest Roma from Donald colony are strongly isolated from the outer world, they live and work on this ghetto, sometimes they do not even apply for social benefits because, as a couple of women said, they are too proud for doing this (or there is too much bureaucracy around this). Living in sub-human conditions, they are the most inferiorized other, rejected and despised by everybody, exploited even by their close peers, belonging to the network of dump entrepreneurs. Excepting them, in the other investigated cases, the outside world is a source of incomes, but also a battleground where one needs to fight for entitlements. But strategies of living, everyday knowledge, role models and decision-making are developed, practiced and nurtured within in the case of each studied group. Information about occasional jobs, arrangements for a work abroad, commonsense around the schools to be chosen, dreams

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about future professions, confidence in making the right options, knowledge about how to obtain something – all flow through the strands of this web. Nevertheless, if these webs are strongly seceded from the outside world they might become networks of dependence and exploitation. And in the case of the poorest families, perseverance and belief in the chance of improving their or their children's life (by schooling) is very often impeded by hardships of their existence.

The delimitation from the outside world in the case of Romanianized Roma is not oppositional like it is in the case of Gabor Roma, in the sense that people from within do not claim following different value system and aspirations than the majority society. It is more instrumental – being about the awareness of lacking the necessary means for achieving them, and/or about frustration or sense of shame or feelings of anger in the front of situations, in which one cannot act properly according to the models to which, in principle, he/she subscribes. The perception of danger as coming more from Gabor Gypsies than from the majority society is a theme that returned in many narratives, both of children and of their parents. Claudiu, the newcomer boy at School 1 related the stories of being frightened on the streets nearby the school by *“these Gypsies walking in groups of many, and teasing everyone who do not belong to them”*, probably as a sign that the space belongs to them. His opinion is that *“they should have their own school, and they should not mix with others.”* The father of Andrei from Flower district told us the story of an older Gabor Roma boy enrolled into the Second Chance Program who terrified smaller kids in the school's courtyard with his a knife, a case into which the school asked both for the intervention of police and of the Pentecostal priest. The mother of Magdalena shared with us her *“fear of letting her daughters alone because these Gypsies from X town”* (where, as *“everybody knows”*, a lot of Gabor Roma live). Consequently, the sense of being endangered or contrary, feeling safe, is also an important element of community and identity formation. Claudiu's opinion also reflects this, but other way around: *“it is a disadvantage to be a Roma, because Romanians know that many Roma are dangerous, bad and they steal, so when they see you as a Roma, they may think that you are alike”*.

In the case of our interviewed people from Water district, the sense of difference maintained in their relation with Gabor Roma is stronger than their demarcation from Romanians, especially those whom they share with the same socio-economic conditions. Most importantly, their identity formation is marked, on the one hand by being different from the ‘utter Other’ (the Gabor Roma) and on the other hand by making attempts to integrate into the majority society. The othering processes that create them as a distinct group are structured exactly by this in-betweeness: self-identifying as Roma, they live in a socio-cultural space that rejects remote values, but is kept on the margins by a society that rejects them for their “Gypsiness”. In this situation they create themselves as *“emancipated Roma”*, who are proud of *“having in their blood the gift (har) of singing and dancing”*, who are able to switch languages (from Hungarian to Romanian and back) while using Romani among themselves, who aspire to the elements of a decent modern life, but who, at the same time experience how the majority society expels them to the margins. This marginality (and its negative outcomes, like the experience of failure in schooling or on the labor market) are easier to handle (and even to be transformed sometimes into something positive,

i.e. a chosen separation) in the case of Roma from Babilon street, or in the case of the members of the Pentecostal community of faith than in the case of Laura's family, whose isolation as self-identified Roma in a Romanian neighborhood is a result of the pressure coming from the outside world despite their desire to be integrated into the wider community.

In many cases, families' involvement into the broader world or their openness to other ethnic groups, and the relations between minority and majority are determined at a high level by people's very poor social background. There is a huge difference between the (mostly superficial, so not really personal) social relationships based on relative reciprocity (i.e. trade relations) between the Gabor Roma and the majority, and the almost perfect isolation of the poorest of Peripheral Valley. In the case of the latter marginalized community, relationships and communication itself are structured by the work on the waste heap. The internal segmentation of Roma community from Water district is stronger on the demarcation line between people with different socio-economic background than the ethnic boundaries between ethnic Roma and majority, both from the point of view of the quality and density of their social, economic or cultural encounters. The mechanism of internal othering (Gabor Roma versus Romanianized Roma) also functions very strongly in the case of people from Flower and Forest district, who are proud of being "*not traditional, but emancipated Gypsies.*"

Ethnic Roma in-between Romanians and Hungarians

Our cases from Babilon street showed that informal networks and sense of ethnic belonging may function as a supportive web in the case of the Roma community. According to Alina's and Anca's father, in the first decades of the 20th century Babilon street was a Gypsy colony called „*Bufnița*”, so they „*were here ever since*”, and no wonder that even today this vicinity is mostly populated by Roma. These „*local gypsies were not like the Gabor or Corturar gypsies who did not attend school at all; had not done a lot of schooling, yet they did some; and they became workers, were hired, and were more civilized, at least they were settled while the others traveled by carts and lived in tents; we were like the Romanians and the Hungarians.*” He noted a major change in their local history: „*while our parents were a mixture of Hungarians and Gypsies, speaking both languages, we combine Romani with Romanian; nowadays we do not really speak Hungarian, however we understand it a bit, while our parents could not speak Romanian; anyhow, the majority of us from here is Hungarian Gypsy (romungur, magyar cigány).*”⁶

Ioana's family history is also marked by inter-ethnic mixture. Her grandfather on the mother's side was partly Hungarian and partly Gypsy, originated from a nearby village, while her grandmother was born in Transilvan town “*in a family of Romanianized Roma*”. Ioana's mother strongly emphasized: “*in our family*

6 This story of the interweave is part of the history of the geopolitical location of the town that belonged for several times to Hungary and for other times to Romania, reflecting that Roma people tried to accommodate to these major transformations by always accepting the rule of the dominant linguistic regime.

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we do not speak Romani; we are Roma, but other kinds of Roma, however when I was a child our father talked to us a little bit in Romani; we are emancipated and civilized Roma, we have other traditions, we are settled, go to school, look for jobs to be hired, we do not wear clothes like them; and we are a quiet family, we are not alcoholics and troublemakers.” Andrei’s father named themselves “gentlemen Roma: we are not Gypsy-Gypsies, but gentlemen Gypsies, and in this regard we do not differ from Romanian or Hungarian gentlemen.”

In the case of working people from Water district, job-related relations are important points of references in their life and in perceiving their own image. The recognition they experience at their working place counterbalances the negative image that they know they have in the eyes of the Romanian majority. For this reason, for its potential to at least neutralize the detrimental stereotypes through which their ethnicity is viewed they even value more the opportunity to have a job. Such arguments were expressed by Geanina’s mother: *“Even if I’m a gypsy, bosses have great confidence in me and my work”*, or by Iulia’s father, who told us about how his work was praised by his bosses, even if he was a Gypsy man. In contrast, it is important to observe that these Roma have a very low self-esteem. Those who feel that they are somehow integrated or are having reciprocal relationships with the majority (for example with their employers) while talking about themselves are making appeal to the majority’s stereotypes about Roma. They place themselves in a hierarchical relationship with other Roma (*“I’m better than others”*, or *“I am different, even a model for other Roma”*), which denotes an attitude that reproduces negative prejudices and talks about their internalization. The occurring conflicting and tensioned situations that involve persons of another ethnic group, namely the majority, the “others”, are presented very briefly and are passed over very quickly in people’s narratives. On the surface the interviewed parents try to stress the idea that they are in a harmonious relationship with persons belonging to the majority. But in the subsidiary they send the message of feeling and suffering discrimination. A mother was complaining about the biased attitude of teachers, manifested in the assumption that *“my girl brought the head lice to school”*. And a father demanded: *„we are in good relations with Romanians, but we should receive more attention from them. We are people as they are. Just like they are, God not worked longer on them as worked on us, we are all the same.”*

There are families from Forest district whose efforts to integrate into the majority society are substantial. They are those, like the father of Viorela and Mircea, who willingly or not stop working in traditional crafts and try to get a job mostly as unskilled workers. The boys’ father, by his own admission, has tried to guide his children toward the traditional craft of musician. When facing resistance he did not force his will to transmit these skills to the next generation. One reason might be that there have been few occasion, community events in rural areas or in the city demanding gypsy music. Today this is not a secured living for most of the musicians. The exceptions are musician dynasties who work with professional management. We do not know yet if this shift will be successful or not. The fact is that he is sad because the craft is dying within his family. The memory of his youth has positive connotations because back then he had two jobs, as paid worker and as musician who played occasionally.

Roma women and the construction of ethnic boundaries

Ioana's mother observed that however "*each and every Romani girl quickly falls in love*", "*we, the emancipated Roma do not marry at the age of eleven or twelve*". These kinds of differentiations prove that the boundaries between different Roma groups are also maintained in the terms of norms referring to female sexuality, marriage and childbirth. Nevertheless our interviews show that the 'non-traditional' Roma mothers of today's teenage daughters, even they advise them about not marrying and giving birth at an early age, usually married before their twenties, and abandoned or never attended school. And frequently, these teenage daughters do have older sisters who have similar life trajectories with their mothers'. Altogether, one may conclude that even if women from these Roma groups aspire to give up their traditional destinies shaped by a patriarchal gender order (and by this to delimitate themselves in principle from the 'utterly other', i.e. Gabor women) they hardly practice those models of life that they would like to follow (attempting by this to become "*a civilized modern woman*"). In this way they remain in-between two value systems, but have their strategies of solving the tensions resulted from this situation: while mentally detaching themselves from models that they did not agree with (incorporated by Gabor Roma), being unable to put into practice their options for life-styles that they consider positive, they pass the mission of accomplishing the latter on their daughters. At their turn, as children of their times, these girls (and in another sense boys, too) embody a new generation that give signs of being ready to transform the symbolic/desired integration into a pragmatic/fulfilled one among others through (re)negotiating their assumed Roma bonds.

Unemployed Roma women from Water district (like the mother of Mari, or Daniel) are the most withdrawn and socially isolated. Others with stable or occasional jobs have more developed social relationships, going for work even abroad. The existence or lack of a regular paid job strongly influences the extension of the social webs to which Roma adults are connected. If they are working as garbage gatherers or select recyclable materials they have only family or kinship relationships. These might be very strong, but they have highly unequal relationships with the majority. It is easy to observe that relations of the poorest waste collectors with people belonging to majority are almost non-existent. They communicate with them only through the intermediary of their heads, they are illiterate and are afraid to talk with workers (truck drivers or workers on the machines of the sanitation company) with whom they have some business relations but only through the mediation of their leaders. Especially Roma women from Peripheral Valley are the most isolated people from the colony: they collect garbage and make their selection, while others are those who get the selected materials at the collection center in the ditch.

The role of religion in defining Roma ethnicity

Magdalena's Pentecostal family pictures another path of identity formation whose resources are embedded into the network of a faith community. So her large family living under the same roof is not only shaped by immediate kinship relations, but also by the sense of belonging to an extended unit perceived as a web of

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brothers and sisters. The priest father of a Hungarian Roma origin promulgates their sense of difference and otherness in many directions: in front of *“non-integrated Roma”* who do not live an *“authentic life”*; *vis-a-vis* the Romanian orthodox who is attending the church superficially and is not a *“true believer”*; or in the face of the state, with of its institutions that *“was not able to really integrate the Roma”*. He asks for actually practicing the faith in Lord Jesus, which guarantees, as he says, *“emancipation for Roma”*, but also the creation of a community that transcends ethnic boundaries.

Based on the interviews conducted in Forest district we may state that religion plays an important role in the life of each family. The possibility for some members of the minority to be actively involved and have a visible role in religious institutions such as Pentecostal or Baptist churches (as preacher etc.) increases group cohesion on the one hand and becomes a possible path to embark on for the members of the minority on the other hand. School nr 3 has given place to newly emerged religions in Romania. Although it is a secular institution, it puts great emphasis on religious education, which is reflected by the fact that on ceremonial events priests and other religious officials are present. The fact that pupils may choose from different religious classes the one that teaches beliefs that are present in the religious communities they attend to increases the trust of minority members in the mainstream institution.

The interviews highlighted the fact that both the parents' and children' religiosity is defined by a continuous searching for the proper religion. There are only few individuals who have already decided what religious practice suits them best. The most frequent case is that they attend ritual events organized by more than one religion. For the families under scrutiny, orthodox, catholic and protestant are religions in which they entered as children and socialized later. In eyes of many this is an option for a conservative world, while neo-protestant religions chosen represent a revolutionary possibility for the radical transformation of their everyday life.

Gabor Roma and Romanianized Roma

There are traditional Gabor families who proudly assume their otherness and are self-sufficient within their extended family and informal community networks. Parents try to reduce to a minimum their children's connections and interactions with formal institutions, for that matter with school, too. Thus, education is not considered desirable after the age of 10-12. The values and available knowledge provided by mainstream society and formal institutions is considered not being relevant for this group. Contrary, they perceive the outer world as a place full with dangers, in front of which, also in order to protect their family's honor, they shelter their girl child, who is not allowed attending school after few primary classes.

In Gabor Roma families 'otherness' is associated with pride – at least on the level of statements – and not frustration. This is about the pride on their mother tongue that also functions as a medium through which social and cultural norms are transmitted. Their wear (particular hat, long mustache for men, colored silk skirt for women, colored blouse with various patterns, pleated apron colored as the skirt and head scarf) makes them different not only from majority, but also from other Roma. They also guard their distinctiveness

through specific marriage practices. They marry at young age and parents choose partners for their children exclusively from other Gipsy-Gabor family.

In the case of our interviewed people the sense of difference maintained in their relation with Gabor Roma is stronger than their demarcation from Romanians, especially those whom they share with the same socio-economic conditions. Most importantly, their identity formation is marked, on the one hand by being different from the 'utter Other' (the Gabor Roma) and on the other hand by making attempts to integrate into the majority society. The othering processes that create them as a distinct group are structured exactly by this in-betweenness: self-identifying as Roma, they live in a socio-cultural space that rejects remote values, but is kept on the margins by a society that rejects them for their 'Gypsiness'. In this situation they create themselves as "emancipated Roma", who aspire for integration (as a key for decent modern life), but who, at the same time experience how the majority society rejects them. This marginality (and its negative outcomes, like the experience of failure in schooling or on the labor market) are easier to handle (and even to be transformed into something positive, i.e. a chosen separation) in the case of Roma from Babilon street, or in the case of the members of the Pentecostal community of faith than in the case of Laura's family, whose isolation as self-identified Roma in a Romanian neighborhood is a result of the pressure coming from the outside world despite their desire to be integrated into the wider community.

The perception of danger as coming more from Gabor Gypsies than from the majority society is a theme that returned in many narratives in Flower district, both of children and of their parents. Claudiu, the newcomer boy at School 1 related the stories of being frightened on the streets nearby the school by "*these Gypsies walking in groups of many, and teasing everyone who do not belong to them*", probably as a sign that the space belongs to them. His opinion is that "*they should have their own school, and they should not mix with others.*" Thus, the sense of being endangered is also an element of demarcation from others.

Conclusions

Despite the recent liberalization of school enrolment in Romania, which affords choosing any school regardless of their catchment areas, children's choices remain prisoners of the chances that their immediate environments really offer to them. This liberalization – under the circumstances of socio-economic inequalities – leads to the fly out of the more well-established pupils from these areas marked by the effects of both residential and school segregation. When this is completed by the risk of closing marginal schools due to their low numbers of students, the danger to completely abandon the educational system on the side of those who cannot afford moving somewhere else becomes stronger.

The choice for the school where the interviewed students are enrolled is inscribed into their austere material conditions and into their perceptions about what they might aspire for as ethnic Roma, and most importantly in the way by which 'Roma' becomes synonymous with 'poor' and vice versa. This illustrates how socio-economic situation and cultural conceptions are reinforcing each other while excluding

disadvantaged people from the chance of competing for more prestigious jobs and positions with their financially more established and more self-confident peers. And all this is even more dramatic in the case of the self-identified ethnic Roma (from Flower or Forest district) who define themselves as 'not traditional', so as ones who aim to integrate into and become accepted by the majority society and who, despite of this will of theirs, remain – both geographically and socially, and sometimes also legally – on the margins. In their case ethnicity is played out as a mechanism of institutional discrimination marked by (interiorized) negative stereotypes that reproduce the boundaries between those who possess and those who do not hold the means of living a life considered as appropriate by the dominant value system of a particular place and time. But the sense of ethnic belonging and inter-dependence might be also a driving force that could have a positive influence on the improvement of life conditions among others by schooling.

My analysis demonstrated that the identity models and strategies of Roma youth do not exist as pure models, they are always mixed. Persons from the investigated urban communities follow identity strategies in which the tendency of separation is combined to different degrees with the desire of integration. They create a socio-cultural space that refuses "traditional Gypsy values" (embodied in their eyes by Gabor Roma), but that is still marginalized by the majority society, being perceived as "Gypsylike". This identification is expressed among others by their attitudes towards schooling: school embodies for them an institution of the desired integration, but as well as one, which reminds them that they remain different from the majority, and on the other hand it is defined as an institution in the front of which they sustain their image of "emancipated Gypsy" who differ from the "traditional Gypsies" who do not want to send their children to school. The condition of being in-between two worlds (the rejected and the desired one) is reflected, among others, in the way in which people perceive the gender order within their communities, for example in their conception about the relationship between girls' early marriage and their school education (today's mothers, who married early, express their desire of protecting their daughters from going through the same destiny). Identity strategies and intersectional identifications are not only creations of their socio-economic environment, but are also limited by the latter. As a result, in themselves – without changes of the political economy and of the culture of relationship between majorities and minorities – these strategies (even if they include the desire of integration into the majority society) cannot assure the structural transformation of the life conditions of the socially excluded minorities.

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*A world with flowers, made by Babi,
Cantonului street, Cluj*

HARBULA HAJNALKA

■ EXPERIENCES OF ETHNIC AND GENDER DISCRIMINATION

In 2009 we conducted a focus group research in the frame of the project “Equality through Difference. Roma Women’s Access on the Labor Market.”¹ The research started from the need to clarify ideas, feelings and experiences of discrimination in employment experienced by women and young Roma. Focus group meetings were held in Cluj and Timisoara with eighty people. Interviews were grouped into three main sections: access to employment, experiences of discrimination, and ideas about social welfare. This research report includes recommendations for policy makers in the field of equal opportunities and non-discrimination. In this paper I focus on approaching experiences of discrimination starting from interviews recorded during the focus group research and try to introduce some basic guidelines for the analysis of interviews from the perspective of discrimination. I reserve large spaces for the narratives of interviewees.

“Ignorance leads to fear”

(Male, Timisoara)

“Discrimination starts at home”

(Female, Timisoara)

*“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.
They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act
towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.”*

(The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 1²)

The European Convention on Human Rights prohibits discrimination on European level. However, discrimination as a form of marginalization is a daily experience worldwide, also known in democratic societies, not only in Romania. It is essential to bring to the fore personal confrontations with discrimination.

1 Vincze, E. – Harbula, H. – Moraru, C.: Experiențele muncii și discriminării romilor. Raport asupra cercetării de tip focus grup realizate în cadrul proiectului „Egalitate prin diferență. Accesul femeilor rome pe piața muncii” http://www.femrom.ro/infopub/raport%20de%20cercetare%20focus%20grup_final.pdf, Vincze, E. – Harbula, H. – Moraru, C.: Despre muncile femeilor, romilor și societatea ideală, http://www.observatorcultural.ro/Despre-muncile-femeilor-romilor-si-societatea-ideala*articleID_22840-articles_details.html

2 <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a1>

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Talking about these situations as the people participating in the focus group have done, we can break the silence, inform and shape the majority society to eliminate all forms of discrimination.

Focus group interviews show that the distinction between prejudice and discrimination, treated in scholarly literature as evidence, is non-existent in the case of the people who participated in this research. Group interviews show that prejudice and discrimination are synonyms for interviewees. The concept of prejudice (preconceived ideas, often erroneous, adopted by a group and held against another group / groups without direct knowledge of the facts) and that of discrimination overlap (discrimination standing for differential treatment based on a hierarchy applied in case of groups or individuals, ethnicities).

People perceive their daily experience, past and present, through this relation of synonymy of prejudice and discrimination. In most of the narratives, the concept of prejudice and discrimination overlap. The distinction resurfaces in the perception of near past. Interviewees feel a split regarding prejudice and discrimination. Despite of all its faults and social disparities, people see the communist period as a period in which the obligation to work helped the Roma. There are persons who talk about prejudices in terms of becoming more “acute” and about the fact that ethnic prejudices have become increasingly violent in the last twenty years. In fact not prejudice but discrimination has become more violent.

From the discussions we had we can see that in the opinion of participants unjust treatment of Roma women is not considered a major problem.³ This view follows on the one hand from the fact that among the Roma, regardless of gender, at least in public debates, the prevailing idiom of discrimination appears in ethnic terms and on the other hand from situations where – even if women notice the injustices they face – these are classified as normal, acceptable.

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The debate on discrimination introduces many issues. These problems are described and backed by arguments of the participants. To be sure, going through transcribed interviews we noticed that people perceive **the existence of discrimination**.

“I cannot tell any employer: “Sir, why are you looking just for women employees, or men, because there are jobs better suited to, or the owner knows what it’s all about. I would not speak of discrimination, either regarding sexes, between women and men, or in ethnic terms.” (Male, Timisoara)

3 Apart from the results presented here we mention another approach, namely that of Ștefan, C. who states that: „gender representation is camouflaged, hidden by everyday life normality: those who are discriminated do not recognize themselves as such, they do not see discrimination as one of the ordinary difficulties they encounter” (Ștefan, C. 2006: 39)

*"I am Romanian; I belong to Romanians, but still cannot speak about equality with Romanians."
(Male, Timisoara)*

However, the distinction between the concept of prejudice and discrimination is not at all clear at the level of everyday lived experiences. Speaking about the existence of discrimination participants introduced a hierarchy through which they note that people of higher social standing (social and economic environment, condition) do not feel discrimination with the intensity felt by persons with average social and economic condition.

"I was talking to my colleague, C. ..., and we argued and debated about it. As I see it: Indeed the problem stems from socio-economic (condition), that before '89 there were laws, which punished parasitism, and the state was obliged to ... as they said, to provide employment for every citizen, after the revolution privatization of firms, where Roma did the dirty work. For example, laborers, sweepers, because before they were obliged to work, but they done the same dirty work, as they said. Now, we do not have that, because there is prejudice, which unfortunately has become even more acute and violent in these 20 years, violence emerged. In the morning, for example, we saw that bad things happen again in Covasna. So that's it "(female, Timisoara)

*"... if we speak of a LLC, whichever, here in Cluj, would they change their attitude towards others? Would they be treated the same? More open minded persons are already involved and they will ...
(Female, Cluj)*

- one would say that they can enter higher levels, because of efficiency, in general prejudices are relatively less at very high levels. I would say that the middle level is hit the hardest. And probably these influences will be felt more intense, these prejudices. And I would say that at the low level prejudice is not felt that much." (Male, Cluj)

"Absolutely, just, just as they promoted schools in the ghettos for a very long period. Why? Why they felt comfortable there? There have been various reasons put forward, different examples such as its closeness to community, feeling good among themselves. But why? Because majority schools were segregated and there were prejudices. (Male, Timisoara)

My opinion is that the social environment, individuals have an effect on personal development in general. And on this, the choice of a profession to get to point of discrimination, we must first consider two factors, namely: education and culture. In traditional Roma community there is no culture of formal education they did not go to school and do not aspire to certain professions to be able to compete with the majority for a particular job. And I'm speaking of discrimination when

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two people with the same education, the same professional qualification apply for the same job, and one is preferred. Here we should talk about certain emotions, about certain prejudices, which affect the unconscious, and unconscious, a preference for the one who belongs to a particular group. So we can speak about discrimination, when between two people having the same skills, there is a preference based on emotion for the one who belongs to the same group you belong to.” (Male, Timisoara)

“So we talk about discrimination in the following situation, in which a majority, and a citizen of Roma origin, both economists, graduated the same university, with the same sly attitude go and apply for a job as an economist. The employer has to choose between two people who have the same professional qualifications, the same level of competence, but one is somehow, one is Roma and the other is Romanian. And then comes to ... the process of decision implies a factor that is affected by stereotyped prejudices, that they would prefer to hire a Romanian and not a Roma, because there ... there are some prejudices and stereotypes, sometimes some decisions affect me. No, not generally valid, so I’m talking about a hypothetical situation, not generally valid. There is the possibility that depending on the culture, education, experience, contacts with persons of that ethnic group to have an influence, somehow. If you had negative experiences, or on the contrary, had no contact whatsoever, no knowledge, ignorance leads to feelings of rejection ... “(male, Timisoara)

“And here comes the prejudice of families in various environments. I do not talk about top or bottom. I speak about the whole, from top to bottom, if you will, all hierarchy. It’s what we fight against every day in classrooms. “(Female, Timisoara)

In very few cases, participants spoke about the fact that they encountered situations in which they enjoyed privileges because of ethnicity, gender, age or social status. Unequal treatment is far more frequent in their discussions. Participants have interesting positions regarding positive policies, compensation. Referring to experiences of other states and their own state, participants consider that positive discrimination or affirmative action on the behalf of an ethnic group is a democratic mean. However, in certain contexts, positive discrimination or excessive positive discrimination as formulated by some of the interviewees is perceived as a stigma, that creates undesired differentiation from the other.

“It is certain that discrimination attracts other discrimination, that when trying to isolate a group, the group will elaborate ideas of belonging and will see itself outside other groups. And from that point of view, positive discrimination often stigmatize and create [...] that feeling of being different from the rest both in the case of the individual and the group.” (Male, Cluj)

"It depends; I would say something about excessive positive discrimination, because at a certain point, we speak of the Romanian society and about affirmative action on behalf of the Roma students and pupils. But at some point they are welcome, because it seems fair that the society discriminated this ethnic group over a long period, or not offered benefits usually provided by democratic, modern, etc. states. I find it normal that ... compensatory, affirmative actions. The same thing happened in the States, if we are talking about affirmative measures." (Male, Cluj)

Ethnic discrimination is seen both as discrimination between ethnic groups and as discrimination within a given ethnic group.

"And there's discrimination inside Roma groups too, not just outside, you see? And our relation to inside and outside the community, meaning that if now, immediately after the 90, you have not gone to Germany you have remained that poor, you have remained a sucker." (Male, Timisoara)

Multiple disadvantages of Roma population, women in particular were considered the results of discrimination, effects that in turn attract discrimination and stigma, and exclusion. These phenomena may be everyday reality.

"This is implicit. Even though I do my craft pretty well and I am going to get a job, that employer does not hire me because my eyes are blue, you see? In that moment what is left for me? Starving to death at home, or go and work as a day laborer, if I can do that, or find something else, no matter what. I'll become criminal. And this starts the vicious circle.... Which is hard to break, is hard to get out from there. Implicitly, they are linked. (Male, Timisoara)

"And there are these causes of discrimination, probably, with this thing," Hey, I'm not going, I was once refused and I do not go anymore! "And believe me, that is very present in my mind, and I tell you honestly I'll never go to work for an employer, or to use that ugly word, to pull the washer for an employer in Romania. No, I won't do that ... (Man, Timisoara)

"I'll try to talk now; indeed, employment for all of us, all the Roma, or Romanian or else is a problem we all have to face right now. I think that some of the issues raised regarding the skills of the Roma people, seeing it in and having knowledge of intercultural terms and knowing what education Roma get and knowing Roma culture in the family, Roma women have many hardships in this terms. In the sense that she does the housework and works in the market, on the fields, trades, no matter of having a visa or not, or what she is paid on the market for ... But I'm working, as I said, I work at an elementary school and I take care of education, especially working with ... pupils of Roma origin, now ... The idea is that they do not have a ... a minimum-knowledge often less than minimal

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since education is not a strong point, unfortunately, in their family, family of Roma origin in most of the cases, I do not want to talk in vain, but they do not put great emphasis on education, I mean writing-reading, classes I-IV, many of them do not let children to attend school. In very few cases, and fortunate cases, they continue education in high school or in grades V-VIII. I believe that one of the causes for being unprepared when they want to find a job, I consider that difficulties begin with this minimum education, which I think, speaking of I-IV, V-VIII speaking, I think it should exist, for women to be able to build further in one way or another. The Roma woman has strong links to her family because of her inability to grow in terms of education. Thank you.”(Female, Timisoara)

“We do not generalize, we cannot label an ethnic group, because this happens, Romanians cut each other, maybe Moldavians are champions, I don’t know, at ProTV, news start and end with them, but the point is that everyone does crazy things in a society and ultimately, the causes are not nationality or ethnicity. I have very seldom heard, so only regarding ‘those ethnic conflicts that “Come on, let’s tear them apart when it’s about gangs, but otherwise, on individual level this is not happening, no account is taken of it and if we make a list, a certain nationality more violent than the other, I do not know who will be the champion, maybe the Chinese, Arabs and maybe, maybe black people, or Americans. Who knows? So we cannot compare like that. I think, let’s say that we can leave all, all ... all have pluses, minuses. [...]” (Male, Timisoara)

“It is certain that discrimination attracts other discrimination, that when trying to isolate a group, the group will elaborate ideas of belonging and will see itself outside other groups.” (Male, Cluj)

“... I also talk about it, how, when we are discriminated and we know, I want to repeat this example because I find it the most horrifying one of all I met on the ground and I hope I will not meet worse, so that I am left with this one, what to say, one in which children are tested after the fourth grade and I do not know what kind of tests are those, because I have not managed to find out from the teachers, right? But the teacher, of course, in a desegregated class, has also Roma children, Romanian and Hungarian children, whoever lives in the neighborhood, and after that test the teacher sends them in special schools or regular ones.” (female, Cluj)

Domains of manifestation of discrimination, recounting lived experiences in selecting a profession, applying for a job, and in school education.

Housing conditions play an important role in identifying discrimination practices.⁴ The majority of persons interviewed lives in extended families, several generations in one household. Only in few cases

4 For example Nistor: 2007: pp. 177, states that „... the route of getting a more proper house is hard and uncertain for a family living in poor, substandard housing conditions.”

we see nuclear families. Apart from a few isolated cases, all of them live in areas where the majority of population is Roma. Extended families have had an important role in getting a house. They often inherited or bought the places they live in with the help of their parents or other relatives. Interviewees consider that the roads near the houses they live in are bad. Discrimination in housing determines access to education and **access to employment**.

"We're in, so we start with handicap, they employ very few people, those who are skilled in a trade. Here lies the problem, because ethnic Germans, ethnic Hungarians are qualified people. So they have many people skilled in a trade. The Roma, apart from artists and craftsmen ... So you see, this is the problem. We cannot, we talk, talk. That's not a problem, to discuss. But I keep believing, that we need at least about 20 years, maybe with the 20 years since the revolution, and we should discuss after another 20 years until it will ... Yes, my dear, sacrificial generation. Maybe my grandfather, my father and me [...], for as so long, as Roma do not understand that children have to attend school and have a basis, because everything starts from there. If I do not have a culture, I cannot qualify for any job, if I do not have school I cannot talk to anyone. Everyone ignores me."
(Male, Timisoara)

Jobs "... So, on the black market, in our village all of them work on the black market, all of us work on the black market, I tell you. Only 100 adults work out of 800, I mean all, but I do not know. [...] School, qualifications ... and there are those prejudices, of course they are many, but they have no school and qualifications. Do you see? [...] Sir, so we know we deserve this, but we are being put aside because we are Roma. We are put aside, easily." (Male, Timisoara)

"The environment you live in matters a lot in the sense that is more difficult to find a job, a job if you live in rural areas. I personally had an experience of discrimination. I was looking for a job and we put a CV together with a friend of mine, I was not selected for interview because ... I'm not Roma, but more Creole, suntanned, because of my color. This was the only reason, so there is discrimination of color, ethnicity. They keep doing it." (Female, Timisoara)

"Smells. Smell, color." (Male, Cluj)

"And you should know that we, as health workers do not know if other experts faced that, when you go somewhere and introduce yourself, I went to the court in Huedin. I went there, introduced myself, of course as Roma health mediator. They look at you, therefore, when you say Roma health mediator, they already know, and you are exactly Roma, so you sit there in your bench, after three hours they will come and see you." (Female, Cluj)

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"Because you're a woman, I do not, I do not think so, not really, because we work as health mediator for Roma, and I work mostly with women, so with only few men. Roma experts work more with men. " (Female, Cluj)

"I want to tell you about what you have said. The princess, I do not know her name, dressed up in traditional costume. We presented this in addition to that, in the '70s blacks were discriminated, they were not been allowed to enter America and they made a camp. Next to this we have presented the other case too. In Romania, the princess who wore traditional costume and, as a point to be made, when she made her appearance, even if she was a princess and Romanian, the dress made her to be pointed out. Only the dress. All the more when our Gypsy who is a little dark goes to find a job, or knock on the door of institutions, what they say." (Male, Cluj)

"Yes, they told me that the workbook is no longer important, when they make work contracts. So in the contract they include how long you have worked. Since then I manage with great difficulty, there are no jobs anymore. At many firms you go to work, you work for a month or two and when you should get your salary, and you work for a month, and they do not even hire you. When you should receive your salary, no. It happened, I had two weeks. Before, I have worked where I could ... I worked with the day, they had a man on the ditch, one wall painter, so that's my job, builder Yes, but I do not have qualification. I need more school to have formal qualifications. I know that I need 8 grades but I have only six." (Male, Timisoara)

"To an extent I agree with those assertions, but I think it depends on the nature of the work in question. For certain categories of jobs there is an upfront discrimination, while for other types of work, the main reason is lack of education, lack of studies required in the domain. And so that's why access to better paid jobs is restricted to people ... because they require certain qualification. But when it's about equal work, where skills are not required, there we can see blatant discrimination." (Man, Timisoara)

The relevance of ethnicity in getting a job and provisioning work was challenged in very few cases.

"... My message is that jobs and the general situation in society, does not dependent on ethnicity, does not dependent on ethnicity or culture, culture in general, or nationality, does not affect your job, your work so to speak, only on rare occasions, but generally speaking, there are no connections in these things. There are companies that say: "My God, I do not want this or that, to look for them and select them, but in general that's not such a problem." (Male, Timisoara)

Regarding **discrimination in education** we can observe that respondent were not successful at school when they attended it. All those surveyed in rural areas left school at some point in their lives. Some of them left school after finishing one cycle of education (class IV, class VIII and X in one case) but there are cases of leaving school in the middle of the school year.

"I finished eight grades at [...] Well, I have not quite graduated, I need few months more. [You mentioned that you have done almost 8 years.] Let's say seven and a half." (Female, Timisoara)

The desire to continue studies is present in all interviews, but only in few cases opportunities (conditions) and motivation helps the person to resume classes in various forms of education.⁵ Opportunities to continue or resume a form of education, for example for a person who is school mediator in his locality and needs maturation exam, are unique and due to the need to qualify for obtaining or maintaining a paid job.

There are many reasons why those interviewed have not attended school. The most common cause is the financial situation of the family, housework and the need to gain money in any form. Other causes are early marriage and individual discomfort they feel in relation to institutions.

Almost every story about attending school contains at least one moment when discrimination and conflict based on ethnicity surfaces. Colleagues and professors are part of these conflicts, but respondents, in most of the cases, have not experienced these events as discrimination but as unique, unfortunate happenings.

"My view is that the social environment, that is what is needed in individual development in general. And regarding the choice of a profession, to talk about discrimination, we must first consider two factors, namely education and culture. The traditional Roma community has no school culture; they do not go to school and do not aspire to certain professions, to compete with the majority for a particular job, and is preferred. And speaking of discrimination when two people with the same education, same professional qualification competition for the same job, and one is preferred. Here we should talk about certain emotions, about certain prejudices, which affect the unconscious, and unconscious, a preference for the one who belongs to a particular group. So we can speak about discrimination, when between two people having the same skills, there is a preference based on emotion for the one who belongs to the same group you belong to." (Male, Timisoara)

5 Another research regarding Romanian educational system states that: „we must admit that the relevance of school attainment depends also on the educational system in general [...] despite of all positive effects, plans of affirmative action for Roma (without strengthening their self-esteem or even pride and without eliminating negative self/fulfilling prophecies held by majority population regarding the Roma) can reproduce the risk of (self)exclusion especially when these actions are not implemented in a sustained manner and remain temporary experiments, and when they are not supported by decreasing social and economic inequalities." Vincze, E. – Harbula, H. 2011: pp 149.

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"Yes, I think so, everything starts with education." (Female, Cluj)

"So everything, everything from there." (Male, Cluj)

"it's not working like this. You know, we have our share of fault, ... you should wish to get somewhere. [...] That's what we, the Roma, lack, the intention to succeed." (Female, Cluj) "Yes, but it starts from education, that's how they were educated. When someone learns ... that is hard to change, they should be educated a little, they have to be pushed a bit, otherwise you cannot expect [...] You said that he did not like to learn but liked eating from the social allowance." (Male, Cluj)

"So here we have a question mark, if others let us? But I have told you that in every municipality, city or county where Roma are a significant population, if we unite, we could do more than other parties do. Not that I, I do not, I do not want to get involved in politics or play with others, with some things, even though I'm not allowed, but I try to give advice, it should be done like this or that. But the idea is that if are united we can do many things, because Romanians are divided into several parties and not ... If there were two parties in Romania, it would be great. They wouldn't steal so much. I tell you frankly that Ceausescu, Ceausescu has stolen alone, but the problem was that the system was good on the one hand, on the other hand it was not good. But levers to fix some things, you're in social work, which is there at the Babes-Bolyai University, levers, and I work in social work, a social worker's means to solve a family problem ... you fight the hospital, the mayor, the Local Agency for Employment, the police, so each institution, education. To solve that problem, I have to go with that family: "Sir, what's your problem? Look, that's your problem, I found it. Okay, let's see, let's go fix it." "I give housing, I give a job so you can maintain your house." Well, they have a home, they have the money to keep it, they can make a family, and automatically can send their children to school. If not, that kid who has nothing, and many times parents do not have anything with what to send them to school and often parents leave their children with elder siblings, or children have to take care of their younger siblings and cannot go to school. It hurts the child, not that they want to do that, it is not intended, but it often happens that way. We recognize that, we live among our people and we know how they are, how others are. Not everyone is the same, just the contrary. You know how it is that saying about the cow, that defiles the whole herd, right? But we do not follow these principles. Someone said: "You have to offer me something before you judge me" No? You should know me, and give me something, and if I don't want to do that, then you can judge me. But no one follows these principles. And then we get in that vicious circle." (Male, Cluj)

"I want to say that when it comes to environment, the family is in the same environment, we do not speak about the nation, we speak about education, I want to tell you that even in poor families among the majority poorer families you do not find a man who does not bring some income, any

income in the house, who consume alcohol and drink the allowance for children, so basically this is the only source of family income, the allowance. When they receive the allowance, it goes to the head of the family, of course, who has to drink it, they have no money in the house and [...] and never do something useful at home or ...' (male, Timisoara)

"Now you see, degree does not matter so much anymore, the diploma you get after graduating college, especially in times of crisis, the degree does not help you that much, but still helps you to have access to employment. You find jobs more quickly." (Male, Timisoara)

"And here comes the prejudice of families in various environments. I do not talk about top or bottom. I speak about the whole, from top to bottom, if you will, the whole hierarchy. It's what we fight against every day in classrooms." (Female, Timisoara)

There were cases when the respondents successfully integrated into the group of pupils had no conflicts with teachers, but in most cases disputes with colleagues or teachers mark the memories of these people about school. These misunderstandings make pupils adopt extreme behavior:

"[We were] wrong, went out from classes, hanged around with our friends in the courtyard, played football. We did not stay in the class, that was it, at least at some classes, there were however few exceptions." (Male, Timisoara)

Success stories also contain moments of tension stemming from ethnicity.

"I started from kindergarten, preparatory year in kindergarten, I attended primary school in my village, I won prizes at the Olympic contest, at least in English. On other subjects ... I had bad relations with mathematics. I graduated twelve classes from College X of Timisoara. Relations in the village were pretty good, they did not know about discrimination, they have not been taught to discriminate against the Roma, to be segregated or discriminated against by the majority, but when I got to high-school in the ninth grade and you know we did not know each other and it took about a year to know each other better and in this year there were some differences between us, I was a little discriminated against but when they got to know me better, what kind of person I was, they understood that we were not all the same and there was no forests without brushwood and there were Roma who wanted to do something." (male, Timisoara)

Education of children is divided between family and school. Both family and school are important for education, according to all respondents. Successful outcome of a proper education in a family is a child who "behaves, stays quiet, obeys parents, does not hang around with disorderly girls, is not rude, respects

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everyone, and has no problems with anyone. So she should be a smart girl, knowingly doing everything she does. The boys just need to be respectful, to speak to everyone, so to be popular, but respectful, with character.” (Female, Timisoara)

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During focus group discussions, it was argued that both education and experience of contacts with people of other ethnicities, and ignorance and generalization lead to the rejection of otherness. Few interviewees consider that prejudices underlie discriminatory practices; most of them assume that discrimination and prejudices are in fact the same thing. Speaking of discrimination, people recognize it mostly at the level of interpersonal relations (marked by stereotypes) rather than at the level of structural factors. So they tend not to observe the mechanisms of structural or institutional discrimination – particularly the majority – they try to minimize the danger of unfair treatment in general, upholding thus, in their eyes and in the eyes of others, the idea of tolerant majority.

Those who present their own experiences of discrimination are caught between trying to avoid both victimization of Roma and the transfer of responsibility only to the system. They also mention the efforts to uncover cases of unfair treatment that Roma face because of cultural meanings attached to the color of their skin and / or disadvantaged social and economic condition throughout history.

In the debates focusing on discrimination, the most important axis of discussions was discrimination based on ethnicity. Other types of unfair treatment, such as those based on gender, age, social status, have not had an important role in the recounted situations. The specific disadvantages of Roma women are mostly explained by innate differences between men and women or particular cultural traditions of the Roma. They did not mention the patriarchal nature of Romanian society in general or the socio-economic and political mechanisms causing the double disadvantage of women belonging to marginalized ethnic minorities.

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*A world with flowers, made by Babi,
Cantonului street, Cluj*

ALIS COSTESCU, KINGA PAKUCS,
ANCA SÂRBU, ANDREEA STROIE

■ APPROACHES TOWARDS INTERSECTIONALITY

The concept of 'intersectionality' has attracted much attention in international feminist debates over the last decade as a tool for the analysis of the ways in which different forms of social inequality, oppression and discrimination interact and overlap in multidimensional ways. Most importantly we notice that intersectionality theory promises to explain the way in which socially constructed categories of differentiation (gender, ethnicity/race, social status, age, sexual orientation) interact to create social hierarchies and inequalities, and in which discrete forms and expressions of oppression (sexism, racism, classism) shape one another. Our piece of work aims at offering a glimpse of the long and winding road which led to the emergence of the perspective of intersectionality (hooks), its use in addressing social inequalities and among others violence against women (Crenshaw), its methodological aspects (McCall), theoretical foundations and political use (Lutz, Hererra Vivar and Supik).

bell hooks (1981), the pioneer of critical race studies is one of the first theorists to raise important and necessary questions for the later development of intersectionality. She introduces a new perspective on oppression and relationships of inequality by focusing on the intersecting nature of race, class, gender and other identity factors, revealing the historical impact of sexism and racism on black women, their devaluation, discrimination and marginalization, and the disregard for issues of race and class within feminism.

Crenshaw (1991), the analyst whose work from 1989 marked the formal beginnings of intersectionality theory, reveals the structural nature of inequalities and how they contribute to reinforcing hierarchies and discrimination. One of her main points of interest is the intersection between race and gender. By analyzing the impact of gender and race with regard to domestic violence against black women, she demonstrates that there is no 'right way' to demand gender and race equality, and specific approaches need to be developed.

McCall's (2005) article poses the question of the "unique methodological demands" of intersectionality due to its commitment to exploring and theorizing complexity. By presenting three most common methodological approaches to intersectionality (anticategorical, intracategorical and intercategorical complexity), she stresses the importance of having a variety of methodologies in order to produce different kinds of knowledge and fully engage with the set of issues and topics falling broadly under the rubric of intersectionality.

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Lutz, Hererra Vivar and Supik (2009) set a frame for intersectionality as a concept. By doing so, they manage to emphasize what intersectionality meant for different types of studies (gender studies, feminist studies, queer studies, disability studies, etc.) and how this concept helped them build their own discourses. The authors do not only present the theoretical foundations on the matters of social inequality (as a result of being part of one or more disadvantaged groups), but also depict how they are fought against in practice by talking about how regulations in European countries regarding such issues are enforced.

