

FACES AND CAUSES OF ROMA MARGINALIZATION

Tools and methods for evaluation and data collection.

Contextual inquiry to the UNDP/World Bank/EC Regional Roma Survey 2011, focusing on Hungary, Romania, Serbia.

A joint initiative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Open Society Foundation's Roma Initiatives Office (RIO) and the Making the Most of EU Funds for Roma Inclusion program, and the Central European University/Center for Policy Studies (CEU CPS)

Romania

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Implemented by

Desiré Foundation from Cluj (coordinator Enikő Vincze)

Read more in:

Mapping Roma marginalization in local context, Studia UBB Sociologia, 2013, Issue nr. 2
Uneven development and Roma marginalization: from economic deprivation to ethno-spatial exclusion. Romania – Short report. OSI: forthcoming

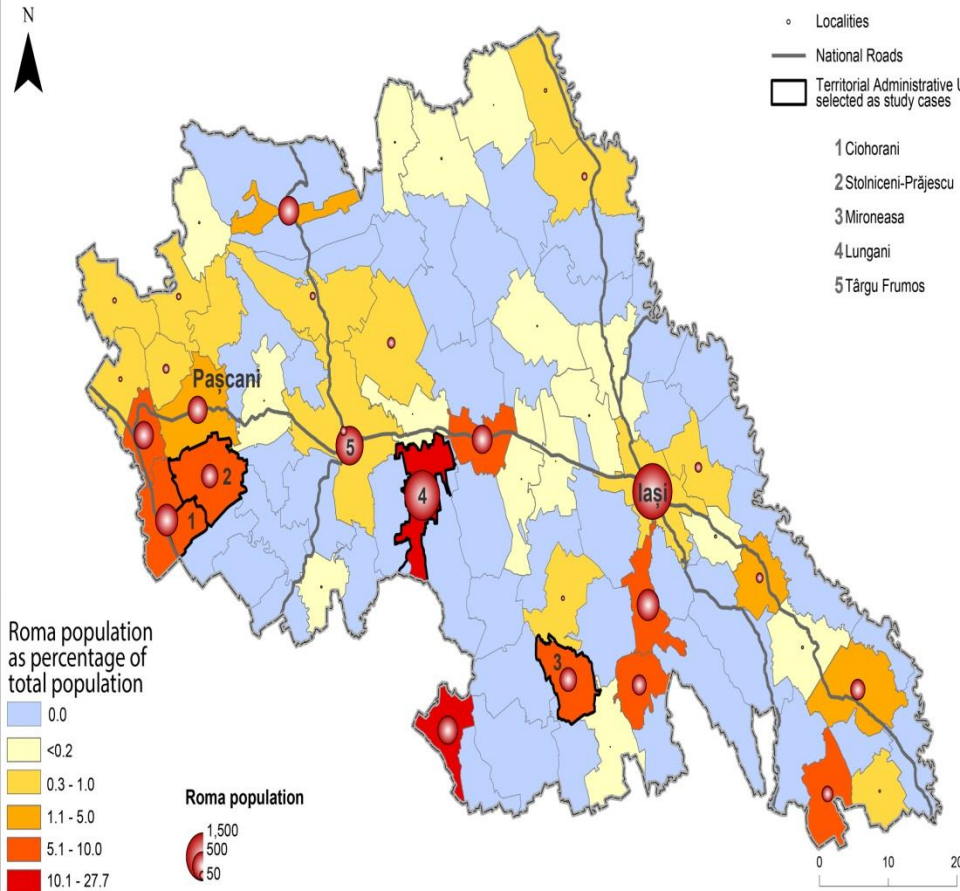
The Romanian sample

Cluster	Locality	% of ethnic Roma	Risk of poverty in the Development region
Iași (% of Roma in Iasi county: 1.46%)	Târgu Frumos	9.59%	50% (North-East Development Region, highest in Romania)
	Mironeasa	8.24%	
	Lungani	33.85%	
	Stolniceni-Prăjescu	7.21%	
	Ciohorăni	24.54%	
Arad (% of Roma in Arad county: 3.83%)	Curtici	11.81%	32% (Vest)
	Covăsînț	25.33%	
	Șiria	12.15%	
	Pilu	12.78%	
	Macea	8.81%	
Dolj (% of Roma in Dolj county: 4.52%)	Calafat	4.62%	42% (South-Vest Oltenia)
	Bârca	24.44%	
	Cetate	19.55%	
	Negoi	43.32%	
	Sadova	23.02%	
Alba (% of Roma in Alba county: 4.33 %)	Aiud	6.45%	28% (Center, second lowest in Romania)
	Lunca Mureșului	11.91%	
	Unirea	17.93%	
	Hopârta	17.86%	
	Sâncel	9.39%	
Călărași (% of Roma in Călărași county: 7.48%)	Oltenița	8.79%	41% (South Muntenia)
	Frumușani	22.02%	
	Spanțov	32.75%	
	Chirnogi	21.40%	
	Curcani	36.23%	