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Charismatic speaker and one of the leading public intellectuals of her generation, **bell hooks** considers herself a social activist and a revolutionary feminist. She divides her time among writing, teaching and lecturing around the world. Gloria Jean Watkins grew up in a segregated South and was educated by strong women who shaped her self-esteem. By choosing to use the pseudonym bell hooks for her writing, the author intended to honor both her grandmother and her mother (whose names she took), as well as establish a narrative voice separate from the person Gloria Watkins. She also chooses not to capitalize the first letters of her name because she prefers the focus of the public to be on the content of her work, not on the name.

Through a postmodern perspective, her books aim to offer a “breakdown in traditional ways of seeing and thinking about reality”, and to help readers to critically reflect on the condition of particular groups distinguished by established differences in social power. The main focus of all her activity, as she confesses in a paper entitled *Postmodern Blackness*, is the African-Americans’ collective condition, that “has been and is characterized by continued displacement, profound alienation and despair.”

There are several recurring themes that can be found in her most influential books – *Ain’t I a Woman?: Black woman and feminism* (1981); *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (1984); *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate politics* (2000), to name just a few. Among them, the most important are: the historical impact of sexism and racism on black women, media roles and portrayal, sex roles patterns, the idea of a “white supremacist capitalist patriarchy” (a phrase used by hooks as a synthetic label for the dominant political, economic and social system of power that excludes particular groups from opportunities and freedom), the devaluation, discrimination and marginalization of black women, the critique of the education system¹, and the disregard for issues of race and class within feminism.

This new perspective on oppression that focuses on the intersecting nature of race, class, gender and other identity factors makes bell hooks a pioneer of what is contemporarily called intersectionality theory. The author’s strong believe is that these topics cannot be dealt with separately, but must be analyzed in

1 hooks denounces the American educational system as an oppressive mechanism of “sexist and racist socialization” that teaches students “to accept racial polarity in the form of white supremacy, and sexual polarity in the form of patriarchy” (bell hooks, *Ain’t I a Woman?: Black woman and feminism*. South End Press, Boston, p. 121).

their interconnectedness in order to identify and critically challenge the cultural assumptions that support and perpetuate the politics and systems of domination.

Written in the '70s, when hooks was an undergraduate student, and published in 1981, *Ain't I a Woman?: Black woman and feminism*, is the first major work of her. It was inspired by and entitled after an influential speech held by Sojourner Truth, a 19th century "radical black woman activist" and abolitionist, who "reminded the American public that sexist oppression was as real a threat to the freedom of black women as racial oppression" (p.3).

Concerned with "the lot of black women in the United States", hooks critically challenges the passive condition of contemporary black women, characterized by "profound silence engendered by resignation and acceptance of one's lot. [...] Racist and sexist socialization has conditioned us to devalue our femaleness and to regard race as the only relevant label of identification" (p.1).

Encompassing a historical background for her analysis of black womanhood, bell hooks identifies "institutionalized sexism – that is, patriarchy" and racial imperialism as the basis of the American social structure. She examines the convergence of sexism, racism and classism and its effect on the status of black women during slavery, civil rights movement, black nationalism and as well as inside the feminist movements from suffrage to the seventies.

The author argues that "scholars have been reluctant to discuss the oppression of black women during slavery because of an unwillingness to seriously examine the impact of sexist and racist oppression on their social status". The brutal treatment the female slaves were submitted to (and often discriminatory in regard to black male slaves) is considered an expression of white misogynist attitudes shaped under the influence of fundamentalist Christian teachings. However, slavery provided the context for an interesting shift in male perception of women: while idealizing white womanhood, white men displaced all the negative stereotypes onto black women, opening a symbolic door, the author argues, to the devaluation and discrimination of black femininity that continues to this day.

bell hooks deconstructs and analyzes the mechanism of what she calls "the sexist-racist conditioning of American people", that affects both the white people, as well as "the black slave sub-culture", which mirrored the mainstream culture in search for acceptance and integration. The writer often challenges the conclusions of contemporary scholars for lack of contextualization, and for being undocumented. hooks argues that the systematic devaluation of black womanhood – through negative myths and sexist stereotypes, often contradictory, such as the "fallen" woman, the prostitute, sexual temptress; the matriarch; the black, domineering amazon; the Aunt Jemima image (passive nurturer, mother figure); the Sapphire image (evil, treacherous, hateful) – "was not simply a direct consequence of race hatred, it was a calculated method of social control". She emphasizes the way in which the sexist rhetoric was used to maintain white supremacy and to limit social equality.

hook's interest in the affiliations of black women (as a disadvantaged group, historically situated on the margins of social hierarchy) both with the black political activists (during the '50s civil rights movement, and the '60s black nationalism) and the feminist movements, leads her to some radical conclusions. She

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argues that the fact of being oppressed – the very foundation of the black/ feminist movements – does not exclude assuming the role of oppressors in relationship to black women. Neither black activist (seeking to overcome racial divisions by strengthening sexist ones), nor white feminists (privileged-class women following their own opportunistic goal to enter the mainstream of American capitalism and gain economic status) challenged the value system of the American culture; instead, they defined liberation as “synonymous with obtaining the right to fully participate in the very system they identify as oppressive” (p.22).

Critically evaluating the contemporary state of feminism from a radical standpoint², bell hooks sees hope in a “radical reconstruction of feminist ideology”. The writer constantly argues for taking feminist theory from the academy and giving it back to the communities from where it sprung.

Due to the use of a subjective, confessional tone, and as well as the lack of proper documentation, bell hooks’ first book often draws criticism from scholars for being non-academic. Nevertheless, the book has gained widespread recognition as an influential contribution to postmodern feminist thought and became an important landmark in discussions over intersectionality; eleven years after it was published, the volume was ranked by *Publishers Weekly* among the “20 most influential women’s books of the previous 20 years”.

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Kimberle Crenshaw is a prominent figure in critical race theory, professor in race and gender studies. In 1996 she co-founded the African American Policy Forum, and in 2001 wrote the background paper on Race and Gender Discrimination for the United Nations World Conference on Racism. She has published works on civil rights, black feminist legal theory, and race, racism, and the law.

In her paper “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color” (1991) the author observes that “race and gender intersect in shaping structural and political aspects of violence against women of color” (p. 2), which means that women’s experiences of domestic violence, for instance, are very different and need different approaches in order to be understood and expressed in demands for gender equality. Crenshaw analyzes the impact of gender and race with regard to domestic violence against Afro-american women at three different levels, i.e. structural intersectionality, political intersectionality and contemporary identity politics.

In a field study on battered women’s shelters in Los Angeles, the author observed that the majority of domestic violence victims are unemployed or have low incomes, so the class structure is an important criteria in enhancing women’s experiences in domestic violence. Due to the fact that poverty heavily correlates with gender and race, the domestic abuses suffered by women of color are also aggravated by class oppression, racism and patriarchy. Empowerment strategies of shelters follow the pattern of psychological male dominated victim, avoiding thus the other structural factors that are influencing and

2 “Today, feminism offer women not liberation but the right to act as surrogate men.”

particularizing battered women experiences: “because the disempowerment of many battered women of color is arguably less a function of what is their minds and more a reflection of the obstacles that exist in their lives, these interventions are likely to reproduce rather than effectively challenge their domination” (p. 3). Limited access to resources and nonetheless cultural barriers are also shaping different domestic violence situations when experienced by an immigrant women. The legal and economic vulnerability of their immigrant status and the state of dependence on their husbands, forced them to continue abusive relations instead of deportation. The language barrier and the fact that the battered women model did not include different nationality/ ethnicity dimensions, offer these women even less possibility of ending abuses due to the fact that some of the shelters refuse to provide protection for non-speaking English immigrants for lack of resources and bilingual speaking employees.

Political strategies addressing racism and sexism often fail to incorporate the special experience of battered Afro-American women: while the first one is drawn in accordance with racist experiences mostly encountered by Afro-American male, the last one ignores race and tackles sexism experienced by white women. Therefore, as Crenshaw states, “the failure of feminism to interrogate race means that the resistance strategies of feminism will often replicate and reinforce the subordination of people of color, and the failure of anti-racism to interrogate patriarchy means that anti-racism will frequently reproduce the subordination of women” (p.5). In her attempt to research domestic violence against Afro-American women at police stations, the author was unable to find any statistical data concerning the race category. The responses received from authorities and activists regarding this situation motivated the lack of data as an effort of not reproducing the stereotype of violent pathological nature of black male. Hence we can observe how the two strategies are conflictual when domestic violence comes into play: anti-sexist strategies are subordinated by anti-racist strategies, leading battered color women to the inability of expressing their political demands. The most logical result is that both anti-racist and anti-sexist strategies and politics are limited and are perpetuating new forms of discrimination against women.

Cultural and social factors are contributing to the lack of representation of Afro-American and Asian-American women specific issues: many activists who have tried to provide assistance and security services for battered women coming from the above mentioned communities, encountered a strong reluctance from the communities leaders. The activists were considered illegitimate to interfere with those communities due to their different culture and/ or race. The Asian community considers that “saving the honor of the family from shame is a priority” but as Crenshaw concludes, “this priority tends to be more readily interpreted as obliging women not to scream rather than obliging men not to hit” (p.8). Moreover, the cultural norms and the majority social practices towards minority representatives is also a strong obstacle in empowering battered women for searching help and protection outside their communities.

The strategies and campaigns aimed to politicize and universalize domestic violence brought into the public opinion attention and also into political agendas the reality and frequency of this phenomenon. Being no longer a myth or a stereotype associated with Afro-American people (who were defined as brutes),

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domestic violence faced by white, middle class women was intensely used in advocating awareness raising campaigns and legislative changes. As the “others” problems begun to lose ground, and to transform itself in every races and classes problem, politicians and citizens were able to focus on combating domestic violence. Universalizing domestic violence advances the danger of ignoring the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, class and their influence in designing different experiences of violence which need different political and social approaches. Or, as Crenshaw points it out, “as long as attempts to politicize domestic violence focus on convincing elites that is not a *minority* problem but their problem, any authentic and sensitive attention to the experiences of minority women will probably continue to be regarded as jeopardizing the movement” (p.10).

The multiple identities of women, as well as of men offer the proper framework of re- conceptualizing gender approaches in theory and also in practice, through activism, social services and politics. The analysis of the impact of different categories in constructing and influencing our race/gender identity could contribute to the social and political development of more inclusive and coherent ways of action regarding issues such as gender discrimination, racism, poverty, domestic violence, and marginalization.

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Leslie McCall's article *The Complexity of Intersectionality* points out the importance of intersectionality as a new research paradigm, calling it “probably the most important theoretical contribution that women’s studies, in conjunction with other related fields, has made so far” (p. 1771). Her goal is to “expand research on intersectionality” (p.1774) and in this attempt, she presents an overview of the three most common methodological approaches to intersectionality. She calls attention to methodology as she considers that “what is restricting feminist research on intersectionality comes down primarily to methods – not substance, theory or philosophy” (p. 1785). As intersectionality’s major goal is exploring and revealing complexity, past methods are hard to fit into this new research paradigm, and are thus avoided by scholars, for fear of being too simplistic or reductionist. As the lack of a defined intersectional methodology is problematic for the theoretical and epistemological legitimacy of intersectionality, McCall describes the three approaches to intersectionality (anticategorical, intracategorical and intercategory complexity) in terms of how they all try to manage complexity and what they achieve and sacrifice through their methodologies. The approaches can be distinguished from one another by their stance towards categories, in McCall’s words: “how they understand and use analytical categories to explore the complexity of intersectionality in social life” (p. 1773).

In order to understand the emergence of intersectionality, it is necessary to understand the developments in women’s studies in particular that led to tackling complexity in scholarly sociological approaches. One of the first of these developments was the critique of existing fields for not incorporating women as subjects and women’s distinctive experiences in research, the critique of male bias. But the simple adding of women in studies was not enough. Thus, gender was introduced as an analytical category and

feminism as a theoretical perspective. In this process, feminism began to question the founding philosophies, disciplines and categories of modern society. “The methodological approach of anticategorical complexity was born in this moment of critique, in which hegemonic feminist theorists, poststructuralist and antiracist theorists almost simultaneously launched assaults on the validity of modern analytical categories in the 1980s” (p. 1776). Both feminism and antiracism challenged the “master categories” or master narratives for failing to account for a wide variety of experiences, identities and social locations, and for failing to take into account the socially constructed nature of gender and other categories. Moreover, these master categories were critiqued for the reproduction of social practices that reinforce inequalities, thus the deconstruction of these categories was seen as necessary for deconstructing inequality and “to free individuals and social groups from the normative fix of the hegemonic order and to enable a politics that is at once more complex and inclusive” (p. 1777).

The methodological consequence of this critique was to render suspect both the process of categorization itself and any research based on such categorization. The philosophical critique of modernity that emerged from the disciplinary critique of modern science and the methodological critique of the “objective” scientific method’s claims to objectivity, universality and truth, led on one hand, to the postmodernist and poststructuralist critiques of modern Western philosophy, history and language and, on the other hand, to the critique of the use of “women” and “gender” as unitary and homogenous categories that claim to reflect the common essence of all women. The latter assault was carried out by feminists of color against dominant white feminism’s use of the two categories. The result of all these was the development of the methodology of anticategorical complexity. But many feminists of color did not reject totally categories and categorization, as Crenshaw in *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color* writes: “recognizing that identity politics takes place at the site of where categories intersect (...) seems more fruitful than challenging the possibility of talking about categories at all”, thus the methodology of intracategorical complexity arose out of such studies. Intercategorical complexity – the methodology thoroughly described by McCalls falls somewhere between these two, as it is skeptical towards categories but it also uses them strategically, to reveal dimensions of inequality.

Anticategorical complexity “is based on a methodology that rejects and deconstructs analytical categories. Categories are rejected as being simplistic and erroneously reducing complex social life to ‘social fictions that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences’ (. 1773). The focus of research that adopts this methodology is the social processes of categorization and how they produce hierarchies that lead to exclusion, to “othering”. Thus, rejection of categories as simplistic constructs that restrict freedom of individuals (and of research for that matter) is the hallmark of this approach.

Intracategorical complexity takes marginalized intersectional identities as an analytic starting point “in order to reveal the complexity of lived experience within such groups” (p. 1773). It inaugurated the study of intersectionality and critical race studies fall under this approach. Like anticategorical complexity it is skeptical towards categories and the boundaries they define, and like intercategorical complexity, it “acknowledges the stable and even durable relationships that social categories represent at any given

point in time” (p. 1773). Scholars who embrace this approach “tend to focus on particular social groups at neglected points of intersection in order to reveal the complexity of lived experience within such groups” (p. 1773). The experiences and narratives of black women have been most commonly used to pinpoint the experiences of marginalized groups and the exclusionary nature of categorization. This approach is thus skeptical to categories but uses them for contrast, in order to reveal the experiences of marginalized individuals. Also, categories are used against themselves, by revealing their flaws and inadequacy.

Intercategorical complexity (or *categorical complexity*) is the less known and used of the three approaches and it is the one favored and adopted by McCall in her research. “This approach requires that scholars provisionally adopt existing analytical categories to document relationships of inequality among social groups and changing configurations of inequality along multiple and conflicting dimensions” (p. 1774). In terms of methodology, intercategorical complexity does not reject categories (as does anticategorical complexity), nor does it focus on the dimensions *across* categories (as intracategorical complexity), but it uses categories strategically in order to reveal the complexity and intersections *within* categories. Categorical complexity focuses on relationships of inequality and uses categories in order to reveal the relationships between categorization and the creation or perpetuation of social inequalities. The major difference between the methodology of intracategorical complexity and categorical complexity is that the former treats relationships of inequality as one of the backgrounds of analysis while the latter treats them as the focus of analysis itself. “It is not the intersection of race, class and gender in a single social group that is of interest but the relationships among the social groups defined by the entire set of groups constituting each category” (p. 1785). Another difference is that the intracategorical approach “begins with a unified intersectional core – a single social group, event, concept, and works its way outward to analytically unravel one by one the influences of gender, race, class, etc. The categorical approach begins with an analysis of the elements first because each of these is a sizable project in its own right” (p. 1787).

Using Crenshaw’s famous metaphor, anticategorical complexity would mean the entire remapping of the city and erasure of the streets, intracategorical complexity stresses the importance of the intersection of the streets (patriarchy, colonialism etc.), whilst categorical complexity reminds us to trace our steps back to how we got to the intersection, who named the streets, how one or more streets became the main arteries of the city and created the major intersections, who or what is controlling the stoplights, without forgetting the texture of the pavement and how it can be harder or easier to walk in the city, how some intersections and streets can prove dangerous and murky, while others can be well lit, safe and comfortable.

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Intersectionality as a concept prompted great debates and caught the attention of many researchers and scholars. **Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar and Linda Supik** have also tried collecting different perspectives on intersectionality and the 2009 conference “Celebrating Intersectionality? Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies” presented them with the perfect opportunity to do so. Moreover, the conference marked the concept’s 20th anniversary.

The concept can be traced back to the attempts made by Marxist-feminist theorists to analyze the relationship between capitalist societalisation and gender relations, interventions from the perspective of (white) lesbian feminism, and publications on the connections between gender and disability. It is clear that different issues such as class, sexuality and disability were all connected and analyzed through a gendered perspective. However, as the authors also underline, although these ideas shape the debate around intersectionality, they do not reflect the intersectional perspective as such. The most important trait of the concept was yet to be discovered: recognizing the differences between women. This idea emerged from the analysis of the socio-economic situation of Black women, their Black women’s rights movement in the United States and the accusations they made against white, bourgeois feminism.

As the authors pinpoint, Black scholars and activists have attempted to bring forth the experience of Black women and their stories of oppression. Representatives of Black feminism, such as Patricia Hill Collins, Claudia Jones and Francis Beale coined different models (the model of a matrix of domination, the model of triple oppression and the concept of double jeopardy) in search of the concept which will explain best the crossroads where Black women found themselves when being discriminated for their gender, skin color and class. Moreover, they observe that even the lesbian feminist discourse found itself criticized for ignoring the “multiple dimensions of the social situation of women of color” and even perpetuating racist structures, being too concerned with the heterosexual domination which characterizes the feminist movement. Taking into consideration this background of controversy, the three authors argue that intersectionality, despite its complexity, remains sensitive to possible new omissions and exclusions. The concept of intersectionality is attributed to Kimberlé Crenshaw and it is considered to be the starting point for many publications in the field. However, Crenshaw was not the only one observing the identities constructed at the crossroad of different categories (such as race, gender, class, disability) and their contribution to systematic discrimination and social inequality. Collins advanced the term “interlocking systems” while Floya Anthias and Nira Yaval-Davis talked about “racialised boundaries”.

The idea of intersectionality drew the attention towards the existing social inequalities and the mechanisms perpetuating them. As these realities could no longer be ignored, states started adopting the laws and the measures to solve the problems. The situation of European states was greatly influenced by the historical background of each country. Nonetheless, member states of the European Union began to adopt anti-discriminatory policies almost at the same time due to the general regulations imposed by their membership. Moreover, the process of the adaptation of the European Non-Discrimination Directives into national law allowed for a discussion about multiple discriminations, and led to the birth of the “intersectional discrimination” concept (European Commission, 2007). At the

European discourse level, a particular case is that of Germany whose history of violence and oppression towards certain ethnic groups and the Nazi discourse formed around the concept of *Rasse*, made it a delicate subject. The German case brings forth a new dimension, that of language, which should be taken into consideration as a subject of investigation when debating the intersectionality approach. In order to avoid the negativity of *Rasse* and the category attached to it by the Nazi racial ideologies, the German-speakers are using the English word “race” as a substitute. Nonetheless, the narrowness of racism as a concept can be considered a flaw of the German system, as it fails to protect the members of ethnic groups or other races. The difficulty of accepting the others, those of a different ethnicity or race, seems to be specific to other European countries as well. The East European countries are also “restricted” by their past; after having learned to treasure the nation as a whole, the idea of accepting the representatives of an ethnic group comes as a challenge. The United Kingdom seems to be the only European state not struggling to deal with the issues brought about by race and ethnicity, being the first to adopt a piece of legislation in this regard as well.

As the authors themselves concluded, they have tried to identify those working with the concept of intersectionality and their contribution to the development of the term. Lutz, Hererra Vivar and Supik have also wanted to find the right research questions and issues to be debated from the intersectionality perspective point of view. Finally, the three were preoccupied to find out which were the future approaches to intersectionality. As already mentioned above, some important names in the development of intersectionality as a concept were Kimberlé Crenshaw (who criticized the one-dimension approaches for imposing limits), Kathy Davis (who considered that ambiguity and vagueness made a great contribution to intersectionality), and Myra Marx Ferree (who was preoccupied by the differences between the American and German women’s movement). New issues to be debated from the intersectionality perspective were also identified: intersectional research on masculinity, heteronormativity and transnationality.

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As opposed to other research approaches, intersectionality’s path is not as well mapped or marked. The critique of categories and processes of categorization, as well as the attempt to theorize and integrate complexity and difference are, to say the least, challenging. It is impossible to avoid categorization, especially when making political claims. But theory and research, if it is to serve social justice, must be reflexive to its own claims and must acknowledge differences both among and within categories, without forgetting their constructed nature. Intersectional analysis are capable both to reveal the complexity of political power and of social inequality, and to use difference positively, accepting and exploiting its potential for the description of diverse experiences, of conflicting identities, and not as a source of otherness and conflict. There is no homogeneous way of understanding intersectionality and no accepted consensus on methodologies and practices. But there is an agreement on the fact that the complexity of social life should be reflected in the complexity of social theory.

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*A world with flowers, made by Babi,
Cantonului street, Cluj*

ANDREEA RACLEȘ, ȘTEFANIA VOICU

■ LABOR MARKET ACCESS AND CULTURAL CONSUMPTION AMONG ROMA WOMEN: THE FRAMES OF MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATIONS

“Inside the house, woman is always on the move, she bustles like a fly in the whey; outside the house, nothing of her work is seen.”

(Kabylian saying, Bourdieu, 1990, 276)

Introduction

I don't know because nobody is teaching me. What matters is the model according to which you guide your actions, the education you get in the family. You simply don't know whether there is something else besides this model...

The above reflective thought formulated by one of the Roma women who participated in the focus groups within the research “Equality through difference: Roma women’s access on labor market” (see the report on the focus group research „Labor and discrimination experiences of the Roma/ „Experiențele muncii și discriminării romilor. Raport asupra cercetării de tip focus”, 2009, 5-6) suggests that Roma women’s positions are deeply rooted in the society, in the community and in the families they are part of. Within these structures, the woman seems to be the one who follows the ‘models received’ and who has no knowledge of other guiding marks. In what follows, the debate will focus on two ways of leaving the domestic world towards ‘knowing that there is something else too’, here expressed by **labor market access and cultural consumption**. These two dimensions converge at a point where both become contexts that enable the presence/appearance and maintenance of discrimination, and by thus prevent Roma women from having experiences which could raise their interest to participate and to get involved. We need to mention at the beginning that we will be cautious when using the concept ‘discrimination’, as the word has been used by both parties, i.e. both by the victimized category and by the entities causing it.

The section on **Roma women's access to the labor market** presents a series of important factors which are related to the particularity of Romani culture, to the majority's perception and actions concerning the Roma, and to the social and economic changes. However, domestic activities and responsibilities assumed by Roma women at home will be also considered.

The second part highlights comparative data on the **cultural consumption** of Roma men and women, where, besides common tendencies, the gender variable determines the cultural consumption patterns. Apart from measuring the frequency with which Roma women participate in certain activities, the study will present data on the cultural infrastructure, the cultural content and the concerning activities pursued by the target group.

Most of the data presented here has been collected in a national survey carried out by The Center for Research and Consultancy in Culture (Centrul de Cercetare și Consultanță în Domeniul Culturii¹) in 2010, which dealt with the Roma population's cultural consumption and participation. The survey sample consisted of 600 ethnic Roma respondents aged 15 years and above, who were living in compact areas and who were equally distributed in terms of residence areas and gender.

1. Factors of labor market access and practical skills of Roma women

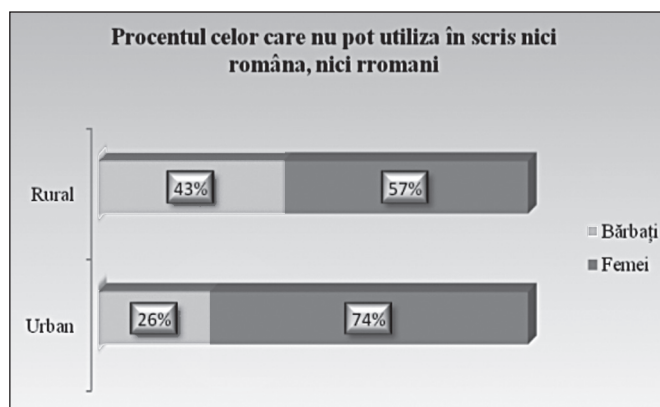
The first section is focusing on three types of factor which influence to a certain degree the access of Roma women to the labor market: on the one hand, we find the **particularities of Roma communities and culture** like, for e.g. the endurance of a pathriarchal view and a collective mentality which even imposes control over women's access to education (i.e. the Romani and Romanian language skills and alphabetization level, the contribution to traditional Roma occupations and the artistic or artisanal skills of Roma women). On the other hand, we find the **factors related to the general perception and the actions of the majority population with regard to the Roma (including Roma women as well)**: the negative representation of Roma ethnicity in the media which contributes to employers' suspicions (for e.g. Roma women are viewed along the clean/unclean or honest/dishonest dichotomies), but also **economic and social changes**, for e.g. market economy disadvantages certain social strata in terms of job access.²

1 See <http://culturadata.ro/>

2 Some of these factors were identified in the report on labor and discrimination experiences of the Roma „Experiențele muncii și discriminării romilor” (2009) as part of the project “Equality through difference: Roma women's access on labor market”

Romani and Romanian language skills of Roma women

Concerning the use of the Romani and Romanian languages, the data from the study *Participation and cultural consumption among the Roma* („Participare și Consum Cultural în rândul Rromilor”) indicate that Roma women from urban areas are the most disadvantaged; this fact diminishes their possibilities to access not only higher and university education but also the labor market. The disadvantaging of Roma women and the limiting of their access to the labor market are emphasized by illiteracy among the Roma women living in urban areas (where professional and job opportunities largely depend on education levels and the labor market favors persons with high level of literacy).



Percentage of persons (men and women from urban and rural areas) who cannot write either in Romanian, or in Romani language

Source of the figure: the survey *Participation and cultural consumption among the Roma* /*Participare și Consum Cultural în rândul Rromilor*, Center for Research and Consultancy in Culture (CCCDC), 2010

Similarly, the knowledge and ability to speak and write both languages and the access to studying possibilities would increase the chances of Roma women to obtain jobs either in the educational system or in centers or associations which have projects targeting the Roma. In addition, some data suggest that, if given access, Roma women are more likely to study than Roma men. The table below shows the educational level of Roma men and women according to the report on the survey about employment of the Roma („Muncile Romilor. Raport de Cercetare asupra Anchetei Sociologice”, Nándor L. Magyari, 2009).

	Male	Female	Total
	%	%	%
no school	28.2	71.8	100
Elementary	37.9	62.1	100
Gymnasium	41.7	58.3	100
High school	35.5	64.5	100
Technical school	62.1	37.9	100
High-school graduate	33.3	66.7	100
Post-graduate	8.3	91.7	100
University	21.4	78.6	100

Source of table: survey about employment of the Roma („Muncile Romilor. Raport de Cercetare asupra Anchetei Sociologice”)

The role of Roma women in producing economic value

The economic integration and the social inclusion of the Roma communities often constitute the objectives of projects and programs targeting the ethnic Roma. Among the solutions offered we find the professional retraining and the formation of skills currently required by the labor market. Although the artistic and artisanal skills of the Roma which they use in their traditional occupations may have positive effects on both social (economic and social integration) and cultural levels (the preservation of Romani culture), it is less proposed.

A series of studies, articles, anthropological and sociological reports with a gender perspective have dealt with the marginalization of Roma women in terms of labor market access and even the restrictions applicable when practicing traditional Roma occupations. By taking these aspects as starting points, in what follows we will focus on exposing the skills/abilities of Roma women in producing economic value, and in some cases, for preserving the cultural act that is specific for the Roma.

Among the traditional occupations of the Roma we can list music playing, tinning, handicraft, processing wood and precious metals, fortune-telling and producing ceramic goods³; Although Roma women have been doing fortune-telling and have been selling flowers, they have practiced not only those traditional occupations which require “exclusively feminine competencies” (Haşdeu, 2005, 298), since they have had essential inputs in other specific activities of the Roma. In her study about the women’s condition within the Kalderash Roma communities Iulia Haşdeu noted that „in the making of copper vessels auxiliary activities have the same importance; these, like the gathering woods and the maintenance of fire are carried

3 The occupations have been identified on the basis of the study „Participare şi Consum Cultural în rândul Romilor” carried out by the CCCDC in 2010

out by women or young children [...] After the vessels have been made, the women are those who carry, load and unload the vessels from the carts" (Haşdeu, 2005, 295). Thus, the author points out that „women are always present, and their contribution is crucial for producing economic value" (ibid, 297-298). Similarly, although Roma women occupy subordinated positions and carry out the orders of men [...] they can also initiate and manage entire activities" (ibid, 297-298).

The contribution of Roma women to producing economic and cultural value for the community is related also to their role within the family. Although the private-public distinction persists within the Roma communities (Eniko Vincze, et al. 2009, 31), by taking care of the household (i.e. the care and education of children and keeping the household) the Roma women fulfill an important role, especially as, within the Roma communities, the family and the care for the family/the relatives is considered to be the most valuable characteristic of a Roma person⁴.

Our suggestion is that the skills developed by Roma women through taking care of the household and performing auxiliary activities pertaining to traditional Roma occupations can be reassessed on the labor market outside the Roma communities. Roma women could successfully perform jobs that require practical skills (like for e.g. the production and decoration of hand-made objects, or various manual labors like the making of accessories and decorative objects).

2. Roma women and cultural consumption

In the second part we will deal with a few aspects related to the domestic cultural infrastructure and the possibilities they offer for the Roma women to spend their free/leisure time. On the one hand, importance will be given to the difference between the sexes, while on the other hand, to the belonging to the ethnic Roma group, as according to a study carried out by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research on the cultural consumption of ethnic groups from the Netherlands, in order to understand cultural practices it is important to consider the ethnic variable⁵.

According to Bourdieu, belonging to a certain social class determines our lifestyle and cultural consumption. This approach, however, seems to confer a secondary role to the gender component, and thus diminishes the importance of certain tendencies created in cultural consumption while favors a certain set of leisure time activities. Further, we find studies stating that the gender differences determine our leisure time activities, while others argue that being a man or a woman doesn't influence significantly our cultural consumption patterns (Katz-Gerro&Sullivan, 2010, 195). Katz-Gerro and Sullivan consider that the object of consumption and the frequency of the consumption act is strongly related to the sex of the individuals (193).

4 The statement is based on the results of the study „Participare și Consum Cultural în rândul Romilor" carried out by the CCCDC in 2010

5 Available at: <http://www.uis.unesco.org/template/pdf/cscsl/Cultdiv/Broek.pdf>

Taking into account that Roma women are the intersection of various dimensions of identity (a fact which determines their cultural consumption patterns), in our argument we will make use of both the gender and the ethnic component.

Cultural infrastructure and the frequency of its use

What we will see is that cultural consumption patterns of the Roma women from the survey sample pertain to the domestic sphere, more precisely to the cultural infrastructure of the the private sphere. For e.g., more than 77% of the interviewed women watch television for more than an hour per day (from these women more than half watch it more than three hours), while only 20% of the respondents claim to listen to radio more than an hour per day.

In terms of frequency of computer-using approximately 82% of the women reported never having used it or using it once a year, while only 6.3% of them have been using it at least one hour per day, as compared to 14% of the male respondents. The gender difference in this regard may be due to the restriction of Roma women's access to the domestic cultural infrastructure (where it exists). Of course, it is possible that rather the lack of computers in homes constitutes the reason for the low percentage of computer use among the Roma.

Cultural content

Watching films is a frequently practiced cultural activity by the Roma women participating in the study, as 51 percent of them reported to watch films at least one hour per day. According to the genre of the films watched, the female respondents watch romantic films (17.4%), comedies (13.6%), adventure/action films (13%), Bollywood Indian films (9.5%), and telenovelas (3.4%). Beyond the options and preferences of the respondents, the list on the genre and the percentage of films illustrates in fact the types of cultural resources available for Roma women and the array of programs offered by television channels, which limits both their experiences and their exposure to a greater diversity of cultural products.

In terms of music consumption nearly 64% of the interviewed Roma women reported listening to music for at least one hour per day, as compared to 70% of the Roma male respondents. The musical genres preferred by the Roma women are the following: „manele” (62%), popular/folk music (13%), and traditional gypsy music (almost 10%). With regard to the high percentage of manele listeners it is worth to mention the position of the researcher Carmen Artenie who was interested in the degree to which ethnic identification was expressed in cultural consumption behaviors of the ethnic groups from Netherlands; her argument was based on the theory of social identity according to which, apart from self-identification, the belonging to a certain group means also adopting certain behavioral patterns, norms and attitudes associated with that particular social group (2010, 5)⁶.

6 Available at: <http://www.acei2010.com/upload/acei/artenief.pdf>

What is important to note is that by being directed toward the domestic sphere, Roma women play an important role in domestic cultural consumption and in the leisure activities of the family members (2010, 195). In this perspective it is important to study the cultural participation of the minorities precisely because the consumption types enable the reproduction of the social groups (Katy-Gero/Yaish in Artenie, 2010, 3). This means that the above figures illustrate not only the state of things, but they can also predict the options and alternatives available for the next generation.

Activities in public space

The cultural consumption in the private sphere provides indirect information about the domestic infrastructure of Roma families. In what follows we will present data on cultural consumption and leisure activities practiced outside the domestic sphere. Beyond the gender comparison we will detail also the event types available (which constitute the cultural options for the Roma).

Taking into account the characteristics of the proportion between the Roma women and men, the level of participation in certain activities may be explained in the way in which masculine authority, the family and the community defines and understands it. Accordingly, the options available to the Roma women for practicing cultural activities depend on the mother/wife/woman ideal of the community. The already mentioned article on cultural consumption and the variables influencing it (especially gender and social status) argues that gender differences in cultural consumption are due to expectations set by the society/community. As a consequence, women are predisposed to find alternatives for their leisure time activities mainly within the household (Katz-Gerro&Sullivan, 2010, 196).

In order to exemplify, we mention here the differences with regard to participation in certain leisure time activities: while 47% of the female respondents go to church a few times per month, only 8.2% reported going to club/discotheque with the same frequency. The data show that Roma women go to church more often than Roma men, while other leisure time activities are available rather for men⁷. This may be explained by the fact that going to church is associated with such values like piety, good conduct, or obedience, which don't endanger the woman's prestige, and implicitly, that of her husband.

7 It is important to consider that practicing these activities may be influenced by other latent variables as well, like for e.g. age or residence area.

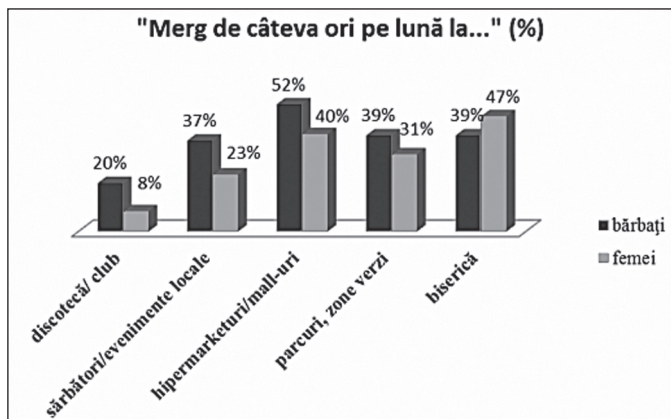


Diagram based on the study *Participation and cultural consumption among the Roma / Participare și Consum Cultural în rândul Rromilor*, Center for Research and Consultancy in Culture (CCCCDC), 2010.

„I usually go a few times per month to...” (%) to club/discotheque, festivals/ local events, hypermarket/ shopping malls, parks, green areas, church

Similarly to previous data, male persons have greater access than women to information (to books, newspapers/magazines or internet browsing).

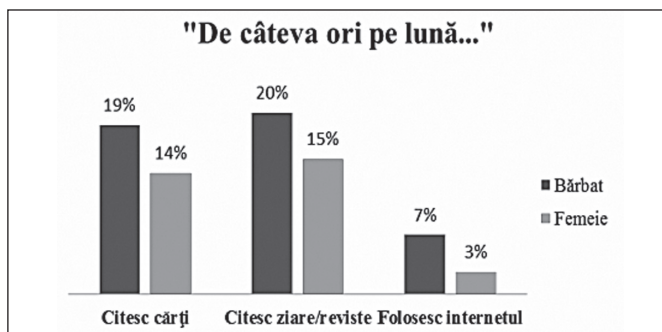


Diagram based on the study *Participation and cultural consumption among the Roma / Participare și Consum Cultural în rândul Rromilor*, Center for Research and Consultancy in Culture (CCCCDC), 2010

According to the diagram below, Roma men and women reported approximately the same percentage of participation in activities outside the domestic sphere, at events organized by members of the Roma communities: Wedding or baptism; Festival organized by the mayor's office; Fair; Festival organized by an association/a political party; Open-air music concert; Music-concert in a hall.

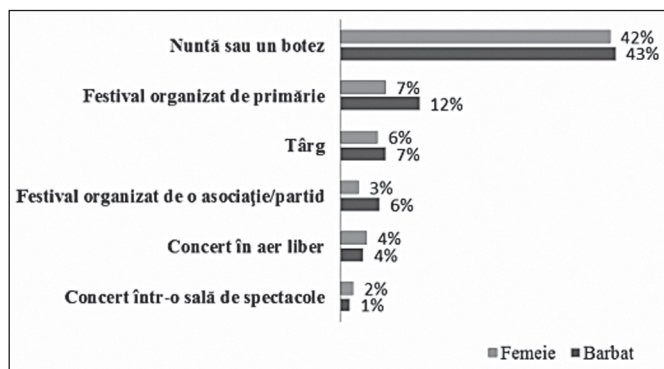


Diagram based on the study *Participation and cultural consumption among the Roma / Participare și Consum Cultural în rândul Rromilor*, Center for Research and Consultancy in Culture (CCCCDC), 2010

The similarity suggests that participation in such activities or at such events is determined by not only gender, but also by other factors, which will be presented in what follows.

Considering that cultural activities and events are rarely organized in rural areas or in the urban peripheries, the **lack of access to these events** may constitute the first important factor. This fact indicates that initiatives or policies taken in this regard would eliminate the lack which relates to both the precariousness of the cultural infrastructure (to organize such events) and to the absence of such initiatives at the level of the communities residing in rural areas or in urban peripheries.

A second factor which might explain the lack of participation at cultural events might be caused by the **lack of identification with such activities** (although the answers refer to events targeting the Roma). The already mentioned idea according to which ethnic identification is expressed through cultural consumption (Artenie, 2010, 3) may be translated by the fact that individuals participate at cultural events which reflect their specific values and practices. Hence the majority of the women (42%) reported either a wedding or a baptism as the most recent event at which they participated; this suggests that the frequency of cultural activities is depending on the degree to which the individuals identify themselves with events that have both social and symbolic meanings for the whole community.

One last factor which we consider being relevant for the non-participation of the Roma is the **lack of previous experiences** or the weaker exposure of the Roma to cultural events. We need to add that, according to the Cultural Consumption Barometer from 2008 by the Centre for Research and Consultancy in Culture⁸ the need for cultural goods (and implicitly perceiving the necessity for these) is influenced by „previous exposure” to such products and activities (i.e. “learning through using”).

Discrimination through restriction of access to culture

All the information and figures presented above serve to outline a few benchmarks for introducing the notion of discrimination. Being used in opposition to unidimensional discrimination, the term „multiple discrimination” has been defined in a 2009 study realized by the Împreună Agency for Community Development (Agenția de Dezvoltare Comunitară „Împreună”)⁹ as being a combination of direct and indirect forms of discrimination that is specific for a group of people within the population which combines several features/identities and is subject to discrimination due to this combination/overlapping” (23).

Multiple discrimination is generated at the intersection of several identity features so that Roma women fall into a high-risk category in terms of discrimination in most social spheres (20) precisely because they are positioned at the intersection between ethnicity and gender. One might say that this way two sources of discrimination are made visible: the gender discrimination is present especially within the Roma community, while the ethnic discrimination originates from the outside, it comes the majority population. However, according to one of the research reports written on the basis of sociological surveys carried out within the project entitled *„Equality through difference: Roma women’s access on labor market”*, 16.2% of Roma women feel discriminated against because of their ethnic belonging, while only 4.8% considered being discriminated against because of their gender¹⁰ (52).

Thus, with regard to cultural consumption we might say that the restriction of access to culture, literacy, to the world outside the household is a form of discrimination descending from the multiple discrimination to which Roma women are subjected to. But do the Roma women think the same? Can we state that Roma women feel discriminated by their husbands because these neither give support for them to develop their careers nor do they facilitate access to various cultural events? In order to provide a few possible answers we need to look closely at the role assumed by Roma women and not to hurry to categorize Roma women as „victims of discrimination” by taking these roles as completely assumed and being in accordance with the meanings assigned to them in the family and in the community.

8 Available at <http://culturadata.ro/PDF-uri/8.%20Barometru%202008.pdf>

9 Available at http://www.agentiainpreuna.ro/files/publicatii/10-RAPORT_tipar-p-ro.pdf

10 Available at <http://www.femrom.ro/infopub/2010/2.1.19.%20raport%20despre%20ancheta%20sociologica.pdf>

A few conclusions

Roma women's access to labor market is depending on a series of aspects and factors; for e.g. the enduring patriarchal concepts within the Roma communities control the access to education and determine the role of Roma women in the private (domestic) sphere. The same masculine domination in decision making and in controlling the participation of Roma women in the public space exerts influence on the women's cultural consumption practices as well. The fact that Roma women spend most of their time in the domestic space gives them access to cultural content mainly through television channels (to films and television programs) and much less to cultural events organized in public spaces. This restriction contributes to perpetuating a cultural model according to which Roma women's competencies are defined by their role within the family.

Other aspects of Roma women's marginalization regarding labor market access are related to current economic tendencies which diminish access to work and reduce jobs that require the skills and qualifications of certain social categories.

Therefore, Roma women are caught in their role performed in the household and within the Roma family; they need to respect the patriarchal practices within the Roma community and participate in producing economic value by performing either activities which are auxiliary to traditional Roma occupations or by occupying such jobs and professions outside the Roma communities that are more or less suitable with their skills.

In many situations, the difficulty for the Roma women to handle and perform these roles is due to, on the one hand, to the gender discrimination, while on the other hand to the perception of the majority population concerning the belonging to Roma ethnicity. At the same time, and perhaps to the same extent, there have been cases when Roma women have shown the will and the skills not only to pursue higher education but also to obtain jobs that have a high professional status.

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NOÉMI MAGYARI

■ GENDER ORDER AND WORK WITHIN A ROMA COMMUNITY FROM THE CITY OF CLUJ

The aim of this study is to describe the similarities and differences between the concepts and practices regarding the works of women and men in a marginal Roma community in the city of Cluj, a community characterized by precarious living conditions. Assuming an intersectional approach,¹ the gender perspective used in my analysis identifies the interference of a number of factors that influence access to employment or division of labor in the domestic sphere, such as gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status, characteristics that are assigned to them in social relationships. The paper aims at demonstrating that experiences and trajectories of working people are structured by the multitude of their prescribed social positions as Roma women and men living in poverty

Following Connell's analysis, I define gender order, or *gender regime*, as a „state of facts regarding the gender relations in a certain institution”, in the family, at school or at the workplace. The analysis of the state of gender must pay attention to the division of labor, the power structure and the mental structures of these institutions, as well as to the relations between the gender orders of different institutions. Connell (1994), for example, illustrates the way the domestic gender order – that assigns childcare and household tasks to the wife-mother – and the gender order of labor market – that allocates married women in poorly paid part time jobs with low social prestige – mutually support each other.

In the Introduction of the study I will present the findings of several researches carried out in Romania related to the multiple vulnerabilities of Roma women in the domain of labor field. The importance and novelty of my analysis are constituted by the use of the gender perspective and intersectionality in the analysis of labor among Roma. Regarding methodology, the present study is a secondary analysis of the empirical material collected through a qualitative research about “experiences of work”.² Thus, Chapters

1 Following Leslie Mc Call's typology (2005), my perspective falls within the intra-categorical methodology of intersectional analysis. It focuses on internal diversity of social categories or ethno-cultural groups (such as the Roma), on the processes through which, within them, the differences between various sub-categories (such as women and men) are constituted, but also on the particularities of these sub-categories produced at the intersection of ethnicity, gender, social status, etc.

2 Research conducted within the project “*Equality through Difference. Roma Women's Access on the Labor Market*” (www.femrom.ro). Field operators who have recorded the interviews were Cristina Stoianov and Mircea Zidărescu, they were members of the research team led by Desire Foundation, partner in the project “Invest in people!” supported by the European Social Fund Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007 - 2013.

2, 3 and 4 of the study describe the following aspects of the topic discussed in the context of the Roma community in urban areas: family situation and domestic labor, school education and work with children's education, employment status and paid work. The characteristics of gender order in the domain of labor are identified here in the context of individual destinies,³ on the base of which, in the Conclusions chapter, I will present a summary of these characteristics, interpreting them at the intersection between family situation, educational and occupational status of interviewees, which reveals certain dominant patterns of practices and ideas about work in this community.

The site where the qualitative research (semi-structured interviews and participant observations) was carried out is located on Tram street,⁴ at about three kilometers from the city train station in one of the suburbs that was dominated by factories of the socialist industry (now largely ruined). Roma families live in three houses with yard, placed back to back. Each of these houses has a total of five to six rooms with direct entrance from outside. Roma in the community are relatives, being actually an extended family also linked by the fact that they are Pentecostal. Older people also try to provide an income for the extended family. Each child, grandchild, or great grandchild has his/her own family so that this community is organized into small families, components of the extended family. Around the houses there are a few blocks of flats, a park and a petrol station, the site has access to public transport, the tram station being right nearby.

1. Introduction: Multiple Vulnerabilities of Roma Women

Scientific analyses define the Roma population as a population at high risk of poverty and social exclusion.⁵ Participants in the group interviews about the experiences of labor and discrimination against Roma⁶ consider that there is an inter-conditioning chain between poverty – lack of education – poverty, which perpetuates the marginalization, isolation and lack of perspective in Roma communities. Lack of family financial resources prevents children from finishing their studies; without education they cannot get hired in well-paid positions and often fail to obtain safe jobs. Roma access to decent work is on the one hand influenced by other factors in their lives, on the other hand it affects the latter, which shows that public policy in the field cannot have lasting effects unless they are developed and implemented through integrated interventions.

3 14 semi-structured interviews were processed, of which 10 women and 4 men of Roma ethnicity.

4 The names given to the street and the people are fictitious names, thus ensuring confidentiality of our subjects.

5 *Access of Roma on the labour market*. Publication funded by the European Union through the PHARE RO Programme, project "Facilitating access of Roma to the labor market", Bucharest, Editura Cărții de Agribusiness, 2003, p. 6.

6 *Work experience and discrimination against Roma. Report on focus group research conducted within the project "Equality through Difference. Roma Women's Access on the Labor Market"*, August 2009, p. 17. http://www.femrom.ro/infopub/raport%20de%20cercetare%20focus%20grup_final.pdf

In the paper “Access of Roma on the labor market” (2003), after a thorough analysis of the factors influencing the characteristics of the situation of Roma on the labor market, the authors consider that the modern professions of the Roma have been acquired through formal education and training at the workplace. The fact that modern occupations (bricklayer, painter, blacksmith-fixers, mechanic, welder, driver, tailor, etc.) are more common in urban than in rural areas is explained by the adaptation of the Roma population to the economic specifics of urban areas. According to the Research Institute for Quality of Life, 34% of Roma have no qualifications, 14% are farmers and 5% are laborers. Modern qualifications are only to be met in 37% of the cases, and the traditional ones in only 10% of the cases. Although there are no major differences in the level of qualifications of the Roma from different residential environments, the situation differs significantly depending on gender: Roma men are educated in a higher proportion than women, the share of women without job (37%) is significantly higher than that of men (15%). In 1992, 23.4% of economically active Roma persons were employed. In 1998, the percentage dropped to 12.9%. The number of employers also dropped from 0.8% in 1992 to 0.5% in 1998. The only increasing variable is that of self-employed (laborers) from 22.1% in 1992 to 33.6% in 1998 (Duminică, Preda, 2003, p. 27). The analysis of the Research Institute for Quality of Life shows that the rate of employment of Roma population in Romania is much lower than that of the population on national level (47% versus 61.7%). Of the total working population, approximately 27.5% are employees, 65% of them are men. The share of housewives is over four times higher among Roma than in the total population and it shows the poor participation of women in the labor market. Approximately 80% of unskilled workers have completed a maximum of 8 years of education. The majority of skilled workers (57%) have completed at least a vocational school and the other 43% have an education level between 4 and 8 classes. Most of the Roma in Romania (71.7%) are self-employed (laborers). The high proportion of day laborers in the total population indicates that Roma are in a difficult situation regarding employment in stable jobs and thus incomes necessary to ensure daily living.

The volume entitled “Come Closer” shows that attitudes towards work differ from one Roma community to another and even within the same community, depending on local employment opportunities and income.⁷ The stereotype of “lazy Gypsy” is contradicted by the fact that many Roma are employed as day laborers without contracts, most often doing unskilled labor, requiring physical effort, which are stigmatized as being inferior occupations.

Negative prejudices against Roma on their willingness to work are dismantled by other research as well,⁸ showing that their motivation to work is high. In this respect, it is sufficient to refer to the fact that about 44 percent of respondents agreed totally or partially with the statement that they would like to work

⁷ *Come closer. Inclusion and exclusion of Roma in today's Romanian society*, 2008, Bucharest, p. 39.

⁸ *Report on the research in the first year of the project, with recommendations concerning the inclusion activities of the project as well as for the public policies for Roma*, 2009, p. 20. http://www.femrom.ro/infopubl/2010/5.5.35.%20raport_cercetare%20cu%20recomandari%20pt%20includ%20si%20politici_desire.pdf

even if they would not need the money (22 percent of them did not answer this question, and 20 percent said they cannot appreciate it – attitudes that are understandable in the case of some people who have very low incomes and hardly ensure their living from one day to another). Regarding the opinion of interviewees about the importance of a stable job, 88 percent of them (94 percent of the active and 83 percent of the non-active) said that for them it was very important or important to have such a job. The importance of a stable job was also stressed by participants in group interviews conducted within the above mentioned research. Most of them said that an ideal society would be one in which work is guaranteed in order to have material safety that would enable them to live a decent life. Without job, Roma families often find seasonal work, not always in their place of origin, a situation that often leads to absenteeism and seasonal migration of Roma children of school age. Furthermore, many of them feel the need for community support for children to attend school even without the support of their parents.

The report *“Attitudes towards work in Romania”* (2008), describing the results of a survey initiated by Soros Foundation Romania shows that in the case of Roma, the categories with high school education are more common among men than women, while in the case of the non-Roma population it shows an oscillating pattern. Within the Roma population, women more often have incomplete education (incomplete primary, incomplete secondary school) while men have more often complete education (complete primary, complete secondary). For both categories of populations the biggest difference is in the case of vocational schools graduated more frequently by men. We can see that, as for the Roma, 8% have less education than their mothers do, 21% have an education equal to and 71% have higher education than the mother. In the case of non-Roma, the proportions indicate a more widespread educational progress: 7% have a lower education, 14% an education equal to and 79% a higher education than their mothers do. Regarding to labor market participation depending on gender and ethnicity, the study shows that the total percentage of Roma women who do not perform paid work is 77% of the total population and this percentage is lower among non-Roma, 61% (while the percentage of men who have income from work is very close for Roma and non-Roma, even higher among Roma). It should be mentioned here that the <paid work> category includes all categories of work, including those rendered in the informal economy. The data show that – even if Roma access to legal labor market is low – stereotypes about Roma who do not like to work are not true.

Statistical data from the sociological survey *“Works of the Roma”* conducted in 2009⁹ under the project *“Equality through Difference. Roma Women’s Access on the Labor Market”* shows that among the 435 active people (working somewhere for income, regardless of the form of their employment / activity), only 388 said they have a profession. The difference between the two figures is even greater than 47, if we consider that, of those 388 people, 48 say that they are unskilled workers. These data reveal one of the major problems they face: even if they work for income, many of them (95 people, about 22%) are not skilled

9 *Labours of the Roma. Report on the sociological survey.* August 2009, p.7-8. <http://www.femrom.ro/infopub/2010/2.1.19.%20raport%20despre%20ancheta%20sociologica.pdf>

workers, so they can only perform low-paid work, or perform work that can terminate any time. On the other hand, we can see that among those 388 people who say they have a profession, 112 (32%) are inactive, which means that about 276 people (68%) cannot engage in jobs or do not have the possibility to work for income. Of the 388 people who responded positively to the question whether they had a profession 52.1% are men 47.9% are women.¹⁰ Of all women having a profession 39.2% have jobs in service, 22% in industry as skilled workers, and 15.6% as unskilled workers. Among men who reported having a profession 63.9% work in industry as skilled workers, 15.8% work in services and trade, and 9.4% work as unskilled workers. Among those who said they work as unskilled workers, women make up a percentage of 60.4%. But they are found in a greater proportion as men among specialists / intellectuals (81.8%), among technicians (73.9%), and among officers (70%). Also, they work in a much larger proportion in commerce and services than men (69.5%) do. In contrast, men prevail among skilled industrial workers at a rate of 75.9%.

Comparing the situation of women and men in terms of the relationship between school education and employment status, the report "*Labors of the Roma*" notes the following: even if women have the same level of schooling as men, they become inactive more often than men (they are at risk to get in the situation of being unable to work for income). For example, of the women with secondary education, only about 40% work, while among men with the same educational level the percentage of the active is 50%. This difference is even more pronounced for those with elementary school or no school, but also those with secondary education: only 33% of women, while 54% of men, respectively only 37% of women, while 54% of men with these educational attainment work for income. For the few college graduates the situation is reversed: almost 60% of women with this educational level active, while in the case of men only half of them end up working for income.

Regarding the division of labor in the family, in the questionnaire applied in the sociological survey we introduced questions about who does what in the household, and how much time they spend on various activities. The results reflect gender differences in terms of performing paid work income (about 6 hours for men and almost 4 hours for women), and domestic work (cooking and cleaning about one hour for men and almost 4 hours for women, caring for dependent family members about 2 hours for men and 5 hours for women).

Talking about the reproduction of gender differences and inequalities in terms of the works done, participants in the focus groups research in the frame of the project "*Equality through Difference. Roma Women's Access on the Labor Market*" have emphasized the following factors: the impact of family and school education on gender roles; the persistence of patriarchal thinking and practices that support the distinction between private (the field of women) and public (man domain); consequently, even if women perform paid work, they continue to play a predominant role in child rearing and household chores; the

¹⁰ Report on the research in the first year of the project, with recommendations concerning the inclusion activities of the project as well as for the public policies for Roma, 2009, p. 10. http://www.femrom.ro/infopub/2010/5.5.35.%20raport_cercetare%20cu%20recomandari%20pt%20includ%20si%20politici_desire.pdf

feminization of certain economic areas, but, depending on specific cases, the decision of women have to jobs considered to be masculine; women need to work twice as men and to insist if they want to be recognized in an industry; power relations that subordinate women in decision making in the family and at work; assimilating masculinity with authority and superiority; disadvantaging women in certain economic areas; assimilating femininity with motherhood, sensitivity, fragility that would determine them to perform less at work than men.

2. Family situation, housing conditions and domestic work

In this chapter, based on the analysis of semi-structured interviews and participant observations made in the researched Roma community, I will describe the views of the people on domestic work and gender relations within the family in the context of their family situation and housing conditions. During the interviews there were discussions about the history and the present of the family living in the same household with the respondent. The interviews sought to obtain detailed information and explanations, opinions and expectations regarding their life.

Person 01 is a 25 years woman; her family has five members (parents of the interviewee, her husband and their daughter). They live in a room of 4.50 / 4.50 - it is equipped with two beds, a stove, a room table, a closet, a television set. Last year they built an annex to serve as a galley, being furnished with kitchen furniture, and a stove. The house is plugged to gas, but gas has been cut off because of overdue payments, so they, like other families from this address, use the wood stove and sometimes the cylinder-stove. Their power supply was cut off as well, for the same the reason of unpaid bills, so they use candles and go to bed quite early. If until now television was a form of entertainment in the evening, now it became a piece of furniture. In this family the interviewee's husband and mother are employed, the father is sick. They all cook together, decisions are always discussed with elders in the house, and usually they have the last word. In connection with the division of labor in house the interviewed said: *"Mom and Dad cooks, and I cook for our family"; " we do not wash every day, but, well, it takes two hours to clean the house, and the cooking to about two hours. But we manage to do them all. The cook every day, because they need it."* Regarding decision-making, the opinion of the elders of the family seems to be central: *"The parents, mom and dad decided when we bought the furniture... Well, they asked, they asked that how and which.... but the decision was theirs, but what they like, we like it as well.... I liked the decision they took."* The interviewee's concept of ideal woman and man is based on the idea of the family as an important value in their lives: *"Well, she should be diligent, be clean, do all the chores at home, take care of the family, to get along well with the family, not to do, I don't know, other things that she shouldn't, and be at home."* *"He should be hardworking, be diligent, care about the family so that it is a happy family, to obey one another, to do everything to be all right and to do their job, as a married man, with family."*

Person 02 is a 36 years man, he lives here with his wife and two children aged 11 and 4. Their eldest daughter married last year and moved out. Their room is 3 / 5 m, is equipped with two beds, a wood stove, two closets, one for clothes closet and one for dishes, a TV set. Gas and electricity services are suspended because of unpaid bills. Not having a bathroom generates many misunderstanding and family discussions. The members, faced with so many failures are resigned: they have a lower educational level and their chances of obtaining a better paying job are minimal. The interviewee works at a construction company, but currently is at home, because this is not the period of work in this area. He is dissatisfied with daily living, but accepts that he probably will live his life in these conditions, because he quit school early and worked as a child to help his family. He is pleased with his family, and tries to give the children the minimum necessary. Although his wife is very determined to work, he does not agree with it, explaining that someone has to take care of the children and keep the house. The interviewee expresses views that are part of a traditional, patriarchal view of gender roles in family. This is expressed both in his conception of the division of household activities (*"The wife is involved with the preparation of the day, she is responsible for cooking, cleaning up"*), *"What the wife does at home can never be considered payable, as she makes it from the soul"*) as well as in connection with the way their decisions are made in their family (*"I take decisions in the family (the man), I am the boss"*), *"If the wife is right I understand her too, but she must come to me first and ask what to do, how it is?"*), but also in what he thinks about the ideal woman (*"My wife is an ideal woman. If I say I want cakes, she makes cakes for me"*).

Person 03 is a woman aged 62, she has five children, four of them live together now, have two rooms, which they bought after 1990, one of the rooms was their bathroom before, but they transformed it in order to have more space. She has three classes. She worked 25 years on a building site, it was hard work for a woman, she was digging, hauling concrete. Now she is retired. None of the children goes to school, the family often moved from one town to another, the children stayed home, took care of each other. She declares herself Hungarian Roma, at home they speak Romany and Hungarian, she says she does not speak Romanian so well. For ten years she has converted from the Reformed religion to Jehovah's Witnesses, she often goes to the assembly. She is the grandmother and great-grandmother of the children living in the yard No. 2, very often she cooks for all the families in this yard, she offers a daily meal for everyone when she can, knowing how painful hunger is, which is her lesson for life. She liesv together with her retired husband in a room of 5 / 6, equipped with two beds, a wood stove, a closet for clothes, and one for dishes, a television set, a refrigerator. Household electric appliances cannot be used now, because the connection to the electricity grid is cut. This room is also connected to gas supply, but due to their arrears gas is cut now. The two elders have bought the whole house in the past, so not only the room they live in but the other rooms occupied by their children and grandchildren as well. They also have a house in another town, but nobody lives there. The elders intend to return there, leaving the room they are living in now to their grandchildren. The interviewee is unhappy with her financial situation. Her worries are even greater because of his 40 years old son, who suffers from throat cancer and she cannot help him to have

the surgical intervention he needs. Her husband is also suffering from varicose ulcers, but he still tries to bring an income to the house, working on a daily basis where needed. Although he is old, he has worked in constructions for many years; many people know him and often call him, because he does quality work. He has lot of humor trying to make fun of poverty and the diseases, which grind them all, making fun of trouble, of the fact that they sleep in rooms without heat or postpone several meals because they do not have what to eat. Humor in their case is a tool by which they try to handle problems that they cannot deal with.

Person 04 is a woman, she is 20, she shares a house with a single room and an annex used as a kitchen with her parents, her daughter and son, with her younger brother, her elder brother and his family, and her sister. Their room is of 4 / 4, it is furnished with four beds, a wardrobe and a kitchen closet, a stove, a television. The house is well cared for, all things are put in their place, but the walls of the house have accumulated humidity because tiles cracked and fall off the roof, and people have no money for repairs and isolation. Nine persons live in this house on a regular basis (the interviewed, her parents and her two children, her brother with his wife and their child, and another brother), but from time to time a nephew of hers moves in as well. People in this family sleep in four beds, her husband left her for another woman, her marriage was full of suffering. She is half Roma, half Hungarian, the Gabor call them romungro, which is an offensive term for them. She has four classes, and she is a housekeeper. Her family attends the church of Jehovah's Witnesses, but she does not really practice religion, she does not go to meetings. She married at 14 years, she has a daughter, had a surgical intervention, has no family doctor, her grandfather's doctor writes a prescription for her daughter from time to time. She considers that first of all a girl must learn to take care of the house, the children, to cook, while a boy should go to school and learn a craft. She does not want to get married again, but to work somewhere and take care of her children. She end up being satisfied with no more than some bread on the table, even if when younger she dreamed of clothes, she wished to go for a walk or to the disco. If she were to be 14 years old again, she would not get married, nor have children, she would just like to work and care about her life. But she still believes that living well means to have a good family life, where there is understanding and where both spouses work. The interviewee lived in consensual union with the children's father for a long time, but he often neglected his family, leaving home, leaving them without money for food and talking nasty to his wife and children. The concubine who often returned home was well received, but these departures and returns have generated a keen sense of frustration for the interviewee because she still loved him, but she was also dissatisfied with him at the same time. The man was working by the day only when he wanted, often leaving the children hungry, throwing reproaches to everyone, or leaving home again. Based on these experiences, the interviewee has formed a generally poor opinion of men, due to which she does not wish to engage in new relationships, as she fears to repeat the painful experience. Nobody from this family has a stable job, her elders and brothers are still looking to work by the day, but in this period this has become increasingly difficult. However, the children go to school.

Person 05 is a woman, 28 years, married at age 17, when she left school after the first year at a vocational school. She has no children for health reasons, but would like to have. She is a commercial worker; she departs from home at five in the morning to get to the workplace, which is very far. The room the interviewee lives in has a size of 5 / 5, it is furnished with four beds, two wardrobes, a table, and she has a TV set and a computer. In this yard there is no toilet, so people do their needs at the toilet in another yard. Nine people live here, she with her husband, the two in-laws, her sister in law, her brother in law with his wife and two children, and the youngest child of the in-laws. Before she got married she lived with her parents in a rented apartment downtown, so she did not have anything to inherit after the death of the parents. Her husband is currently not working, has only four classes, was hired before in constructions. Her opinion is that a good husband is one who respects and loves his wife. All the men of the house work as day laborers; she is the only person with a steady income, which is very low. She talks about the inconveniences of many people living in one room, where she, as a woman who has been ill, has problems when she has to wash. She misses her parents who have died, and her brothers, whom she has not seen for many years, she feels alone here in the family of the in-laws, although many people stay together. In order to have some place she bought a bed with closet, a place to put her head down and to put her clothes. She often gets annoyed by the fact that she puts in so much money, and everyone eats at her expense, this state of facts does not seem fair to her, but she does not have a choice, she accepts these things, and remains silent not to provoke a scandal, she is trying not to take it too seriously, to remain indifferent, not to see, not to hear, not to make remarks because she knows that she cannot afford to move separately into a rented apartment. From time to time they have problems with those from the block, because they hang their clothes to dry in the yard, for this reason the neighbors called the police and the city hall, but they said they could not do anything, they need to wash the clothes, if they do not wash, they are called gypsies and dirty. Most of all she would like to have her own house to stay separately from the in-laws and the rest of the family. When she was young she dreamed of going to the sea or the mountains like her classmates at school, but it has not been fulfilled, and now she better does not dream, things just keep getting worse, she gives up hope, she does not dream about anything. Although she has a job (she works as a packer and cargo handler in a shop in the city), the interviewee fails to leave the community and move to a place to live alone with her husband, because he does not have a stable job. Neither do the rest of the household members. She is very unhappy with her hard life, the more so because she is ill (has cervical cancer) and she would need permanent hygiene, which is impossible in their living conditions. Moreover, the treatments required for her disease are very expensive, thus her life is now worse than usually. Her husband is unhappy with the life he lives, he feels responsible to provide for the family, but he has no job, and all the burden falls on the shoulders of his wife, which disturbs and hurts him. The couple wishes to have children, but the interviewee's health does not allow a pregnancy. At the workplace the interviewee is trusted and appreciated by her superiors. She is very careful at work, provides indications and informational support to colleagues, and probably for this reason she is looked upon with respect by her colleagues, somehow dominating the work area. She is joking, trying to relax the atmosphere, but without diverting attention from work. She has a small group

of friends, whom has a closer relationship with, chatting with them mostly during breaks, discussing about personal issues in their free time.

Person 06 is a woman of 30 years. She is a housewife and takes care of the household and primarily of the child who has mental problems. Her husband works for a constructions firm from morning until evening around 6-7. They have two children, one of them attends school; the younger one stays at home because of his handicap. Their room is very small for 4 people, an area of 3 / 5 where, besides the stove and a large closet they have a bed where they all sleep together, something that causes daily suffering in addition to the other shortcomings they face. This family is also related with the rest of the Roma community from this address, they help each other with food when the family exhausts all its resources. They do not have any contacts with the rest of the families from the surroundings. They do not have electricity and gas either. They cook on the wood stove, with wood gathered from the forests or from destroyed houses. The rules of sharing domestic work in this house reflect the traditional division of labor: *"I wash, do the dishes, clean. The husband does not really help; he works. So he leaves in the morning... He chops wood, brings water sometimes. So he helps me sometimes. I also have the elder boy who helps me, the 14 years old one. When I need water or wood."* The interviewee is satisfied with him, this is how she imagines the ideal man: *"I like him as he is. He is a very good husband."* The secret of getting along well is communication: *"We talk, to make things better, to get everything well. So we communicate."*

Person 07 is a woman of 29 years, attended eight classes in another city. The room where her family composed of six persons (husband and four children) lives is constructed out of wood and other materials with what they managed to improvise a so-called house into which the cold and the water penetrate. The windows and the door were made by them, they are not of a very good quality and fail to close, so the cold penetrates the house, people are forced to keep the fire aflame all day, which also means a permanent consumption of timber they procure randomly, having no money to buy them. The room has the size of 5 / 4 being equipped with a TV, a stove, a closet, two beds. The interviewee was employed at Auchen store in Iulius Mall as a salesperson at the fishery rayon, but now she is on maternity leave. Now she deals with the household chores, taking care of the four children, cooking and washing clothes. Her husband does not have a steady job he tries to find work by the day. One of the children is a pupil, while the others require constant attention of the mother, being young. She declares herself Romanian, is married to a Roma man, besides Romanian she also speaks Romani and Hungarian. Of Orthodox religion, she had the two children baptized Catholic after her husband's religion. With two small children, one of them two years old, she is mostly at home, takes care of them and of the household chores. They live with the in-laws; the house is theirs. The gas and electricity have been cut because they did not pay their debts. They have water from the tap in the yard like everyone else. She would like a house anywhere, even in the woods, to have a place to keep a few animals and a small garden. They get along well with relatives, they borrow, eat at one another if they have problems. She likes to be a housewife, considers doing housework to be

hers duty, and the man's to have a job. They take decisions together, there is no one boss in the house. She is satisfied with her husband for he is hardworking, understanding and does not drink. She has been cohabiting with him since she was 22 years. The interviewee is disappointed by their standards of living, but she adapted to the conditions out of necessity accepting with resignation the situation they live in. She believes that only school education could have offered her at least the chance of better living, but admits that she did not like school, dropping education when young. She is even more distressed as the health of one child was affected and needed several medical treatments to stabilize, something that has made their lives even more difficult. Her husband says he is trying to offer his family a better life, but having no job and having incomes only from occasional jobs, better life remains a desire constantly postponed. They often run out of money, and are forced to appeal to the help of the elderly. They both say that decisions in the family are taken together, reaching agreement through cooperation, listening, empathy and respect. They have good relationships with the rest of their community, but do not discuss at all with those from the surroundings. They are not satisfied with the life they live, and encourage their children to go to school to build a future more beautiful than theirs, possibly to leave the community, to have a house and a job that would allow them other living standards. In terms of sharing household chores, the interviewee considers that *"this work should be divided among everyone in the house,"* the goal being to *"be all right, to make it better."* Even if it is based on the principle of mutual help (*"he helps me and I also help him, of course"*), the ideal division of labor fits in a traditional gender order in her case as well (*"I do the cleaning up and the cooking and the husband goes to work"*), as does her vision about of the ideal man and the ideal woman: *"To be clean, to care for the children. That's it";* as for him *"to be hardworking, understanding, not to be a drunkard and that's all. Mine is not."* However she considers reciprocity to be important in decision-making: *"Both of us is boss"; "Whatever it is, we decide it together."* She considers, and proudly affirms that her power consists of being able to do everything in the household: *"Generally I like to do everything alone, for I am more critical. And the husband, he should bring water, chop woods, a man's work. To do some next to our door because we do not have yard, cleaning under the windows and ... eventually beat a carpet, but otherwise I do everything alone."*

Person 08 is a 29 years old woman aged 29, is Romanian, but affiliates to Roma. She lives here with her husband of Roma ethnicity and has a 12 year old girl. Their room has a size of 4 / 3, its amenities are a bed, a cupboard, a stove for cooking and heating, a table, a TV and a refrigerator, which does not work because in this community there is no electricity due to unpaid bills. The room is seated and clean. The windows and the door were made by them, they are not of a very good quality and do not close, so cold penetrates the house, people are forced to keep the fire all day, which means a permanent consumption of timber which they procure randomly, not having money to buy them. The interviewee works at a shoe company, at the sewing department. Her husband is currently unemployed, recently lost his job, and he is working as a day laborer. They are dissatisfied with the life they lead, and encourage their child to go to school to build a future more beautiful than theirs, possibly to leave the community to have a house and a

job that would allow her another standard of living. The interviewee considers herself a strong woman who brings income to the house but at the same time she likes to do everything at home: *"Generally I like to do everything myself, because I have got a demanding nature. And the husband, to bring water, to chop wood, a man's work. To do some next to our door because we do not have yard, cleaning under the windows and... eventually beat a carpet, but otherwise I do everything alone."* Probably because of this, she takes the final decisions in family: *"I always like to consult my husband, but generally he accepts my decisions and eventually I am the boss rather than my husband."* Her practice of dedicating entirely to family manifests itself in what she thinks about the ideal woman, who must make sacrifices: *"I believe that the greatest sacrifice is to care for children, to care for her husband."*

Person 09 is a 30 years old man, the above woman's husband. He lives in a room of 3.50 / 3 together with his wife and his daughter of 12 years. Even the minimum necessary facilities make this room be very agglomerated. It has two beds, a table, a desk and an armchair. One of the beds has a piece of furniture above it, being used both as a kitchen cupboard and as a wardrobe. The family has a TV and a refrigerator. They cannot use the refrigerator because the electrical power was cut off. In general, the room is quite inappropriate for living because the walls draw water, get wet, and dump, and the doors and windows do not close properly, leaving the cold to enter the house, even if they pad them with clothes to isolate it more outside. The interviewee lost his job and he tries to work by the day. The interviewee's wife is employed at a shoe company in Cluj, but the salary she gets does not meet the family needs. She is very upset by the life she lives, and because of the stress she has all kinds of manifestations of anxiety from anger to depression. She fails to adapt to the situation as other women in the same situation do in the community. Her state of tension has an impact on the whole family, but especially on her husband who feels responsible and helpless, not being able to find a job. She urges her daughter to learn to make a better life and to avoid boys; he tells her that by avoiding boys she can also avoid problems. Division of domestic work means to him that from time to time he helps his wife: *"Honestly, I help my wife, when I do not work, in the yard and what I do in the evening."* He considers that an ideal woman *"is good, honest, loving. She should be good and to understanding. And the husband as well."* Even if he cannot explain why this is so, he is convinced that he always succeeds getting along with his wife: *"With my wife, I get along very well, there are these small arguments, but well. In the hardest situations, I do not know, we both understand and take a decision. I do not know how..."*

Person 10 is a woman aged 25, she lives in a wood shack with four children and her spouse, she was never legally married. She has four classes; her spouse has no school, no job. She has three boys and a girl, of nine, six, three years and one of one year and three months. Since 2007 she has worked as a salesperson at Iulius Mall in the fishery, currently she is on maternity leave. The shack has a single room, made by her father, she was born here and has been living here forever. They have a bed, a television, a wardrobe, no stove. They and her parents help each other. Her parents live in the neighboring apartment;

she is close to her mother. Her assertions about decision-making express this closeness: *"Mostly with my mother, I get along better with her. And with the husband."* Even if she does not complain about her husband, the characteristics of the ideal man are in contradiction with what he is: *"He should have school too and go and work somewhere, to bring some income to the house, that would be good."*

Person 11 is a woman aged 30, born in another city. She lives in the house with her husband and her husband's child from his first marriage, in one room made by her father, with no kitchen, and a toilet in the yard. They have a bed, a wardrobe, a kitchen table, a TV and a computer. But now they have no electricity and gas, they were cut off as well. She likes it here, does not want to move. She has three classes, is now employed as a cleaner at Baumax. She speaks three languages, she is of Greco-Catholic religion, but she does not practice religion, does not go to church. She declares herself Hungarian Gypsy. After coming home from work, they do not go anywhere, not even on weekends, they stay home, she cleans up, cooks, watches TV. Her husband has no school, works as day laborer in constructions; he does anything. Her parents live here as well in another apartment; they are now retired. The interviewee's family has a good relationship with the rest of the community from the Tram street colony, but also with the people who live in the neighboring blocks. Their room it is about 4 / 4, and is equipped with a bed, a cupboard and a wardrobe for clothes, a stove and a table, and a computer. The room is quite damaged, it absorbs humidity, and water penetrates through the roof. At the time of the interview the room was disconnected from electricity. The interviewee lives here with her husband and her child. She is employed as a cleaner at a building materials warehouse, her husband works as a day laborer, the women's salary does not cover the needs of three people. They feel disappointed, especially as they see that they cannot offer children a good life. Even though she is employed, and her husband is a day laborer, that does not change the way in which decisions are made, compared to a traditional family where the husband would be assumed to bring a stable income to the house: *"The husband has the last word, he makes decisions."* She sees no differences between how an ideal man and an ideal woman should be: *"both the man and the woman should be hardworking."*

Person 12 is a 38 year old woman, lives in a room that was before the bathroom of the owners' house. Thus the elders created another house where the interviewee, a relative of theirs, could move in, along with his two daughters, both living in consensual union and having one child. Because the interviewee has another apartment, mostly her daughters and their families live in this room. They do not want to live with her at the block, being accustomed to live in this community. Their room on Tram street is equipped with two beds, a stove, a wardrobe and a table. They use the toilet from the other yard. They have no electricity either and procure water from the pump that serves all households of the community at this address. The interviewee has been a widow for many years, she has no job, receives social aid, and it is very hard for her to cover the expenses related to the apartment, her nutrition and the children's expenses with this money. She has been suffering from ulcers, she cannot treat it because of the lack of money, for an appropriate

diet would require an expense she cannot afford, therefore the disease always creates her problems. She still tries to work by the day when an opportunity occurs, however, it is difficult to find anything especially in winter time. Her two daughters have no job, their spouses have no stable income, and they try to earn an income through work by the day. These people live at the subsistence level from one day to the next; they cannot secure a plate of food for themselves every day. Families from the court No.2 often eat together, and when there is nothing to eat they starve together as well. The interviewee's family has no conflicts with people from the wider vicinity, but they have no relationships with them, they live in their separate world, have nothing to share with those from the blocks. Her conceptions about gender roles in the family clearly reflect a patriarchal way of thinking: "The man should wear the hat. The man must work to bring money home," *"A woman should wash, should prepare the meals, everything. Take care of children."* Decision making stems from the same vision: *"The head? The man, he has the last word, he takes decisions."* In her opinion, the secret of a good couple is based on understanding and reciprocity (they are attributed, however, primarily to the woman: *"Well, how they behave, the woman and the man. If she behaves okay, the man will behave fine as well"; "If you cannot get along well with the man, you will not have a good life. There's only quarrel about everything. I never, I stayed with my husband 20 years and I never had. We have not had fights, problems."*; *"So the behavior, so how you behave is important."*

Person 13, a man at 35, lives in a room of 4 / 3.50 together with his concubine, and their three children. The room is equipped with two beds, a table, a wood stove and the small closet where both clothes and tableware are stored. He is the husband of person 11. The man has a more optimistic vision, while not denying the difficulties of life. He is looking for work as day laborer, especially in the summer, trying to accumulate resources for winter. He collects scrap iron, or works occasionally in constructions, demolitions, or digging ditches. He wishes for a better life and especially a better future for the children, but he is resigned, he considers that there is a point that does not let you move forward, and you are forced to live like that. He says that although there are quite few who bring income in this large family in this court, all food is shared and they do not ever blame themselves for the fact that they do not have a stable job and stable income, although they should as men. Despite this situation men have a sense of responsibility towards their family; they want to work but cannot find work. At least they do not spend money on drinking abusively, every penny being spent with care, with priority given to expenditure on food and maintenance, and only then for cigarettes and alcohol. The interviewee is personal assistant to one of the children with a motor disability. His wife does not work, she is a housekeeper, but sometimes she works by the day when an opportunity comes up. The interviewee tries to supplement the family income collecting iron from the Somes River. Sharing household chores in this family is not different from the other cases: *"Well, I work at home, I have told you already, if I have to fix something like at the house or something, I do it. My wife deals with the household, the food, the cleaning, the washing. I deal with the wood."* When taking decisions, the existence of a plan made following the discussions seems very important to him: *"Well, we discuss and make ourselves a plan. If we can collect that money we do it, if not, it is also good because we have no*

choice" *"How to say, we discuss first, then take a decision together. If she has got a different idea: "Look, it's better this way!" then we consider the alternative.* " His opinion is that mutual respect is the basis of a good family life: *"The husband and wife should respect each other"; "In our family respect means that we do not lie to one another, we do not cheat on each other, if we have something to discuss we discuss it together. So this is it. And then I see if she is honest with me, then naturally..."*

Person 14, a man aged 37, lives in a room of 4 / 3.50 together with his concubine and their three children. The room is equipped with two beds, a table, a wood stove and a small closet where the clothes and tableware are stored. The interviewee is personal assistant to one of the children with a motor disability. His wife does not work, she is a housewife, but sometimes works by the day when an opportunity comes up. The interviewee tries to supplement the family income collecting iron from the Somes River. From this emerges a traditional division of family work: *"The wife stays with the children and I'm going to look for work, where I find. For iron, for..., where I find, but I do not really have a job right now, with this crisis we do not really find work."* But also the vision of the interviewee about the ideal woman and ideal man: *"She must clean up in the home, she needs to make food, she has to take care of the children who go to school, to keep them clean. Even if we are poor, however, they must be clean at school because that is how it should be, the school, because we learned but we cannot even read a letter."* *"A husband, a husband must be good, not drink, not to lose the money he earns, to give it to the children."* However, in terms of taking decisions, gender relations in this family appear to be based on principles of partnership: *"We all come together and share our opinions that we must do so and so, we help each other."*

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Persons interviewed from the Roma colony on Tram street live in houses consisting of several apartments located in three courts, each of them in an apartment formed by one room. Behind the endowment is a large part of the yard where children play and women hang clothes to dry. At the time of research all households were cut off from gas and electricity supply because of unpaid debts. In every yard, the residents are related to each other, but in some cases kinship links families from different courts as well. After all, the whole colony forms an extended family, which shares food and clothes among its members, consult each other in making important decisions.

They all have the same lifestyle; their lives are marked by similar problems and drawbacks (low educational level, lack of stable jobs and incomes, poor living conditions in agglomerate spaces). And due to the situation they live in, where mutual assistance and mutual support are vital, family plays a particularly important role in the lives of these people. Whoever is in trouble is not abandoned, it is supported by all members of the extended family in different ways (with food or money, taking care of each others' children when needed, when, for example, both parents have an opportunity to go somewhere to work, but mostly through moral support).

Their economic conditions and their destiny is marked by common features, it is not surprising that their views about “normal” gender order (about the role of women and men, about gender relations in the family, or the household chores and decision making) follow the same pattern. The patriarchal family model, which favors men in the domestic / private sphere is the prevalent in this community – even though women bring income in the home as well (in some cases these being more stable because they are employed). However, in most cases, the principle of reciprocity is central and is considered as the key to a family life based on understanding.

3. School and family education, and work with children’s education

This chapter of the paper aims to present the educational status of respondents, identifying the predominant model in this urban Roma community. The career of completed school education must be interpreted in the light of their financial situation discussed in the previous chapter, emphasizing the fact that this investigation also reveals the findings of many other researches on the education of Roma: financial problems are those that primarily limit their access to quality education sufficient to ensure the chance of decent jobs. Viewed in the context of the realities in this area of life, perceptions about the role of school and family education and related conceptions of masculinity and femininity rules are also discussed in this chapter. Methodologically, this part also follows the major lines of the analysis, aiming at the presentation of individual cases and formulating some conclusions on their basis.

Person 01 (25, woman) completed four classes without any training courses, reasoning like that: *“I never liked school. My brothers went to school, they completed schools, but I’m the only one who did not like it.”* However, now she believes it would be useful to re-enroll to courses, to find a job, she would like to be a hairdresser: *“At first I gave up because I have not, I did not finish my school, but at one point I wanted to make progress, I wanted to do last year or two years ago, I had to pay, I do not know how much, I did not have the possibility, so I would think, not only that I have to do something, but it cannot go on like this without trying, but I did not have the possibility, especially since only the husband works, I don’t, and it is very difficult with only one salary.”* From this point of view, her educational career falls within the pattern of her parents’ life; they also have no school or low level of education, due to which they had no access to other jobs requiring unskilled work: *“My father has no school, my mother has five classes.” “My father worked in the constructions, where my husband worked.” “Mother worked at a bakery at Juc.”* However, she admits that despite their education her parents urged her to continue her studies: *“He told me to go to school, that I must learn, I have to grow up, to have a profession, to complete studies, but still I was stubborn, I did not like it, so he did not force it, but...”* Regarding the importance of school, she only realized it when she was trying to find a job: *“school is very important, it is very important, I realized because I have been looking for a job for a year and I haven’t found one, that in one place and in the other places they asked me a lot about school, how much school I have and I’ve realized that school is very important. Those*

who went to school have a job and can find employment, but for those who do not have it is pretty hard." This makes it likely that, at her turn, she will motivate her child to go to school: *"Of course I already say now all the time nicely that look, Mommy, do not do bad things, do not do that, for it is not good, you have to go to school, you must be diligent, not to talk nasty to anyone. Or you have to do school, so that you have a future because look how we are, how others are, so a way like that from now on, so that it sticks to her mind, what she should do and what she should not..."* and to prepare her for life: *"Most important, in my opinion, is to know what to do in life and to be careful."* Talking about the education of children in the family she does not think that there would be any differences among ethnic groups in this regard, important is that parents teach their children not to harm else: *"I do not think because any parent teaches his child for the better, any parent educates his children, I don't make any difference, that oh my God, Romanians can teach their children or the Hungarians. No, I don't, in my opinion, I think that any mother, any parent, I do not know, this I cannot say for sure that any parent, but in my opinion, as a mother I teach my child not to be bad... not to get them, or God forgive me, when someone says "Hello" at school not to answer the greeting..."* General human values are to be acquired by children in any family: *"Not to become a tramp, and beware of all, you know." "Not to steal, not to, to listen to what others say, or not to..."* The interviewee says that it depends very much on the parents how a child behaves, if the child is obedient or not. She says that when the child does something good, she rewards him, if he does bad things she does not let him out, no longer buys him anything, saying that thus he will realize what is right and what is wrong: *"Now I, in my opinion, there are children, better or worse, but the parents' education. If you let a child do things, or go mom, or go there, of course your child is encouraged to do what is not good, make sure it's worse and..."*

Person 02 (36, man), has no class completed, he was the eldest of brothers, had to stay home with the smaller children to care for them, because his mother worked. Now he does not even want to start a school or some courses, saying that at 36 years he would be ashamed: *"At 36 years, what to do, I would be ashamed to go with seven years old children to sit in the desk."* His father graduated from 12th grade and his mother has only completed primary school. Despite these differences, they both worked in constructions, as unskilled workers. He has three children, a girl aged 18, who finished seventh grade, after which she married: *"She got married, that is it,"* and the 12 year old girl is in fourth grade. The interviewee's wife is a housewife, has four classes, has worked for three months as a cleaning woman, because their child was small: *"And I said, you do not go anymore, because there's no use."* Regarding his attitude towards school, it seems that he is satisfied with what it gives to children: *"With what she comes from the school it is perfect, I think so, so it is"* and believes that rather it is the child's duty to do something: *"School need not do anything more for them, they should do at school to learn better, to become someone, and I think that's why they are at school."* Probably based on his own experiences, trying to help the girl to go to school, he does not expect her to help with the domestic work: *"After she comes from school and finishes her homework she can go and do whatever she wants, if she wants to help her mother, to help her, if not, to play..."* He considers that family is the most important thing in his life: *"Not me, I didn't want something like*

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that, to become a doctor, or a physician, or I don't know, no. I wished to have a nice family, and that I have, I am satisfied", he wants to educate the child to know the value of family: "To be obedient, to be a person who listens to advices, to care for her family".

Person 04 (20, woman) only finished four classes. The reasons are the financial problems faced by his parents: *"I did not go to school, because I did not have food all the time..."* She got married at a young age, and now she feels sorry. And then she could no longer return to school because of the children, even if she thought about signing up for the second chance program. She wants her children to go to school, not to be like her: *"Because if you have school, you find work, you can have a job, you do not remain illiterate. I would like them to go to school, be educated, and have a school, to read, to write."* She considers family education very important, because it transmits values, which should guide a person's life: *"You have to educate them to be respectful everywhere they go, to talk nicely, to greet everyone, everywhere they go."* She is happy with her children, and also with the fact that she is a dedicated mother: *"For me there are no bad children, because I know what it means to be small, and it is normal to be spoiled a little, a bit of this and that, and for me there are no bad children."* Regarding the differences between the education of girls and boys, the interviewee has her own model. Even if she is not satisfied with the way she has lived until now she applies the same model for her children as well: *"Girls have to be taught to wash the dishes, to cook, they can learn that at a young age, for this is how I learned. To clean up the house, to help me."* *"We would not have the boy do that, because he is a boy. He should go to work. And then to help his parents."*

Person 05 (28, woman) has completed eight classes and one year of vocational school. She failed to complete the second year, because she married at 17 years: *"That was the situation, I rushed and I've got here."* She says she thought about continuing her studies, but not very seriously for now. If she were to continue she would like to do a course in nursing. But this would require money and completed high school. If she should fail to do so she would be pleased to become hairdresser, for which she does not need completed high school, but money is an obstacle again. The interviewee considers that the role of family in raising children is very important: *"Well, everyone has their part and their role. Until the age of seven you educate the kid. The way you raise him up to seven years, I think so, I believe so, you will have him just like that afterwards."* Regarding the differences in the education of girls and boys, she believes that the parent's biggest responsibility with a girl's upbringing is to take care of her: *"With the girls I guess that they should take care more, because she is a girl... and when the girl grows, you cannot let her do what she wants, and if she wants to go somewhere, let's say for example, to go to a girlfriend, and until she gets to her friend, who knows what may happen to her, and that already..."*

Person 06 (30, woman) has no schooling at all, a fact justified by her parents' decision: *"my father did not want to send us to school. He said that a car might run over us, or... So he refused."* In a way she is sorry that she did not go to school at all, but she can clearly see that this would not be possible either from

now on. What prevents her is the fact that she has to take care of her children. However, she knows that this is an obstacle in her life, because she fails to get a job, and in her resignation she would accept to work even as a cleaning lady: *"If I did not go to school, I do not know what it is. Only that, you see, if you don't have school, first thing they ask you is this: 'How many classes do you have?' And if you don't have, you do not really get, only cleaning woman. So I would go and do the cleaning up as a cleaning lady, because if I have no school... I just know that you do not get, if you did not go to school."* Anyway, for now she is a housewife: *"I have a sick boy, I cannot leave him alone a single moment."* However, she thinks about alternatives, *"You know we thought many times with my husband to go abroad to find us jobs, but it is about the children, that we have nowhere to leave them, and cannot leave them alone."* Regarding the education of her sons, she encourages them to go to school, not to repeat what happened to her life: *"They should study, yes. If I didn't, at least they should know, they should study."* *"I teach them to be obedient, to go to school, to have a profession, because it is hard without school, not to be like me and... that's it, to be nice and to obey and not to talk as they shouldn't."* Nonetheless, she attributes value to family education as well: *"Of course it is important. To go to school, to study, to obey and... well both at school and in the family. So this should be normal."* The interviewee thinks that Roma children are not educated by their parents as they should be, they lack family education, and for this reason Roma children are worse at school. Her opinion is that they should be educated to be understanding and to obey teachers.