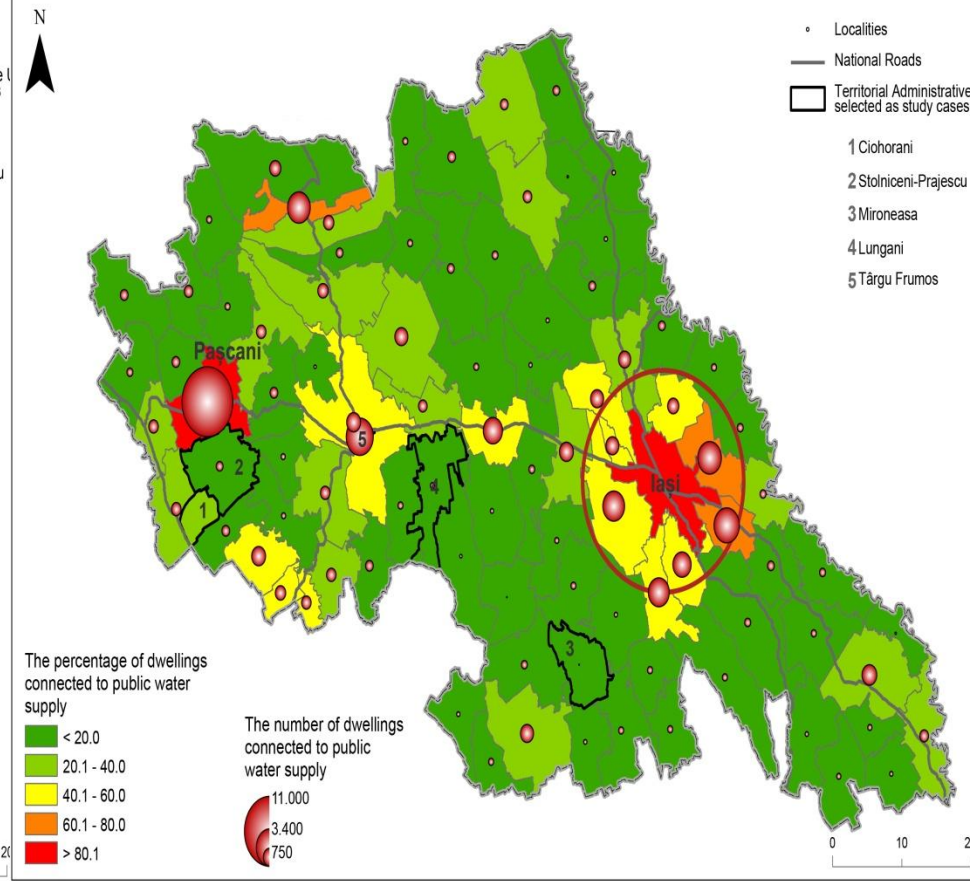
Spatial distribution of Roma and access to public water supply in the selected Romanian clusters

Iasi cluster

Spatial distribution of Roma population in Iași County

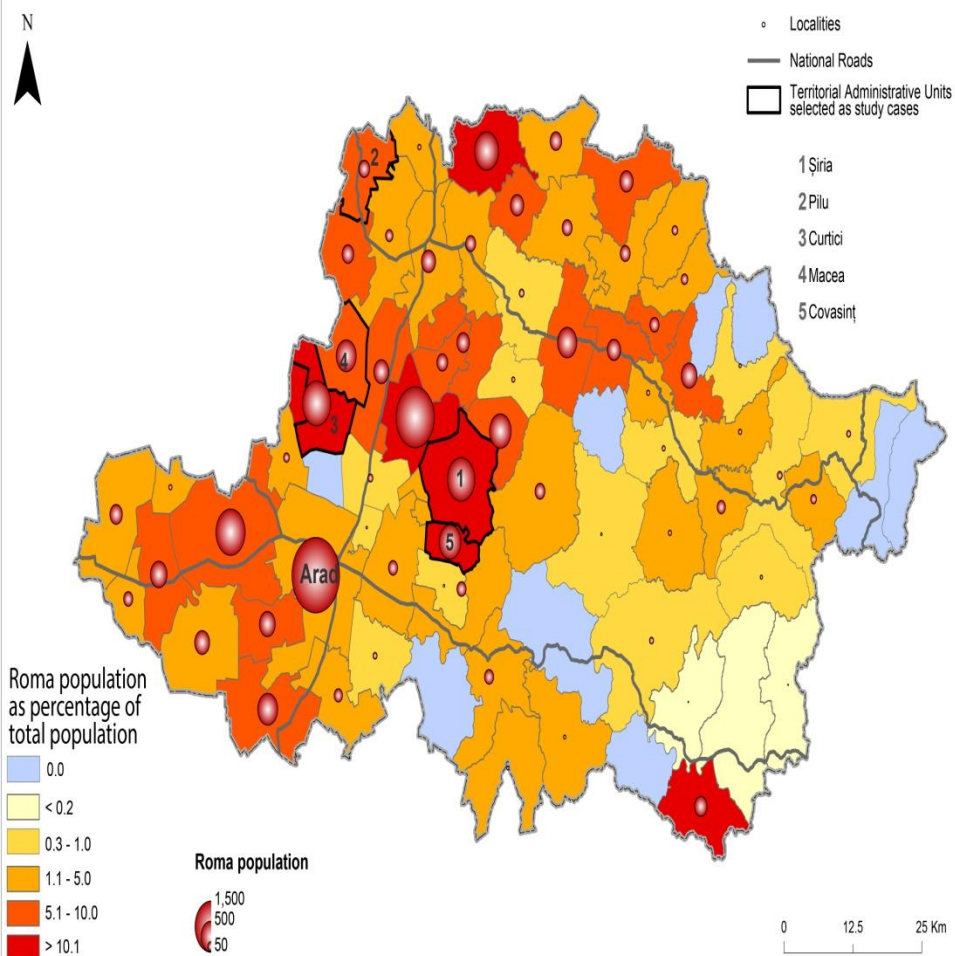


The percentage of dwellings connected to public water supply



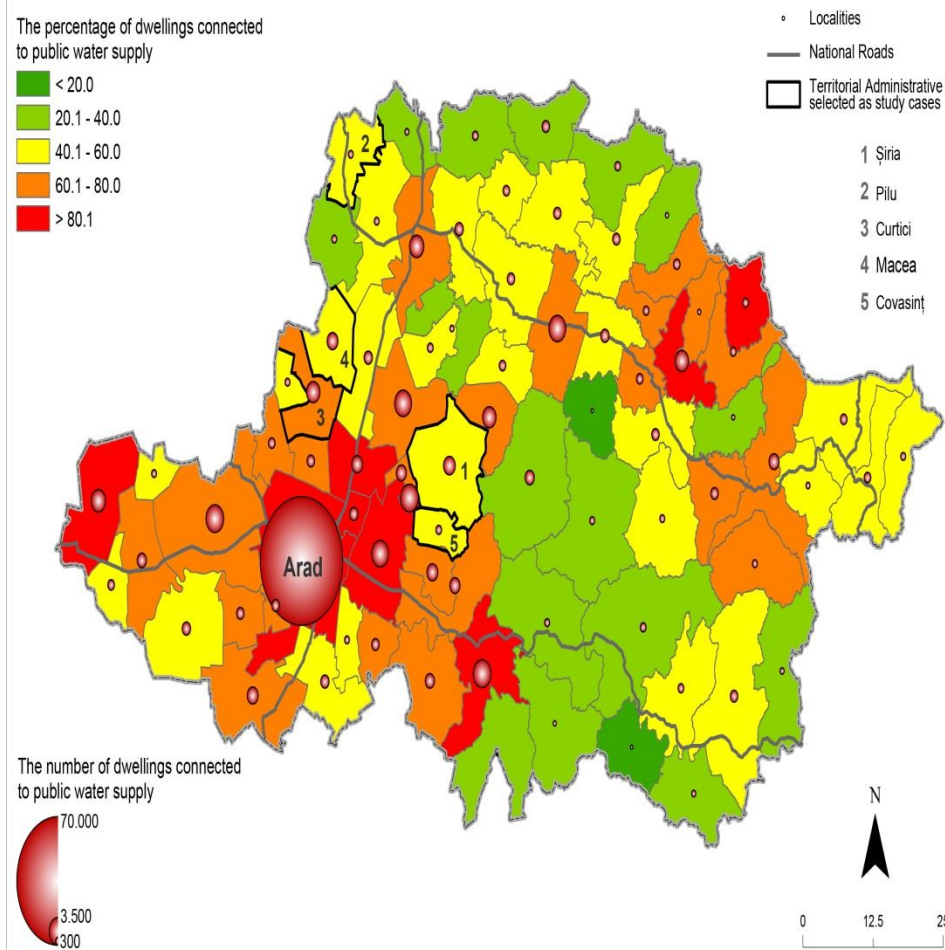
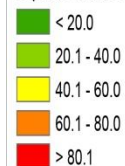
Arad cluster