Person 07 (29, woman) has completed eight classes: *"I didn't like to go to school, we hurried to get married."* She would like to continue her studies but she cannot because of the children: *"Yes, because of the children, for I wouldn't leave them alone for an hour."* The interviewee thinks that if she is hired, she could have a better life, an easier one. The job and the money are the greatest impediments; she says that she cannot do anything more for her children than bringing them up and offering them the conditions for a better future: *"When they grow up and work... I don't know, I can't imagine whether they will have a better life."* The interviewee considers that the children have to attend school in order to have a better future. She is proud of her son who has good results at school: *"I have my son in the second grade, he only has 'very goods' at school, because we do not let the children miss school, because that is important."* Although she considers school is important, just as important is for girls and boys help with the domestic work: *"The girl to clean up, to help the mother with the cooking, if she has the necessary age for that. The boy should help his father in the yard, as he can."* She sees family education as complementary to school, both being important: *"At school they get education, knowledge, they study quite a lot. And we also teach them a lot, to be obedient, educated, to study."* Compared to these values, her motherhood seems to be above everything: *"For me it is all the same, whether they are bad or they are good, because they are mine, I have to support their badness and their caressing."*

Person 08 (29, woman) has eight classes and has started a nursing course. She wished to complete a school, but because of her daughter she couldn't finish high-school: *"Because of the girl. Now*

that she is of a bit older age I felt somewhat more free, meaning that I want a future for myself as well and I started with this course and I wanted to go on but I need high-school for that." She says that she would not give up school, if she were young again, she would continue school, because she considers that this is very important: *"Very much, school is opportunity, this is the truth."* She is satisfied with her daughter's results at school: *"She attentive, studies hard, rewards us by her grades and she is a "home child", as they say. She does not go out with tramps, does not talk stupid things. Because if you hang out with tramps, you become a tramp yourself, cause if the one next to you curses and you are together all the time, you will get to curse as well."* Like for many other people in this community, family is for her of the supreme value, considering it even more important than school: *"Family is even more important than school, it has been this way and it is now."*

Person 09 (30, man) has graduated four classes. He could not continue studies because he had to go to work at age 13. He started to work in the constructions at a young age, his father took him with him. He would like to continue his studies, but he is also ashamed: *"Because of my ethnicity, the Gypsy, you see that if you go, for example if there are several of them, let's say, Romanian, and I go there among them, they already look at me differently."* The interviewee considers that school is important: *"Because if you have school, you are somebody. You can write, you can read, you don't embarrass yourself anywhere you go, you can talk, it is different"*, but at the same time he believes that family has an important role in educating children as well: *"Because a child needs to be educated all the time."* The quality he appreciates most in a child is respect for others: *"Well, a good child is..., a good child should obey his parents and to..."* *"The bad one does not obey his parents, does not obey anyone."*

Person 10 (25 years, woman) gave up school because she had bad grades. Her mother gave her to school late, when she was 10. In the fourth grade she was 14 and she was ashamed to go to school. But now she is sorry, if she were of that age once again, she would go to school because she considers it important. She believes that school should primarily teach children to read and write and is unhappy with the results of her child in this respect: *"My child is for example in the third grade, but he still does not know what is written there, he does not know the letters. The teacher should deal more with that."* She believes that a girl should help in domestic work, but the boys should not really.

Person 11 (30, woman) has completed three classes, because her father never let her continue: *"Well he said that, well, I should no longer go. Well, I wanted to go, because I enjoyed school a lot."* Even now she would re-enroll, but she is ashamed because of her age. Based on these experiences she encourages her child to go to school: *"To succeed in life, a child should work and be diligent, to learn well at school."*

Person 12 (38, woman) has no schooling: *"Well we were all young and my sister took care of us and mother never had time..."* She considers that school is very important: *"If you do not have school, you cannot read"* and that parents also need to educate them at home. She educates her daughter as to appreciate school: *"It is important not to go outdoors, to do her work, to learn"*, and she tries to convince her not to hurry with the marriage: *"I said, even at 30 years she has the time to marry"*, though she prepares her for traditional woman roles in time: *"A girl must help with the cleaning up, to wash, to learn to do the dishes."*

Person 13 (35, man) has no schooling at all, *"... it is because, when we moved to Arad, I was 7 years old. I know that where we stayed in the village, there I went to kindergarten and when we moved to Arad, she didn't send me to school because I had three more younger brothers and I had to stay home with them,"* a thing he felt very sorry about all his life, *"When I was already about 10-11 years I saw my mates who knew how to write, they knew all, to read and I did not know. I was so sorry but in vain."* Even now he would like to continue his studies, but cannot due to the lack of money. He considers that school is very important, as family education is also: *"Well, at the school he only learns what he has to learn at school. At home you teach him to be good, be obedient, not to behave badly with the teacher, not to talk nasty or well, things like that."* So based on that conviction, as well as related to his own life experience he says *"For a child to succeed in something, he must have ambition and study, to... I don't know, only that."* He wants to help his son succeed in life, but due to lack of money he does not seem too optimistic. Regarding the differences in the education of boys and girls, he identifies them both in terms of the parents' responsibility towards them: *"Mothers deal with the girls. and fathers with the boys"*, as well as in terms of the degree to which they need to be protected: *"I think they are a bit different, because anyway, a boy is a boy, anyway, a girl stays mostly at home and doesn't have to be protected from so much evil as a boy. You should tell a boy, <Be careful! If you find that this friend is not for you, he leads you to bad, don't go with him anymore!> You have to keep him away from that guy."* The idea of the division of labor in the household also returns in what he thinks about the differences between girls and boys in this sense: *"if the boys help us at home, they help the father, the girl stays there with her mother and learns to wash and cook."*

Person 14 (37, man) has no schooling due to his family situation in his childhood: *"Well it happened so, that I had brothers, we were six brothers, mom and dad went to work in the Ceausescu era, we did not have a girl, we were six boys and I had to look after them, I am the elder. And then I advanced a bit at 14 years, I went to work instead of my mother and after that I got employed..."* Even though he very much wants to finish his studies, he cannot because lack of time and family responsibilities: *"Well not really, so I do not really have the time, so. If I don't have anything to give them to eat, then I must go, to seek, to do something, to give them food."* He considers school as being very important because it can give them self-confidence and independence: *"Well, anywhere the man goes, he can read, he knows everything. But otherwise he has to keep asking other people: "Sir, where does this train go, where does this bus go?"*

because he only stares at the board.” Therefore, he tries to offer his children the opportunity to go to school, but affirms that the important values that guide a person through all his life are learnt in the family: *“He must know how to behave, what to do, because if parents don’t teach him, he does not have anyone to learn from.”* He thinks that it is very important that children go to school, in order to have a good job, and to avoid difficulties in their life: *“Because if they do not do school, then they will remain just as we are.”* He considers that both girls and boys should be obedient, not to get into conflict situations: *“I tell the girls to take care, to go to school, not to fight anybody, so everything. The boys, again, to be obedient, not to be rude”* a principle that is reflected in what he thinks of a good child, *“Calm. Quiet, obedient, obey their parents.”* *“A bad child does not listen to anybody.”*

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Most of the people from the location under scrutiny have life marked by poor participation at school (without any classes, or with a few primary classes completed), thus they reproduce the life course of their parents. Thus, people in this community want to see their children transgress the paths prescribed by poverty. They perceive the importance of school both in relation with their own past (*not to be like us*) as well as with the future (the children should gather knowledge and / or learn a craft that makes their life different).

In this respect none of those interviewed differentiates between girls and boys; they consider that regardless their sex, all of them should go to school. Therefore, their expectations regarding children are not influenced by their more traditional thinking concerning the division of labor in the household (which apply to children, too). In their view, the possibility / obligation of women to go to school, or to have a job and income to support their family, does not induce any changes in their vision of family gender order.

Family as central value (an idea demonstrated also by the concepts discussed in the previous chapter of the paper) – sustained (as I pointed out there as well) by the precarious conditions of a life in which mutual (material and moral) assistance among members of the extended family is crucial – resurfaces in their perceptions about education. While they recognize the importance of formal education (through which one acquires skills to manage life), people in this community strongly emphasize the need to acquire core values within the family (regarding interpersonal relationships).

4. Occupational status and paid work

This chapter describes the professional careers of women and men from the Roma community under investigation, noting that despite the fact that most of them work for income, this is not the result of stable jobs or crafts practiced in the framework of employment that would ensure a material safety for a longer period. The risk that such persons are subject to in the labor market consists of both their employment in the informal economy and also in the repeated changes of the workplace (or the acceptance of any work that

ensures survival from one day to the next). In the context of their occupational status, the chapter also aims to identify people's perceptions about the importance of paid work and the differences (and inequalities) between women and men in this respect.

Person 01 (25, woman) is a housewife, as she calls herself, she doesn't define herself as unemployed, even though she held several jobs before. Her husband works in constructions. She considers it a good thing and important for a woman to have a job, even if Roma traditions hold that women should stay home to take care of children and the house, and only the man should go to work, to make money. But the interviewee says that in their family this tradition does not exist: *"Mother has worked ever since she was with my father, so it was not, and she also worked, she worked before when she was little, and I have worked as well I had my daughter..."* She thinks that it is very important for a person to have a formal education, but even if she completed eight classes, or has previously worked in the field, she does not find work. She has worked until she married for a few months, 6-7 months, after that she has worked at a different place. Before the marriage she worked at a notebooks factory, but the conditions were not good, there was no heating, it was very cold, and they had to work very much: *"So I didn't have a day off, even on Saturday and Sunday, I worked very much. Well, in the summer it was better, because there wasn't cold, but I got it, I went there in the summer and then I went also in the winter, but it was very... and I got tired of that cold."* After leaving the factory she has worked in the market, selling clothes. After she met her husband, they got married soon and she became pregnant with her first child. She worked when she was pregnant but in spite of this she did not receive a maternity leave: *"I didn't receive a compensation because I was hired only for four hours and did not know that those who was employed eight years ago, did not know that workers may receive maternity money, of 7-8, I don't know how many, millions."* After giving birth to their first child, she got a job at the screw factory, where she has worked for seven months, but she says: *"It was dangerous and I no longer went there."* Leaving the screw factory she began to work as a cleaning woman for four years, then she became a housewife. The interviewee considers that age, sex, ethnicity are obstacles, disadvantages in the eyes of the employer, but is not sure which one matters more in recruitment: *"From my point of view I know that many girls and I wanted to work at Iulius Mall and there were more girls who have failed to get hired and I guess, I do not know, he looked at, I do not know."* However, she stated that she did not suffer discrimination at work: *"where I worked, I never had a problem that I was a Roma, they never asked of what I was, he didn't ask, so I didn't have."* The interviewee thinks that men find work easier, they can work in more areas: *"I tried, but I didn't find such, especially my type, not really, they rather need men"*, she at her turn has her own references regarding what a boss should be like: *"I would prefer a woman boss, it is better a woman boss. It is better, but it also depends, because there are cases in which women are better or other cases when men are better."* She is sensitive to unequal treatment among women and men at work, noting: *"It depends what he works and what I work, if we both work in the same field, or let's say we did the same thing, then it wouldn't be fair not to be paid the same... but if, I say, I work at the packaging or so, and he carries something, then of course I did not object to anything, but if I saw that I work the same, of course that I would have something against, why should he have more,*

if we work... the same thing." Her husband works in the constructions, she is satisfied with the work he does: *"We are happy that he is employed, it is a stable place, and he secured, in case anything happens."*

Person 02 (36, man) with no school, he works as unskilled worker at sewerage, in constructions, wherever he finds a job. He has been working for a company for four months; he is employed with all the required papers. The interviewee considers that the best paid jobs are the mason's and the carpenter's, for which you need to study, to have school. When asked who would be most suitable for the being the boss, the man or the woman, the interviewee said very firmly that the man: *"That comes from God, the man should be the boss first and then..."* He has not recounted situations when he would have been discriminated against as a Roma at the workplace.

Person 04 (20, woman) considers that the head positions should be taken by men, but she would like it more if she was a woman: *"The boss at the workplace should be a woman, at home the man"*. She thinks that it is good if both the woman and the man work at home, to divide work. She considers that there are activities more suitable for men, in the constructions, on the site, while women: *"As cleaning lady or normal, or to work in a shop, in a restaurant, like that, so jobs that are similar to household work."*

Person 05 (28, woman) works in commerce, as a sales assistant, packer and trade assistant. She has been working for over two years. Her husband only works occasionally, he has only completed four classes, was employed in the constructions, fittings, at the regional operator in the field of water an sewerage, where he has worked only for a few months, because there were too many expectations and he received little money, so he preferred to quit. Regarding her preferences for a boss at the workplace she states that a man is much more suitable for this position: *"Because it is better to work with a hundred of men than with 2-3 women. They are much worse. I mean, where I work, it is so, that you get along much better with the boss, with men than with women, for women are bad. The boss is much better. You better tell him everything, because he understands you, and for example the shop manager lady, I cannot tell her, she does not listen. A man is better than a woman."* In her opinion, the best professions nowadays are in the field of medicine: *"The doctor gets the most, wherever I go, whatever I do I put something in his pocket."* In the present situation she would not change anything in her life, at least not about her job and her family life: *"If I could change something, or to change back how it was in the past, yes, the past, it would be that my parents wouldn't die, so they stay with me because I feel lonely."* From the interviewee's point of view a good life means to have the essential minimum.

Person 06 (30, woman) is a housewife, she has never worked, she tried to find a job but she has a disabled child and because of him she could not work. She only gets a double allocation for taking care of her child, although she said that she tried to explain that she cannot go to work because she cannot leave her child alone. Because she has no formal education she cannot find a job, maybe she will try, she will look

for a job as a cleaning lady at the supermarkets. She thinks that this would be a good job for her, cleaning lady or saleswoman, because she knows that without education she would not be allowed elsewhere. The interviewee's opinion is that both the man and the woman should work: *"You can get along better with two salaries."* Regarding the division of work in relation with professions, she states: *"A woman cannot carry off well in constructions, as men do, a woman should have easier jobs."*

Person 07 (29, woman) is now a housewife, she does not call herself unemployed either, similar to other women in this community, even though, with eight classes completed, she worked in a shoe factory in Cluj, then as a saleswoman at the market in Braşov. She gave up her job because she had children. She chose to stay home, to take care of the children: *"Yes, yes, for the child I would rather die of hunger, but I stay and take care of them. Because I know that children are very careless and very bad, I cannot stay at work and think about what he does and..."* *"There is enough to work with them, and the man should keep the woman."* However, theoretically she believes that: *"But it would be good for the woman to work as well, to help her husband"*, this is why she wishes to have a job, saying that it does not matter whether a person is of Roma ethnicity: *"If you are a good craftsman, everyone will hire you."*

Person 08 (29, woman) is employed with an employment record book as a laborer in a shoe factory. She has been working since the age of 16, before working at the factory she worked almost six years as a saleswoman at the market, without being recorded as such. She completed the nursing course and she did the cleaning up at people's houses. She believes that her age and sex counted when she was hired: *"You always find work much easier as a woman because first of all, if you are young and nice, I think these were two things for which I was favored. I was young and the physical aspect matters."* She would choose another job, other than at the factory, saying that she always wanted to work in the sanitary field. She considers that judges, accountants and doctors are best paid. But to get a job like that: *"You have to study a lot for something like that and your pocket has to be full, because you cannot attend a college or I don't know what master's courses, if someone, it has to go to someone's expense."* At the same time she says that if she has the possibility, first she moves from here, to a better place, she finishes school and she choose herself a job that she likes in the sanitary field. Being asked whether she has been treated unfair, discriminated against, when she was looking for a job, her answer was yes, especially with the wages and preferences, saying that: *"They ask you about your studies. If you have eight classes, of course you become an unskilled worker and you get the minimum wage"*.

Person 09 (30, man) has not got a job for three months, before that he has worked two years at a firm as manual shovel-man, but then he had to leave due to insolvency. He has looked for a job in many places, even without an employment record book. He states that being a Roma he is seen different: *"They kept giving me the run-around and finally they said they won't take me, and after a while I figured out why didn't they keep me."* In the summer he works as a day laborer in constructions, or in agriculture.

The interviewee thinks that because of ethnicity, gender, age a person can have difficulties in finding a job, saying that young people get along better. The interviewee's wife is employed, but he thinks: *"the man should bring home the income, as far as know. The man, because the man is the basis."*

Person 10 (25, woman) has been hired for three years with an employment record book at the fishery department of a supermarket. Besides that she would like to work, for example to take care of elder people: *"To make some more money. It is not enough for us what I get now."* Ultimately she likes her job and she would not want to change it. In her opinion it is very important for a person to have education to find a good job. She says that she feels that due to their ethnicity the Roma cannot have good jobs: *"Many employers are afraid of Roma, that they steal, or this and that..."* The interviewee's husband does not work: *"He didn't get hired because he does not even have 2-3 classes to be able to write down his name."* She states that a woman should work where work is easier (for example as a saleswoman) and men in more difficult ones (for example in the constructions).

Person 11 (30, woman) has been working for two years as a cleaning lady at a construction materials store. She found this job in a newspaper ad. She likes what she does, she believes that if people want a job they can make it: *"It doesn't matter that they are Roma, or they are women, or younger or older"*. She appreciates her job as it is the only income for her family, but also because the working conditions are quite all right, she did not have conflicts with anyone, and she was never discriminated against at the workplace or with the wages. The interviewee's husband and her brother do not work because they have no school education: *"But they never had the problem to be told that: <Sir, we won't hire you because you are Roma>"*.

Person 12 (38, woman) has never worked in her life but as a day laborer, and gets a pension on her husband's behalf. She would work as a cleaning woman but she says she has nowhere to go: *"Without school nobody takes you, not even to sweep the floor. If you have no school, you have nothing to talk about."* She believes that if she had a job, everything would change. The interviewee's daughters cannot find themselves a job, but she does not think it is due to lack of education, but rather to the fact that they are Roma. She considers that is all right if both the woman and the man work. She thinks that a suitable profession for a woman is hairdresser, cleaning lady, saleswoman.

Person 13 (35, man) does not have a job, has never been employed, but has worked by the day all the time, for short periods. He knows that he does not have a job due to the fact that he has no profession: *"Anywhere you go they ask you what is your profession. If you say that <You see, I have no profession but I can do this or that...>, they won't take you anyway."* He wishes to become a barber, as was his father, to get a diploma and work as a barber.

Person 14 (37, man) has been working as a personal assistant for three-four years, he is taking care of his ill child, besides the pension he gets for taking care of the child he collects iron from the river Someș. His opinion is that he cannot get a job because of the crisis and of the state: *"they cannot manage to give houses and jobs to everyone, everything, as it was in the Ceaușescu era, because at that time they would have sent you to jail if you didn't work. Now even if you want to work they won't give you."* Prior to working as a personal assistant he worked at a construction site. He says that the best professions are plumber or constructor, but he knows that a person has to have education to be able to work in those fields: *"It doesn't matter that you are a Roma or how old are you, only that you have school"*. The interviewee would like to have a stable job, to earn more money. In his opinion it is very good for a woman to work, to help her husband and her family: *"Women should work in a factory, men should work as plumbers, constructors."*

*

Based on the interviews we can see that most of the women in this community have worked in the past or even now they have paid jobs. Compared to the men who work as day laborers, they are / were employed in factories, in shops or on construction sites. Despite their labor market history, when they no longer work, they define themselves as housewives, and not at as unemployed. This shows how deep-rooted in their thinking is the concept that the woman is always defined by her domestic roles, both if she has never had a paid job and in cases where they contribute to the family budget.

Another aspect that differentiates men and women of this community is the desire to change something in their professional career: women talk more often about their ideals, or the willingness to change jobs.

Most people invoke health problems affecting at least one member of the family. Being employed, women have medical insurance, their husbands being co-insured at their expense. Probably for this reason (often appealing to doctors), – when asked about the best paid jobs – most of them mention doctors.

Given their living conditions characterized by material shortcomings – closely related to the desire to have a job to provide them a better life –most of those interviewed said that living well means (besides health) to have money: "Money also matters sometimes, but sometimes does not, when a person is sick of course you must have money as well, but at certain point money cannot help us anymore. In vain you have money if you are not healthy." "Well, to have money every day, to have food every day, what to give to the children". "We lack money, money. Money is most important now..."

All people in this community say that lack of opportunities regarding work and low incomes are related to low participation in education in the past. Discrimination was perceived in terms of personal discrimination (stating that they were not treated unequally because of their ethnicity at the workplace). They are not aware of the phenomenon of structural discrimination that excludes them from the labor market (or from stable and well paid jobs), which comes in continuation of their poor material situation, an inter-generational inheritance (which in turn is generated due to social exclusion of Roma as a group and to anti-Gypsy prejudices).

5. Conclusions. Socio-economical situation, gender order and work

The people in the investigated urban Roma community have similar lifestyles in many ways. In general, men who work are employed in constructions, working from morning until evening at seven. Those who do not have a stable job, leave in the morning to look for casual work. Women take care of the cleaning up of the houses, washing the laundry, cooking and preparing pupils who leave for and come from school together.

The families' living conditions are similar; they live in one small room, similarly equipped, with the essential furniture. They have TV and fridge, but at the time of the research all the families were cut off from gas and electricity because of unpaid debts. They use wood stoves and candles at night in the given situation. Water gathers in the yard of the community, it being located slightly on a slope. The windows and doors of the rooms are made by the tenants, using improvised solutions that do not protect them from cold and humidity. The same stuff makes up the interiors: furniture, or appliances. Each room has a bed or two depending on the number of people living in the house. In every home there is a television, a closet that serves as a wardrobe and as a kitchen cupboard, a wood stove to cook and heat the house, a table for preparing, serving the meals, and a mat that covers the middle of the room. These homes do not have individual toilet, all families use the common latrine in the yard. They provide water from a street pump.

All the Roma in these families speak three languages, Romanian, Hungarian and Romani. At home they use mainly Hungarian and Romani, but occasionally Romanian as well. Again, at work these people adapt to their colleagues, speaking Romanian to Romanians, and Hungarian to Hungarians.

When dealing with the outdoors chores, women organize themselves and go out to work together to clean up the court or to assist men if necessary; in this case one of the women stays with the others' children. Women have an important role in maintaining calmness in homes, learning from the elder women how to keep their home, their family and their man around them and around their children.

The informal discussions during participant observation and interviews show that being relatives, people in this community are very close to each other, help each other when the smaller families in the extended family have no more material resources. It often happens that people cook together and eat at one another family, usually at the mother's or a sister's place.

Most people here understand the situation they live in, many of them accept it with resignation, because they see no way out, and quietly accept what happens to them. However, there are cases of explicit dissatisfaction on behalf of some women, whose husbands turned out to be more detached from the problems believing that useless energy consumption does not solve problems but makes them worsen.

Living in similar conditions, people in this community offer each other moral and material support when needed. They are organized by a kind of unwritten social rules which organize them in such a way that, prior to anything, they all pay their debts to each other, knowing that, *"they are also in need and the loan must be returned."* Loans are usually handled by the mothers of the family, who are sometimes willing to consider other mothers' debt as paid by a meal cooked together. All the persons interviewed felt that their lack of school education is the great impediment to a better life, therefore they try to guide their children

to attend school, at least provide them a chance to have another kind of life, a less poor one. They say that even though they know that there are other ways of enrichment, such as theft or cheating, they refuse to use such methods. They always invoke God's care for them and for their children, some being faithful (Pentecostal) practitioners. Important decisions are generally discussed in the small family, but if they cannot reach to a conclusion, discussion of the problem extends to the next level of relatives, sometimes reaching the extended family. The interviewees said that women usually have confidence in the ability of thought and action of the spouses, they withdraw from the dispute and let the power of decision to the husband or elderly people.

Most people say that they feel lucky to have managed to form and maintain a family, which they consider of a great value and they perceive it as a source for optimism. Everyone from this community try to have peaceful relations with neighbors who live in the surrounding blocks. They say they have never had personal conflicts with neighbors outside their small community and not at all within it, they cannot tolerate conflicts and the role of elders in the community is to maintain calm. Children are well cared for and clean despite the poor conditions in which the families live. They do not complain about any relational problems with co-workers or bosses, as they do their work and avoid conflicts.

Since the economic conditions and the destinies of people in this urban Roma community is marked by common features, it is not surprising that their views about "normal" gender order (about the role of women and men, about gender relations in the family, or the household chores and decision making) follow the same pattern. The patriarchal family, which favors men in the domestic / private sphere – even though women bring income in the homes (in some cases these being more stable because they are employed) – is most prevalent in this community. However, in most cases, reference to the principle of reciprocity is central and is considered the key to a family life based on understanding.

Regarding their attitudes toward schooling, none of those interviewed differentiates between girls and boys, and believes that regardless of their sex, they all should go to school. What they expect from the children, therefore, are not influenced by their more traditional thinking of the division of labor in the household (which they apply for children as well). In their vision, the possibility / obligation of women to go to school, or to have a job and an income to support their family, does not generate changes in their views of domestic gender order.

Based on the interviews we can see that most of the women in this community have worked in the past or even now they have paid jobs. Compared to the men who work as day laborers, they are / were employed in factories, in shops or on construction sites. Despite their labor market history, when they no longer work, they define themselves as housewives, and not at as unemployed. This shows how deep-rooted in their thinking is the concept that the woman is always defined by her domestic roles, both if she has never had a paid job and in cases where they contribute to the family budget.

All people in this community say that lack of opportunities regarding work and low incomes are related to low participation in education in the past. Discrimination was perceived in terms of personal discrimination (stating that they were not treated unequally because of their ethnicity at the workplace).

They are not aware of the phenomenon of structural discrimination that excludes them from the labor market (or from stable and well paid jobs), which comes in continuation of their poor material situation, an inter-generational inheritance (which in turn is generated due to social exclusion of Roma as a group and to anti-Gypsy prejudices).

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DORA GHECENCO

■ EVICTED, RELOCATED AND LOOKING FOR A DECENT HOUSING SOCIAL REPORT

This social report was written on the base of the documents produced by the Working Group of Civil Society Organizations (Grupul de Lucru al Organizațiilor Civice, gLOC, www.gloc.ro), which was formed at the end of January 2011 as a reaction against the administrative measures taken in the city of Cluj that resulted in the eviction, residential segregation and territorial exclusion of several marginalized Roma families. The report briefly presents the housing conditions of more than 2000 persons living in Pata-Rât near or on the garbage dump, the local administrative measures leading to ghettoization in Cluj, and the civic actions against residential segregation and for adequate housing for marginalized ethnic Roma.

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“Every time I run I am a free man. I have to face a road waiting for me to go towards a horizon that I want to reach. Breathing seems more intense, living seems deeper when I run. On the other hand, as a journalist, I spent several years on contacting ethnic minority groups, having the chance to know closely a world which, although close to us, often remains unknown: the Roma. And there I encountered the same humanity as everywhere, but at the same time, unfortunately more poverty and more discrimination than anywhere else. I therefore now held in Cluj to choose to run the marathon for the cause of Roma from Pata-Rât. I wish that my gesture of affirming self-liberation to be a signal that some of us fellows do not get the same feelings. I run out of solidarity” (Marian Chiriac, journalist, Bucharest).

The new “social houses” from Pata-Rât

On the 17th of December 2010, fifty-six families evicted from Coastei street in Cluj found their new accommodation in the “social houses” built by the City Hall in Pata-Rât, on the hill between the thrash damp and a chemical waste deposit, and around thirty families evicted in winter time were not provided with any housing. The latter were told to move with their relatives (which aggravated the over-crowdedness of these houses) and/ or to use the land behind the modules for constructing illegally improvised homes.

They moved us as if they were moving some cattle to the stable... Or, maybe they told themselves that we were Gypsies, so better get rid off us (woman, 56 years old).

Here, on this hill, you are afraid to let your children out... there are cracks everywhere, they might fall and die there (woman, 24 years old).

“Social housing” in Pata-Rât means ten buildings, each composed of four “apartments” (actually rooms of 15 or 18 square meters) and one common bathroom (6 square meters, with two toilets facing each-other, two sinks and a shower – with cold water only). The ratios are stunning: 250 persons per 720 square meters of indoor space plus 60 square meters of bathroom.



Photo: gLOC



Photo: gLOC

After less than two months, the brand new apartments have their walls damp and spotted with mildew, and worrying fissures run along the ceilings. *Even animals are better protected, their stables are better built...* (woman, 58 years old). The nearest bus stop towards the city is at five kilometers down/ up the hill, or three kilometers if one passes the railway road.

“I run for the GLOC cause ‘Housing Solidarity Fund’, because I was shocked by the sub-standard living conditions of Roma, forcefully displaced from Coastei street and moved near the landfill in Pata-Rât (in a toxic environment with a poor infrastructure, and residentially segregated). Regardless our values, civic or Christian, we cannot remain indifferent when peers of ours live in misery. The responsibility regarding Roma from Cluj’s landfill is not of an individual or of a small group, but it is collective one. Anglo-Saxons have an appropriate expression for highly stratified societies and inequalities: the ‘communities that do not commune’. I hope that the Romanian society will show a gradually wider community. Therefore, I believe that civil society and public institutions will ultimately coagulate to find solutions for a more adequate housing and for moving out people from the garbage dump into other residential areas” (Adi Dohotaru, Secretary of the Group for Social Action, Cluj).

Dallas colony

The new tenants of the isolated space of “social houses” presented above were settled nearby the old Pata-Rât, or Dallas colony. The latter began to form here 30-40 years ago as an informal settlement due to the “voluntary” establishment of families in search of revenue sources. In this colony today there are living about 1500 people (majority of them undocumented), of which about 500 children, of whom only about 40 schooled. The number of people settled here with the tacit acceptance of the City Hall and sanitation companies has increased dramatically since 1990. Migration to this area is further intensified by evictions of Roma from the city, but also as a result of the increasing impoverishment of many across Romania. Here everybody works on the garbage dump, collecting and selecting the residues brought by the cleaning companies cars, obtaining low-income enough only to survive from one day to another, while the waste and waste recycling companies have been enriched on their expense.

Local authorities had no strategy, no projects and no funds for the improvement of life conditions in Dallas colony, but at least they accepted the involvement of non-governmental organizations. In 2005, Castle Banffy Voluntary Association began a massive cleaning action of the place and assuring access to clean water. On its turn, the Family Support Foundation and the Foundation Pro Roma, with the help of volunteers coming from abroad and the beneficiaries themselves have built here quite a few houses and started to



Photo: gLOC

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“A year ago my work schedule was more flexible and allowed me to do volunteer work in the Romanian Foundation for Children, Community and Family. We participated actively in monitoring and supporting home-work of students at primary and secondary schools, we had games, contests, festivals, and other events. Most of the children I worked with were Roma. They had a catching vitality and imagination, among them children with above-average academic results. It was a short but intense and personal and liberating rewarding period, with mutual benefits: understanding, patience, empathy, originality. I have established a close relationship with some of the children. Unfortunately, due to the lack of my time I cannot get involved directly in supporting these vulnerable and disadvantaged children. Therefore, I try to take advantage of any opportunity that allows me to do it indirectly, such as this marathon. Any children I did math exercises with or I painted with could be in a position to live isolated, near the city landfill and sentenced to a life of discrimination and misfortune. It is our common duty to provide decent living for all” (*Ioana Mica, architect, Cluj*).

run a kindergarten in the middle of Dallas. Besides these interventions, the colony benefitted of some Phare projects undertaken by local organizations such as the Resource Center for Roma Communities, the Wassdas Association and Association for the Emancipation of Roma Women.

Cantonului colony

A few hundred meters down the hill from the “social houses” area, the Pata-Rât region hosts the Cantonului colony inhabited by people self-identified as Roma. First families (seven in number) were moved to Cantonului street by the City Hall in the early 2000s in metal containers. A few years later about 40 families were located here after their evacuation from other locations in Cluj, among others from the House of the Executioner (*Casa Călăului*). The majority of families living on Cantonului street experienced for several times forced evictions, to which they were subjected usually without their prior notification. Today, approximately 170 families, about 600 people are living on this street.

In the mid-2000s, the Ecce Homo Christian Organization and the Family Support Foundation, in partnership with the Cluj County Council and with the approval of the City Hall started and ended here a social housing project with thermopan and wooden huts, from which about 50 families have benefited. By



Photo: gLOC

those times the colony was provided with two water pipes. The houses from Cantonului street each are composed of a room of about 12 square meters. Many families, attached to the main room, built another adjacent space of wood and used it as parlor, or place of cooking, or place for another bed, or as deposit. The houses have electricity. The stoves are heated with woods. The water penetrates itself in the walls of houses, the land is swampy. Most adults here have jobs at the sanitation companies, many working in the informal economy and especially in constructions.

Economic and ethnic ghettoization, and anti-Gypsy racism

Both Dallas and Cantonului colony of Pata-Rât are inhabited by people self-identified as Roma. They are not a homogeneous group, but are acting as a “community” as far as to different degrees they share the cumulated disadvantages of an acute social exclusion, such as: unclear legal status of property, lack of permanent identity documents, sub-standard living conditions, difficult access to public transport and services, and reduced access to school education, decent jobs and health-care. Most importantly, they are conceived as a “community” by the external world, more precisely as a Gypsy neighborhood stigmatized by the proximity of the polluting waste dump and human misery. This residentially segregated ghetto is not

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“I am 52 years old and live in Cluj with my wife, Margaret for almost 20 years. We are both from the Netherlands. Margaret and I started working on Pata-Rât about 15 years ago. When I saw where people live in Pata-Rât, I was speechless... I have asked citizens and representatives of public institutions in Cluj why they do not do something to change this situation. A common response was that it is “impossible” to do something there. We did not believe that and started doing something. We started to have a relationship with people at Pata-Rât and to love them. And action always follows love! So we helped where we could. We have built several small houses for families and we made a kindergarten for preschool education. It is not important what we did till now, more important is to continue and not to give up. It takes more time to invest in people, but results are seen. We are not going to solve all the problems, but at least we play our role in trying to solve them. The Marathon and the other shorter runs are a chance for many to play a small role in support of Roma in Pata-Rât. Anyone can run a little, and if not, can support someone who runs. Often I hear people saying that the Roma near the landfill do not live a life without sin and why we should invest in such people. But once we begin to know them and look into their hearts, we find the motivation to help. No one deserves a life like theirs. Their living standard is unworthy of our humanity. What you do want the one near you to do to you that is what you do to the other” (*Bert Looij, vice-president Pro Roma Foundation*).

only an area of deep poverty formed as a result of extreme pauperization of vulnerable social categories, but it is also a space marked by racial/ ethnic differentiations that are underlied by and are also reinforcing anti-gypsy racism.

Besides the economic interest linked to the city's centrally placed lands, it was exactly this racist attitude of local authorities that resulted in the eviction of families from Coastei street and in their relocation near the waste dump. With this action, the City Hall cleaned a central urban space from its “undeserving” elements and moved the latter to an area where they were supposed to belong (the polluted area of garbage).

The eviction of Roma families from Coastei street (who were integrated into the city's social life) and their relocation to the segregated area of Pata-Rât is contrary to the policies for Roma inclusion assumed by the Romanian Government in the last two decades.



Photo: gLOC

The families' relocation plan near the garbage dump is against the International Human Rights and Environment Declaration adopted in Geneva in 1994, which affirms that human rights include the right to living conditions in a healthy, unpolluted, and not degraded environment. This plan also disregards the Order of the Ministry of Health no. 536 of June 23 2007, which in Article 11 states that the minimum distance between residential areas and sources that present a risk for people's health should be under 1000 meters.

The two decisions of Cluj-Napoca Local Council (127/30.03.2010 and 197/11.05.2010) are contrary to the international law regarding the adequate housing as established by the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights through General Comment no. 4, which sets out seven minimum criteria to be met for a dwelling to be considered adequate.

The conditions provided in the new "social houses" from Pata-Rât are not respecting the Romanian legal provisions regarding housing standards (Law 114/1996).

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“I do not think these people will have normal living conditions because of my participation on the marathon, but I think that it is not allowed to forget what happened to them in December 2010. These people were duped and lost their homes and were injured in their dignity. And all this while they were promised better living conditions. People deported to Pata-Rât by local authorities live in a toxic, dangerous environment several miles from the city. All families had a home in Coastei street from where they were evicted, and according to their abilities have created acceptable living conditions. Out there, in the ghetto, everyone is equal, but those who claim fundamental human rights for all are thinking, surely, about another kind of equality. I will run the marathon to raise awareness about the fact that the way these people were treated is unacceptable” (*Jobb Boróka, MA student at Babes-Bolyai University*).

Measures leading to ghettoization and actions against

In late March 2010, vice-mayor of Cluj-Napoca told the press that in order to find a solution for the approximately 1,500 Roma living on the Coastei and Cantonului Street, and in Pata-Rât, local government leaders are considering the area near the garbage pit Pata-Rât.

The note of the Directorate of City Patrimony and Evidence of Property (Direcția Patrimoniului Municipiului și Evidența Proprietății) No. 64778/451.1 of 03/25/2010 highlighted the “arguments” of “relocating people” in these areas such as the very high level of dirt and complaints of citizens in the area.

Based on the report from above, the Decision of Cluj-Napoca City Council No. 127 of 30/03/2010 has approved the conducting of necessary steps to identify lands in Pata-Rât “in order to move people living illegally on the streets of Cantonului and Coastei streets.”

On 11/04/2010, representatives of non-governmental organizations from Cluj have launched the *On-line Petition “Against the ghettoization of Roma in the city of Cluj”* addressed to the City Council and City Hall of Cluj-Napoca <http://www.petitiononline.ro/petitie/impotriva_ghetoizarii_romilor_din_orasul_cluj-p19395057.html>.

The *Facebook-Cause “Against Roma ghettoization in Cluj”* was launched online on 15/04/2010, at present enjoying the support of 1,434 members in the country and abroad <<http://www.causes.com/causes/471269>> <<http://www.causes.com/causes/471269-against-roma-ghettoization-in-cluj-romania>>.

The involved civic organizations *formed a Negotiating committee* from some of their members and residents of the areas concerned.

In 14/04/2010, Organization Romani Criss from Bucharest sent a letter to the Mayor of Cluj-Napoca, and based on the right to public information requested data about Decision no.127/30.03.2010.

In 15/04/2010, Organization Romani Criss sent another letter to Cluj-Napoca City Hall, urging their support to organize a town hall meeting on this issue with a delegation representing the residents in areas affected by the planned move.

In the absence of a response to the letters above, on 06/05/2010 the Civic Alliance of Roma from Romania, Association Amare Prhala, Foundation Desire, ENAR Romania, and Organization Romani CRISS launched to the mayor of Cluj-Napoca an invitation to participate on a roundtable scheduled for May 2010.

The Cluj-Napoca Local Council by its Decision no. 197 from 11/05/2010, initiated the procedures of land exchange between the City Hall and SC Strictly Press LLC, based on which the company has obtained 300 square meters from the street Nadasel in exchange for a 3000 square meter plot in Pata-Rât.

As planned, the *round table "The Roma community of Pata-Rât and the right to housing"* took place on 12/05/2010 with 31 participants, among them representatives of the Civic Alliance of Roma from Romania, Association Amare Prhala, Foundation Desire, ENAR Romania, Organization Romani CRISS; the vice-mayor of Cluj-Napoca; representatives of other local civic organizations (Association for the Emancipation of Roma Women, Voluntary Association "Castel Banffy", Pro Roma Foundation); representatives of the Roma families from Cantonului street and the old Pata-Rât.

On 24/05/2010, Mr. Pavel Doghi, president of Association Amare Prhala and Ms. Enikő Vincze, president of Foundation Desire, were received in audience to the Vice-Mayor Mr. Attila László, and on behalf of the Negotiation Committee representing the residents of Cantonului Street and Pata-Rât submitted a *Proposal for Cooperation* addressed to the City Hall and Council. The proposal was rejected.

Report Regarding the Situation of Roma Community from Pata-Rât Cluj, sent on 20/09/2010 to the City Hall and Local Council of Cluj-Napoca, the Prefecture of Cluj County, the Administration and Home Affairs Ministry, the Regional Development and Tourism Ministry, the Ministry of Labor, Family and Social Protection, and the Romanian Presidency.

On 14/12/2010 families from Coastei street were called by representatives of the City Hall to urgently submit an application for social housing. These requests were approved in two days. People were evicted from Coastei street and moved to Pata-Rât on 17/12/2010.

On 10/01/2011 Foundation Desire and Association Amare Prhala launched *The Appeal for Solidarity and Action Against the City Hall Project "Social Housing" in Pata-Rât*

http://www.sectorulcultural.info/gloc/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/apel-pt-solidaritate-si-actiune_evacuari-Cluj_ian2011.pdf.

The Faculty of Sociology and Social Work at Babes-Bolyai University, Association Amare Prhala and Foundation Desire organized on 17/01/2011 the *Public debate "The relocation of Roma and its social consequences"* with the participation of more than 100 persons. With this occasion representative of European Roma Rights Center presented the public letter of ERRC, Amara Prhala and Desire addressed to the president and prime-minister of Romania and mayor of Cluj, regarding the Forced eviction of Roma from

Coastei street <http://www.sectorulcultural.info/gloc/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/ERRC-Letter_Forcled-Eviction_Romania.pdf>.

The *street protest "I am Roma – want to live in dignity"* was organized by Association Amare Prhala on 19/01/2011 with the support of several Roma and non-Roma organizations and individuals from Cluj, Romanian and from abroad <<http://www.femrom.ro/atitudinecivica.html>>.

At the end of January 2011, activists, academics and people from Pata-Rât formed *The Working Group of Civil Society Organizations* (www.gloc.ro). gLOC is an umbrella organization, without legal autonomous status, that aims to promote adequate, integrated housing for deprived Roma families in the city of Cluj. The Working Group is composed of: Association Amare Prhala and Foundation Desire (founding organizations), The Group for Social Action (GAS), The Civil Alliance of Roma in Romania, Organization Romani Criss, Romano Suno, Resource Center for Roma Communities, Resource Center for Ethnocultural Diversity, Castel Banffy Voluntary Association, Pro Roma Foundation, The Community Foundation from Cluj, The Romanian Foundation for Children, Community and (FRCCF), AFMC Christiana, European Roma Rights Center, Critic Atac, Habitat for Humanity, but as well as of artists, academics and researchers.

On 26/01/2011 The Working Group of Civil Society Organizations presented to the City Hall its *Proposal for Partnership* in which members defined their main principles and objectives, made suggestions for the critical analysis of the situation from Pata-Rât and policies for social housing, and formulated proposals for a short-, middle- and long-term plan that should aim at finding adequate housing solutions for marginalized communities.

In February 2011 *Amnesty International* published a *blog entry* regarding this case <<http://livewire.amnesty.org/2011/02/09/the-%E2%80%9Cthin-line%E2%80%9D-between-social-inclusion-and-ethnic-segregation>>.

gLOC started its *fundraising campaign* on 10/04/2011 with the occasion of the first International Marathon organized in Cluj-Napoca. Seven persons ran for the cause of decent housing for the Roma in Cluj "Together, we succeed!", and fourteen children from the Roma families that were relocated at the margins of the city gained awards for completing the Children's race <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1GXTC6B1Qhc>>, <http://gloc2011.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/cluj_marathon_the_cause_of_gloc.pdf>.

Participating on the public meeting of the Cluj Local Council (with the occasion of which "Arhiescopia Feleacului și Clujului" was offered for free use the terrain from Coastei street) – appealing the local councilors and the mayor about the housing situation of people evicted from Coastei, 10th of May 2011

Observing the public event of the Orthodox ceremony for putting the first stone of the building of the Faculty of Theology to be built on Coastei street, 23rd of May 2011

Organizing the Stocktaking visit Getting closer – EU strategy for Roma and local realities, Pata Rât, Cluj, with the participation of European, national and local stakeholders, 10th of June 2011, http://gloc2011.files.wordpress.com/2011/06/stocktaking-visit-report_june-2011.pdf

Launching the Petition against the possible forced eviction of 120 families from Cantonului street on the International Roma Arts Festival from Cluj, 18th of June 2011 <http://www.petitiononline.ro/petitie-p60638048.html>

Proposals of gLOC to the City Hall

In order to assure the right to decent housing for marginalized families among whom ethnic Roma are over-represented, gLOC proposes to the City Hall the following:

- to include into the urban development plans a component regarding residential desegregation and spatial integration;
- to attract European funds dedicated to integrated social housing for marginalized communities, among them Roma;
- to implement affirmative measures for disadvantaged groups on the domain of social housing;
- to sustain multi-sectorial development projects that support disadvantaged families in their access to adequate housing, school education and decent jobs;
- to mobilize public and private funds for providing lands where, with the involvement of people subjected to evictions, adequate houses might be constructed for them;
- to strictly avoid in the future any measures that might result in the ghettoization of vulnerable social categories.