Spatial distribution of Roma population in Arad County



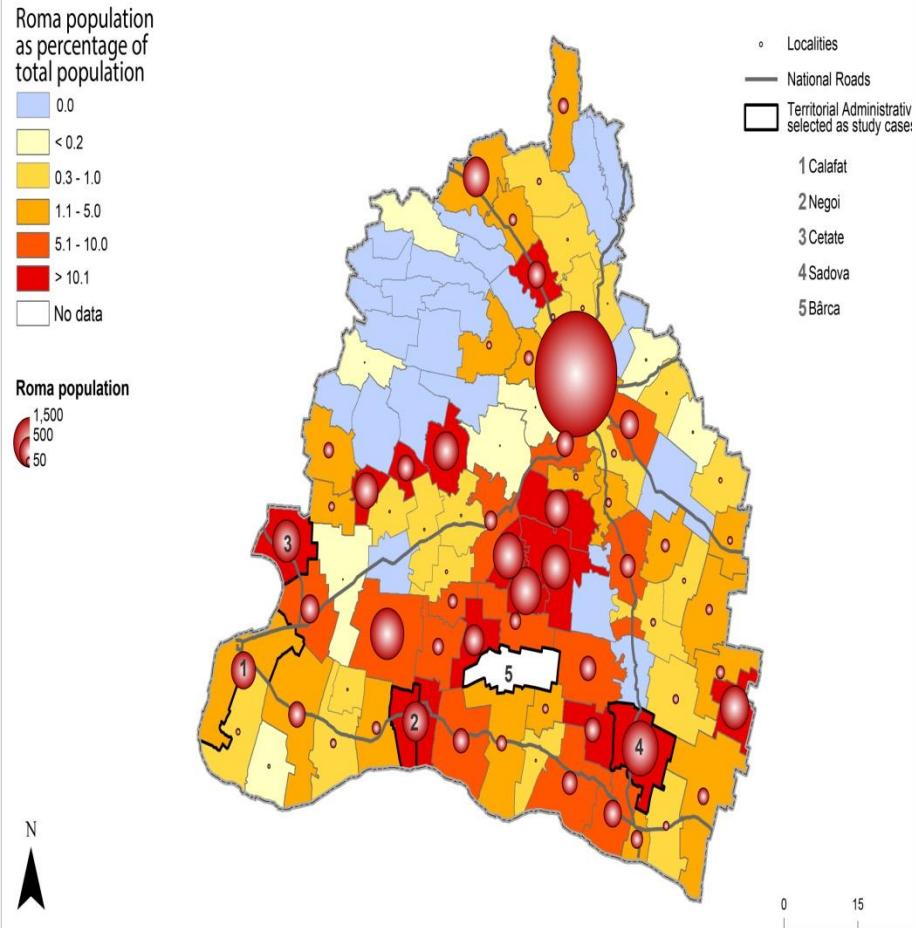
The percentage of dwellings connected to public water supply

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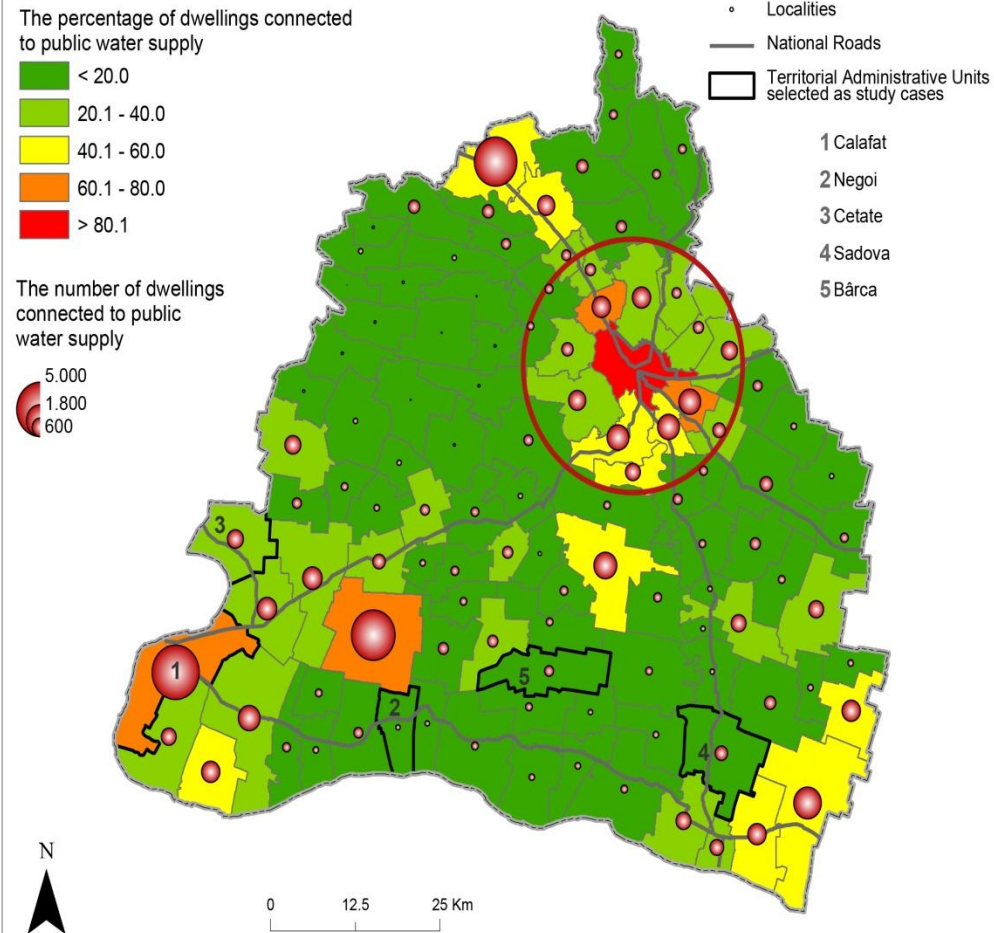


Dolj cluster

Spatial distribution of Roma population in Dolj County

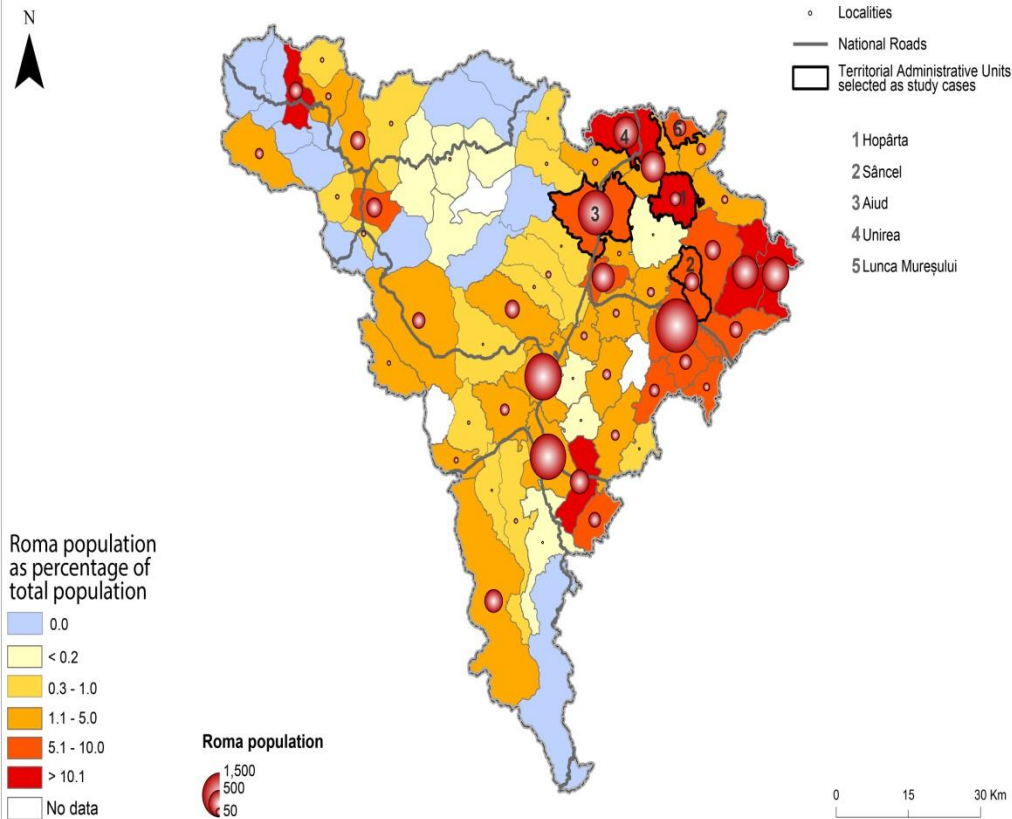


The percentage of dwellings connected to public water supply

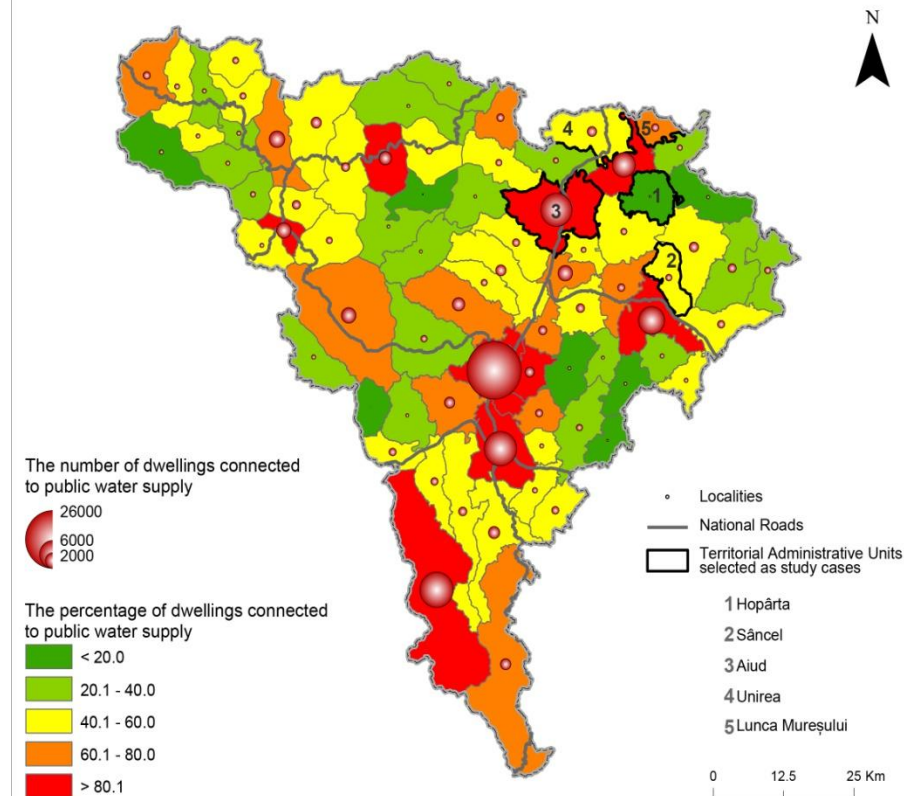


Alba cluster

Spatial distribution of Roma population in Alba County

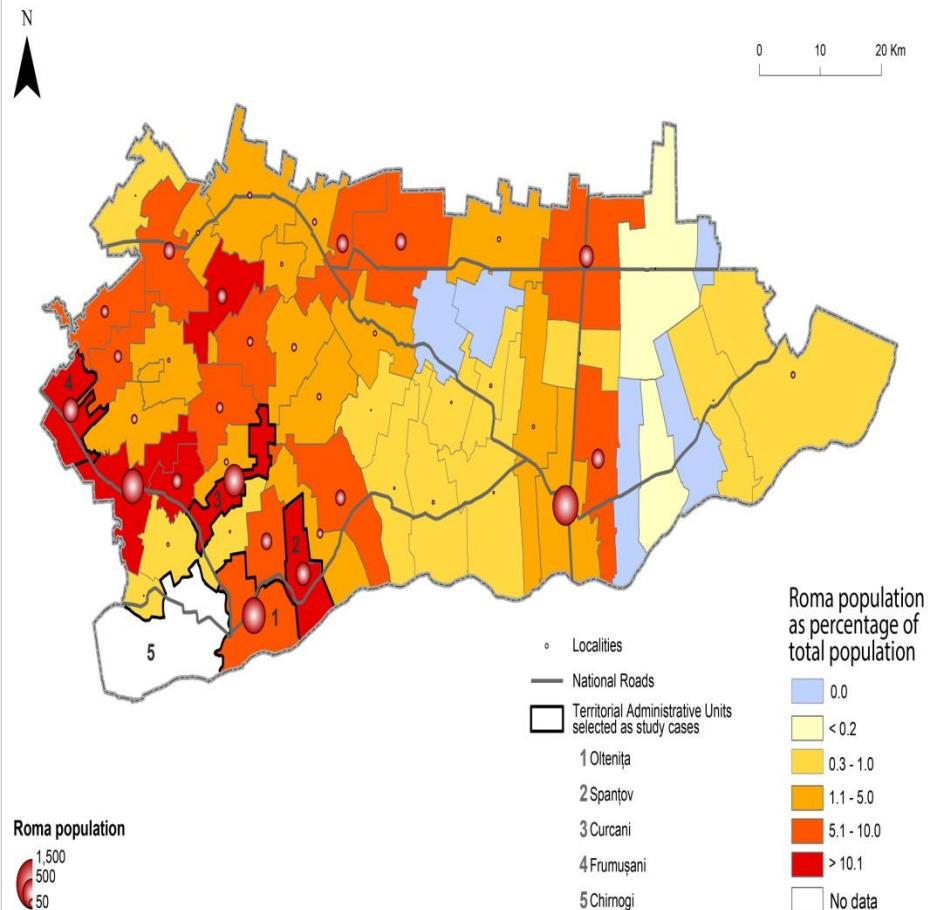


The percentage of dwellings connected to public water supply

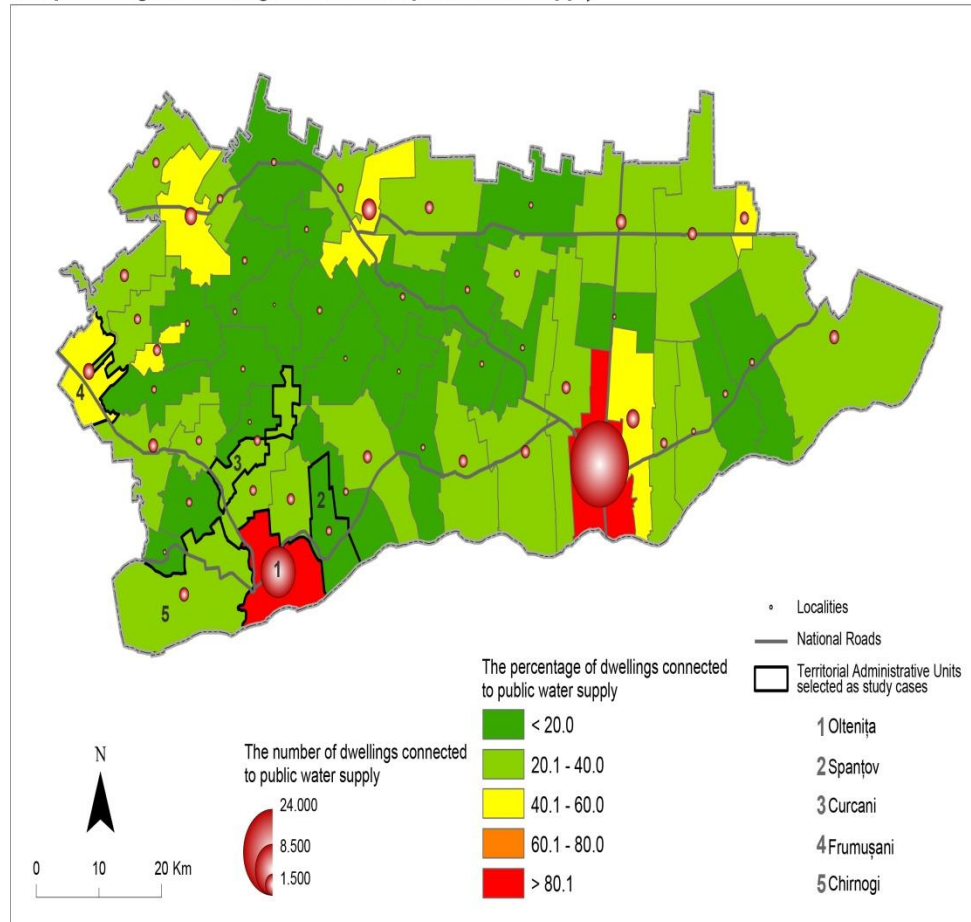


Călărași cluster

Spatial distribution of Roma population in Călărași County



The percentage of dwellings connected to public water supply



Processes of the formation of poor “Roma segments” in Romania

THESE PROCESSES:

- ▶ occur in different combinations across and within the cluster locations
- ▶ represent a spectrum of marginalization from (adverse) incorporation characterized by poverty, to severe exclusion where people are overtly discriminated against

Historical divisions intersect with unequal territorial development, which increase the disadvantages of Roma segments in isolated neighborhoods of a city or a poor village within a larger commune (in Iași, Dolj, Arad, Alba).

Poor Roma groups sharing territories with impoverished Romanians in a disadvantaged commune (in Arad).

Restricting assimilated and impoverished Roma to the underdeveloped margins of a city or to a less developed village of a commune by means of housing and school policies (Arad, Dolj, Iași, Călărași, Alba).