Photo: gLOC

Fourteen children from the families evicted from Coastei street and relocated to Pata Rât were running at the children's contest within the Cluj International Marathon, 10th of April 2011

LIDIA GHEORGHIU, MICHAEL J.R. BUTLER

■ WHAT'S THE EFFECT OF THE PUBLIC POLICIES ON THE ROMA WOMEN IN ROMANIA?

This article is a short overview of the data collected so far for my PhD research, which includes 70 interviews, meetings, and ethnographic data. During this data collection, a number of questions stood out. One regards the changes that the plans and strategies were meant to bring about for the Roma population. Women were not specifically targeted, although their social vulnerability is widely expressed in existing studies, usually in reports with children's issues. For example: 45.7% of the minors were not included in the National Programme for Immunisation, while in poorer communities these rates are much higher. More than half of them had none of the vaccines done which are obligatory and free (Wamsiedel et al, 2009). Therefore, I looked at what has been changed in terms of women issues, focusing on health and education. Because some of these plans had already finished –i.e. the Strategy for the Improvement of the Roma Situation (2001-2010) and the Lisbon Strategy (2000-2010)- and they have failed to meet their objectives, the second issue I will discuss here is whether the Roma problem is a new mean to get funds and to mime 'political correctness'. This situation is aggravated by the international financial context *'this takes place in the international economic crisis that affects all groups, and especially affects the most vulnerable'* (C.B.)

Firstly, I will start by presenting the positive matters highlighted by the respondents. Secondly, I will make a brief comparison between the successes and failures of the Strategy for Roma Improvement, looking at health and education in particular. Next, I will mark my respondents' views on the state, more precisely whether it succeeded or it failed to make a step forward towards the social inclusion of the Roma.

Certainly, there is an increased number of Roma women at the local decision-making level. Also, female Roma students are represented in a greater percentage. This shows that Roma women and girls accessed some services. However, these results are not significant reported to the needs. Many considered the Governmental Strategy for the Improvement of the Roma Situation as a reference document for Roma at the European and national level. But the Strategy was not budgeted and overall, it brought about patchy positive changes rather than major changes:

In my opinion not much has changed. And this is proved by a series of statistical data; let's say estimates- because there is no official statistical data; because the Romanian government, the legislation regarding the collection of such data collection is prohibited, but only under certain conditions. Recent estimates including the European Commission said that the situation has not improved very much. (C.B.)

Beyond the false perception of progress and positive change brought about by the numerous projects and programmes and by the state which claimed that the Roma problem is a top priority, the experts in Roma issues interviewed strongly agreed that *'There is a gap in terms of public policy regarding the Roma, namely focusing on the Roma woman.'* (C.B.)

Roma woman is seen as a quantitative indicator, including in the National Strategy for Roma which specifies that 50% of the programs, projects and initiatives developed for the Roma should focus on the Roma woman. But our argument is this: when many statistics show that the situation of Roma women compared to Roma men is three, even four times harder than the men, the 50% is not enough for the number of Roma women who would benefit, if you would benefit from such services there would still be a large discrepancy in terms of ... in relation to Roma men. And we are not talking about the comparison with the majority woman ... it is 5 times heavier than the women majority [non-Roma]. So for us these quantitative indicators are not enough. (C.B.)

While international reports state that Roma women require immediate support, the Romanian authorities overlook to mention it. More than that, one governmental representative argues that the situation is the other way around: *'All research shows that this idea of double oppression, racial pressure because she is Roma, and in the community as a woman, is a misconception.'* (D.O.Z) The reason this is misrepresented is because of the need of being politically correct: our politicians have begun to understand what it means to speak politically correct, but that does not mean that their will is indeed a real involvement, to develop programmes and projects to support national strategies, not only in terms of the strategy for improvement the situation of Roma, but complementary strategies to the national strategy that focuses on vulnerable groups, among them including the Roma. (C.B.)

This tactic applies to academics or researchers too, which raises ethical issues: *'in some way it is considered to be like a business to study the Roma, because here you can find financing, you find a niche to publish what you studied'*. (C.R.)

Probably the most important change in health was initiated by Romani CRISS, a Roma NGO which in 1996 started the training of Roma women as health mediators, the intermediary between the medical staff and the Roma community (Romani CRISS, 2009). In 2001, the Health Ministry signed an agreement with Romani CRISS and OSCE-ODIHR making the health mediators programme national. In 2009 the state started to decentralise the health care system, meaning that a number of public health services, including the health mediation passed from the Public Health County Directorate under the City Hall's authority. But the decentralisation dramatically affected the work of the health mediators, because of the deficiency of some of the local authorities in operating the law.

In 2010, out of 500 trained mediators, only 200 are working. Their number has decreased notably in 2009 and 2010 due to decentralization: local health mediators are not subordinate to the Ministry of Health directly, but are subordinate to local authorities. Local authorities which since they don't have a policy to hire the health mediators, these mediators are losing their jobs; they have no money to pay the health mediators; and thirdly the decentralization has made so poorly that, I mean at the national level: they

didn't consider a series of decentralization processes, including a financial decentralization, such as how to send money from the state budget to local budgets for local services. (C.B.)

Moreover, except this programme the Romanian government has not developed any other programme in terms of the health of Roma. One solution to counter balance the negative situation of the Roma is for the state to focus on their education. In a recent study, the World Bank argues that investing in the education of the Roma is the best solution *'Roma who complete secondary education can expect to earn 144% more in Romania'* (World Bank, 2010). Although *'Money for Romanies'* is allocated *'because they are uncivilized'* (Roma beneficiary) Roma education is a sensitive matter (C.R.) and current or past strategies to bring the Roma children to school have been unsuccessful so far. For example,

The 'super-giant' PHARE programme was implemented; it was called the Access to Education of the Disadvantaged Groups... you will be stupefied to find that lately the number of school drop outs has increased. Regarding the goal on decreasing the segregation, you'll be surprised to see that nearly 80% of school directors do not know the order of prohibition or the combat of segregation... a number of programmes, projects developed by these institutions in collaboration with the Romanian Government, show another reality. (C.B.)

In the last part of the article I will summarise some of the reasons why the state is failing to support the Roma women. The first explanation is the instability within all state institutions. Every new government brings in a new team with a new vision:

Last year because it was a governmental instability, we had 3 presidents... Each has a different vision... 'we'll do, that, we'll do this'. After 6 months you see that it is an institutional, legislative issue. It's not up to you to do what you want to do... Things are complicated now... Therefore, you have a responsibility; you know that Europe is watching us. So I do not know the agency vision. (D.O.Z.)

Although the lack of money is often stipulated as a cause of the failure of the policy implementation, actually voices from both NGOs and governmental representatives stated that the lack of absorptive capacity is the real cause: *'As a country, we always had more money that we could spend. Our problem is the absorptive capacity, our problem is the lack of imagination to write projects and programmes.'* (D.O.Z.)

One important cause was determined by the fact that the public policies were not properly thought through from the beginning:

The Roma public policies didn't respond to the needs of the communities. Studies and researches made a big mistake; officially we have 357.000 Roma in Romania and unofficially they are almost 2 million – 2.500.000; now, also according to the birth rates which were lower lately. Public policies were made from top to bottom. Some "smart people" from the central level woke up, made a Strategy which didn't reflect the real needs of the Roma community. (B.R.)

Another reason is connected to a deficient public administration culture. The system itself is not encouraging workers to be creative or to have certain liberties:

There are people who are willing to work. They get into a very closed system, like public administration. They have a direct boss, the Mayor, which if he says that you do something, and then

you will have to do it. You'll see in 2-3 years I think in those communities where the Roma could impose themselves as local experts, because 'the man sanctifies the place'. If you have the ability to negotiate with the Mayor, to be better seen in the community, well that's not the cost to bribe or to share stuff, but to be appreciated by the people in the community- in those communities it will generate projects targeting the Roma, and it will create positive experiences which in turn can be carried forward. (I.S.)

As expected, there are no simple solutions to solve the complex needs of the Roma women. One reason is that the state itself is in crisis, therefore any vulnerable groups-including the Roma communities or the Roma women- are collateral victims. What is certain is that the state ought to come with a new and effective Strategy for the inclusion of the Roma.

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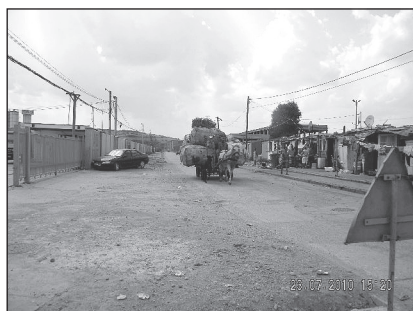
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■ MAKING A LIVING IN A SEGREGATED URBAN AREA

NARRATIVES RECORDED BY ENIKŐ VINCZE

Spatiality matters not for the simplistic and overly used reason that everything happens in space, but because where things happen is critical to knowing how and why they happen (Warf and Arias, 2009: 1)

Recent investigations demonstrate that “many Roma and Travellers in the European Union live in sub-standard conditions [...], often in segregated and environmentally hazardous areas, with poor access to public services, employment and schools “ (FRA, 2009: 92). During the last two decades marked by privatization, pauperization and institutional discrimination against Roma, but as well as by the lack of governmental policies on the domain of public housing, a large number of disadvantaged Roma communities in urban areas of Romania experienced residential segregation/ ghettoization and related sub-standard housing conditions (Berescu, 2010). Parallel with this, while concentrated slum-areas within the cities or at their outskirts were conceived as “Gypsy neighborhoods” regardless of the ethnic self-identification of their tenants, the dominant public and everyday discourses justified their formation by making appeal to explanations based on anti-Gypsy racism. The formation of the isolated spaces of housing characterized by deteriorated living and environmental conditions, economic deprivation, reduced contacts with the outer world and cultural stigmatization is the result of many intersecting processes (such as economic transformations leading to the pauperization of many, local government actions and urban policies, the hostility of non-Roma population and public discourses informed by racist attitudes). Residential segregation is a manifestation of social exclusion. The ghettoized space embodies processes of differentiation between “insiders” and “outsiders”, between those who “deserve” belonging to society and those who do not, or between the middle class and the pauperized social categories. It is a terrain on and through which social actors negotiate from unequal power positions on the shared understanding of who is to be included to or who is to be excluded from societal spaces considered as “adequate”. Residential segregation leads to reduced access to school education, decent jobs, healthcare and other public services. It has an overall impact on people’s social contacts, (self)-identifications and generally on their life expectancies and trajectories. The stigmatized physical space is inscribed into people’s bodies, minds and relations. How is one making a living under these conditions? The case discussed below illustrates how Roma women and men from a marginalized



Photos made by Babi, Cantonului street, Cluj

urban community accommodate or resist to the cumulative effects of poverty, racial stigmatization and spatial isolation in their everyday life. Making appeal to people's narratives collected by the means of an ethnographic study we give voice to their stories about housing, schooling and labor.

Housing

Cantonului street is located in the Cluj neighbourhood called Someșeni, a marginal area within the industrial area in the northeastern part of the town. The area was an adjacent village to Cluj and kept its rural character even after being annexed to the town at the beginning of the 20th century. The Romanians and Hungarians living there today cultivate vegetables and fruits, which they sell in the market. The Gabor Roma deal with commerce; their living conditions are good, similar to those of the majority population. Conversely, the Roma

from Cantonului street (which is located near the garbage dump called Pata Rât) and the Roma staying right on the dump site live in deep poor conditions. The latter constitute the most vulnerable category, as they are isolated also geographically from the rest of the local community; practically, they have contacts with the town only through the trucks of the salubrity company that carry the waste to the site. The majority of the Roma who established the colony from Cantonului street at the beginning of the 2000's were "romanized" as they say. Their parents had jobs but owned no property in the socialist period. Previously, the Roma from Cantonului street had been staying either with their parents or in apartments and huts in other parts of the town from where the mayor's office employees evicted and moved them many times until they "settled" here (by no means finally).

I have been living here for some ten years. I have stayed also over there, on upper side, and also on Bărcului...but originally I came from Mănăştur neighbourhood area, from near a church where some constructions works ceased and my mother heard that they were selling some iron huts so we moved and stayed there together with my husband and my children in an iron hut...but before I had slept also near the Someş river...and I heard that a company was selling some stuff so we went there and bought it with 800 or 900 thousand lei, or something like that. My mother bought it and the priest allowed us to stay there. We had no problems for some 7 or 8 months; after that we were moved here. That is they wanted first to move us high up there to Pata Rât. They built the metal huts right next to the toilets. And then we had a quarrel, I said that I don't like up there because it's too far and I have never been there, and that the our girl was little and I didn't how to walk there... And then this woman who was lifting something onto the trailer saw that I had a little baby and out of pity she said that the conditions weren't good for me, especially that I had a newborn baby so she told me to go to the mayor's office and look for Mr. This and That and kindly ask him to place us somewhere else. And I asked him kindly to forgive me if I had been shameless because I was desperate and didn't know where to go. He felt pity for me and ordered that our hut be moved right to Someşeni village, near the land of the villagers. There it was very good because the people came and told us that it was their land and that we should watch over it so that no one takes from the corn and other stuff they grew. After that they brought also animals and told us to watch over the animals as well. They gave us water, it was very good then; our children were playing with their children, it was very good. But then a bunch of Corturar Gypsies moved there with their horses and many other stuff and scared the villagers. And these have gathered and wanted to chase us away. We announced the mayor's office and they moved our hut downwards near the post office building. There we were some four families. After a while they gave the little houses because somebody came to build houses...and after this we moved up here into this house with thermopane windows where we are staying now. But since then many have moved here without the approval of the mayor's office. Now 170 families are living here. Lower down there are people of other kind who built their huts by themselves. They rushed at those from Ecce Homo; they swore and threatened them, that's why we don't receive aid anymore. (Woman, 32 years old).

Cantonului street starts after approximately 4 kilometres from the last houses and buildings of the town (among which also the Selgros commercial centre located at the eastern exit of Someşeni). The buses go until the centre of Someşeni locality. The Pata Rât garbage dump area (where a compact Roma community has been living since three decades) is located a bit further, at 2-3 kilometres from Cantonului street, which goes parallel with the railroad. Being positioned on a narrow strip between the road and the railway lines, the houses of the Roma are very close to the latter. Right at the entrance from Someşeni there are two renovated post office buildings and another building in ruins, then start the houses of the Roma. A cement factory is located across the street.

The locals say that approximately 170 families/700 persons are living in the „colony”, as they call it; there are many children, as each family has at least four children. The colony hasn't been always like this; neither is there a strong sense of community. In 2001 only 7 families were living there. They make clear distinctions between the old inhabitants and the newcomers; those who settled here earlier consider that the newcomers damage the prestige of the place even more (“they don't like working”; „they don't send their children to the school”; „they beg and steal”). Some differences are visible between the houses as well: some have thermopane windows; these were allocated with the approval of the mayor's office after a charity foundation donated them to the local Roma. There are also wooden houses built by another NGO again with the approval of the mayor's office; and, there are also houses made of plank by the Roma themselves without the explicit approval of the mayor's office. These improvised houses are placed between the older houses.

After Pata Rât, the colony on Cantonului street is probably the most disadvantaged area of the town. The people from here are living in permanent uncertainty due to the fact that the mayor's office may evict them any time once again (as they did it a few times before) on grounds that they don't have property documents of the houses, only temporary identity cards (without address) at the most, which need to be applied for all family members every year.

Each house on Cantonului street has a single room of approximately 12 square metres. Many families have built an additional room made of wood, which is used as either an entrance hall or a cooking place, or as a room for sleeping or as storage room. Every house has electricity while heating is provided by wood. The colony has a single water tap, which is being used constantly, thus puddles and mud are created. The houses don't have bathrooms; and, although some of the Roma made improvised toilets and fences, many of them didn't; they say that the NGO's and the mayor's office asked them not to do so. They complain because water is leaking through the walls from the watertap recently installed in the courtyard, from the rain, or even from the ground, as the land is marshy.

All of us have suffered a lot! Now the children have grown a bit, but when they were smaller it was harder because one of them needed sugar milk, while the other needed Pampers or clothing. And in the beginning we didn't have water; we brought water from the gas station: we went there with a trolley

to bring water. We didn't have even bailers but only these large mineral water bottles with handle. When the handle broke we used so as not waste the water. So I was in a difficult situation and I have seen very many difficulties of the people from here...now that's it. (Woman, 32 years old).

People tell that they have been through more than one eviction and that the authorities came always unexpectedly, without previous announcements so the people couldn't get ready to move out. They are afraid that the next time will be the same. They would like to move from here because of the precarious and unhealthy housing conditions. But they don't want to accept being moved from one place to another, to a similarly insecure place or somewhere outside the town. They consider that not all of them should be moved together, because *"the colony isn't good"*. They would like to get anything within the town, so that it should be only theirs and be sure that they if they start to improve or build something that will remain and they won't lose it.

Until the revolution we had a house because we stayed in the village where my parents lived. I was only seven when the revolution started; my elder sister got married and moved to Bistrița in the meantime so we went to her. When we returned to the village the revolution was over and that was it... the Romanian traveller gypsies, or the "ceangăi de români", as they were called before, came and demolished our old house which had been built from mud and straw and left to us by our grandparents. They broke the house down. Now some Corturari Gypsies are staying where the house once stood. The place belonged to our elders, to our grandmother. But now both the grandparents and the parents are dead and I can't prove anything. (Woman, 35 years old).

There is a clear wish to make distinctions among the people from the colony. Belonging to the place (i.e. „clujeni”, or “those from Cluj” *versus* „those who came from other places”) and lifestyle (i.e. „the honest ones” *versus* „those who steal”) constitute the main criteria in this regard. Nobody knows how could someone support the colony, because if someone declares himself as their representative, the others will contest him, and if he initiates something, he will be suspected of trying to make a profit out of it.

I am afraid of these Gypsies, the Corturari, who live in tents, because they are vengeful, very mean and very aggressive. I have seen so many cases and so much things that I am very afraid of them. They are very scary, I am scared of them.. Corturari Gypsies don't live here in Cantonului street, but they have been living up there on the garbage dump for many years. They were brought here from Florești and Zorilor areas. They don't have anything to do. The town police brought them here and told them to stay near the garbage dump up there. Previously they had been staying on the peripheries and went wherever they could go with their carts. The town police collected and moved all of them up there. The police commander came and told the following to the people there: "You won't have problems with each other. You don't catch and abuse the girls and you don't make any scandals." And the people here didn't have problems with them. But they were accused of stealing a

harness in one of the nearby localities, from Sânicchioara or from Apahida. But they said that it wasn't true because they didn't steal anything. But then the masked police officers came and set them on fire. They set this bearded Gypsy on fire; his beard was so long that I didn't know him, or his name, but I saw him so many times. They pushed him down and he told: "It isn't a problem that they beat us but I will go to court because I am not guilty, I didn't steal." Indeed, it turned out to be true; it wasn't him but some others who stay right in Sânicchioara, near the railway lines. It was them who stole the harness and blamed these poor... But still, I am afraid of them because they are aggressive... If you happen to have a 13-14 years old girl, they steal her, because they don't have this law like we have, that you take the girl of a certain age and she's already a wife, no... 'cause we have girls who don't marry until they are 19-20 or 21-23 years old. There are girls who go to school, have jobs; but they [the Corturari Gypsies] aren't like that. As I have heard, it isn't so important for their girls to go to schools, because boys have to have school. Here at us it is different. We have to be equal, for instance, here in my family if you don't have equality all along, you'll get reproach later, because you know what they say? "Why did you take Alexandra to school so that she completed eight classes, and I have done only four? Because you provided conditions only for her and not for me!" I consider that equality needs to be done. So as long as I can, and as long as God is helping me, I will make equality. But sometimes happens that I buy something to the girl and not for the other one; but then I have to explain that today I give you something, the next week or month I will buy something for you as well, because I cannot buy for everyone at the same time because I don't have enough money, and they have to understand this. It is true that sometimes they stress me by saying that „Mother, you haven't bought for me yet!", so I tell them that the next time I will. That's how we make equality, we don't differentiate between them. (Woman, 28 years old).

Schooling

The parents consider that the children could avoid repeating the destiny of their parents through school education. However, investing into education is a long-term investment that cannot be sustained if someone is living from one day to another, or if someone has difficulties in ensuring the elementary resources (food, clothing, water, heating) on a daily basis. Furthermore, the distance to school or to the public transportation facilities, the precarious conditions for learning at home, the lack of assistance in doing their homeworks (due to the low educational level of the parents), and of course the lack of money preventing everyone here from taking extra classes contribute to the fact that the chances of the children from the colony are way below if compared to those of their luckier colleagues from the school. Thus recognizing the importance of school education remains a desirable ideal which has nothing to do with the economic realities. At the same time, their own experiences and/or the models which they encounter (i.e. people who completed education are unemployed and other with no school get rich) reinforce their mistrust in the efficiency of schooling.



Photos made by Babi, Cantonului street, Cluj

The children had to bring some flowers in pots, then I don't know which parent had to take home the curtains to wash, or to bring a bottle of alcohol to clean the desk. There are things which I can do, and there are some which I cannot. So in the regular school it is harder than in the special school, as there is also a special school where many children go. I wanted Robi to go there but they said that it is a pity for him ... You know why? Because of the transportation, as I was very afraid that the child would have to cross both the railway and the main road. That's the only reason why I didn't want to. And, in the school they said that if he learns well the special school will do nothing but harm to him. His elder brother went also there, but he had problems indeed, and it was

another case, there's a big difference between them. I took him out from the school. He completed seven classes, but he doesn't know how to write even his name. ...And he always came home beaten...even with blood all over him. I went to the police because he came home in blood all over him; his mouth and nose were broken, they hit even his eye. He was beaten with a broom stick, they broke the broom stick on him. The teachers there don't deal with the children...Do you know what's my wish? That he would complete at least eight classes if God helps me...But I want Robi to study even further because he's very smart. (Woman, 28 years old).

During our informal meetings the people emphasized that the teachers don't believe that the people from here live in such conditions because they don't visit them. Only the school mediator is familiar with their situation, because he visits and informs them about various things. The parents are very satisfied with the school mediator because he is helping them in many aspects and seems to have a word in the school as well.

The poor school mediator is coming here but he cannot go to each family because he doesn't have time. There was a case, because I saw it when I went to him, as I feel no shame to say it, that he gave me this flour. It also happened that he got clothes and gave each child a blouse and a pair of trousers. And after he visited our house and saw that we didn't have food for two days, he went to the foundation and told them: "Please bring some flour and food, what you can." And so they brought flour, they gave us three-four kilograms of flour, some four cans of pea and cereals for the children (Woman, 32 years old).

Since last year it is forbidden to say that „you're Gypsy", or...Alexandra hasn't been called like that for about a year...because mister Florin, the mediator told the following to the teachers: "You talk to each child, regardless if he's Roma or Romanian, but do not discriminate anymore! You don't call the Roma children „Gypsies", but you call them by their name; you don't say their ethnicity, because they feel offended. If I hear that someone does so I will lower your conduct grade." Since then the children stopped talking such things (Woman, 28 years old).

The parents encounter the teachers at the meetings held with the parents, where the Roma parents are asked to give contributions to the school, which they cannot (they say that „if the school doesn't have, how could we"). Moreover, they tell that the Roma children get the old manuals, and even from the old and free manuals they are given the most used ones; the children ask why it is so („and that's how difference is made"). Thus, apart from the material conditions at home, the discriminatory attitude of both the teachers, other children and parents constitutes a further obstacle for the Roma children from Cantonului street (and for children from other areas with similar problems) to have access to quality education. As a result, the school becomes/stays an alien and refusing institution that not only reminds the Roma children why they

are different but also enforces their lack of self-trust and self-esteem. Once interiorized, the stigmatization from outside makes the Roma children incapable to wish or hope for a change in their life.

However, the access of Roma children to education has been improved over the last ten years.

The conditions at this kindergarten are very good. The kindergarten has been open for 9 years now. First they came, made an inquiry and explained why they came, saying that a kindergarten would be built if they found sponsors. So, that's what they told us then. And they made photos of each child and of the housing conditions. They said that they would open a kindergarten for these children if the mayor's office agreed. They came back after a month and said that the mayor's office gave its approval and so they opened the kindergarten. When the kindergarten was ready, they first took us, the parents there in order to see and agree with it. First they wanted to have the children there for a whole week but many of the parents didn't agree. But I did; you know why? Because there was better education. And it was easier for us too because we could do some work. Having nine children, I agreed. Another one is on the way right now. (Woman, 35 years old).

I didn't agree, because I was disturbed as I had to wait until the evening...especially when 5 year ago my Alexandra had hepatitis and I had to stay with her at the hospital. I couldn't separate her from me; it was ok that during the day she was at this kindergarten, but during the night she couldn't be separated from me! Someone else maybe agreed but I didn't want to leave my children there for a whole week. (Woman, 28 years old).

But there is a better education, because of the ugly words children use, as here are children who speak very ugly, and so they learn that they are bad, and that they aren't above the rest, and there was something else too... But anyway, as long as they went to the kindergarten the children changed very, very much. There were many children from the colony. The car would pick them up around 8 and bring back at 4. At some point I was also working at the kindergarten. Claudiu, the boss, that director was about my age, so I allowed myself to address him as you. And I was pregnant and one of the groups had no educator because she was on maternity leave. And they put me into that group where the children were very bad. The children of Simona and Erzsi climbed onto the cupboard. So Cătălin told me: "I don't know what to say, I wouldn't let you with this group cause these two children are very bad." They would climb onto the windows and pull the curtains down. And I, cause I don't know what else to say, I talked nicely with them, and I put them to sleep. Those two were the worst children. But I always put them to sleep. Then I also had them wash their teeth; I put the tooth paste on each one's toothbrush and was watching at the wash bowl so that they wouldn't crowd, fall and hit their head. Then again, I was always standing at the corner near the bathroom, that was all I had to do, to hand them the towel or comb and dry their hair... This was two years ago. I was pregnant then; my legs and my stomach already hurt; as I had to go both up and down, „come and go”, I couldn't go with the children anymore...At that time I

was working also as a school attendant and used to go the kindergarten during the summer vacation... That was a good period, yes, and I gather the children even now when I don't have anything to do during the summer. One might say that I have gone crazy, as I gather all the children and I put them to dance like Gypsies do, I take them out, we play ball and everybody is listening to me. We make dance rehearsals there in the courtyard, they wear those long skirts and they play...and we make sandwiches, sometimes I buy cake crusts and fill it with cream, we drink juice and we play. What can I do? So it was very nice, I cannot say it wasn't; the educators didn't avoid me or something like that. So we understood each other so well! I made coffee in their can, and they even brought some clothes for me. They used to work at this centre for homeless people, who gathered there to wash themselves and sleep there, then went back to the streets. But they took care of them...they are educators who are not afraid of children, no, they look very neat, but they aren't afraid of the children. And they aren't afraid to give kisses to the children. When I meet them in the town, they look very elegant, believe me. So they don't avoid us, they are very decent. I understood myself very well with them. (Woman, 32 years old).

Before 2004 the school from Someșeni was split into two buildings; the Roma children were put separately. It was a kind of special school, but administratively belonged to a regular school. The children received a daily meal and stayed there to do their homeworks until the afternoon. There very few Roma children who „were allowed into the class groups of the Romanians”. The parents consider that it was good then because they received this help and that the children weren't absent so many times than they are now. At that time there was an attendant who accompanied the children to the school, and everyone felt more safe („how can you send your child to the school if you don't know he's safe?”). Not all the parents heard that the Roma classes ceased; some of the children were sent home after the school had begun on September 15; they were either enrolled into the special school or told that there weren't any more places in the fifth grade. The parents are pleased with the special school if the children are transported there and receive free meal and school equipments. But they don't know why the children in seventh grade still cannot write and multiply; „we don't know how they teach them, why they are so behind”. The problem is that „not just the retarded children got there but also the smarter ones, so all of them become retarded”. According to the parents, all children should attend the same school regardless if they are Roma or Romanians; furthermore, they say that what happened is wrong, because the healthy kids were sent to the special school on grounds of desegregation and there they learn nothing and have no chances to study further, because they cannot make up their lag after having completed eighth classes in the special school.

My God, what is happening at the special school! They are mentally ill. Now look, I went there and saw a plump kid who had a bigger head and was standing at the corner with a carrot in his hand. Two other kids came, pushed him down to the floor, took away his carrot, and started to kick him. And he was shouting: "The carrot, the carrot!". The teachers came out and said: "What the devil are you doing? Behave!" They closed the door and the kid remained on the floor. And I took him to the bathroom to

wash his mouth. There, in the bathroom, two other kids were smoking... And my child, after he was beaten several times, he said that he wouldn't go to the school anymore. Once I went to the school to look for him, but he wasn't there. He ran away from the school. Where? To the park. He came home, but I didn't say anything, just talked to him nicely: "Loli (because we call him Loli), why do you run from school, why do you do this? Do you want to end up in prison? You are a man, you have to finish school, you have to go to work, to support your family...", and I said such things to him. "It's not allowed, a woman is different, because she doesn't have schooling, but a man has to, he has to work, because if you have kids, how do you feed them? Don't you see that sometimes, when your father doesn't go to work, and he has eight classes, he won't find a job?" I spoke with him just as I do with my husband, so I talked nicely, but he said to me: "I won't go to that school anymore because I got beaten there and you don't wanna come to the school and doesn't interest you." He attacked me... And after that I went to the school to look for the teacher, and when I found him, I said: "Please excuse me, Ciprian Florin comes home beaten, it happened so and so..." He told me "Madam, do you think that we are looking everyday after the children's asses to see what are they doing?, then he shut the door and left. And then I went to the social assistant who is doing the inquiries... I knocked politely at the door, she knew me." Good day, to what do I owe the visit?" I was very stressed when I entered. "I want to take my kid out of this school." "Oh, you don't do this foolishness, because he should learn, it's a pity." She didn't know what happened to me, but she knew that my child was beaten. She told me she was informed about this so she went to the classroom and spoke with the teacher, who was also priest, and this and that. But they didn't take any measures. So I went there and took out the kid from the school, and I didn't leave him there, as he started to run away to the park both from the school and from home. (Woman, 35 years old).

The parents have referred on several occasions to how their material conditions relate to the school abandonment of their children. In many cases the children cannot go to school because the parents simply cannot give shoes for them; some of the children have told that they are ashamed in school because either they cannot dress like the other kids or they cannot bring proper food (only a sandwich with jam). And, they cannot wash themselves properly because the school has neither running hot water nor toilets.

You may realize... A child asks herself the question; for e.g. my Alexandra tells me: "Mother, how can you buy a shoe for me for if you don't have money?" What can I buy you, if I don't have any money? She would like some trainers, or a pair of sandals, but what if you don't have money?! It's hard because they don't understand the poor, they don't know these things... (Woman, 28 years old).

There are cases when they don't have any shoes to put on their feet... I took off my shoes and gave it to him so that he could go to school. But that's what happens: they go to school one day, then the next three day they don't. They are absent a lot and remain behind. We have nine children; three from them go the special school. (Man, 36 years old).



Photos made by Babi, Cantonului street, Cluj

I wish my children would finish school, but we don't always have the possibility to send them to school.. Then we send them again, we don't know what else to do...It's useless to go to the foundations because they don't help us at all. When they ask us „ where do you stay” and we say „on Cantonului”, they don't help because they say that the mayor's office is sponsoring us, which is not true at all. We don't have pretensions at all; we are very satisfied if they give us a blouse and a kilogram of flour because we make bread from it, which feeds three-four children for a whole day. (Woman, 32 years old).

Due to their different housing conditions, the differences between the children in terms of how they dress and look also contribute to their stigmatization.

The school is pretty good, we have no complaints because it's good, it's a school and they learn there. But a bit of difference occurs, and we cannot do anything, we have to endure it. We cannot say anything...Once, when I got employed for the first time, I went to the school; there were some children from the eighth grade wearing caps. And there was a poor kid sitting at his desk who didn't do anything to the others, but then these others came, took off his cap and spat on his face. Believe me, I got into such a state that I could slap them in the face, because that kid didn't do anything. I never had problems with the school principal, as long as I worked there as an attendant I was never called on grounds that any of the children misbehaved or ran away. I never got any complaints, and I was singing with them and doing else. But in that moment, when I saw what this kid pushed the other one over the fence and the latter fell, I took this kid to the mediator and said to him: "If I am a Gypsy woman, and this kid is Hungarian, and I am here anyway, why should I let one mock the other? If this one is stronger than the other, and if he stays where he stays, why do you mock him?" I cried, believe me, cause I felt badly. (Woman, 32 years old).

However, problems and quarrels in schools occur not only between the Roma children and the majority children (Romanians or Hungarians), but also among the Roma children with different social-economic levels.

We have to endure as much as we can. We endure these things, but there's a limit. I had a case with my Alexandra.. There is a Roma family right near the school in Someșeni; they also have a daughter in the school. My Alexandra tells that this other girl smells of perfume, so she says: "You smell, you should go to the bathroom and wash off yourself." Alexandra was only playing with her, she was only joking. After that this other girl went home and told her mother who then went to the school and said the following to my girl: "Alexandra, if I hear once again that you tell such things to my daughter, I will bring the scissors and cut off your hair." Then Alexandra came home crying. The next day I went to the school, but I didn't say anything to the teacher or anybody else. I went directly to the school principal and said to her: "Mrs. School Principal, I don't know what will happen if you allow for a parent to come to the school and threaten my child to cut her hair! If someone will try to lay his hands on her... And then came Alexandra's teacher who told me the following: "Why did you go to complain to the school principal instead of coming to me?" I replied, "Because you are the teacher and she is the school principal, so she has to find out everything that happens here, because you don't say anything, you don't draw their attention to anything. You don't say anything even when you hear that one is calling the other "Gypsy", and such things...". (Woman, 28 years old).

Labor

Finding a source of income is a common daily preoccupation in the colony; the marginal position (being isolated from the residential areas of the town) and the fact that it bears the Gypsy neighbourhood stigma both constitute a structural obstacle for the Roma looking for work.

We are always watching the news and they announce only unemployed people everywhere. There aren't any jobs. If you go the work forces, you won't find anything. My brother used to work at a carwash and he was paid 2%. So if he washed ten cars, he would get...so what came out [...] And still he didn't earn anything. Then in the cold period he came home in wet clothes and... They told him he shouldn't come anymore if he didn't want to. That's it, we can't do anything. (Man, 36 years old).

We cannot work anywhere, because there's no possibility and there's no one to employ you. We work as we can. We don't avoid work because there's no point in avoiding it, and we stay where we stay, this is the space that we have. We stay as we can, but we don't go begging. Because that isn't how we earn our bread. We rather go to the garbage dump and make money by collecting iron and remains that we can sell; that's how we earn our bread. It happens sometimes that we earn too little, so we take a kilogram of flour and we make pie (or „palaneți” as we call them) on the stove, not in oil. You don't get any income, because nobody will give you work. You go to someone to employ you, as it was before, and he wouldn't pay you like he should. If you are paid 100 thousand lei, you say „thank you”, because nobody will give you more. (Woman, 28 years old).

Even the jobs of the employed Roma are unsecure and worse-paid. Those who have been already dismissed have great difficulties in finding other jobs, especially since 2008:

Once I was a school attendant and used to gather the kids from here and from Pata Rât, and accompany them to the school in the morning and back home in the afternoon. I t was very good back then because many children went to the school. Many accidents happened as they had to go across the field packed with dogs, then cross the railway lines and the main road leading to the airport to get the bus. Then it was good also for us, the family...But then they couldn't pay us anymore because there were no resources left...and these are our sources. It is very bad because we have nowhere to work. Cause if we had, we wouldn't step back from it. So whatever kind of work they give us, because we like to do any kind of work. We aren't ashamed to work either as street sweepers or as cleaning women, to clean toilets, or to clean anything else...no, we aren't ashamed. But what can we do, if nobody is willing to take us? (Woman, 30 years old).

Some (although very few) of the inhabitants from the Cantonului colony go to work to the Pata Rât garbage dump located nearby.

I go everyday up to the garbage dump, everyday, to collect copper. There is a place from where they bring it, from where they collect it, so from this place where they collect car wrecks and they carry the remains up there. Once a garbage truck was turning to the dump, and, there are many people there, when its front wheels ran over a woman. She left three children as she died there. She was 23 years old. And everything was crushed inside her, but outside there's wasn't even a scratch. But her body was completely crushed in the inside, she had an internal bleeding. So, when we have nowhere else to go to earn, I have to go up there. I can take care of myself so that I won't be hit by car, because the trucks come from many type of companies to unload, but there are so many people... And there is very loud noise because also the bulldozer is coming to push the garbage... you don't know where to look to protect yourself.. I go there to earn something cause we have nowhere else to go... There we collect those small pieces of iron, and these copper wires. Just like this red one, this is color what they buy. Such small pieces need to be collected, but very much of them. Then we set them on fire to burn down the plastic cover. We make the fire up there, at the garbage dump, not down here; and we bring it to the collection point down here where they give some money for it. And we collect paper, anything with God's help. We collect paper and plastic bottles. And that is how we earn our existence. We don't have carts; we pay for the transport, because up there at the garbage dump there are people who have carts. And so we pay for the transportation, and we make 10-20 lei, or 30 the most, but we have to pay the transport as well. It would be hard to carry it on our backs. And we have no choice, because the poor kids are waiting at home. We wouldn't be ashamed to work anywhere if someone would employ us. Three years ago I went to the mister from the green spaces to get work. But he employed only those who had work record cards and who had been working there before. And oh, so many people were there. (Woman, 28 years old).

Most of the Roma from Cantonului street who work on a regular basis are employed at either the salubrity companies or at the mayor's office department for green spaces. But many work as day laborers or do various occasional jobs at other people's houses.

I went last week to someone here in Someșeni. He said that he had some debris, so we went there to see it. The mister said: "That's all the debris!" He demolished something from a house because he wanted to build a mansard. And we were carrying all of it for three days, for 80 lei. We filled four carts of 16 tons. My father, my brother and I did it. And we had to split that money. That kind of work is hard because you have to crush the concrete, and you have to load it with your own hands, not by using a tractor or something like that. He told: "If you want to do it, it's ok, but if you don't, I spoke with someone else"... Rarely comes someone saying that „Come on, I have some load work



Photos made by Babi, Cantonului street, Cluj

to give you!" And it happens that he comes to the door, but until you put on your clothes and go outside, someone else already got on and took your place (Man, 24 years old). My husband is doing transportation by car. We don't have a car...My brother has the car, but it's is broken. So he goes to this man who has a car but doesn't have a driving licence, so he calls him to drive. He wanted to be a taxidriver but that certificate costs maybe 7 milion lei, or something like that as he told me, and he has to have his licence for two years. That's why he did this, cause previously he had been working at Arabesc, where they told him to obtain a driving licence at least so that he could change somehow the situation of the family, to get employed somewhere, at a company, but not until he has two years of service...so he has to wait. He cannot get employed. Especially if the chief asks him:"How long have you been working?" When he answers, he says he cannot employ

him. As a taxidriver, without a certificate ... because there he has to complete some kind of course... The Arabesc company dealing with furniture, construction materials, mountains sheds and others was located down here. They used to make furniture plates and sell to all companies in Cluj. Then they moved to Calea Florești avenue. But then we had the problem with the child, because a car hit him and my husband was dismissed. He didn't want to. He asked for a day off when the child was hit on the pedestrian crossing. The chief got angry and told him that there are people who are willing to work and they sacked him. This happened in April, on April 8, two years ago. The man paid the hospitalization, which cost 45 millions in total including the operation. And anyway, he had acquaintances, cause he was some chief at...not Clujana, what do they call it, 16 Februarie (February 16), that's the place where he was working, he was some important man there, he had his own company and he threatened me saying that if I didn't have a lawyer...anyway, he would win and we didn't have any witnesses. When he hit the child with the car, he was drunk, because he admitted it. (Woman, 30 years old).

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Note

On the 31st of May 2011, the residents of Cantonului street received a written notification of a legal prosecution against them, following the complaint of the National Railway Company, Regionala CF Cluj, that they were abusively occupying the territory of the railway company. CFR Cluj requests the Court of Justice Cluj-Napoca to decide the issuing of a presidential ordinance on the immediate removal of the dwellings (the homes of these families) and the payment of the trial costs. The notification refers to the letter No. 84789, 84810/20.04.2011 of the Cluj-Napoca municipality, which states that the municipality "has undertaken measures to construct social housing for deprived persons in Pata Rât, and it will analyse the situation of the ethnic Roma citizens and the necessity of building houses on other terrains in order to relocate these families, depending on the opportunities for such undertakings").

In its Petition against this possible forced eviction (<http://www.petitiononline.ro/petitie-p60638048.html>), the Working Group of Civil Society Organizations (Grupul de Lucru al Organizatiilor Civice, gLOC) requests all responsible institutions to respect the Romanian and the International legislation, to prevent any forced eviction, and to find immediate solutions to ameliorate the housing conditions of the residents of Cantonului street and foster their social inclusion.

■ TWO SUCCESS STORIES

STORIES COLLECTED BY AGNETA NICA

These are not stories about Cinderella becoming a princess, or about a flower-girl becoming top manager in a corporation, but after all, the life paths recounted here are no less spectacular. Ramona Cara is student in the second year at social work at the West University of Timișoara, and she works as school mediator in a project entitled “Roma Women against Segregation”, project led by the Roma Women’s Association ‘For Our Children’. Mirela Stancă is student at the same university, Faculty of Letters. She is in the first generation of students enrolled in the Cultural Studies program. She is also school mediator. Mirela and Ramona are the first in their families who attend university.

RAMONA

In my case I am the first not only in my family but also in the community. I’m from Nădlac and I want to tell you that I was the first from this community who “took the bit between my teeth” and decided to leave aside traditions and go to school to make a better future.

The community she talks about is a traditional community. around 400 Roma live there, most of them do not have a job, there are many Slovaks in the city, of course, there is discrimination in the sense that only one Roma is employed as local referent out of the whole Roma population, the others are not working, or if it happens to work they always have low level jobs, though they would be able to work something else.

After all, how do they make a living?

They live from one day to the next, work as day laborers or they clean windshields, cars, still others live on social welfare. They have a hard life and their income is very low. Thus, they strive to survive; they do not have a place to live, to work, although some of them want to. They emigrated because of their precarious material condition. Some of them were forced to live their children and family and to look for a job where others seek employment usually. They think that there is heaven on earth, but it is not. From what I know, they work in agriculture because begging is not a lucrative business anymore. Many people think that Roma go abroad to beg, which is entirely wrong. It is OK if you beg, but who gives you anything there? So, they do not practice begging as frequent as they have done before.

Roma and the law

Like in each community, here too some persons behave in a way that leads to violence. Of course, some individuals are in conflict with the law, but it does not mean that our community is aggressive or terrible. Simply, some have broken the law and I think it is appropriate to sanction them for what they have done. It also depends on what they did. In case they have done something that injures community status or image, they are convicted within the community, but in the case of minor things, let's say they did not put on their seatbelt, they are sanctioned by the police. There are things they cannot accept, for example rape, and especially if the girls are virgin or come from good family. We do not accept rape, insults; people of this community respect each other. Respect is the dominant attitude. Even if they are not wealthy they respect themselves and others.

Women in the community

I think women have an inferior status in the Gabor community. However, women are not equal to men in our community either. Men are the breadwinners; women do traditional work, take care of children, and family. Because of that, women depends on men; if men do not bring money in the house women have nothing for living, and if women want to leave the home they have nowhere to go. Women are used to be kept and they are not able to look for themselves.

Elders

Roma always listen to the word of elders. Elders are appreciated and respected because they have more experience. Elders have had the last word since time immemorial and they took decisions in case a problem or conflict occurred. Usually people listened to elder men, *stabors*, but they listened also to elder women. However, men have had and continue to have the last word.

The Roma and the others

We are assimilated Roma, just a few of us speak Romani, the others speak Romanian. I have not learned Slovakian, though they form a large community. They not really mingled with others, but it happened right in my family. My cousin is engaged to a Slovakian girl and they will marry. My parents accepted them, they have not resisted, and they looked at what she was like, what she represented and they not relied on what was her ethnic origin. However, her family had some second thoughts regarding my cousin. They thought how it can happen that a Slovakian girl marries a Roma boy. They had these kind of prejudices. Now, let us say that future in-laws accepted the situation. The girls have graduated twelve classes, so has my cousin, so he has studied. It has not been about educational level; it was simply about ethnicity. They have to get used to him, to know him, because you can really appreciate a person, free of prejudice, only if you know the person.