Forcibly evicting impoverished Roma groups from centrally placed urban areas and relocating them to the margins of localities, usually in polluted and isolated areas (with or without providing them alternative — sub-standard — housing), or from the communal center to a less developed village (Alba).

Unifying neighboring villages (inhabited by different Roma groups with different financial capabilities) with a city and, by doing so, transforming them into underdeveloped urban outskirts (Alba).

Splitting the same Roma “nation” (*neam*) into two or more groups of residential areas separated by village borders (Dolj, Alba).

The “ghettoization” of particular urban residential areas (usually substandard blocks of flats), inhabited by the poorest Roma and non-Roma, perceived at local level as Gypsyhoods (*țigănie*), characterized by the lack of any sense of belonging (besides that of living in poverty) and human dignity (Călărași).

Historically formed Roma segments are reinforced by the voluntary separation of better-off traditional Roma groups who benefit from infrastructural development as a result of being more centrally located (Arad, Dolj, Călărași).

Better-off Roma groups living in informal settlements on the outskirts of their locality, but placed in the proximity of important urban centers and thus benefit from sources of income and social mobility (Călărași).

Better-off traditional Roma living in segments shared with Romanians, who communicate with the outside world and are facilitated by social mobility (Călărași).

Roma groups belonging to the same “nation” (*neam*) classified into two or more different groups, are placed differently on the local socio-geographic map of the locality on the basis of their financial capabilities: the poorer sub-group being the more stigmatized and inferiorized (Dolj, Călărași).

Conclusions on Roma marginalization in local contexts from Romania

The position of “Roma segments” within local societies

- = groups of people or (extended) families sharing a space demarcated from the rest of the municipality by locally meaningful signs and practices
- = areas referred to as “Roma neighborhoods” or “Gypsyhoods” by the people living in the rest of the community
- = are characterized by various types and degrees of deprivations and reduced opportunities as shown in the following matrix:

High degree of ethno-spatial segregation/separation and lower level of economic deprivation (the better-off nature of these communities is relative and it is mostly due to international migration); Dolj cluster - district of *Spoitori* Roma from Calafat city; new village area in Negoii; area *Banat* in Cetate; *Ghețea* district in Sadova; *Țigănia* and *Drăgălina* area of Bârca; **Alba cluster** - in the city of Aiud: area *Feleud* or *Aiudul de Sus*; **Călărași cluster** – in city of Oltenița the *Spoitori* Roma; *Zavragii* Roma from Curcani; **Arad cluster** – *Căldărari* Roma of the city of Curtici; the better-off down-town Gypsies (*țigani de jos*) from Covăsint; the better-off Roma from Macea