MIRELA

I came from Moldova Nouă. Romanians, Serbs, and Roma live there. There, Roma make up a small community, they are minority, have low jobs, most of them have just social welfare, work in greenhouses – the mayor's office manages this – they work in city sanitation. They make up about 20-30 % of the city, they are visible, but do the low jobs. You cannot find a Roma working in a firm or office, because here and in Timișoara or Nădlac, everywhere is discrimination. Some have education, even university degree. Not in my family, my parents have high school education. I am the first who attends university.

The city and the Roma

This is a small city, we do not live in distinct neighborhoods, and there are no conflicts between neighbors. Not really ... okay, there are some conflicts on the street. Usually, when people know them they get along with their neighbors. It is worse when someone from another part of the city sees you on the street and they do not know that you are peaceful and angrily looks at you as if you are dirty or you are going to do something to them. They do not have a friendly look.

The law and the Roma of Moldova Nouă

Most of them are peaceful. Some from a specific block are noisy but there are no major problems there, such as crime or rape. Some get drunk but not only the Roma.

From Moldova Nouă to Europe

There are a few rights in my family. I have two cousins married in Germany, they work there, live there, and my uncle goes to Norway to play music. My cousins' mother worked there, the girls were there for the holiday and they met the boys, Roma from Germany. They have a better social and financial situation there, better than what we have, and maybe the educational level is better there.

Community and tradition

It is not quite traditional. We do not anymore wear traditional costumes, but the girls should be virgin when they marry, those who kill are excommunicated from community. In our community is very important to respect your parents and the elder, wise family members. We still speak Romani. I also speak a little, because I have left for school, but now I started to learn. Women have to be good mothers, to take care of the house, but in our community women are allowed to work...when children are grown up. I am an exception in my family for I am the only child. My mother was 25 when she born me. Girls in our community girls do not marry early at 13, 14, we think that education is important, thus we do not let children marry at early age.

Marrying in Nădlac

Ramona: In our community the age of marrying depends on the family. Customs are different. Some girls marry at 13, 14, others stress education. This is also my case – I am 20 and my family and my community have not pushed me into marriage, because I have decided to continue my studies and no one opposed me. When I was younger some boys came to us looking for a wife, but my parents did not even talk about this sort of things, they thought I freak out or I would had thought about it all the time. They let me choose to make this step whenever I wanted to. My mother gave birth to her first child at 19 and I was born right after.

First at the university

Ramona: First, they were probably afraid of the unknown, no one tried to enroll in university education before. Maybe they wondered what I would gain from the school – this one has high school and what does he do with it. This is the mentality in Roma culture and that is why we need positive models. You can prove that school helps and by education you get somewhere. RWA (Roma Women' Association) was my positive model. They came to us right when I had the high school graduation exams. I found out that there were some people at the city hall for training programs. I was curious, I went there and I learnt that it is about places for Roma in highs school and university. I had not known about these until then. Somehow, I wanted to go to university, but I was also afraid, I knew I did not have the money to cover expenses. When I found out what it was all about, I decided to trust people from RWA and said that I had nothing to lose. They told me I could go to any faculty I wanted, the important thing was to do what I liked. They promised to help me with a belonging certificate that stipulated that I am Roma and with this certificate I would be eligible for a place free of tuition fee. I choose social work for I thought it would suit me, and I told to myself that I needed to help others because others offered they help to me and simply because it suited me.

Competing for admission, some pay fees

They do not reject me because I study hard. Probably if they saw I do not had any interest in school or in admission exams, maybe ... because I have the same rights as they have maybe even more, they have to enter a competition. Maybe they would have rejected me, but it was not the case, I had the same desire to enter the competition although I had my place reserved, I strived for good grades. They appreciate me, because not many fight for things they already have for nothing. I think we have the same educational level, roughly the same age and we all have the strength to fight for the same things, so they are not at a higher or lower place.

The parents and the university

Ramona: Only my mother lived when I decided to go to university, my father died not long before that. My mother had nothing against although she did not easily let go of me. But it was my choice; she was supportive and has been supportive.

Mirela: I wanted to go to university since I was in the 8th grade. My mother was my inspiration. She kept telling me that I had to go to school and learn, because otherwise I would not find good employment, that education was very important. When I submitted my application to the university Ms. Letitia Mark from RWA called me, and told me that I can have a reserved place, with no tuition fee, at the university, that I can dwell at the association's place, that she will help me, which has been a real support. Otherwise, I could not have entered university education. I have a precarious material condition; my father has been employed until a month ago, and gained about 600 lei. Given the many taxes I could not have afforded to pay for dormitory and other expenses. I would have been sorry because I like to go to university, I like very much what I do, and I cannot imagine how it would have been like to stay home or to clean the streets. It would have been horrible.

At the beginning I applied for English-Romanian. Later, professors told me about cultural studies, I saw that there are many interesting domains within the department; we study Romani language so I decided to remain there.

Students and school mediators

The mediator is a kind of friend to children; you have to be their parent if needed, to be strict when this is the case, to be their advocate, to be dedicated with all your heart to the child, kind of interface between Roma families and schools. We also collaborate with other institutions for advocating children's rights.

Roma children's rights

Mirela: Children's rights are often broken. For example, Roma children have the right to quality education and inclusive classes. However we still find segregated classes and schools. It is not the same as in Hungarian or German schools. We talk about segregation when children are separated in groups, buildings or classes and most of them are Roma. Hungarian and German schools do not have segregation because they study in their mother tongue. There is segregation where I work as school mediator, and its effects are very visible, the quality of education is very low due to segregation, Roma children are discriminated against and pushed aside. It is not okay to have a Roma class and a Romanian class, they do not take care of education in the same way in Roma classes and children do not even get to socialize.

Families do not want their children in schools - myth or reality?

Ramona: We go to the community on daily basis; we talk with parents and from what we see parents are very interested in their children' education. They want their children to become someone. I have not heard a parent saying, "I do not want him/her to go to school". When we tell them about the project, about the fact that we want to help them, they are very interested.

The present status of the two students

Ramona: I cannot say yet that I am a successful person, I consider myself lucky because I have had the opportunity to be helped to get out from the poor environment I have lived in, to have the possibility to know new things and successful people who have not remained there, at the heights of their success but due to their success they reach down to us and take us with them. I think that success depends on the effort you put into obtaining it. Maybe some are lucky but it does not necessarily mean they are successful.

Mirela: Let us say that I am a happy case, it is good that I have gotten in the place I am, but I still have to go further until I reach success. I plan to write projects, to remain in education. I want to work with Roma children; I want to be one of the persons who do something for Roma children and for communities in general.

Ten year projection

Ramona: In ten years, I see myself working with children in the community as I do it right now, but probably I will not have that many unsolved cases. I hope that in ten years the community changes and the Roma community will no longer be the scapegoat for all the ills and problems of the society. I will probably be married, I see myself as a mother, a woman and a child for my parents. When I will meet a boy his ethnicity will not be the first thing I will ask him. This does not count for me as criteria to choose a spouse.

Mirela: In ten years I will have passed happy student adolescence, I will have a family, and I will work for community, I do not intend to give up this work. And I want one child, as I was. In choosing my spouse, ethnicity does not matter because I grew up in a community full of prejudices, it does not matter which community he belongs to, it should be a good person you get along with and love.

What about parents ...?

Mirela: I know a case right among my friends. That some parents do not like me at first but when they get to know me they are very nice to me and even say that I am the sister of my friend. I think that the parents of the chosen one will accept me when they know me.

Ramona: I do not try to pass by these moments of rejection based on ethnicity, I confront them, discuss with them, make them know me and I also want to know them and through knowing each other they realize that prejudices are not constructive, are not good, and in fact I am person who is different from what they imagine. You cannot convince them by saying these things; you should prove it with deeds.

Mirela: The mentality does not change overnight. It is important to know who you are and prove them wrong when they judge hastily.

PS, **Ramona:** On the international Roma day someone called and told me that I have been selected as project officer in the “Closer2oxford” project implemented by ADOR and Roma Policy Center and Minorities.

And this is how success stories come into being, told by two students for whom what happens to them is just life.

RAMONA CARA

■ **ROLE MODELS**

My story began to take shape two years ago, during the hardest period of my life, as my father committed suicide and I had to bury him when I got 18 years old. That was and still is the drama of my life. I tried hard to pass the final exam because I was hoping that I could bring at least a bit of joy to my widow mother; she was left with two adolescents (me and my brother Sorin Cara) who needed many things for school.

My brother stopped going to school in order to work with my mother. In spite of what happened, both of them supported my studies. They didn't ask me to work, however I used to go to the border station every-day after school and washed windscreens to help my family.

I was at the school for the last exam in maths when I heard that some people were coming to the mayor's office to present courses and school opportunities. Out of curiosity, or maybe it was luck, I went to see what it was about.

There were four men and two women speaking to the crowd about training courses and special positions in high-school and university which were available for the Roma.

By listening to them I became interested and began asking various questions; in the end two men, mister Petru Marcel and mister Theofild Lazăr talked and explained to me that there were chances for me to enter the university without having to pay fees. I couldn't believe it then, but they didn't ask for an immediate answer but gave me time to think about it. I wasn't sure that all was true but going to university was my dream; so, full of enthusiasm, I decided to contact them in order to enroll to faculty.

However, analyzing the issue, I started having all kinds of doubts, the main problem was the lack of money due to which I couldn't pay the rent, buy books or support myself while at the university.

My mother spoke with mister Petru Marcel, who considered that I should go to university but he knew like I did, that I didn't have financial resources.

The implementation team of the project "Equality through difference: Roma women's access on labor market" visited us several times and held individual and group information sessions here at my place in Nadlac. Seeing that I had a precarious financial situation they offered me housing at the Roma Women's Association 'For Our Children' in Timisoara. When I heard that I didn't have to pay for housing I decided to leave my mother and my brother at home and go to build a better future.

VOICES TO BE HEARD

I didn't know those people but the way they talked and their interest toward me made me gain trust in them.

When I submitted my application to the university it was like a dream come true but I was woken up by the fact that I had to pay the enrollment fee although I didn't have any money. But God was on my side again because mister Marcel called me saying that the association would pay it so I could apply to the university.

I moved to Timisoara when the university started. At the beginning I thought I was alone but in time I realized that the people from the association were always supporting me; Mrs. Petru Agneta, the vice-president of the Roma Women's Association 'For Our Children' took my hand and brought me to the university on the first day like if I was a child. Then I felt that our relationship was special, that I left my family but God gave me another one.

I was living at the association and in the spare time I tutored beneficiary children in the project and also started to volunteer with the implementation team within the project "Equality through difference: Roma women's access on labor market".

Presently I am a second-year social work student at the Faculty of Sociology and Psychology. While staying at the headquarters of the Roma Women's Association 'For Our Children' I had the opportunity to learn a lot from the persons working there; they were unknown to me in the beginning but later they became my family.





With the help of a teacher, Mrs. Letiția Mark I got a job as a field operator within the “Preventing forced marriages” research project of the Pro Europa League.

Presently I am working as a school mediator within the project “Roma women against segregation” which is implemented by the Roma Women’s Association ‘For Our Children’. And, as a consequence of my volunteering experience I was selected as an officer for the program “Closer to Oxford” which is implemented by the Romanian Association of Debate, Oratory and Rhetoric in partnership with the Policy Center for Roma and Minorities.

Although at the beginning I was sad because of having lost my father, toward the end I realized that besides my mother and my brother I had another family; both helped me to develop myself not only at personal level but at professional level as well.

I believe that I can express my thanks/give something back to these people through my professional accomplishments and by taking them as an example to follow.



ALEXANDRA OPREA

■ RECLAIMING VICTIMHOOD, RETHINKING AGENCY

*[The person's] head should have been stomped on, the worthless scum that [they are]. [He] was too courteous with [the person], the f**king crow ... c**ksucker, scum ... [Cursing mother's dead] lazy! To jail with [this person else they] shall die by someone's hands."*¹

Most of us reading this quote would probably assume that a man was at the other end of the insults; and we would be wrong in that assumption. The "person"—who turns out to be thought of as anything but—referred to is in fact a Romani woman. The quote is taken from reader reactions to an incident in February of 2010, between a Romani school teacher and a policeman in Romania.² The incident was filmed.

The school called the police after they received complaints that the teacher was allegedly "aggressive" with the students and got into arguments with other teachers. The events are unclear but a video clip³ shows the policeman manhandling the woman; she then pushes him away demanding that he take his hands off her. When he does not, she slaps him in the face. The policeman, a man twice her size, then slaps her with such force that her head spins and eyes tear. I choose this incident because it is illustrative of the verbal and physical violence that Romani women are subjected to on a daily basis in Romania. It is also illustrative of how Romani women are thought of as the quintessential anti-victim in an era where women still have doors opened for them.

- 1 Comment by Garcea, available at: <http://inconstantin.ro/2010/02/video-bataie-dintre-o-profesoara-si-un-politist.html> ("trebuie calcata in picioare zdreanta asta, capul ala zdrobit, politistul a fost prea politicos cu ea, cioara dracu, muista, zdreanta??! mortii mamii ei de putoare! la puscărie cu ea ori va muri de mână cuiva!"). I have translated it into gender-neutral language purposely to show how odd this language seems when applied to a woman.
- 2 Ziare.com, *Bataie la Scoala: Profesoara Versus Politist*, available at: <http://www.ziare.com/stiri/frauda/bataie-la-scoala-profesoara-versus-politist-995394>
- 3 Video clip available at: <http://www.audculori.com/audculori-blog/o-profesoara-loveste-un-politist/>

There are numerous comments like the one above, recommending that the policeman beat her harder and that he be promoted for his behavior.⁴ Aside from the sheer barbarity of these comments, it is worth briefly noting how these comments distort what actually happened and how the media is implicated in this distortion. (For those who may not think it is a distortion, they can perhaps agree that there are other ways of interpreting what is seen in the video clip.)

The media characterized the incident as “an altercation” or “a fight” (“bataie”) between a school teacher and a policeman.⁵ Others may have described it as a form of police brutality, especially when committed against a woman and considering that it was the policeman who initiated the physical contact (by pushing her). A fight has a connotation of equality (in status) among the parties. Even school children do not consider altercations between boys and girls to be bonafide “fight”; the boy may even be chided for picking on “a girl” instead of someone his own size. But here, the policeman is praised. Whereas women are often accorded victim status, stereotypes of Romani women as the anti-woman, as masculine, prevent the public from seeing her as a victim.

Roma are the quintessential anti-sympathetic figure (con artists, opportunists, thieves, aggressors). This means that Roma receive the punishment and none of the protection; the police are not there to protect Roma, but rather to protect others *from* Roma. Notions of fragility, femininity and chivalry do not apply to Romani women any more than they would apply to a man.⁶

In Romania, there is an inability to see Romani women as victims even when there is no “fighting” involved. In an article by Letiția Marc about the absence of Romani women in politics sparked comments centered on Romani women's alleged laziness and primitiveness as explanations for this underrepresentation.⁷

...femeile rome preferă să trăiască marginalizate pentru că asta le păstrează LENEA și IMPULSIVITATEA (termen delicat)/ pornirile primitive – toate gesturile pe care nu trebuie să le controleze – a scuipa, a înjura, a bea, a căuta doar satisfacerea instinctului: mâncare, băutură, sexualitate vulgară...”(emphasis original).⁸

4 See e.g., Comment by Garcea, available at: <http://inconstantin.ro/2010/02/video-bataie-dintre-o-profesoara-si-un-politist.html> (“afara cu tiganca asta imputita si violenta din invatamant!!politistul trebuia sa-i dea vreo 10 pumni si s-o umple de sange,e prea putin o palma dar e buna si aceea.omul sa nu fie sanctionat deloc,ci avansat”).

5 See *supra* note 2.

6 This has serious implications when thinking about domestic violence as well. While feminist models of combating domestic violence by and large include complaints to law enforcement, this may have to be reconceived in states where a call to the police is more likely to result in double victimization (either violence or an arrest) for Romani women.

7 Comments to Letiția Marc article, *Femeile rome nu se implica in politica din cauza 'complexului Elena Ceausescu'*, available at: <http://www.mediafax.ro/social/femeile-rome-discriminate-nu-se-afirma-politic-din-cauza-complexului-elena-ceausescu-7755778/>

8 Id.

WHAT IS WOMEN'S AGENCY FOR?

Translation: Romani women prefer to live marginalized because that allows them to maintain their laziness and IMPULSIVITY (delicate term)/primitive behavior. All of the behaviors that they do not have to control – spitting, cursing, drinking, looking only to satisfy bare instincts: food, drink, vulgar sexuality” (emphasis original).

Anytime Romani women are brought up, these images are conjured up. All one has to do to see this is comb the internet for Eastern European⁹ news publications and reader responses. The fact that these images are so readily available and deployed systematically shocks the conscience.

The denial of victimhood to Romani women is part of the general distortion of Romani experiences.¹⁰ Not only is police brutality merely “a fight”, but genocide was merely “persecution”¹¹, slavery was merely a product of the times,¹² and instead of constructive expulsion Romani migrations are often attributed to their being “nomadic”. Discrimination in the market place against Roma equals “they don’t want to work” (i.e., lazy). Note that this does not mean that Roma are *never* seen as victims;¹³ what it does mean is that they are most likely to be seen as victims when the victimizer is also Romani. For example, Romani children who must beg in order for their family to survive are seen as “trafficked” by their parents.¹⁴ There it is less as a result of sympathy for the victim (Romani children) and more as a result of animosity toward the victimizing community and a reluctance to acknowledge the structural racism that leads to begging in the first place.

9 This is not to say that Western Europe does not suffer from this as well. To get a sense of how Romani women's lives are undervalued, see *Italian Outrage Over Roma Drowning Photos*, July 21, 2008, available at: http://articles.cnn.com/2008-07-21/world/italy.drowning_1_roma-sunbathers-bodies?_s=PM:WORLD

10 Note that this does not apply when it comes to violations committed by Roma on Roma (e.g., child marriages). There, Roma are seen as victims (but victimizers as well).

11 See e.g., GUENTER LEWY, NAZI PERSECUTION OF THE GYPSIES 223 (2000) (arguing that Roma were not subject to genocide during the Holocaust, but only to “mass killing”).

12 See VIOREL ACHIM, ROMA IN ROMANIAN HISTORY and _____ NATIONALISMS TODAY (both rejecting Ian Hancock's portrayal of Roma as victims).

13 If the crimes are heinous enough, the European Court of Human Rights will recognize them (police brutality, pogroms). Also, if the victim is innocent enough (“clean hands”), as in school segregation cases.

14 I know of several Romani women and children who beg for a living who are not trafficked. For portrayals of Roma who beg as victims of trafficking, see e.g., Helen Pidd, *From Brilliant Coup to Cock-Up: How the Story of Fagin's Urchins Fell Apart*, Feb. 2, 2008, available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/feb/02/immigration.ukcrime> (discussing raids on Romanian Romani homes in the UK under suspicion that they were trafficking children). See also, Sue Reid, *The Romanian Gypsy and the Teenage Daughter he Sent to Beg*, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1290072/The-Romanian-gipsy-teenage-daughter-sent-beg-Britain-s-streets.html> (describing conflicting accounts of whether or not a girl was “trafficked”). This is not to say that Roma are not trafficked by other Roma, (see ERRC report “Breaking the Silence: Trafficking in Romani Communities”, available at: <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3846>) but rather that Europeans ignore Romani victimization when they (gadje) are the perpetrators and are more likely to see Romani victimization only when another Romani person is the victimizer. The latter serves to deflect attention from the legacy of slavery and the current racist structures and policies that drive Roma to beg in the first place.

Not only is their agency exaggerated, it is also apparent that it is constructed as devious. For instance, lying is frequently attributed to Roma¹⁵ (as opposed to forgetting or not knowing). It is as though non-Roma look at Roma through a funhouse mirror that distorts and casts blame.¹⁶ Take for instance the following interaction:

*I had money in my hands and a boy came along to me and said 'Where did you get that money, gipsy woman; I think you have stolen it'. That money was my first salary which I was counting with fun, but after his words I became sad, I wasn't happy any more.*¹⁷

Looking through this funhouse mirror, a Romani woman counting money is a thief." A Romani woman looking around a store is "shoplifting."¹⁸

This devious agency is extended so far as to imply that Roma feign their disabilities.¹⁹ I once told a friend that I obtained SSD (disability pension) for my mother (here in the U.S.) and he winked ("Oh, nice") at me, as though I had succeed in putting one over on the system. I have similarly received disability accommodations – I am allowed to have a service animal, a dog, in student housing – and have experienced the same reactions (that I'm cunning).²⁰ Often times when Roma in the U.S. receive state assistance, it is thought to be as a result of skillful duplicity, not of bonafide need.²¹

Not only are they thought to fabricate their disabilities and need, so demonized are Romani women in particular that a mayor suggested that Romani women are in fact purposely disabling their children in order to receive state support.²² This is an especially obvious example of where race, class and gender culminate to mark Romani women as something less than animals. Not even animals are thought to maim

15 See e.g., ISABEL FONSECA, BURY ME STANDING 15 ("Gypsies lie. They lie a lot..."). Note that this is an example not of right wing racists, but rather of "allies" engaging in racist reasoning.

16 For example, lack of access to decent housing and plumbing often gets translated into "Roma have bad hygiene." See also Zoltan Barany, *Living on the Edge: The East European Roma in Postcommunist Politics and Societies*, 53 SLAVIC REV. 321, 328 ("one should not ignore the fact that the Roma contribute to their marginalization: poverty need not induce crime...").

17 ENYA, Social Justice Toolkit: Overcoming Violence of Young Roma Women 5, available at: www.overcomingviolence.org/.../overcoming-violence-again-1.html

18 *Ikea Pays 60000 Kronor to Romani Women who were Followed by a Security Guard*, Jan. 16, 2011, available at: <http://lolodiklo.blogspot.com/2011/01/ikea.html>

19 See e.g., Peter Godwin, *Gypsies: The Outsiders*, 199 NAT. GEO. 72 (Apr 2001) (showing picture with caption reading "Gypsies feign handicaps and poverty to elicit handouts from passersby"), picture available at: <http://www.nationalgeographicstock.com/ngsimages/explore/explorecomp.jsf?xsys=SE&id=673457>.

20 For more on how fraudulence is attributed to Roma in the U.S., see Alexandra Oprea, *Psychic Charlatans, Roving Shoplifters and Travelling Con Artists: Notes on a Fraudulent Identity*, 22 BERKLEY J. GENDER L. & JUST. 31(2007).

21 See also ANNE SUTHERLAND, *GYPSIES: THE HIDDEN AMERICANS* (1989) (describing Roma as "most effective at acquiring these special funds").

22 ERRC, *Written Comments of the European Roma Rights Center Concerning Hungary: For Consideration by the United Nations Committee at its 98th Session 14 (2010)*, available at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/docs/ngo/ERRC.Hungary98.pdf>

their own young. It is a common place subordination tactic to mark minority women as bad mothers.²³ This is a predictable manifestation of the devious agency stereotype, as a mother is thought of as an unselfish nurturer while Romani women are thought of as selfish exploiters. It was in fact these attitudes that facilitated the removal of Romani children from their parents²⁴ again, a tactic that is commonplace in racist societies.²⁵

It is important to keep in mind that it is not only right wing racists that subscribe to this ideology. It has different mutations in liberal discourse but maintains its sting. While in right wing discourses Roma are outright demonized and blamed for their marginalization, in liberal discourse they are portrayed as simply responding to their circumstances²⁶. The problem with this is evident if we taken the example of criminality. Whereas a right wing racist would say that all Roma are criminals, a liberal would say that the community has "a problem" but that it is their way of surviving. Neither point to profiling and the *criminalization* of Roma (state action).

Furthermore, whereas right wing racists call Roma epithets, liberals say that it is "an open debate" whether Roma should be called "Roma" or "țigani", again relying on a notion of Romani agency that does not fully comprehend the dynamics of racial subordination or white privilege. Relying on a flawed notion of agency, they point to the fact that some Roma also use the term "țigan".

This is what happened at a recent panel on Roma.²⁷ (The panel had no Roma on it.) The presenter was an academic who was notorious for avoiding educated Roma and who conducted "fieldwork" work poor Roma. She used the word "țigan" and denied its racist underpinnings, claiming that she was merely using it because some Roma use it as well.²⁸ The only opposition to the presenter's use of the word "țigan" came from a Romani woman audience member, who also questioned why the panel had no Roma on it despite there being qualified Roma in the vicinity. Instead of being deferred to as a member of the affected community, she was treated as an interloper whose intervention was met with hostility.²⁹ It is here that a perverse notion of agency collides with notions of authenticity and white privilege. The idea of giving voice

23 See e.g., Dorothy Roberts, *Criminal Justice and Black Families: The Collateral Damage of Over-Enforcement*, 34 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 1005, 1027 (2001).

24 ELUNED ROBERTS-SCHWEITZER, PROMOTING SOCIAL COHESION THROUGH EDUCATION: CASE STUDIES AND TOOLS FOR USING TEXTBOOKS AND CURRICULA 87 (2006) (describing "rescue and remove" policy).

25 David Wallace Adams, EDUCATION FOR EXTINCTION: AMERICAN INDIANS AND THE BOARDING SCHOOL EXPERIENCE, 1875-1928 (1995).

26 See e.g., ISABEL FONSECA, BURY ME STANDING; ANNE SUTHERLAND, GYPSIES: THE HIDDEN AMERICANS (1989); Sinead ni Shunear, *Why do Gypsies Hate Gaujos so Much Anyway? A Case Study* in GYPSY POLITICS AND TRAVELLER IDENTITY 32 (1997).

27 Cite to speaker at UCLA conference on Romani Migration. The idea is that "Roma themselves use the word "țigan" so who is to say it is wrong." As many Romani activists have pointed out, the term "țigan" carries a stigma of racial inferiority. Whether or not some Roma also use the term is a moot point if we accept that we all internalize racism.

28 Note that for the sake of argument, we are ignoring the fact that use of an epithet by members of an oppressed group (against one another) may have different implications when used by a dominant group. In other words, the race of the speaker and the position (of power and influence) that he or she holds may matter.

29 Example taken from "Europe's Roma: The Policies and Practices of Migration, Integration and Human Rights" panel, University of California, Los Angeles on April 21, 2011. This was a panel about Roma on which there were no Roma. (There was supposed to be one Romani person, but she was unable to make it.)

to marginalized peoples seems to apply most often when those people are saying something that reifies their subordination. In this instance, Roma who condoned the use of an epithet were given a voice while a Romani person who challenged the status quo was denied agency. Meanwhile, the academic never questioned why she was in the privileged place of informing an audience about a group to which she does not belong and why no Roma were on the panel.

If we accept the claim that “țigan” is a term loaded with connotations of racial inferiority³⁰, then the term “țigancă” carries a stigma of both racial and gender inferiority. In addition to facilitating distortions of Roma, terms like “țigancă” and “țigancă împutită”³¹ should be as seen as violent in their own right, as “words that wound”³².

Romani women are subject to verbal and physical attacks by the medical profession³³, by family members³⁴, by private actors³⁵ and by the police.³⁶ I have discussed elsewhere how domestic violence against Romani is ignored in Romani and feminist politics and how some violence by medical professionals is embraced by the Romani rights movement.³⁷ Discourse around the latter two types of violence, by private actors and by police, has remained gendered. It is gendered in the sense that it has not been Romani women who have been the subjects of state-violence lawsuits and these lawsuits have not mentioned gender.³⁸ The particular vulnerability of Romani women—who are usually more visible than men because they wear their culture on their bodies—to police brutality has not received due attention in human rights litigation or discourses. (For instance, it is at best unclear whether the court in *Petropolou-Tsakiris v. Greece* adequately dealt with the implications of a miscarriage caused when police officers assaulted a Romani woman.)

30 See Nicolae Gheorghe, *The Social Construction of Romani Identity* in *GYPSY POLITICS AND TRAVELLER IDENTITY* 158 (1997).

31 In May of 2007 Traian Basescu, the president of Romania, snapped at a persistent journalist calling her a “țigancă împutită” (filthy Gypsy woman). He was issued a warning by the National Discrimination Council. Available at: http://www.divers.ro/actualitate_ro?wid=37455&func=viewSubmission&sid=8708

32 MARI MATSUDA, *WORDS THAT WOUND: CRITICAL RACE THEORY, ASSAULTIVE SPEECH AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT* (1993).

33 See e.g., Center for Reproductive Rights, *Body and Soul: Forced Sterilization and Other Assaults on Roma Reproductive Freedom in Slovakia* (2003), available at: <http://reproductiverights.org/en/document/body-and-soul-forced-sterilization-and-other-assaults-on-roma-reproductive-freedom>; European Roma Rights Center, *Ambulance Not on the Way: The Disgrace of Healthcare for Roma in Europe* (2006), available at: http://www.soros.org/initiatives/health/focus/roma/articles_publications/publications/ambulance_20061004.

34 Alexandra Oprea, *Re-envisioning Social Justice from the Ground Up: Including the Experiences of Romani Women*, *ESSEX HUMAN RIGHTS REV.* 1.1 (2004), available at: <http://projects.essex.ac.uk/EHRR/archive/pdf/51.pdf>

35 See *Moldovan and Others v. Romania* (No. 1), applications no. 41138/98 and 64320/01, Friendly Settlement (pogrom in Hadarenii). See also, European Roma Rights Center, *Sudden Rage at Dawn: Violence Against Roma in Romania* (1996), available at: <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=3676>

36 *Petropolou-Tsakiris v. Greece*, application no. 44803 (2007).

37 See supra note 34.

38 See e.g., *Nachova and Others v. Bulgaria*, applications no. 43 577/98 and 43 579/98, Final judgment, Grand Chamber, 2005; *Mizigarova v. Slovakia*, application no. 74832/01; *Stoica v. Romania*; *Angelova v. Bulgaria*, application no. 55523/00

WHAT IS WOMEN'S AGENCY FOR?

Some may disagree with the way in which I have rejected the notion of Romani agency and may criticize it as paternalistic. Emphasizing agency as opposed powerlessness is a political choice. It is sometimes done by those who do not fully account for the various manifestations of racial subordination or by those who precisely intend to use it to reinforce racism. Some may retort that Romani feminists also invoke the agency of Romani women when they point to internal resistance to patriarchal practices.³⁹ However, the point of the latter is to challenge a racist idea (i.e., that feminism comes from the outside), while the point of the former is to reaffirm the status quo. And we must always be suspicious of ideas and people who reinforce the status quo.

³⁹ See supra note 34.

ENIKŐ VINCZE

■ THE KIND OF FEMINISM I WISH FOR ON WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DAY

At different times, depending on the socio-political system they lived in, and under the impact of their general perspective, feminists have formulated various interpretations of differences and inequalities between women and men, and have defined the social role of their ideas and practice in different ways. The most balanced positions from the myriad of existing ones are those that merge interpretations of both feminism of equality and feminism of difference; analyze inequalities both in terms of patriarchal gender order and in terms of wider economic and political phenomena; approach the research of sexual relations between women and men by investigating also other dimensions of these relationships. Consequently, they recognize differences and similarities between women and men but also between women of different ethnicities, social status, age, and sexual orientation. Finally, these are the types of feminisms that succeed in applying on themselves with greatest credibility the principle of critical spirit practiced toward systems of oppression; these are the ones that empower women to build solidarities (conjectural, and not universal or timeless ones) between people regardless of gender, ethnicity, status, to generate change in the interest of social good.

Such feminisms I would like to see in Romania today: that raise and discuss public issues and participate in public debates about “social good”, address issues of general interest such as power or inequality in terms of gender intersected with other systems of differentiation (feminisms that do not speak “only” about women), feminisms that by their actions seek to create social spaces in which every person has the opportunity to engage and develop their skills and negotiate on acceptable social order (i.e. feminisms that do not militate “only” for women), feminisms that for example, work not only to promote women in politics, but to integrate feminist principles in political practice.

In what follows, I reproduce excerpts from a position we have released recently for the promotion of equal opportunities in Romania and present information based on my experience gained while I have participated in the project “Equality through Difference. Roma Women's Access on the Labor Market.” I believe that equal opportunities – together with non-discrimination – as a system of ideas and practices constitutes one of the potential fields in which feminism could prove useful today, in both theoretical and practical terms. Because it combines feminism of equality and of difference, and the critique of patriarchal egalitarianism with the recognition that differences, depending on how they are treated, are not only sources

WHAT IS WOMEN'S AGENCY FOR?

of positively evaluated variety, but can also be sources for excluding or making people inferior. Further, this system of thought observes the mutual influence of socioeconomic position / social exclusion and cultural concepts that justify unequal / unfair treatment; intersectionality recognizes social differences and power systems, and requires integrated thought and practice on social issues and / or policies. For these reasons, on the 8th of March 8, Women's Day, I wish for a feminism that has an important role in a real public debate on gender equality, a debate that first of all should fill in this system of thought with substantive content and should generate social action in various domains of life.

Everybody can see that the principle of equality is formally assumed by the Romanian Government as a chapter to be met in the process of accession to the European Union. The purely formal attitude that permeates the entire problem is evident in many issues, among them: lack of appropriate methodology that could serve the implementation of the Law on Equal Opportunities between Women and Men in both public and private spheres; lack of vision and governmental practice to link the provisions of this law to other laws; lack of interest and expertise to integrate gender equality into all public policies (using gender perspective in elaborating, implementing and monitoring policies); lack of institutional structures to ensure ministerial coordination in terms of providing equal opportunities; lack of interest and expertise to deal with the complex phenomena of equal opportunities situated at the intersection of multiple axes that generate inequality (gender, ethnicity, age, social status, sexual orientation); placing the National Agency for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men at the Ministry of Labor in a position that has not allowed decision making and has not assured funds (moreover, since about two years the agency has been in an entirely invisible position); lack of precise rules and funds necessary to ensure real and efficient operations of County Commissions for Equal Opportunities, including the lack of definition of responsibilities for its members (public institutions and persons representing them in COJES), but also lack of local initiatives in this area; failure to use expertise in the field, expertise gained through gender studies programs, and universities' repulsive attitude towards these programs; regarding the assurance of equal opportunities the Romanian state helplessly face the dictates of neo-liberal market, or the International Monetary Fund or World Bank; in times of economic crisis all affirmative measures aimed at equalizing opportunities are the first that risk elimination; the European rules on equal opportunities are not binding in the European Union, they reach Member States as recommendations, and in Romania there is no force that could negotiate their enforcement on national and local levels.

The facts described above are maintained among others by the ideas social actors have on equal opportunities and about inequalities that have emerged and are deepening due to economic transformations in the last twenty years; but the situation owes much also to ideas related to socialist experiences of "gender equality", or "equality of persons with different social status."

To acknowledge the social value of equal opportunities we need to accept the fact that social inequalities have structural causes and they cannot be explained by innate or acquired abilities of individuals;

equal opportunities is not only a legal issue but also a social and economic one; individuals do not start from the same position in the competition for resources necessary for decent living, and these conditions cannot be controlled/changed by them without the support of institutional actors (such as the state or national or international corporations) that have means to even the situation or at least to ameliorate existing inequalities; beyond ensuring equality before the law there are certain realities of everyday life that reduce the ability of certain social groups to make these rights work for them; in addition to their poor material conditions, disadvantaged groups are also affected by negative stereotypes through which public opinion perceives them and their condition; ensuring equality of opportunity does not only mean the implementation of a system of quota that promotes disadvantaged persons in positions they cannot reach by their own effort, but requires a set of affirmative measures aimed at empowering them in various domains of life.

Starting from the situation described above I consider that we need the following measures regarding policies of equal opportunities: creating a governmental structure directly subordinate to the Prime Minister's office that would coordinate public policies aimed at ensuring the implementation of the principle equal opportunities in all domains; creating decision-making structures in local administration that would elaborate proposals, implement and monitor the implementation of equal opportunities in both public and private sectors; these local and national structures would collaborate with local non-governmental organizations and associations active in promoting equal opportunities in different domains (education, employment, health, culture, politics); developing the administrative capacity to manage at various levels and in different domains the practice of policy analysis and monitoring focused on the impact of these policies on disadvantaged groups; the elaboration and financial support for affirmative actions aimed at equalizing opportunities for multiple disadvantaged social groups; introducing the issue of gender equality in school curricula at all educational levels; training programs addressed to public authorities and institutions but also to private and public companies to provide them basic knowledge about inequality, discrimination and ensuring equal opportunities and to make them more sensitive regarding these issues.

This is the kind of feminism I think of on the 8th of March, feminisms that thinks about these things ... Otherwise I do not mind that their partners at home or at the workplace celebrate women on all the other days of the year.

LETIȚIA MARK

■ “EQUALITY THROUGH DIFFERENCE. ROMA WOMEN’S ACCESS ON THE LABOR MARKET”. EXPERIENCE OF FIRST WAVE APPLICANTS FOR PROJECTS SUPPORTED BY EUROPEAN SOCIAL FUND

“Equal opportunities and respect, Axis 6.3. Invest in people!” are just some of the phrases that we have been using in our project for almost three years that, project we won through competition for ESF projects launched in 2008. After the brief euphoria after the victory, our little association with the unconventional name “Roma Women Association for Our Children” signed a draconian contract in the critical date of 08/08/08.

The 3 times repetition of figure 8 was the first warning, as in oracles and numerology; the meanings are ambiguous, we still do not know if the numbers predict a great success or great disaster. We do not want to reinforce stereotypes about the power of divination gypsy women have, so we wait with hope and fear to pass all the tests and challenges the fate reserves for us, and we have assumed.

Writing these lines, I do not want to lament, although all the moods I went through legitimate to turn not only to psychiatrist, but even to ask for moral compensation for the things they have caused. I want to do an exercise in exorcism and healing the trauma caused by naively entering this competition that has had so many unknown factors.

What we know and what we have relied upon in the brave moment of stepping on this adventurous road was our experience of working in the field, “Grassroots” as they say, and the responsibility proven by 14 years of uninterrupted activity in our organization.

With all the rumors related to the ESF and the notorious failures in Hungary, for example, not without fear and hesitation until the last moment, although a laconic contracting officer that we were a sort of “guinea pigs” in a sublime gesture of acceptance of the fatality, unconsciously, I signed the “condemnation”, the commitment to implement the approved project as proposed by AMPOSDRU, without any right of the beneficiary to change a word of this contract. For those who have not gone through

this experience, I suggest reading the contract in question, in which only the “beneficiary” is guilty of all situations – expected and unexpected – and generally it does not have too many provisions for his defense in case of failure to meet the terms of control and reimbursement, “inter alia”.

The lived experience until now when I write these lines, when we are few months apart from ending the project, is really frustrating and traumatic. I hope I do not pass this feeling to future “beneficiaries”. I repeat, I do not want to discourage anyone, but at the same time, I think it is good to know these things, in the event that these lines will be read by decision makers and reading these lines will revise their attitude towards those who have had insane courage to write projects desiring to change something in this country, even to put things in motion, not to remain petrified in helplessness, inertia and indifference.

While we were the first to be controlled, nobody – except the team at the European Court of Auditors – has found a word of encouragement for the temerity of a small provincial associations to contribute as much as the project aims to access European funds and hence contribute to the state budget, the development of services, but primarily to trying to solve a thorny problem, namely the integration of Roma women and young people in the labor market.

In the first year of implementation, we realized that our experience of working directly in the Roma communities, willingness to follow “literally” all the activities we planned, following the instructions and legislation are not sufficient and even it does “not really” count in the eyes of officials who have different rules. For them papers are important, tons of paper and they are never pleased, they can always prove their superiority and your nothingness. They verify you, as you were a potential criminal and not a “beneficiary” or partner.

I felt, and the entire implementation team felt, that our team is truly multiethnic and multicultural, but the identification with the “Roma Women’s Association” is not beneficial for us. Quite on the contrary, the presumption of guilt implacable hangs over us, as a fatal destiny that you can not escape. Romanians and Hungarians in our team felt more acute than the Roma this experience of discrimination based on prejudice and ill will, free malice, because we were used to such treatment. Unfortunately we have stopped reacting, our feelings were stripped by many other life experiences, much tougher, the offense, rejection and undisguised contempt.

Salvation could come only from believing naively and strongly that you cannot be disqualified as long as you are right and prove that you respect the project application as you conceived it with your knowledge and power, since this project has been valued, appreciated and declared winner.

In retrospect, after almost three years of implementation, we missed to consider many unknown factors and no one has helped us find the right track, because nobody feels responsible, all those who were officers or responsible for monitoring of numerous departments were instructed not to venture and to answer our specific questions and uncertainties. Constantly we bumped into glass walls, whenever we went to Bucharest to sort out a problem, we returned frustrated and confused realizing that we speak different languages. We did not get any information by phone however hard we tried to call them for days. We started to write, and we got record numbers, but not answers, even after nearly three years

STORIES OF FAILURE AND SUCCESS

we have been given no answers other than letters of rejection regarding appeals to declare ineligible costs. Thus, we concluded that the only thing that mattered to AMPOSDRU and OIR POSDRU was to hunt our mistakes and give us “ineligible” as a punishment because we dared to carry out a project, and our wages are too high compared to public employees, a permanent reproach meant to raise feelings of guilt, as if it we had not followed the pay scale established at European level, aiming to reduce the gap between “us and them”.

In 2008, there was no talk of crisis and drastic cut down of salaries in the budgetary system; we found guidance in the tools available to us such as guides, corrigenda and a few instructions, quite ambiguous back then.

I participated in all preparatory meetings aiming clarification of ambiguous situations, because of the desire to understand, prevent errors resulting from subjective interpretation. We have established working groups of beneficiaries to have a dialogue that will lead to another kind of relationship that would be help proper functioning of the projects; in vain, outside of vague promises, we failed to reduce the excessive bureaucracy and change attitudes towards us. On the contrary, I felt a kind of revenge in classifying our project as “problematic” and our transfer from Bucharest to Timisoara and Deva after that.

Returning to the first “wave” of those like us who were not told not to submit projects in 2008, we feel that we were “experiments” not to say “scapegoats” or “sacrificed projects”. Not only excessive bureaucracy disliked by all those who have dared to participate in the competition for projects, but especially “further instructions”, countless changes at top, demonstrate that authorities were not sufficiently prepared to properly and efficiently manage European funds and all their hesitations have cost us in the field, especially non-governmental organizations, lacking political support, antennas and financial resources, other than pre-financing and our own contributions. We did not realize, and could not realize, that breaching the terms of reimbursement specified in the contract, with all our financial predictions that relied on this turnover, will lead to deadlocks right in the first year of implementation.

The first refund was count back and arrived more than a year after the start of the project. The other reimbursements have exceeded 200 days, versus the 45 days stipulated in the contract. The first jam occurred because anonymous allegations we found out when we spent money from pre-financing. Only implementation teams remain on the barricade for six months, working without salaries.

Top financial and legal experts have left the ship adrift, as soon as the money ran out; they did not risk not receiving wages! These people really have “antennas”! The project seemed compromised for good. After that followed depression, paroxysmal states of confusion, powerlessness, disorientation. We urgently had to pay 119,000 lei, the greatest amount ineligible for some mistakes committed unintentionally that could have been corrected if we had a monitoring officer and clear instructions, which would had been the proper situation. It is true that we did wrong, but we focused on implementing the programs and projects that were new to everyone, we had to get used to it and to the dangers threatening us. No one will understand the seriousness of situations we were in, problems we have not yet passed, because, despite the efforts made to get a loan (U.S. \$ 200,000 from FOSI Budapest,

and we thank them this way because they have saved us from an inevitable failure), the amounts of unacknowledged by AMPOSDRU and OIR AMPOSDRU have increased, reaching values untenable by the association or by the staff counting everything we earned in the three years of continuous employment, except for 14 days leave because of health problems in a specialized center for cases of mental and physical exhaustion. I do not exaggerate; those who know me also know these details and many more. In a state that respects human rights I would have asked for material and moral compensation for the stress and humiliation endured, while in fact, implementing a project for vulnerable groups should be supported or at least appreciated. It is not fair to be ruined by project, materially, physically and psychologically, is not fair to be found guilty a priori, to be suspected and treated with suspicion or at best with indifference and neglect. No matter how many rules are or how large is bureaucracy, the rules must be clear, simple and understood by both parties. Unwritten rules are invoked arbitrarily "ad libitum" by people who verify you; you are at the discretion of their provision or "goodwill", when in fact we should be entitled to the presumption of innocence and a code of ethics on the relationship between the applicant and the managing authority. I repeatedly make appeal because our feelings were induced by those who control us, and perhaps unconsciously, our strength has diminished, we have got to the point to suspect ourselves. What did we do wrong? We recognized that we were not perfect, every project is idealistic, and implementing it does not depend exclusively on us. At an evaluation meeting held in Bucharest, we were told that we must adapt to external factors, which were independent of our will. Did the interim management authorities understand these things in the same way? Did they consider changes, context, and lack of guiding documentation? We have not been informed and were allowed to cope how we could, some did better, and others like us were left alone like us.

Why we have continued? Because I could not quit. Not only that the contract bound me and did not only allowed me to go further, or to pay the entire amount spent and to bear all the consequences. On the other hand, the association was involved, moreover there were our partners ... I could quit, it was clear that ESF rules were beyond the mutual agreement, did not fit our experience in running projects, bureaucracy seemed abusive; we were not prepared for all these technical requirements, but the monitoring agency did not master it as well and they learnt by doing; moreover their attitude toward us adds up to the situation in which they terminated us and we had no political support or influence, we were the "bad case", and no one doubts that we could actually be the opposite, e.g. an example of "good practice."

I did not give up and I found energy to recover after each "bang" not only because I had experience in this regard, to withstand bangs and "prove" what I have tried all my life, that the Gypsies can make it despite various obstacles and doubts. We have acquired over time, resistance to frustration, tenacity in desperately trying to overcome the weaknesses of the moment and move forward, not knowing where the road takes us. I do not exclude the fear of something worse and a dose of naivety and sense of destiny that characterizes us when facing things we do not understand.

I wrote my resignation several times and I withdrew it, I wanted to give up whenever I passed depressive crisis at every financial dead-end, or delay "sine die", or each letter of clarification of dozens

of pages, each report of thousands of pages, tons of paper signed and initialed in all corners. We rebelled, we sought justice through appeals, we have tried to obey and do everything we required, to correct ourselves, to ease the monitoring to reduce the repayment period. Needless, the same doubts are hovering over us right now, although we strive to highlight, emphasize, we have not yet put only bullets and arrows to ease control.... Our project is considered too complicated, which not discourage the plagiarists (however!).

I know that because of my I will be accused of excessive emotion on a very delicate border that separates it from disease, because I show the wounds, weakness, confusion, irrational feelings, but more seriously, lack of joy. I have not had the chance to feel good about the highest intellectual achievement of the project, the journal SARA KALI NEVI, which has a good standing and has prestigious contributors, acknowledged researchers in the academic sphere of equal opportunities, knowing the situation of Roma women, Roma activists on national and international level. I realize that I wasted energy to write dozens, hundreds of messages and formal and typical addresses, so many irrelevant pages, which will be "dead words" in an archive. I have not sufficiently focused instead on beneficiaries, on women, youth and children who come to us hoping we would change their life. For many this project is hope, especially for the rural women in Gradinari of Nadlac for youth of Masloc, Satchinez, for so many villages in Banat. It is not fair either to themselves or to us to focus only on papers, frustrating recordings, indicators, and not on people paying more attention to ideals and dreams that give life and animate every projection. Why should the implementation of projects for people and their needs focus on documents and not on solving their immediate, urgent needs? We talk too little about the expectations of women and young Roma, about their right to decent work, on non-discriminatory treatment that should be applied to the Roma too. Hence our deep dissatisfaction and frustration with people turned into "target group" and nothing more. Yes, we show them how to treat an interview, how to prepare a resume, how to look for a job, we mediate, organize job fairs, but how many employers are sensitive to the fact that Roma are vulnerable, when competition and profit prevail. Our efforts are condemned to failure from start, because of lack of jobs in times of crisis and because of national policies regarding economic recovery, and integration policies. How to eliminate segregation in schools, when school inspectors and principals of schools and kindergartens tolerate and even encourages the separation of Roma children in schools?

Our personal trauma are nothing compared to the trauma of homeless families left lacking any means of livelihoods, young people who have no prospect beyond hope that in other countries they will find work and can help their families, or at least they will not be a burden.

Through our project we have not committed to solve all the problems of Roma, although we assumed a lot, being a complex project, under normal conditions the fulfillment of what we committed to should have brought us the joy of meeting point by point of what we have believed that it is in our power to solve, of what depends on us. If everyone have had this awareness of a contributing to changing the current situation, to apply the content of speeches and of democratic legislation compatible with European values, our efforts would have been appreciated and encouraged.

Now that we have five months before project completion, things were not solved; we seek justice by appealing to court. We still live under the threat of financial dead-ends and ineligible costs, delays in repayment, mistakes hunting as if these were the main goal of this project.

We do not want to discourage anyone, we know that the absorption of structural funds in Romania is minimal; we know that the chance for many beneficiaries has been missed, but in these circumstances who does still venture to go through what we went through. I do not think our experience is unique, but many prefer to remain silent, believing that things will change by themselves and those in the first “wave” have the vocation of self-sacrifice.

As for the Roma, they are recorded in the target group; they do not to ask many questions, questions I reiterate for almost 20 years of activism to promote women and young Roma: Cui prodest ignorantia? Whom does ignorance serve? Many people use it, not suspecting that at some point we will all pay a much higher price.

LETIȚIA MARK

■ JEKHIPEN ADE DIFERENCIA. O ACCESO E ROMANE JUVLEANGO PO FORO LA BUTYIARIMASKO. E EXPERIENCIA EL ANGLUNE APLIKACIENGE PALA E PROJEKTURA VAZDINE VASH O PROGRAMO EUROPAKO SOCIALNO FONDO

Jekh fialo shansa/droma, Axa 6.3. ZURIAR PE EL MANUS! KER INVESTITIA ANDE MANUSH

Mai opre, phendem feri/numa varesave mashkar el alava save zurias ande amaro projecto savo jeal de akana trin bersh, saveso nerisardeam ande kompeticia pala e projektura puterde ande 2008 thaj pala e cini/ skurto vrama kana but loshavas, amari cini organizacia e jekto anavesa “E Asociacia e Romane Juvliangi anda amare chavore” pisindeas/ ramosardeas opre jekh kontrakto buth pharo/zuralo ando bilasho gives 08.08.08

Mai anglal sikadespe amenge ande o oxto kai boldelpe trivar sar ka e drabarne thaj orakolura

Ci phenelpe vashno so avela, ci jianas ci akana kana kadala numerura sikavenamenge anglal jekh baro baxtalipe o bibaxtalipe. Ci kamas te zurias e stereotipura/ anglal-krisa pala e zor/putyara e romane juvliange sar drabarne kaj phene so avela, kadea ke ajukeras e patyaimasa thaj darasa te nakhas pa sa e zumavimata save o jivoto thaj amen korkore leamle pe amende.

Sar ramov/pisiniv kadala rige, shiav mange ande gogyi te na xolaravma, vi kana kodo so akhearav thaj akheardem ande muro ilo ji akana denma o cicimos na feri/numa te kerav sfato/lafi karing jekh psihiatero, de vi te davle pe kris thaj te mangav te pokinen kodola katar save teleardea sa kadala butyia. Kamavas te zumavav te ankalaval avri thaj te sastiaravmma katar kadala zurale bilashimata, so ande mande si thaj dukh denma ande muro ilo ke sar chavori gindivasma kana lem te jia ande kompeticia kade bute butyianca so ci prinjiaravas ka kodo momento.

So jianvas thaj so zuraiardeame te jias ande kodo momento, sas amaro prinjiardimos thaj amare bersh de kana keras butyi po tereno/phuv “ka o firo e chearake” sar pheniolpe sar vi e responsabiliteta so sikadeam ande el 14 bersh sode kerdea butyi sfako gives amari organizacia.

Pala e ESF ashundilo ke mai angles ando Ungro geleas bi-lashes, na bi-dasasa thaj na bi te gindivma ji po agor, vi kana phendeaspe amenge katar o oficeri pala e kontraktura, ke sam sar kana pe amende keren “experimento”, jekhe semnosa fino savesa akceptosardem o agor e dromesko, bi-te gindivma, pisindem/ semnosardem “e kondamnacia”, lem pe mande ke si te keras e emplementacia e projektosko savo sas akceptuime pala e zakonura thaj e kondicie kerde katar o AMPOSDRU, bi te delphe khanci ciacimos e “beneficiaroske”, kodolenge “kaske kerelpe mishtimos”, te lasharen vogy te pharuven vareso ando kontrakto.

Anda kodola kai ci nakhle pa kadaia experientia, shaj ginaven/citin o kontrakto pa savo dav duma, ande savo feri o “beneficiario” si doshalo anada sa e situacie vazdine anglal thaj vi ci prinjiarde, thaj cina nai but articulura ande save te shaj te anikalavel pesko ciacimos atunci kana ci respectipe/delphe pakiv pe e termenura kana kerelpe verifikacia thaj kana kerelpe ramburascia/boldimos e lovengo, “inter alia”.

E experientia savi trajsardem ji akana kana ramov kadala rige, kana mai si anga amende varesave shion ji po agor e projektosko si vi ciaces frustranto, nasul thaj traumatizanto.

Pakiav te na bishavav kadai so me akhilarav e manushenge kai avena “e beneficiara”, palpale phenav, ci kamav te kolarv khanikas, de sa ande kadaia vrama, pakiav ke si mishto te prinjiarenpe kadala butyia, anda kodoia situacia ke kadala rige si te aven ginade/citisarde

Vi katar manush saven si le e zor te len decizia thaj save kana ginen kadala righe, lasharena pengi pozicia karing amende, kodola save dromaileam dilivanes te raosaras projektura savenca te pharuvas vareso ande kado them, vi te keras te jian anghe te mishkisasar e butyia, te na ashias sar e bar ande nashtisarimos, bi-nercia thaj bi-dukhaimos, bi-intereso.

Mai anglal simas vi ka e verifikacia, rode te dikhen so kerde te avela mishto, feri/numa o grupo katar e Europaki Konturengi Kris, khanikas nas khanci vorba te zuriarelamane vash e gindura thaj dar jekhe cine organizacieake andar jiekh mai cinoro foro, kadiki sode shteapeske ado projekto, ka e akcesia e europake fondurenge tahj mai anglal ka o barvalimos e bugetoske e themesko, o barimos pe el servicura, de mai anglal te lasharel jekh problemo so si but dukhado, e integracia e romane jiuveleango thaj e romane ternengo po foro la butyiarimako

Dikheam de andar o angluno bersh kana kerdeam implementacia ke amari ekpeientia te keras butyi ande komunitetura romenge, o kamlimos te keras sa “sar si ramosardo” te keras sa e aktivitetura anglal gindisarde, te jialpe pala so si ramosardo te kerelpe thaj te des pakiv pala e zakonura/legi naj dosta thaj vi “na kadea but” kotil/ si imoportanto ande e jiaakha e muialengo/ funkiconarengo saven si len aver zakonura thaj anda save importante si e papirura, mile papirura thaj nai lenge ci jekh data mishto, ci sar, shaj sikaventuke kana von kamen ke von si bare thaj ke tu sode san de cinero, o kiro khanicimos, kodo pe sa vi kerelpe verifikacia/rodimata si dikhino sar jekh posibilo chor, thaj ci jekh data sar “beneficiario” o partenero.

Na feri/numa me akheardem, de sa o grupo kai kerdeam implementacia, vi kana si jekh grupo bute fialonca manush, anda mai buth kulture, etnie, ke kana shios tu pasha o anav

“E Asociacia e Romane Jiuveangi” ci anel khanci lashimos, de mai buth, lengo gindo si ke sam doshale, bi te dikhen khanci, sar jekh soarta bi-lashi angla savi nai sar te nashes. Thaj kadaia eksperiencia pe diskriminacia, anglal kriza thaj nasulimos, shaj phenas ke keren nasulimos iva, kadala sa mai feder sar e rom akhiarde pe pengi morki e romunura thaj e ungura andar amaro grupo kasa keras implementacia, anda kodo ke amen samas sikade kasave butyanca, thaj ci mai sas amane reakcia pe kadala, amare gindura thaj so akhiarasas sas mai feder karing aver butyia andar o trajo/ jivoto, mai zurale mai chore, sar shjudimos, vorbe/lafi bilashe, bi-kamlimos thaj lajiav.

Amaro jutimos/pojenimos nashtisardea te avel khanikatar feri/numa andar amaro zuralo pakiajmos ando ciacimos thaj ke kana sikaves ke kers sa pala e aplikacia e projektoski sar gindisardea/mislisirdean, kire zoranca thaj prinjiarimatenca, thaj kana anglal sas vi kerdi laki evaliacia, sas akceptuime thaj inklisto o angluno, nashtilpe te avas deskalifikime, te avas shudine avri.

Akana kana dikhav palpale, pala trin bersh de kana keras implemantacia, ci shteam anglal sa e bi-jiangle butyia thaj khonik ci jutisardeamen te jias po drom o lasho, anda kodo ke khonik ci mangelas te lel peski responsabiliteta, te lel pe peste, sa save sas oficerura pe monitorizacia o sherudne pala e buth departamentura, kadea sas sikade te na shionpe andre, te na jutin, te na den palpale konkreto/ vashno pe kodo so pushasas lendar thaj so ci jianasas. Ka sa o paso sar kana madadivas barendar/zidondar xujagake, sodivar jiasas po Bukarest te pushas te lashiaras vareso, bolasas palpale maj konfuzo/ diliarde sar kana gealeam, sar kana kerasas sfato/lafi aver shiba. Po telefono ci denas khanci informacia, maj but gesa shaj sunisas sode shajas ci denas palpale.

Pala kado ramosarasas/pisinisarasas lenge, fei numerosa ashiliam, de bi te demn kahnci palpale pe kodo so pushasas lendar, ci pala trin bersh ci deape amenge khanci palpale ka kodo so mangleam lendar te den palpale, feri/numa lilora pala o debito thaj ke ci line e kontestacia so kerdeam pala e butyia so trebalas te pokinas thaj von phenenas ke nashtilpe/ nas eligigibilo. Ando kadala butyia leam sama ke fei/numa jekh butyi si importante andar o AMPOSDRU thaj OIR POSDRU sas te nashen pala e butyia so ci keras mishto thaj te denamen “ bi-eligibile” sar kana doshale samas ke mangleam te ingeras jiekh proiekto thaj amrare pokin si but mai bare sar e manushenge kai keren butyi ande administracia e themeski, kadai phendeape butyivar kash te biandiol ande amnde o gindo e doshako, sar kana nas katar na katar o europako kerdepe e papirura sode te aven e pokin, save te lasharen e diferenca mashkar “amen thaj von”

Ande 2008 ci delaspe duma pala e kriza thaj o chiorimos thaj o shindimos pe pokin ando sistemo bugetaro, amen gealeam pala e instrumentura so sas angla amende, gidura, corrigendum-ura thaj so phenenalse andre sar te kerelpe, cera pe kodoia vrama, cera xalarelaspe, thaj shajas te akhiaes mai but butyia, nas exakto.

Samas pe sa e kidimata pala e situacie so nas vashno, anda kodo te hatyaras, te keras prevencia/ te lashiaras anglal e problemura/bilashimata so inklen adar kodo do nai vashno phendo. Kerdeam mai but grupura pe butyi e beneficiarengi, anda kod o te shaj te keras sfato/lafi savo te ingerel ka avel fialo/tipo komunikacia/dumaibe vash o lashiarimos e butyiange so si pala o projekto, de mai but sar phendimata ci

dine palpale khanci vashno, nashtisardeam te ceraras e but bari birokracia thaj te pharuven pengi pozicia karing amnede.

Mai buth, pala kado akheardeam ke vazdempe karing amende mai but nasulimasa kana kerde klasifikacia pala o projekto kana phende ke si “problematico” thaj bishadeamen katar Bukarest pe Timisoara Thaj pa e Timisoara pe Deva .

Thaj te jiaav palpale ka o anglune priektura so linepe opre, kodolenge sar amen ci phendeape ci lege te na shion proektura ande 2008, amanen akhiaras ke samas line te kerelpe experimento pe amende te na phenav ke sama line sar “busni” o sar shinade projektura.

Na feri andar e bari birokracia roven e mai buth khai dromaile te jian pe e kompeticia e proektongi, de mai buth e “lashiarimata pe e zakonura” so ande pala kodo, e buth sikimata, e pharudimata ka o mai ucho nivelo, sikaven ke e autoritetura nas dosta pregatime/ zurale te traden/ te administrin chiachimasa thaj mishto e love/fondura tahj sa kadala phagimata lenge feri man e mansuh kaj keras butyi mashkar e manush ande komunitetura, mai but amen e organizacie bi-guvernamentale, bi te avelamen varesavo jutimos/ pojenimos politkano, bi te aven amen manush mashkar lende, bi te aveleman laver love sar kodola andar e anga pokinimos/ angla-financara thaj amari kontribucia/ amaro kotor lovengo. Ci gindisaileam, thaj cina nas sar te jianas ke kana ci inkerenpe e terminura/agor pe rambursacia/ denpe palpale e love, sa amre anglal shtine lovenca, kai sas kerde pe kadava rulajo/ gelimos, si te ingeren ka o ashaimos vekem anda o angluno bersh kana kerdeam implementacia.

E angluni ramburasacia, kana dinepe palpale e love avile feri jekh kodor ka jekh bersh pala so kizdisardeam o projekto. Kolaver rambursacie sar pala mai buth sar 200 ges pala e 45 ges save si o termeno ando kontrakto.

O angluno ashadimos avilo pa so anonimo vazdimata pa save ci jianglema ji kana ci getosaile e love andar e pre financara. Shov shon ashile te keren butyi bi lovenge feri/numa e grupora saev kerde implementacia pala e aktivitetura save kerde butyi bi lovenge.

E anglune expertura pala e love thaj juridiko nashle kana dikhle ke ma naj love, ci kerde risiko te na len penge love! Kadalen chaichimasa sas len penge manush pe sa e gora !

O projekto sas sar kana akana gata sas, ci dihkisas mai dur, sas bari depresia pe amare ile, ci jianasas karin mai dur, nashtisas te keras khanci. Sas musai te das palpale sugo 119 000 de lei,

Kadiki sas e bieligibilo anda materialno dosha so ci kerdinepe bi te kamelpe thaj save shailasaspe te ortonle/ lashiarente te avileasame ande sa kadaia vrama jekh oficero pala e monitirizacia, sar avileasas shukar thaj chaches kana respectisardeasaspe/ deasaspe pakiv, kana kodo so sas ramosasrdo ande e instrukcie / sar, so te kerelpe o projekto avileasas vashno/klarno, o te deasaspe amenge palpale vorba pe so pushasas lendar.

Si chaches ke kerdeam buth dosha, de amen gindisavas pe implementacia thaj e projektura ESF sas neve anda savore, ande kadaia situacia mangleasaspe te sikaven amen thaj te phenenamenge so ajukerelamen. Khonik naj te akhiarel sode de phari thaj de nasul sas e situacia pa savi nakleam thaj inke ci nakhleam, anda kodo, ke vi kana keras sa so shaj, e lovenge so mangleam unjule (200 000 USD fkatar o

FOSI Budapesta, savenge najсарas vi pe kado drom, ke jutisardeamen katar jekh baro xasarimos), e love so nas prinjarde katar o AMPOSDRU thaj OIR POSDRU barile sa maj but, thaj aresle ka save bare love so naj katar te del e asociacia thaj vi amen sa khetane pala trin bersh butyiake sfako ges, maj cera e 14 ges sode simas te sastiaravma ka ek centro specialno pala e epuzacia/nagiarimos pshihiko thaj fiziko.

Ci xoxavav kana phenav kadala butyia, e manush krujal mande jianen kadava thaj buth aver butyia inke. Ande jekh them ade savo deple pakiv pe e Manusheske Zkonurashajlemas te mangav te pokinelpe mange moralno, muri pakiv thaj materialno o streso thaj sode de tele dikhenas pe mande, kana jiekh proiektu karing e chore grupura trebalas te avel jutisrdo, vazdino kana nici mai cera te avileasas dihlino shukar. Naj chachimos kana jekh proiektu peraveltu, materialno, fiziko thaj pshihiko, naj chachimos kana vareko krisiniltu, te arakhetu doshalo anglal so te krisiniltu, o ande mai lasho kazo china te na dikhen pe tute o te dukhen sar kana china chi avesas.

Ori sode but zakonura si len len, o sode de bari te avel e birokracia, pe e zakonura trebal te aven vashne, te na aven phare thaj te akhearenpe katar li-duj riga. Sfako kerel peske zakonura kaj naj ramosarde, kana sfako trebalas te aveles e prezumcia/ dikhimos ke naj doshalo ebde jekh kodo pala e etika maskar e relacia o aplikanto thaj o evalatori. Te jiava palpale sa ka kadla vorbi, si anda kodo ke kadal gindura sas ldine amenge katar kodola kaj kerde verifikacia pe amende, thaj shaj ke bi te jianen, amari zor cinili, thaj pakiajam ke naj amen e kapaciteta, ke nashtisaras, ji okote ke pushasamen te avela kadea. Sosa kerdeam nasul? Phendeam ke naj sam perfecto, sa e proektura si idealno, te kerelpe ci inkerel feri katar amaro kamlimos. Arakhleape kadava akhiarimos pa e rig e mujalege, autoritorenge e themutne rajenge kai si mashkar o managemento? Inkerdepe gogi ke pharudilo o konteksto, ke nas e documentacia savi te sikavel amenge so, sar te kerelpe, ci phendespe amenge khanci, thaj mukle amen te keras so jianas sar jianas, varesave mai mishto, aver sar amende, sas mukle pendar.

Sostar geleam mai dur? Anda kodo ke nashtisardeam te das palpale. Na fei so pisindeam ando kontraktu ci mekelasma te kerav khanci aver feri te jiav angle, o te pokinav sa e love so xalepe po projekto thaj te lav pe mande sa so avel pala kodo. Pe aver rig nas feri amari asociacia ando projekto, maj sas vi e partenerura..Shajlemas te mukav sa, sas klarno/vashno ke e ESF ci mai jialas pala kodo so pisindem, ci mai maladiolas amare experiencasa ande e projektura, e birokracia sarilas mange sar pe zor kana avilasas, ke ka sa kadala tekniko zurale butyia na feri amen nai samas dosta de jiangle de vi ko dikhenas, rodenas/verifikinas ci von ci jianenas thaj sikions sar jialas o projekto, mai si vi sar dikhenas pe amende, savi kerelas amen kotora, bi te avelamen politikano jutimos o te avelamen varekas, amen samas o nasul exemplo/sikiarimos, bi te na pakial vareko ke naj kadea, ke shajleamas te avas vorta pe kojaver rig, o exemplo o lasho

Ci deam palpale thaj arakhlem zor te zuriarauma palpale pala sfako “dukhum” na feri anda kodo ke sas ma experienta vi pe kado, te jiav mai dur thaj te “sikavav” kodo so kamlem te sikavav sa o trajo/jivipe, ke vi e ciganura/rom, romnea shaj, vi atunci kana si angla lende pharimata thaj bi-pakiaimos.

Ande sa kadai avrama kideam, amen savore, zuriarimos angla e frustracia, zuriarimos thaj o kamlimos te marasame o kolimos po momento thaj te jias mai dur, bi te jianas kaj ingerel amen o drom. Ci

dav rigate ci e dar katar “vareso” mai nasul thaj e kucsi phiardi pakiaimasa sar e cikne chavororengi thaj o agor so kerelame specialno angla e butyia so ci hatyiaras.

Ramosardem mai butivar muri demisia thaj pala kodo cirdemla palpale, kamlem te nashav e nashadenca sodivar nakhlem pa krize depresivne sfako ashadimosa finaciarno, ka sfako inkerimos po than “sine dei”, ka sfako liloro kai sasle s desha papirura, ka sfako raportoo kai sasles mile tnaj mile papirura ka sa e papirura so pisindem. Vazdeamamamen, rodeam amaro chachimos ande el kontestacie, rodeam te avel mishto thaj te keras sa so mangelas amandar te keras korekcia te jutisaraslen te dhaj den mai sugo e palpale e love. Sa jekh sas lenge, vi akana sa kodo gindin pa amende, amare raortura “shax shuklo” de vi kana mangas te vazdas, te sikavas sodfe shaj maj klarno kana keren e verifikacia/rodimata.... amaro projekto si dikhino but komplikato/pharo, de kadaia ci koliael e kodolen kai keren kopia!

Vash muri marturia/dumaibe jianav ke si te phenelpe pa mande ke buth emotivo sim ka o hotaro mashkar patologiko, anda kodo ke sikava muri dukh, mila, konfuzia, de mai nasul si ke ci dikhiole e losh.

Ci astardem te bukurivma/ losav, sar pilda, e mai bari butyi so kerdem sar intelektualo butyi, e revista/liloro NEVI SARA KALI, kai si la shukarimos thaj si andre bare anava, raja kaj kerde bare rodimata thaj prinjiarde ande akademiko sfera pala e egaliteta pala e shansa/ jekh fiala drom, kai prinjiaren e situacia ande savi si e romane juvulia, romane aktivistura themutno thaj internacionalno prinjiarde. Dav muri sama/dikhav ke sa so ramosardem, e mesajura officialno sa e riga, pairura so ramosardemle thaj naj khanci te avel anda lende, feri mule righe so si te shuvenle andre ande ek fioko. Ci shtem muri zor pe e beneficiarura, e juvlea andar Gradinar, andar Nadlac, e terne andar o Masloc, Satchinez anda kadiki gava andar o Banat. Nai chachimos chi anda lende thaj chi anda amnde te las sama feri pala e papirura, e registracieng e so anen frustracia, e indikatorura bi te das mai buth pakiv e manushenge the das trajo e sunenge kaj keren te aven chache e sune . Sostar jiekh projekto savo si pala emmaonus te avel boldo te avel pala e papirura pala jistifikacia, registracie indikatorura, thaj na pe e rezolvarea/lashiarimos e mansuhenge trajoske, e mai pashe problemura e mai dukhade? Keras pre cera sfato/lafi pala e problemura e romane juvliange, pala lengo chachimos karing jekh butyi pakivali, pala o e bi-discriminatia kana keras sfato pa e rom. Katar si amari bari bi-satisfakcia/losh thaj e bi-losharimos e manushengo save si kerde “grupo jiakhado” thaj kadiki.

Va, phenasleng e sar te sikavenpe ka jekh intervivo, sar te keren penge jiekh curriculum vitae, sar te rodenpenge jekh than butyiako, mediem, intermediem, keras buras pala e thana pe butyi, de sode mashkar e manush so aven te len pe butyi romen si len sensibiliteto vash e kole grupura, te avela kompeticia thaj profito. Amare zora si shinde katar kodova ke naj thana butyiake pe kriza thaj e politikane themutne te vazden e ekonomia thaj politike pala e integracia. Sar te keras eliminacia pala e segragacia ande e shkole kana e inpektorura thaj sherutne pe shkole thaj sherudne pe anga e shkole na feri ke chi diken pala e separacia so kerelpe ande e shkole de vi zuriaren kaiaa.

Amare personale dukha ando ilo si khanchi pasha e dukha e familiange kaj naj len khera tha chi anda soste te trin, e ternenge kai najle kahanci aver pakiv khate feri te jian te arakhenpenge butyiako pe aver thema thaj shaj jutin penge familie, o mai cera ke naj te mai trebal te inkerenle vi len.

Vash kado projekto ci leam pe amnde te rezolisaras /te lasharas sa e problemura/dosha so si e romen, de vi kadea si buth problemura so leam pe amende, kadaia trebalas te anaelamenge losh pe sfako punto so patyiaiam ke shaj keras anda amare zor. Te avileasas sfakone kado gindo te jutin pashe te pharudiol e situacia so si akana, te keren aplikacia pe kodo so o diskurso/dumaiepe thaj e legislacia/zakonura demokratike so jian e pakivasa e eurpoakerasa, amare zumaimata sas te aven chachimasa zuriarde thaj vazde.

Akana kana mai si panji shion ji po agor e projektosko, rodas amaro chachimos ande justicia/ pe kris. Trajsaras mai dur tala e presia thaj e dar ke ci den amare love, ke ashaven sa, ke ci den palpale pe vrama kana trebal, ke roden feri te astarentu ke vareso ci keres mishto, sar kana o projekto pe kadaia si kerdo. Chi kamas te kolaras khanikas, jianas ke ande romania e strukturalne fondura ci nakhen but, jianas ke but benficiarula naj te mai aven anda kadaia, de kana kadala si e kondicie, ko mai kamel te nakhen pa so nakhleam amen.

Chi pakiav ke feri amen si amen kadaia eksperiencia, de but mangen te ashen, te na phenen khanchi, pakiandimosa ke e butyia si te pharudionpe pendar, korkoro, thaj kodola andar o anglmuno kotor si len sas lenge shinado te shinavenpe korkoro.

Pal rom, si registruime/ nakhade ando grupo jakhado, bi te shion penge but manush o pushimos, savo inke phenav pala 20 bersh ande butyi vash o vazdimos e juvliango thaj romane ternego:

Cui prodest ignorantia? Kaske si lashi e ignorancia? But si kai keren butyi lasa bi te gindinpe/mislin ke ka jekh moneto sa si te pokinas mai but.

Letitia Mark, sherudni pala o projekto

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Absolventă a științelor politice la Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj, România, și a masteratului de “Gen și oportunități egale” de la aceeași universitate. În prezent este înscrisă la școala doctorală “Paradigma europeană” a Facultății de Studii Europene, realizând o cercetare despre construirea masculinității în lumea virtuală a jocurilor electronice. În calitate de coordonator de program în teme legate de gen, este implicată în activitatea Fundației Rațiu, sediul din Turda, România.

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Agorisardeas politikane sikimata ka e Universiteta Babes Bolyai, Cluj, Romunia, thaj o masterato pala o "Geno/fialo thaj leske oportunitetrua/dinimata" sa katar kadaia universiteta. Akana kerel e doktoralno shkola "Europaki Paradigma/parudimos" kai Fculteta pala Europake Sikimata, tradel rodinata pala e konstrukcia/vazdimos e murshanoske ande virtualno luma pe khelimata po komputeri. Sar sherudni po program pala geno/fialo, kerel butyi e fundaciasa Ratiu, andar e Turda, Romania.

Dora GHECENCO

Studied Journalism at the Babes-Bolyai University and obtained a Master in Management Communication and Human Resources at the Faculty of Communication and Public Relations from Bucharest, Romania. At the moment she is working for the Association Amare Prhala from Cluj on a project that offers services to marginalized ethnic Roma people. She published a series of social articles and reportages in newspapers and books. Volunteered for local non-governmental organizations like The Romanian Institute for Peace, The Anti-AIDS Romanian Association, and Greenpeace Romania.

A studiat Jurnalismul la Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai şi deţine o diplomă de master în Comunicare managerială şi resurse umane la Facultatea de Comunicare şi Relaţii Publice din Bucureşti. În prezent, lucrează la Asociaţia Amare Prhala din Cluj pe un proiect care oferă servicii pentru persoanele dezavantajate de etnie romă. A publicat mai multe articole şi reportaje sociale în reviste şi cărţi. A fost voluntară pentru Institutul Român pentru Pace, Asociaţia Română Anti-Sida, şi Greenpeace România.

Sikileas Jurnalismo ka e Universiteta Babes-Bolyai taj sas lini po masterato ande Komunikaciako Managemento taj Manushikane Barvalimata ka e Fakulteta pala Komunikacia taj Publikane Phanglimata/Relacie ANDAR O Bukarest akana kerel butyi vash e organizacia "Amare Phrala" andar o Cluj ande jekh projekto savo del jutimos/pojenil e manushen e chore andar e romani etnia. Kerdea publikacia pala mai but artikolura taj socialo reportajorura.

Lidia GHEORGHIU

PhD Candidate enrolled on the Work & Organizational Psychology Group, Aston Business School, Birmingham, United Kingdom, and Research Assistant on the "Transformation Project".

Doctorandă în cadrul grupului Work & Organizational Psychology Group, Aston Business School, Birmingham, United Kingdom, şi asistent cercetare în proiectul "Transformation Project".

Phirel po doktorato ando grupo Work & Organizational Psychology Group, Aston Business School, Birmingham, United Kingdom thaj si asistento pe rodinata ando proiekt "Transformation Project".

Hajnalka HARBULA

*Graduated her B.A. studies on the specialization Hungarian literature and ethnography (1999) and the M.A program "European cultural anthropology" (2001) at the Faculty of European Studies, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania. Currently she is a doctoral student on sociology at the Doctoral school "European Paradigm" of the same university. Her domains of interest are gender studies, anthropology of work and social movements. Major publications: "Női köztér Kolozsváron a hetvenes, nyolcvanas években" (2004). In *Amprente 3. Tineri cercetători despre cultura populară. Asociația Etnografică Kriza János; "Schiță pentru prelucrarea științifică a mișcării femeilor maghiare din România" (2008). In ANTHROPO. Lenyomatok. Amprente. Imprints. Edited by Harbula Hajnalka &**

Vincze Enikő. Cluj: EFES; "Gender Differences in Working and Organizational Culture: Women Workers at an Industrial Workplace" (2009). In *Colloquia – Journal of Central European History*. Mega Publishing House; "Despre muncile femeilor, romilor și societatea ideală" (2009), co-authored with Camelia Moraru and Enikő Vincze. In *Observator Cultural*. Nr. 502, 26 November; "Attitudes toward schooling and ethnic identification in the case of Roma from Romania" (2010), co-authored with Enikő Vincze. In Roth, M. – Dămean, D. – Dégi, Cs. – Văețiș, L. (eds.): *The Social Ecology of School Success: Implications for Policy and Practice*. Presa Universitară Clujeană; *Strategii identitare și educație școlară* (2011), co-authored with Enikő Vincze. Cluj: EFES.

Licențiată în filologie, specializare maghiară-etnografie (1999) și absolventă a masteratului de "Antropologie culturală europeană" (2001), Facultatea de Studii Europene, Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj, România. În prezent doctorandă în sociologie la Școala Doctorală Paradigma Europeană. Domenii de interes: studii de gen, antropologia muncii, mișcările sociale. "Női köztér Kolozsváron a hetvenes, nyolcvanas években" (2004). In *Amprente 3. Tineri cercetători despre cultura populară*. Asociația Etnografică Kriza János; "Schită pentru prelucrarea științifică a mișcării femeilor maghiare din România" (2008). In *ANTHROPO. Lenyomatok. Amprente. Imprints*. Editor Harbula Hajnalka & Vincze Enikő. Cluj: EFES; "Gender Differences in Working and Organizational Culture: Women Workers at an Industrial Workplace" (2009). In *Colloquia – Journal of Central European History*. Mega Publishing House; "Despre muncile femeilor, romilor și societatea ideală" (2009), co-autor cu Camelia Moraru și Enikő Vincze. In *Observator Cultural*. Nr. 502, 26 November; "Attitudes toward schooling and ethnic identification in the case of Roma from Romania" (2010), co-autor cu Enikő Vincze. In Roth, M. – Dămean, D. – Dégi, Cs. – Văețiș, L. (eds.): *The Social Ecology of School Success: Implications for Policy and Practice*. Presa Universitară Clujeană; *Strategii identitare și educație școlară* (2011), co-autor cu Enikő Vincze. Cluj: EFES.

Agorisarea pesko paluno papiro pe universitatea ande filosofia, grupa pala ungriko- etnografia (1999) thaj agorisarea o masterato pala "Antropologia pala kultura europaki" (2001), Efaculteta pala e Europake Sikimata, Universitatea Babes-Bolyai, Cluj, Romania. Akana phirel po doktorato ande sociologia la e Shkola pala Doktorato Europaki Paradigma. So interesuila: sikimata pala o geno/ fialo, antropologia e butyiaki, socialno vazdimata. "Női köztér Kolozsváron a hetvenes, nyolcvanas években" (2004). In *Amprente 3. E terne sikiarde pala e rodinata ande kultura popularno*. E Etnografiko Asociacia. Kriza János; ; "Schită pentru prelucrarea științifică a mișcării femeilor maghiare din România" (2008). In *ANTHROPO. Lenyomatok. Amprente. Imprints*. Editorura Harbula Hajnalka & Vincze Enikő. Cluj: EFES; "Gender Differences in Working and Organizational Culture: Women Workers at an Industrial Workplace" (2009). In *Colloquia – Journal of Central European History*. Mega Publishing House; "Despre muncile femeilor, romilor și societatea ideală" (2009), co-avtoro e Camelia Moraru thaj Enikő Vincze. *Ando Kulturalno Observatoro*. Nr. 502, 26 November; "Attitudes toward schooling and ethnic identification in the case of Roma from Romania" (2010), co-avtoro e Enikő Vincze. In Roth, M. – Dămean, D. – Dégi, Cs. – Văețiș, L. (eds.): *The Social Ecology of School Success: Implications for Policy and Practice*. Presa e Universitaki Clujeană; *Strategii identitare și educație școlară* (2011), co-avtoro e Enikő Vincze. Cluj: EFES.

Marlene KADAR

Professor in Humanities and Women's Studies at York University, Toronto, Canada and Editor of the Life Writing Series at Wilfrid Laurier University Press. Her research interests include the politics of memory, life writing and survivor narratives; the construction of privilege and knowledge in women's life writing; and, Hungarian and Romani auto/biography in historical accounts, biographical traces and fragments. Major publications: Kadar, Marlene, Jeanne Perreault and Linda Warley (2009). *Photographs, Histories, and Meanings*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; "Literary and Historical Uses of Life Writing for Young Adult Readers: 'She is only a gypsy after all'" (2008). In *Canadian Children's Literature* 34/1: 43-59; Kadar, Marlene, Jeanne Perreault and Linda Warley, Co-Editors (2008). *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*, Special Double Issue, *Life Writing in International Contexts*; Kadar, Marlene, Editor, with co-editors Susanna Egan, Jeanne Perreault, and Linda Warley (2005). *Tracing the Autobiographical*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press; "Wounding Events and the Limits of Autobiography" (2005). In *Diaspora, Memory and Identity: A Search for Home*. Edited by Vijay Agnew. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Editor and Contributing poet, *The Missing Line* (2004) Toronto: Inanna Publications.

Profesor în științe umaniste și Women's Studies la Universitatea York din Toronto, Canada și editor al Life Writing Series, Wilfrid Laurier University Press. Domeniile sale de interes includ politica memoriei, narativele supraviețuirii, privilegiu și cunoaștere în povestirile de viață ale femeilor, auto-biografia în scrierile istorice și bibliografice. Publicații majore: Kadar, Marlene, Jeanne Perreault and Linda Warley (2009). *Photographs, Histories, and Meanings*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; "Literary and Historical Uses of Life Writing for Young Adult Readers: 'She is only a gypsy after all'" (2008). In *Canadian Children's Literature* 34/1: 43-59; Kadar, Marlene, Jeanne Perreault and Linda Warley, Co-Editors (2008). ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature, Special Double Issue, *Life Writing in International Contexts*; Kadar, Marlene, Editor, with co-editors Susanna Egan, Jeanne Perreault, and Linda Warley (2005). *Tracing the Autobiographical*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press; "Wounding Events and the Limits of Autobiography" (2005). In *Diaspora, Memory and Identity: A Search for Home*. Edited by Vijay Agnew. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Editor and Contributing poet, *The Missing Line* (2004) Toronto: Inanna Publications.

Profesoro pala sikimata umanistikura thaj Women's Studies ka e Universiteta York anda Toronto, Kanada thaj editor ka e Life Writing Series, Wilfrid Laurier University Press. Lake domenura pala so interesola inkeren vi politika pala ememoria, e narativura pala o jivipe, o privilegio thaj priinjarimos ande e paramecia e trajoske e juvlenge, biografia-peski ande e ramosarimata historikane thaj thaj bibliografike. Mai bare publikacie: Kadar, Marlene, Jeanne Perreault and Linda Warley (2009). *Photographs, Histories, and Meanings*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; "Literary and Historical Uses of Life Writing for Young Adult Readers: 'She is only a gypsy after all'" (2008). In *Canadian Children's Literature* 34/1: 43-59; Kadar, Marlene, Jeanne Perreault and Linda Warley, Co-Editors (2008). ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature, Special Double Issue, *Life Writing in International Contexts*; Kadar, Marlene, Editor, with co-editors Susanna Egan, Jeanne Perreault, and Linda Warley (2005). *Tracing the Autobiographical*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press; "Wounding Events and the Limits of Autobiography" (2005). In *Diaspora, Memory and Identity: A Search for Home*. Edited by Vijay Agnew. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Editor and Contributing poet, *The Missing Line* (2004) Toronto: Inanna Publications.

Kinga KALI

Writer and anthropologist. Born in 1971, in Târgu-Mureș (Romania), in a Hungarian-Armenian family. Finished her literary and anthropological studies at Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj (Romania), and at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest (Hungary). Lives in Budapest since 1996. Publishes prose and anthropological studies since 1989, in various European literary reviews and volumes (mostly of Hungary and Romania). Her anthropological research field is the Transylvanian Armenian identity nowadays. Publishes in Hungarian language in journals Látó, Korunk, Magyar Lettre Internationale, Új Forrás, Echinox, Ethnographia, Körkép.

Scriitoare și antropolog. S-a născut în 1971, în Târgu-Mureș (România), într-o familie mixtă maghiaro-armeană. A absolvit studii de literatură și antropologie la Universitatea Babes-Bolyai, Cluj (România), și la Universitatea Eötvös Loránd, Budapesta (Ungaria). Locuiește la Budapesta din 1996. Publică proză și studii antropologice din 1989, în diverse reviste literare europene și volume (mai ales din Ungaria și România). Domeniul ei de cercetare în antropologie este identitatea armeană în Transilvania din zilele noastre. Publică în limba maghiară în revistele Látó, Korunk, Magyar Lettre Internationale, Új Forrás, Echinox, Ethnographia, Körkép.

Biandili ando Tirgu Mures ando bersh 1971, julius 7 ramol/pisinil, antropologo; sikilias ando Cluj ande Universiteta Babes Bolyai ungriko literatura/shiba thja etnografi a, ande Budapesta pe Universiteta Eötvös Loránd Etnologia ande Europa getosardeas po programo PhD. Ande lake antropologikane rodinata pa save ramosardas/pisindeas e mashkarudni buki pa savi ramol si e identiteta armena andre transilvania thaj ungro, pala kado ramosardeas vi peski teza po doctorato. De andar 1989 ramol/pisinil shukar proza, sikimata pala antropologia, intervivura, skurto pisimata/eseura, kritike ade e papirura pala literatura adar ungro thaj transilvania, ande antologia (Látó, Korunk, Magyar Lettre Internationale, Új Forrás, Echinox, Ethnographia, Körkép).

Noémi MAGYARI

Holds a BA in Communication and Public Relations at the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj. She continued her studies at Masters level in the frame of the Gender and Equal Opportunities program at the same university. Currently, she is working as public relations expert for the Desire Foundation in the project "Equality through Difference. Roma Women's Access on the Labor Market."

Licențiată în Comunicare și Relații Publice la Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai din Cluj. Și-a continuat studiile la nivel masteral în cadrul programului Gen și oportunități egale al aceleiași universități. În prezent lucrează ca expert relații publice la Fundația Desire în cadrul proiectului "Egalitate prin diferență. Accesul femeilor române pe piața muncii".

Laki diploma si pala komunikacia thaj Publikane Phanglimata kai Universiteta Babeș-Bolyai andar o Cluj. Sikilias maj dur ka o masterato ando program „Gen și oportunități egale”(fi alo thaj jekhe fi alonge oportunitetura) sa ka kadaja universiteta. Akana kerel butyi sar eksperto pala publikane phanglimata ka e Funfacia Desire ando projekto „Jekhipen vash e diferencia. O dinimos e romane jiuvlengo po foro e butyiarimasko”.

Letiția MARK

Founder of the Roma Women's Association "For Our Children" and also of "Roma Women's House" in Timișoara. She has been involved in several educational programs for Roma children, including in the local project for desegregation, as well as programs aimed at promoting women. She has a Bachelors' degree in classical languages and a Master's in gender studies, and she is currently pursuing her doctorate at Babes-Bolyai University. She is a member of International Roma Women's Network, has participated in the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban in 2001.

Fondatoarea Asociației Femeilor Țigănci „Pentru Copiii Noștri” și a „Casei Femeilor Rome” din Timișoara, implicată în mai multe proiecte educaționale pentru copiii romi, inclusiv în proiectul local care își propune desegregarea școlară, precum și în programe dedicate pentru promovarea femeilor. Licențiată în limbi clasice, cu masterat în studii de gen, în prezent își continuă studiile doctorale la Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai. Membră a organizației International Roma Women's Network, participantă la World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Durban 2001.

E fondatoara le asociaci le Rromenenqe” Andar Amare Çhave” aj vi e ” E Rromnenqo kher” andar l Timisoara, kaj kerdas but projektura edukacionale andar e çhave, aj vi programurâ andar e rromnâ. Kerdas e çhiba klasice, o mastero gender, aj akana kerel o doktorado k-i Universiteta Babeș-Bolyai. Si membra le organiziciaqi International Roma Women's Network, participanta k-o World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Durban 2001.

Agnetă NICA

Jurnalist, realizator de emisiuni la Studioul Regional Timișoara al Societății Române de Radiodifuziune, membru al Asociației Jurnaliștilor Profesioniști din România. De douăzeci de ani, în emisiuni precum „În rând cu lumea” sau „Pe Undele Europei” are în atenție problemele sociale, problematica familiei, a femeii și a copiilor, situația categoriilor sociale și etnice discriminate, printre ele persoane de etnie romă, a persoanelor cu dizabilități, relațiile interetnice, rolul societății civile și al organizațiilor neguvernamentale, existențe în derivă, viața la extreme. Dincolo de munca jurnalistică, este implicată în activitatea organizațiilor societății civile preocupate de bunăstarea și drepturile copiilor și ale femeilor, fiind – între altele – membru fondator al organizației SCOP (Societatea pentru Părinți și Copii) din Timișoara.