High degree of ethno-spatial segregation and high level of economic deprivation: Iași cluster - *Nucărie* and *Pieptănari* (Tg. Frumos), *Brustureț* and *Frunziș* (Mironeasa), *Pe Muchie* (Ciohorăni), villages *Crucea* and *Zmeu* (Lungani), village *Cozmești* (Stolniceni-Prăjescu); **Arad cluster** – *Caștalăi* Roma and *Livezilor* district from the city of Curtici; the poor up-town Gypsies (*“țigani de sus”*) from Covăsint; village *Sânmartin* from Macea; **Dolj cluster** - district of *Rudari* Roma from Calafat city; village *Sadovei Peak* in Sadova; area *Vale* in Cetate; **Alba cluster** - village of *Silivaș* in Hopârta; the villages *Luncii* and *Iclod* of Sâncel; village *Unirea 2* or *Vinț* from commune Unirea; in the city of Aiud *Bufa* and *Poligon* community; **Călărași cluster** – in city of Oltenița the *Rudărie* area; *Teveu* from Chirnogi; *Țigănie Sătuc* from Frumușani

Lower degree of ethno-spatial segregation/separation and lower level of economic deprivation: Arad cluster – better-off Roma from Șiria; **Călărași cluster** – area *Țigănie* from Chirnogi; *Țigănie Pasărea* from Frumușani

Lower degree of ethno-spatial segregation and high level of economic deprivation: Arad cluster – communes *Pilu* and *Șiria* ; **Alba cluster** - *Pusta* and *Lautarilor* community from Unirea village; *Dealul Țiganilor*, *Drumul Țării*, *Gostat* areas from Lunca Mureșului

Structural conditions producing marginality

- economic underdevelopment of immediate and surrounding areas, including the acute lack of job opportunities due to economic restructuring;
- impoverishment resulting from systemic unemployment and/or underpaid jobs,
- shortcomings of the Romanian social protection system;
- precarious housing circumstances belonging to territorially isolated zones with extremely low access to quality public services and goods;
- the lack of political will and/or technical competency to elaborate or implement evidence-based, inclusive and cohesive development policies;
- limited capacities of local administration to generate satisfactory and inclusive local budgets;
- measures of public administration (for ex. forced evictions and relocations to marginal and segregated area);
- low degree of Roma participation in local decision-making, and controversies around Roma representatives bridging between authorities and communities;
- projects implemented by NGOs and/or local authorities are sectorial and their results are not integrated into local development plans and institutional structures.

Institutionalized power relations and mentalities producing marginality

- the historically embedded inter-personal and inter-group relationships sustained through several life domains (e.g. school, labor, public administration, etc.) between people identified on the basis of their social status and ethnic belonging,
- cross-generational cultural conceptions about cohabitation that matter at particular levels (e.g. social status and ethnicity);
- racialization of ethnic Roma (Roma as the ultime racial Other) and association of poor (Roma) with non-deservingness;
- power relations between different Roma groups (“nations”, *neamuri*) unequally placed on the local socio-economic, political and ethnic maps

The differences between the localities of our clusters are resulting among others from the fact that they are placed in different counties respectively regions knowing different levels of economic (under)development - phenomenon reflecting the uneven spatial distribution of resources or the territorial divisions across Romania.

With the exception of cities of Curtici (Arad) and Calafat (Dolj), and of commune Frumușani (Călărași) from the proximity of Bucharest – the locally identified multiple “Roma segments” belonged to economically more or less disadvantaged larger territories, while showing different degrees of poverty and exclusion.

Material deprivation (class-based inequality) and cultural stigmatization (ethnic-identity based misrecognition) are juxtaposed to different degrees, and ethnic-based inferiorization is used to “justify” the differential and unfair treatment of Roma.

Traditional Roma groups with high degrees of ethno-spatial segregation (or “separation” since it is not enforced by external factors), are materially better-off than the poorest strata of the settlement, since they had/have a role in the local economic life and sustain a sense of dignifying difference.

Wherever placed, Roma communities living in more or less integrated areas (that display low degrees of segregation) might be economically less deprived, unless they are settled in a location that is altogether impoverished.

Roma communities subjected to high levels of poverty are most likely segregated ethno-spatially if they are situated in a more favorable larger environment; but they are more integrated, however still poor, if they belong to a settlement that is generally impoverished.

Policy-related recommendations

Instances of advanced marginality that are also manifested in and reproduced by spatial segregation cannot be eliminated through a traditional target-group or vulnerable group approach, they also require an inclusive territorial approach aiming to eliminate or reduce socio-ethnic inequalities.

There is a need of integrating “Roma inclusion policies” into the local inclusive development plans, which need to be elaborated on the base of participatory needs assessment reflecting, among others, on the internal disparities of the local society.

There is a need to ensure the participatory monitoring of the results of policies and projects for Roma through well-defined quantitative and qualitative outcome and sustainability indicators.

Sectorial projects responding to urgent needs (on the domain of school education, or employment) should be incorporated into long-term inclusive and integrated development programs.

Poverty-related inequalities cannot be addressed successfully if they do not target the structural causes of poverty, but at the best only focus on the individual characteristics of those living in poverty.

Social inclusion policies should be completed with a politics of cultural recognition and empowerment by (political) participation, while assuring that actions are aware of differences and inequalities amongst the local Roma groups, and they also involve the majority population.