AUTHORS / AUTORI / E AUTORURA

Journalist, producer at the Timisoara Regional Studio of the Romanian Society of Radio Broadcast, member of the Professional Journalists Association from Romania. Since twenty years, through her programs such as „În rând cu lumea” and „Pe Undele Europei” she is focusing on social issues, family life, women and children, discriminated social and ethnic categories, among them ethnic Roma, people with disabilities, interethnic relations, the role of civil society and of the non-governmental organizations, life at extremes. Besides her journalistic work she is involved into the activities of civil society organizations concerned with the welfare and rights of women and children, being – among others – founder member of the Society for Parents and Children from Timisoara.

Jurnalisto, producer ka o Timisoara Regionalno Studivovo e Romaniake Societako e Radivoske Sikavimasko, membra ando Profesionalno Jurnalistongi Asociaciacki andar e Romania. De bish bersh, vash lake programura sar „În rând cu lumea” taj „Pe Undele Europei” voi dikhel pala e socialno problemura, trajo/ jivipe ande familia, jiuvea taj mursh, manush diskriminuime socialno thaj etniko, o trajo/jivipe sar extreme. Pasha baxki butyi sar jurnalisto si la vi aktivitetura phangle ka e organizacie andar e civilo soceteta saven interesuile e socialno situacia thaj e chachimata e jiuveange thaj chavore, mashkar buth aver si vi e sherudni kaj vazdeas e “Societatea pentru Părinți și Copii” andar e Timisoara.

Alexandra OPREA

Is a Romani woman living in the United States of America. She has been an activist for ten years and is currently finishing her LL.M at the University of California Los Angeles. She holds a Masters in Human Rights from Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs and a law degree from UCLA School of Law.

Femeie de etnie romă din Statele Unite ale Americii. A fost activistă timp de zece ani, în prezent își termină studiile LL.M la University of California Los Angeles. Deține un masterat în Drepturile omului de la Școala de Afaceri Internaționale și Publice al Universității Columbia, și o diploma de licență de la UCLA School of Law.

Si Romani Jiuvi anar e Amerikake Khetane Thema. Kerdea butyi sar aktivista desh bersh, akana agorisarel peske shkole/sikimata ka e Universiteta LL.M, California, Los Angeles. Si la masterato pala e manusheske chachimos katar e Shkola pala Internacionalno taj Publikane Bisnicura, Universiteta Columbia, thaj jekh diploma pala e teza pe Faculteta katar e UCLA School of Law

Kinga PAKUCS

Currently a doctoral student at Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania, prior to this she graduated the Faculty of European Studies and the M.A. program Gender and Equal Opportunities at the same university. Her interest lies in maternity's discourse and women's infertility as a social problem.

În prezent este doctorandă la Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai din Cluj, România, iar premergător studiilor sale doctorale a absolvit Facultatea de Studii Europene precum și masteratul de Gen și Oportunități Egale la aceeași universitate. Tema sa de cercetare este discursul despre maternitate și infertilitatea ca problemă socială.

Akana phirel pe Univeriteta Babeș-Bolyai ando Cluj, Romania kai kerel pesko doktorato, sa ka kadaia Universiteta angla kado agorisardeas e Faculteta pala e Europake Sikimata taj vi o masterato pala o Geno/fialo taj Jeke fialoske Oportunitetura. O anav lake rodimatenge si o dumaie/sfato pala e materniteta taj infertiliteta sar socialno problem.

Andreea RACLEȘ

Collaborator at the Center for Research and Consultancy on Culture (CRCC) and is studying an Anthropology M.A program, at National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest, Romania. Apart from working at fieldwork researches in Roma communities and researches about cultural consumption of Roma at CRCC, she graduated with a Bachelor thesis based on a fieldwork study in a community of rich Roma people from southern Romania. Now she is preparing her master thesis about housing practices of Roma people from a community in Prahova county.

Colaborator la Centrul pentru Cercetări și Consultanță pe Cultură și student masteral la programul de Antropologie al Școlii Naționale de Studii Politice și Administrație Publică din București, România. Pe lângă implicarea ei în munca de teren derulată de către Centru în comunități de romi pe tema consumului cultural, a realizat o investigație empirică într-o comunitate de romi bogați din sudul României. În prezent își pregătește lucrarea de masterat despre practicile locuirii dintr-o comunitate de romi din județul Prahova.

Kolaboratori ka o Centro vash e Rodimata thaj Konsultanca pe Kultura thaj studenta ka o mastero ka o programo pala Antropologia ka e Themutni Shkola pala Politikane Sikimata thaj Publiko Administracia andar Bucuresti, Romani. Pasha e burtyi so kerel ka o Centro ande e romane komunitetura palae kulturalne konsumo, kerdeas vi jekh investigacia empiriko ande barvale romane komunitetura andar o Sud Romania. Akana kerel pesko papiro pe savo kerdeas butyi pala o masterato pala e praktika pala e khera ande jekh komuniteta ande Prahova.

Anca Lucia SÂRBU

Graduated ethnology at the Faculty of Letters and obtained a master's degree on the program "Anthropology and Multicultural Studies" at Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania. At the moment she is enrolled into a doctoral program running at the Faculty of European Studies of the same university. Her domains of interest are European ethnology and educational anthropology.

Absolventă a secției de etnologie al Facultății de Litere și a masteratului de "Antropologie și studii multiculturale" al Universității Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj, Romania. În prezent este înscrisă la școala doctorală a Facultății de Studii Europene de la aceeași universitate. Domeniile sale de interes sunt etnologia europeană și antropologia educațională.

Agorisardeas etnologia ka e Fakulteta pala e Litera thaj leas jekh mastero pala "Antropologia thaj buth kulturalne sikimata" ka e Universitatea Babes Bolyai, Cluj, Romania. Sa ande kadaia Universitatea si ramosardi pe doktoralno shkola ka e Fakulteta pala e Europake Sikimata. So interesuila si: europaki etnologia thaj edukacionalno antropologia.

Andreea Gabriela STROIE

Graduated her B.A. and M.A. studies at the Faculty of European Studies, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania. Currently she is a PhD student at the same university. Her doctoral thesis is based on a research on women and economics using an interdisciplinary approach situated at the intersection of economics, gender studies and sociology.

A absolvit studiile sale de licență și masterat la Facultatea de Studii Europene, Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj, România. În prezent este doctorandă la aceeași universitate. Teza sa de doctorat se bazează pe o cercetare despre femei și economie, utilizând o abordare interdisciplinară la intersecția dintre studii economice, studii de gen și sociologie.

Agorisardeas peske sikimata pala e teza pe faculteta thaj mastero ka e Fakulteta pala Europake Sikimata, Universiteta Babes Bolyai, Cluj, Romania. Sa ka kate akana si studenta ka o PhD. Laki butyi pe teza po Doktorato si pala lehk rodimata so kerdeas pala juivlea thaj ekonomia, lako dikhimos si interdisciplinaro ka e intesekcia mashkar ekonomikane, sikimata pala o geno thaj thaj sociologia.

Enikő VINCZE

Professor at Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania and director of the Centre for Gender Studies. Her teaching and research interest is in the domain of socio-cultural anthropology and gender studies, in particular with topics like gender, nation and sexuality in identity politics; reproduction; social inequalities and exclusion; nationalism and feminism; intersectionality, ethnicity and gender; Roma women; rights and culture. She received many research grants, among them: Global Scholar at the Institute for Research on Women, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, within the research topic „Culture of Rights/ Rights of Culture” (January-May 2009); *International Policy Fellowship*, Open Society Institute, grant for the policy research Roma women's reproductive health (2005-2006); *Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship*, Institut für die Wiesenschaften vom Menschen, Vienna, for the research project Social exclusion at the crossroads of ethnicity, gender and class. A view through Roma women's reproductive health (April-June 2006); Post-doctoral *Fulbright fellowship*, University of California, Los Angeles for the research project Understanding multiculturalism at American universities. The case of Chicano(a) Studies (August 1998 – June 1999).

Profesor la Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj, România şi director al Centrului de Studii de Gen. Predă şi cercetează în domeniul antropologiei socio-culturale şi studiilor de gen, în special teme precum genul, naţiunea şi sexualitatea în politica identitară; reproducere; inegalităţi şi excluziunea socială; naţionalism şi feminism; intersecţionalitate; etnicitate şi gen; femeile rome; drepturile şi cultura. A obţinut numeroase granturi de cercetare, printre care: Global Scholar la Institutul de Cercetare privind Femeile, Rutgers, Universitatea de Stat din New Jersey, New Brunswick, în cadrul temei de cercetare „Cultura Drepturilor / Drepturile Culturale” (ianuarie-mai 2009); *International Policy Fellowship*, Open Society Institute, bursă de cercetare a politicilor privind sănătatea reproducerii la femeile rome (2005-2006); *Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship*, Institut für die Wiesenschaften vom Menschen, Viena, pentru proiectul de cercetare Excluderea socială la răscrucea dintre etnicitate, gen şi clasă prin prisma sănătăţii reproducerii la femeile rome (april-iunie 2006); bursa post-doctorală Fulbright la Universitatea din California, Los Angeles, pentru proiectul de cercetare Înţelegerea multiculturalismului la universităţile americane. Cazul Studiilor Chicano(a) (august 1998 – iunie 1999).

Professor and Universiteta Babes-Bolyai, Cluj, Romania thaj director kau Centro pala e Sikiarimata pal o Fialo. Lako intereso karing sikiarimos thaj ramome rodimata si pala socio-kulturalo anthropologia thaj sikimata pala o fi alo, narodo thaj sexualitatea ande el politike pala e identiteta; reproductia; social bi-egaliteto thaj marginalizacia; nacionalismo thaj feminismo; mashkarimos, ethniciteto thaj fi alo; Romnia; ciacimata thaj kultura. Lias buth bursi the kerel rodimata: “Global Scholar” ka o instituto Research on Women, Rutgers, ka e Universiteta andar New Jersey, New Brunswick, o anav e rodimatenge sas „Culture of Rights/ Rights of Culture” (Januar-Mai 2009) buth-temutno *khentanipe pasa e politike*, ka o Open Society Institute, Sastimos thaj Reprodukcia ka e Romnia (2005-2006); *Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship*, Institut für die Wiesenschaften vom Menschen, Vienna, pala e rodimatengo projekto socialno-eksklusia ando mashkar e dromenge e etniciteta, fi alo thaj kastura. Jiekh dikhimos ande e Romniango sastimos ande reproductivitatea (April-Iunie 2006); Post-doctoralno *Fulbright fellowship*, ka Universiteta e California-ki, Los Angeles andar o rodimasko projekto The Hatyiaras o buth-fi alongo Kulturalismo ande Amerikaki universitetura. So peliape ando Chicano (August 1998 – Iunie 1999).

Ștefania VOICU

Researcher at the Center for Research and Consultancy on Culture (CRCC). She is also following a M.A program on Sociology of Consumption and Marketing at the Department of Sociology and Social Work, The University of Bucharest, Romania. At CRCC she participated in two researches about the cultural resources, the participation and the cultural consumption of Roma people. These researches were made in collaboration with The National Center for Roma Culture (NCCR).

Cercetător la Centrul pentru Cercetări și Consultanță pe Cultură. În prezent urmează programul masteral "Sociologia consumului și marketing" al Departamentului de sociologie și asistență socială, Universitatea București, România. A participat la două cercetări derulate de către Centru despre resursele culturale, participare culturală și consum cultural la persoane de etnie romă. Aceste investigații au fost realizate în colaborare cu Centrul Național pentru Cultură Romă din București.

Rodimata kerel andar o Centro vash e Rodimata thaj Konsultanca pe Kultura. Akana kerel pesko masterato ande "Sociologia e konsumoski thaj marketingo" andar departamentoske pala e sociologia thaj asistenta socilano, Univesiteta Bucuresti, Romania. Leas kotor ka duj rodimata ingerde katar o Centro pala e kulturikane resurse, participacia kulturikani thaj konsumo kulturalno ka manush anadr e etnia e romengi.

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Letiția Mark:

Message to the readers of Nevi Sara Kali

The author, editor-in-chief of Nevi Sara Kali, restates the dreams and aims of Roma women's journal. The article also highlights the topics dealt with in its third issue, but as well as subjects that would be worth to be discussed and should be analyzed in the future.

Mesaj către cititorii/ cititoarele revistei Nevi Sara Kali

Autoarea, editoare șef a revistei femeilor rome Nevi Sara Kali reamintește despre visurile și scopurile acestui jurnal. Totodată, articolul face referire la temele abordate în al treilea său număr, dar și la subiectele care ar fi meritat să fie discutate și trebuie analizate în viitor.

Mesajo karing ko ginavel o liloro Nevi Sara Kali

I lekhavni, sherudni-editorka e Nevi Sara Kaliaki, zuriarel e vorba pala e sune taj mangimata e romane juvleange liloreske. O artikolo sikavel e butyia pa save kerel lafi/sfato ando trito problemo, de vi butyia pa sa ve iva kerasas sfato/lafi taj trebalas te aven mai pashe dilkine de akanara angle.

Marlene Kadar:

The devouring traces of Roma in the Holocaust/ Porrajmos

This article addresses the Holocaust as it was/ is for Gypsies/ Roma whose experience of the event is still largely unknown beyond their communities. One reason for our lack of knowledge has to do with Romany history. Gypsies comprise, according to Romany historian Ian Hancock, a largely non-literate culture, and so rely on oral traditions, such as song, for recording their histories and passing on their stories from generation to generation. The paucity of surviving or found records suggests that the vast majority of Roma, especially women and girls, could not document their lives. In this circumstance, scholars need to rely on other peoples' stories or witness stories and on examples of oral texts for auto/biographical inscriptions of Romany life in the Holocaust, or the Porrajmos, a Romany word meaning "Devouring."

Urmele sfâșietoare ale Holocaustului romilor, Porrajmos

Articolul abordează Holocaustul din perspective romilor a căror experiență este necunoscută în afara comunității. Unul dintre cauzele acestei necunoașteri se leagă de istoria romilor. Potrivit lui Ian Hancock cultura romilor este non-literară, se bazează mai mult pe tradiția orală, cum ar fi cântecele, așadar păstrarea și transmiterea istoriei lor de la o generație la alta are un caracter oral. Lipsa datelor sugerează că marea majoritate a romilor, în special femeile și fetele nu și-au documentat viața. În aceste circumstanțe, cercetătorii sunt nevoiți să se bazeze pe istorisirile altor persoane, pe texte orale și inscripții biografice despre viața romilor în timpul Holocaustului, Porrajmos în romani însemnând "devorare".

E pharraimoske vurmi e rromenge ando Pharraimos/Holocaust

Kado artiklo adresuil o Pharraimos sarso sas /sarso si kodo e rromenge kaski dukh vi adyes xanci manușendar si pinzardi avral khatar lengi kommuna. Jekh buti, anda soste si kado si, ke cerra zanela pe pa e rromengi historia. E rrom sa khetane si, sarso phenela o romano historitori, o Janko le Redjosko (Ian Hancock), jekh kultura bitramosarimoski/bipišimaski taj vazdyola pe oralo tradicie, sarso i

gili, haj kade inkren pengi historia taj den maj dur e storivura pa jekh generacia pe kaver. 'Pala lengo pharo trajo vaj e lile save arakhle pe šaj patyas, ke e maj but rroma, specifiko e rromnya taj e čheja naštig dokumentuisarde pengo trajo. Ande kadi situacia, e roditoren naj aver sar te patyan e avere manuŝenge storivura vaj e svedokonge storivura taj e kotora e oralo tekstonge save Ramona pala o rromano trajo ando Pharraimos/Holocaust.

Kinga Kali:

Recycled tradition – Roma women as fashion designers

A magyarországi divatvilágban nemrég felbukkanó *Romani Design* márkanév piaci rest hivatott betölteni: a cigányok tradicionális viseletének egyes elemeit emeli divattá, az alkotók koncepciójának megfelelően annak formáit, sajátos motívumait adaptálja a modernitás feltételeihez – mondhatni, a régióra jellemző roma hagyományt (pontosabban inkább annak bizonyos részét) „reciklálja”. Cikkünk ezt a jelenséget elemzi. Fordítás a magyar nyelven megjelent eredetiből (<http://www.commmunity.hu/2011/02/18/reciklalt-hagyomany/>).

Tradiție reciclată – femeile rome, creatoare de modă

Marca *Romani Design*, apărută recent în universal modei din Ungaria are menirea de a forma o nișă de piață: ridică la statutul de modă anumite elemente ale portului tradițional țigănesc. Pornind de la concepția creatorilor, adaptează formele, motivele particulare ale portului tradițional la condiția modernității. Putem spune că „reciclează” tradiția regională a romilor (mai precis unele elemente ale tradiției). Articolul analizează acest fenomen. Traducere după originalul publicat în limba maghiară (<http://www.commmunity.hu/2011/02/18/reciklalt-hagyomany/>).

Nevjardi tradicia – romane žuvla sar modake dizajnera

Ande i luma e modaki ande Ungaria na dulmut vazdilas o *Romani Design* so jekh xiv kamela te pherel po piaci: uni kotora e romane tradicionalo phiravimaske kerdyona moda, adaptisarela lenge forme, specifiko motivura pala e kreatorengi koncepcia paša e modernitetake kondicie – šaj phenel pe, ke nevjarela e regiaki specifiko rromani tradicia (maj ekzakt jekh specifiko kotor anda late). Amaro artiklo kerel analiza vorta pe kadi fenomena. Translacia e tekstosko so original ungrika tradas pe avri (<http://www.commmunity.hu/2011/02/18/reciklalt-hagyomany/>).

Enikő Vincze:

The intersectionality of social status, ethnicity and gender in schooling

The analysis presented in this study resulted from the EDUMIGROM (www.edumigrom.eu) research conducted in Romania between 2008 and 2011, in particular from the community study carried out in Transilvan town in three schools and nearby Roma communities. The paper aims to describe and interpret the ways in which schooling practices and experiences in the 'Roma community' under scrutiny are shaped by the intersection of social, gender and ethnic identifications, and how are all these eventually defining one's opportunities and options for particular life paths.

Intersecționalitatea statutului social, etnicității și genului în școlarizare

Analiza descrisă în acest studiu se bazează pe rezultate cercetării (www.edumigrom.eu) desfășurată în România în perioada 2008-2011 în particular pe rezultatele studiului de comunitate dintr-un oraș din Transilvania, studiu efectuat în trei școli și comunitățile

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începătoare. Articolul dorește să prezinte și să explice modul în care se structurează la intersecția dintre identificările sociale, etnice și de gen, practicile și experiențele școlare din “comunitățile de romi” investigate. Totodată, dorește să prezinte modul în care toate acestea definesc oportunitățile și opțiunile pentru anumite traiectorii de viață particulare.

I intersekcionaliteta e socialo statusoski, etnicitetaki taj lingangi ande škola

I analiza so sikavel pe ande kado rodipe si o rezultato e EDUMIGROM (www.edumigrom.eu) rodimasko so kerdas pe ande Rumunia mașkar 2008 taj 2011, specifiko si o agordipe e komunake rodimasko so kerdas pe ando Transilvan foro ande trin škole taj paša e rromane kommune. Kado papiroși zumavel te sikavel taj te čambel e droma sar e školake praktikura taj phiradimata ande e rromani kommuna parudyona ande i intersekcia e socialo, lingango taj etniko dimenziangi tai sar sa kadala bianen e šanse taj e opcie e nesave trajoske korrarange.

Harbula Hajnalka:

Experiences of ethnic and gender discrimination

The article presents some of the conclusions of the focus group research conducted in 2009 in the frame of the project “Equality through Difference. Roma Women’s Access on the Labor Market” (http://www.femrom.ro/infopub/raport%20de%20cercetare%20focus%20grup_final.pdf). The investigation started from the need to clarify ideas, feelings and experiences of discrimination in employment experienced by women and young Roma. Focus group meetings were held in Cluj and Timisoara with eighty people. Interviews were grouped into three main sections: access to employment, experiences of discrimination, and ideas about social welfare. In this paper the author focuses on experiences of discrimination by reserving large spaces for the narratives of interviewees and introduces some basic guidelines for their analysis.

Experiențele discriminării etnice și de gen

Articolul prezintă câteva concluzii ale cercetării de tip focus grup efectuată în 2009 în cadrul proiectului “Egalitate prin diferență. Accesul femeilor rome la piața muncii” (http://www.femrom.ro/infopub/raport%20de%20cercetare%20focus%20grup_final.pdf). Cercetarea a pornit de la nevoia de a clarifica ideile, sentimentele și experiențele legate de muncă și discriminare în domeniul muncii trăite de către femei și tineri de etnie romă. Aceste întâlniri au fost organizate în Cluj și Timișoara cu un număr total de optzeci de persoane. Interviuurile au fost prelucrate în trei mari capitole: Accesul la muncă, Experiențe ale discriminării, Concepții despre bunăstarea socială. Autorul încearcă să introducă câteva repere în vederea analizării interviurilor din punct de vedere al discriminării și oferă totodată un spațiu larg narativelor celor intervievați.

Phiradimata pala e etnikani taj e lingangi diskriminacia

O artiklo sikavel nesave konkluzie e fokus grupa rodimaske kerdo ando 2009 ande e projektoski struktura so bușola “Jekhuni pe dal o Averanipe. E rromane žuvlango aresipe paša e butyako piaco” (http://www.femrom.ro/infopub/raport%20de%20cercetare%20focus%20grup_final.pdf). O rodipe biandilas khatar e nevoja te dušlaren pe e gindura, hatyarimata taj phiradimata e diskriminaciake dukhake dini e rromnyange taj e terne čhavenge pe butyarimaski umal. Fokus grupake bešimata sas inkerde ande Cluj taj Timisoara oxtovardeše ženenca. E interjvura čhindile ande trin bare sekcie: aresipe paša butya, phiradimata pala i diskriminacia, taj gindura pala e socialura. Ande kado papiroși i lekhavni del duma pa e diskriminaciaki eksperienca haj del baro than e interjuime ženenge narrativonge taj sikavel e bazikane aspektura lenge analizake.

Alis Costescu, Kinga Pakucs, Anca Sârbu, Andreea Stroe:

Approaches towards intersectionality

This article aims at offering a glimpse of the long and winding road which led to the emergence of the perspective of intersectionality (bell hooks), its use in addressing social inequalities and among others violence against women (Crenshaw), its methodological aspects (McCall), theoretical foundations and political use (Lutz, Hererra Vivar and Supik). It observes that intersectionality theory promises to explain the way in which socially constructed categories of differentiation (gender, ethnicity/race, social status, age, sexual orientation) interact to create social hierarchies and inequalities, and in which discrete forms and expressions of oppression (sexism, racism, classism) shape one another.

Abordări ale intersecționalității

Articolul aruncă o privire asupra drumului lung și bătut de vânt care a dus la apariția perspectivei intersecționalității (bell hooks), vorbește despre utilitatea ei în analiza inegalităților sociale și a violenței împotriva femeilor (Crenshaw), despre aspectele metodologice (McCall), fundamentele teoretice și utilizarea politică (Lutz, Hererra Vivar and Supik). Observă că teoria intersecționalității promite explicația modului în care categoriile social construite ale diferențelor (de gen, etnicitatea, rasă, statut social, vârstă și orientare sexuală) interacționează pentru a crea ierarhii sociale și inegalități. În acest fel, diversele forme și expresii ale oprimării (sexism, rasism, clasism) sunt modelate într-o relație de mutualitate.

Aspektura pala i intersekcionaliteta

Kado artiklo zumavel te sikavel o lungo hai bango drom so ingerdas karing e intersekcionalitetake perspektivako biandipe (Bell Hooks), sar kodo lel pe te adressuin pe e socialo averimata tai e sila kerdi mamuj e žuvla (Crenshaw), metodologiake aspektura (McCall), e teoretikale fundacie taj politikalo labjaripe (Lutz, Hererra, Vivar taj Supik). Kado lela sama, ke e intersekcionalitetake teoria del i vorba te arakhel o drom sarso e socialo averarimaske kategorije (ling, etniciteta/rassa, socialo status, bersipe, seksualo orientacia) keren interakcia haj vazden e socialo hierarxia taj na-jekhunimata taj kajso e spidimaske diskreto forme taj sikadimata (seksizmo, rasizmo taj klassizmo) parujen jekh-jekhveres.

Andreea Racleș, Ștefania Voicu:

Access to labor market and cultural consumption among Romani women: frameworks of discrimination

This article is structured around two main issues. One is about the access of Roma women to the labor market and their participation in the economic and cultural production of Roma communities. The second section highlights some gender differences which are reflected on Roma women's participation and access to cultural consumption. Apart from the observations and findings which show some forms of Roma women discrimination, the authors also intend to make evident their contribution in maintaining and perpetuating the Roma culture. The article is based on a study conducted by The Center for Research on Culture in 2010, which consisted of a nationally representative poll, applied on a sample of 600 Roma respondents over 15 years old.

Accesul pe piața muncii și consumul cultural în rândul femeilor rome: cadre ale discriminării

Articolul este structurat pe marginea a două probleme principale. Prima se referă la accesul femeilor rome la piața forței de muncă și participarea lor la producerea economică și culturală a comunității rome. A doua problemă scoate în evidență diferențe de gen reflectate de participarea și accesul femeilor rome la consumul cultural. Pe lângă observațiile și rezultatele care arată anumite forme

de discriminare a femeilor rome, autoarele intenționează să evidențieze rolul femeilor în menținerea și perpetuarea culturii rome. Articolul se bazează pe un studiu efectuat de Centrul de Cercetare a Culturii din 2010. această cercetare a constatat într-o anchetă sociologică pe un eșantion reprezentativ la nivel național și include 600 de respondenți romi de 15 ani și peste.

Aresipe paša e butyako piaco taj i kulturalo konzumpcia maškar e rromane žuvla: rama e diskriminaciaki

Kado artiklo vazdel pe krujal duj bare gindura. Jekh si pala o aresipe e rromane žuvlango pađa e butyako piaco taj pala lengi participacia ande e rromane kommunangi ekonomikani taj kulturalo produkcia. I dujto sekcia sikavel uni averimata maškar e žuvla taj e murša so reflektuin pe ande e rromnyangi participacia taj lengo aresipe paša i kulturalo konzumpcia. Avral e obzervacie taj arakhimata save sikaven uni forme e rromane žuvlange diksriminaciake, e lekhave zumaven te keren evidentno lengi kontribucia paša e rromane kulturako inkeripe taj durutnipe. O artiklo kerdilas pala jekh rodipe so kerdas o Centro vaš Rodipe pe i Rromani kultura ando 2010 taj ande soste sas nacionalo reprezentativo anketura pherde maškar 600 rromane žene kaj sas maj phure sar 15.

Noémi Magyari:

The gender order and work in a Roma community from Cluj

The aim of this study is to describe the similarities and differences between the concepts and practices regarding the works of women and men in a marginal Roma community in the city of Cluj, a community characterized by precarious living conditions. Assuming an intersectional approach, the gender perspective used in this analysis identifies the interference of a number of factors that influence access to employment or division of labor in the domestic sphere, such as gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status. The paper aims at demonstrating that experiences and trajectories of working people are structured by the multitude of their prescribed social positions as Roma women and men living in poverty.

Ordinea de gen și munca într-o comunitate de romi din Cluj

Scopul acestui studiu este descrierea asemănărilor și diferențelor dintre concepțiile și practicile femeilor și bărbaților legate de muncă observate într-o comunitate de romi marginală din orașul Cluj caracterizată prin condiții de viață precare. Asumând abordarea intersecționalității, perspectiva de gen utilizată în analiza mea identifică interferențele dintre o serie de factori care influențează accesul pe piața muncii sau diviziunea muncii în sfera domestică, cum ar fi genul, etnia și statutul socio-economic, respectiv caracteristicile care li se atribuie în relațiile sociale. articolul dorește să demonstreze că experiențele și traiectoriile oamenilor în domeniul muncii sunt structurate de multitudinea pozițiilor sociale prescrise lor ca femei și bărbați de etnie romă care trăiesc în sărăcie.

E lingango (žuvlango/muršango) anglunipe taj buti e rromane kommunasa anda' Cluj

O res kadale studiako sit e sikavel e jekhunimata taj e averimata maškar e konceptura taj e praktikura e žuvlange taj muršange butyange save sip e margina e rromane kommunaki ando foro Cluj, kaj e trajoske kondicie ande kommuna si but darane. Patyaindos ande e intersekcionalo phiravipe, e lingangi perspektiva ande kadi analiza arakhel e interferencia e maj butane faktorengi so dela pesko efekto pe o aresipe paša o butyaripe taj e butyaki divizia ande domestiko sfera, sar o ling, i etniciteta taj socio-ekonomikano status. O papiroši zumavel te sikavel ke e eksperienca taj e droma e rromenge kaj si le butyi maj anglal čhindyona khatar e socialo pozicie e rromnyangi taj e rromengi save bešena ando čorripe.

Dora Ghecenco:**Evicted, relocated, and looking for a decent housing**

The article is a social report written on the base of the documents produced by the Working Group of Civil Society Organizations (Grupul de Lucru al Organizațiilor Civice, gLOC, www.gloc.ro), which was formed at the end of January 2011 as a reaction against the administrative measures taken in the city of Cluj that resulted in the eviction, residential segregation and territorial exclusion of several marginalized Roma families. The report briefly presents the housing conditions of more than 2000 persons living in Pata-Rât near or on the garbage dump, the local administrative measures leading to ghettoization in Cluj, and the civic actions against residential segregation and for adequate housing for marginalized ethnic Roma.

Evacuat, mutat, și în căutarea unei locuiri decente

Articolul este un raport social scris pe baza documentelor produse de Grupul de Lucru al Organizațiilor Civice, (gLOC, www.gloc.ro), care a luat ființă la sfârșitul lui ianuarie 2011 ca reacție împotriva măsurilor administrative ale primăriei din Cluj care au condus la evacuarea, segregarea rezidențială și excluderea teritorială a mai multor familii de romi marginalizate. Raportul prezintă succint condițiile de locuit a cel puțin 2000 de persoane care trăiesc în Pata-Rât în apropierea gropii de gunoi, măsurile administrației locale care conduc la ghettoizarea romilor din Cluj și acțiunile civice împotriva segregării rezidențiale și pentru locuințe adecvate pentru romii marginalizați.

Našadyon khatar penge khera, traden pe pe neve thana, haj rodona maj lacho kher

O artiklo si jekh socialo raporto ramome pe e dokumentongi baza kerde khatar I Butyelin e Civilo Organizaciange Grupangi (Grupul de Lucru al Organizațiilor Civice, gLOC, www.gloc.ro), so biandyulas ando foro Cluj taj so biandas o našavipe khatar lenge khera, i rezidencialo segregacia maj but marginalizuime romane familiange. O raporto skurto sikavela e bešutnimaske taj e teritoriake kondicie so den pe maj but sar 2000-e manușenge save bešen ando Pata-Rât vorta paša e gunujango than, taj vi e lokalo administrative programura save ingerde karing i ghettoizacia ando Cluj, taj karing e civilo akcie mamuj rezidencialo segregacia taj vaš adekvato khera e marginalizuime etniko rromenge.

Lidia Gheorghiu, Michael J.R. Butler:**What's the effect of the public policies on the Roma women in Romania?**

This article is a short overview of the data collected for a larger research, which includes 70 interviews, meetings, and ethnographic data. During this data collection, a number of questions stood out. One regards the changes that the plans and strategies were meant to bring about for the Roma population. Women were not specifically targeted in these programs, although their social vulnerability is widely expressed in existing studies. The article looks at what has been changed in terms of women issues, focusing on health and education. The second issue addressed by the article is whether "the Roma problem" is a new mean to get funds and to mime 'political correctness'.

Efectul politicilor publice destinate femeilor rome din România

Articolul reprezintă o scurtă trecere în revistă a datelor culese pentru o cercetare mai amplă care include 70 de interviuri, întâlniri și date etnografice. Pe parcursul culegerii datelor au apărut o serie de întrebări. Una se referă la schimbările preconizate de planuri și strategii dedicate romilor. Programele nu s-au adresat în mod special femeilor, deși vulnerabilitatea lor socială apare în mai multe

studii. Articolul abordează ceea ce s-a schimbat în legătură cu problemele femeilor, mai ales în domeniul sănătății și al educației. A doua problemă se întreabă dacă “problema romilor” este un nou mod pentru atragere de fonduri și de mimare a “corectitudinii politice”.

So si o efekto e publiko politikango karing e rromane źuvla ande Rumunia?

Kado artiklo si jekh skurto sikavipe e adatongo kide vaș jekh maj baro rodipe, so inkrela 70 interjuvura, mitingura taj etnografiko adato. Tala e adatongo kidipe maj but pučhimata vazdile. Jekh si pala e paruvimata e planonge taj strategiange save sas te čačvardyon e rromane populaciake. E źuvla naj specifiko targetuime ande kadala programura, źikaj lengo socialo dukhavipe butivare sikavel pe ande akanutne rodimata. O artiklo dikhela so parudilas pala e rromnyange pučhimata taj del o fokuso pe o sastipe taj siklaripe. O dujto pučhipe so adresuil pe ande kado artiklo si, ke e “o rromano problemo” si jekh nevo instrumento te roden pe grantonge love taj te sikavel ‘politikalo korrektype’.

Making a living in a segregated urban area, narratives recorded by Enikő Vincze

The article illustrates how Roma women and men from a marginalized urban community accommodate or resist to the cumulative effects of poverty, racial stigmatization and spatial isolation in their everyday life. Making appeal to people’s narratives collected by the means of an ethnographic study it gives voice to their stories about housing, schooling and labor. The article observes that residential segregation leads to reduced access to school education, decent jobs, healthcare and other public services, it has an overall impact on people’s social contacts, (self)-identifications and generally on their life expectancies and trajectories, and it is inscribed into people’s minds, bodies and social relations.

Traiul cotidian într-o zonă urbană segregată, narative înregistrate de Enikő Vincze

Articolul ilustrează modul în care bărbați și femei romi dintr-o comunitate urbană marginalizată se adaptează sau rezistă efectelor cumulate ale sărăciei, stigmatului rasial și izolării spațiale din viața lor cotidiană. Studiul oferă spațiu pentru vocea indivizilor din comunitate, reproducând povestirile despre școală, locuire și muncă adunate prin metode etnografice. Articolul observă că segregarea rezidențială reduce gradul de acces la educație, muncă decentă și alte servicii publice, are un impact general asupra contactelor sociale, identificările persoanelor, și în general asupra așteptărilor și traiectoriilor de viață. Totodată acestea sunt înscrise în mintea, corpul și relațiile sociale ale oamenilor.

Sar trail pe ande'kh ulado than e forosko, narrativura line khatar Eniko Vincze

Kado artiklo sikavel sar e rromane źuvla taj murša khatar jekh marginalizuime foroski kommuna den than vaj mamujaren e čorrimaske kumulativo efektonge, e rasikane stigmatizaciake taj e segregaciake ande penge sako dyesuno trajo. Jekh etnografiako rodipe kidas khetane e rromenge narrativura taj kade dela glaso lenge storivonge pala e khera, škola taj butyi. O artiklo sikavela ke i rezidencialo segregacia ingrela karing o maj tang aresipe paša e školaki edukacia, šukar butya, sastimasko grižipe taj aver publiko sevimata, taj kaj si la efekto pe e manușenge socialo kontaktura, (pes)-identifikacia taj general pe o trajosko durutnipe taj leske droma taj kodo si ramome ande e manușengi godyi, lengo trupo taj socialo relacie.

Two success stories, collected by Agneta Nica

The stories presented here are not stories about Cinderella becoming a princess, or about a flower-girl becoming top manager in a corporation, but after all, the life paths recounted here are no less spectacular. While pinpointing on their life circumstances, the author emphasizes that Mirela and Ramona are the first in their families who attend university.

Două povești de succes, colectate de Agneta Nica

Nu sunt povești cu Cenușăreasa ajunsă prințesă, nici cu florăreasa devenită președinte de corporație, dar drumul lor – până la urmă – nu este cu nimic mai puțin spectaculos. Evidențiind anumite circumstanțe de viață ale două fete, autoarea subliniază că Mirela și Ramona sunt primele din familiile lor care sau înscris la facultate.

Duj baxtalimaske storivura kide khatar i Agneta Nica

E storivura save sikaven pe khaten naj storivura pala i Cinderella sarso voj kerdyla princeza vaj pala jekh luludi-čhejorri ko kerdyla jekh top menedžero ande jekh firma, apal sar mothodona pe e trajoske korrare no vi kodo si but čudimasko. Džikaj sikaven pe lenge trajoske kondicie, i lekhavni phenela, ke i Mirela taj i Ramona si e anglune ande lengi familia kaj phirena pe univerziteta.

Ramona Cara:**Role models**

The author of this short essay emphasizes the value of friendships and mutual support in sustaining one's dreams coming true, and as well as the need to offer love and care for unprivileged children. Enjoying the support of her "second family", Ramona works for other children within several projects ran by the Roma Women's Association 'For Our Children'.

Modele de rol

Autoarea acestui eseu scurt vorbește despre valoarea prieteniei și a suportului reciproc în realizarea visurilor și despre nevoia de a oferi dragoste și atenția copiilor cărora soarta nu le surâde. Beneficiind de suportul celei de "a doua familie" a ei, Ramona lucrează pentru copii în mai multe proiecte derulate de Asociația Femeilor Rome "Pentru copiii noștri".

Rolake modelura

I lekhavni kadale skurto essay-esko vazdela o kučipe e amalimasko taj e duje rigune ažutimasko so kerela, ke varekaske sune kerdyon čačune, taj ke si le i nevoja te den pengo kamipe taj grižipe e čhavorrenge biprivilegiasa. Kajso kerela peski voja anda o žutipe khaar peski džuto familia, i Ramona kerela buti avere čhavorrenge ande aver projektura so kerdyna khatar e Rromane Žuvlangi Organizacia kaj bušola "Amare čhavorrenge".

Alexandra Oprea:**Reclaiming victimhood, rethinking agency**

The essay observes that the denial of victimhood to Romani women is part of the general distortion of Romani experiences. The author notes that this does not mean that Roma are *never* seen as victims, but what it does mean is that they are most likely to be

seen as victims when the victimizer is also Romani. Besides, she describes how Romani agency is exaggerated and it is constructed as devious. One of the manifestations of the devious agency stereotype is that while a mother is thought of as an unselfish nurturer, Romani women are thought of as selfish exploiters. The article also recognizes that by invoking the agency of Romani women as opposed to powerlessness, Romani feminists express the political option of resisting to patriarchal practices and challenging a racist idea according to which feminism comes from the outside.

Revendicarea statutului de victimă și regândirea factorului activ

Eseul afirmă că negarea statutului de victimă a femeilor rome face parte dintr-o tendință mai generală de distorsiune a experienței romilor. Autoarea notează că negația nu înseamnă că romii nu sunt văzuți ca victime câteodată doar că în general romii sunt percepuți ca victime atunci când violența vine din partea altor romi. Autoarea descrie modul în care acțiunile romilor sunt exagerate și prezentate drept escrocherii. Una dintre manifestările stereotipului escrocheriei romilor este dată de imaginea generală a mamei ca părinte altruist în timp ce mamele rome sunt văzute ca exploatare egotiste. Articolul recunoaște că prin invocarea agenției femeilor rome în contrast cu lipsa de putere, feministele rome exprimă opțiunea politică de a rezista practicilor patriarhale și ideii rasiste conform căreia feminismul vine din străinătate.

E viktimasko nevo rodipe, e agenturako nevo gindisaripe

O essay arakhela, ke e viktimasko xoxavipe e rromane žuvlango si kotor ande o general xoxaipe e rromenge eksperiençango. I lekHAVni phenela inke, ke kado ċi sikavel ke e rroma nivar naj viktimura apal sikavela ke len dikhen a maj feder viktimonge vi kana o viktimizatori si rromano. Paša kado sikavela sar e rromengi agentura si barardi taj konstruktme kaj kerdyola xoxaimaske. Jekh manifestacia e xoxaivamske agenturaki si, ke ži kaj patyala pe, jekh rromani dej sa kerela te bararel e čhavorren, apal pala i stereotipura von dikhen pe kaj kamen te cirden e averendar sa. O artiklo pinžarela ke kajso adresuil e rromani žuvlangi agentura so si protiv o bizeripe, e rromane feministura sikavena e politikalo opcia kaj te maren pe mamuj e patriarxalo praktikura taj te provokuin o rasisto gindo pala soste o feminizmo avral avela.

Enikő Vincze:

What kind of feminism I wish for on Women's International Day

The essay observes that the most balanced feminist positions from the myriad of existing ones are those that merge interpretations of both feminism of equality and feminism of difference. The author argues for the need of a feminism that raises and discusses public issues and participates in public debates about "social good", addresses issues of general interest such as power or inequality in terms of gender intersected with other systems of differentiation, and which seeks to create social spaces where every person has the opportunity to engage and develop their capabilities and to negotiate on the acceptable social order.

Ce fel de feminism îmi doresc de Ziua Internațională a Femeilor?

Eseul notează că cele mai echilibrate dintre pozițiile existente sunt cele care combină explicațiile feminismului egalității cu cel al diferenței. Autoarea afirmă că este nevoie de orientări feministe care generează și iau parte la o dezbatere publică despre "binele social" care abordează probleme generale, cum ar fi funcționarea puterii sau inegalitatea, din punctul de vedere al genului intersectat cu alte sisteme de diferențiere (deci feminisme care nu vorbesc „doar” despre femei); care prin acțiunile lor urmăresc să creeze spații sociale în care fiecare persoană are șansa să își valorifice și dezvolte abilitățile și să negocieze asupra ordinii acceptabile.

Savo feminizmo mangava me pe Žuvlango Internacinalo Dyes

O essay sikavela ke e maj balansuime feminist pozicie anda' e maj but akanutne si kodolendar, save bilaren e interpretacia e feminizmoske jekhunimaski e feminizmoske averikanimasa. I lekHAVni phenela ke trubul kodo feminizmo savo vazdela taj diskutisarela e publiko problemura taj savo lela kotor ande publiko debatura pala o "socialo lachipe", adresuil e generalo problemura sar o i zor vaj o na-jekhunipe e rromnyango so intersektuil pe avere sistemonca kaj averardyon e manuś, taj so rodela te vazdel socialo than kaj sako jekhe manuśes si les e šansa te vazdel taj te žamavel peske šajunimata taj te kerel negociacia pala jekh maj akceptuimaski socialo pozicia.

Letiția Mark:

"Equality through Difference. Roma Women's Access on the Labor Market". Experience of first wave applicants for projects supported by European Social Fund

In this article the author addresses critically her experiences cumulated during the implementation of the project "Egalitate prin diferență. Accesul femeilor rome pe piața muncii" (www.femrom.ro) funded by the European Social Fund. Most importantly, in a very personal tone she observes the many structural obstacles, but as well as the anti-Gypsy attitudes the project was faced with, and bitterly describes how all these prevented her of enjoying its outcoming results, including the fact that her dream about a Roma women's journal could come true in the files of Nevi Sara Kali within this very project.

"Egalitate prin diferență. Accesul femeilor rome pe piața muncii". Experiența primului val de aplicanți de proiecte susținute prin programul Fondul Social European

În acest articol autoarea abordează critic experiența sa acumulată în implementarea proiectului "Egalitate prin diferență. Accesul femeilor rome pe piața muncii" (www.femrom.ro) finanțat de Fondul Social European. Cel mai important, într-un ton personal identifică multele obstacole structurale dar și atitudinile anti-țigănești cu care s-a confruntat proiectul și cu un gust amar descrie cum anume toate acestea i-au luat capacitatea de a se bucura de rezultatele obținute inclusiv de împlinirea unui vis al ei și anume publicarea unei reviste a femeilor rome Nevi Sara Kali, devenit realitate chiar în cadrul acestui proiect.

Jekhipen ade diferencia. O Acceso e romane Juvleango po foro la Butyiarimasko. E experiencia el anglune aplikaciengne pala e projektura vazdine vash o programo Europako Socialno Fondo

Ande kado artiklo i lekHAVni adresuil kritikalo peske eksperience save vazdile tala e projektoski implementacia ""Egalitate prin diferență. Accesul femeilor rome pe piața muncii" (www.femrom.ro) so lovjardilas pe khatar e Evropako Socialo Fundo. Maj anglal ande jekh but personalo stilo voj lela sama e but strukturalo pharimata no vi e phiravimata mamuj e rroma savenca o projekto sas te marel pe, taj kerkes sikavela sar sa kadala preventisarde la te kerel peski voja anda peske rezultatura, kaj mașkaral o fakto, ke lako suno sas jekh žurnalo e rromane žuvlange, so akana čačvardilas ande kado projekto sar i Nevi Sara Kali.