Florin BOTONOGU
- coordinator -

# HIDDEN COMMUNITIES
## FERENTARI

*Authors:*

*Florin BOTONOGU (coordinator)*
*Simona Maria STĂNESCU*
*Victor NICOLĂESCU*
*Florina PRESADA*
*Cătălin BERESCU*
*Valeriu NICOLAE*
*Adrian Marcel IANCU*
*Gabriel OANCEA*
*Andreea Simona Marcela FAUR*
*Diana ŞERBAN*
*Daniela NICOLĂESCU*

Florin BOTONOGU
- coordinator -

# HIDDEN COMMUNITIES
## FERENTARI

The Expert Publishing House

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**PART II**

# ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Cătălin BERESCU *is an architect focused on situations of improper housing conditions and housing discrimination. He has conducted research in several European countries, including Romania, implemented intervention programs for Roma communities and developed a methodology focused on improving poor housing conditions. He is also an enthusiast of earth architecture.*

Florin BOTONOGU (coordinator) *possesses a wide range of experience in the area of vulnerable groups. Florin graduated with an MA degree in European Social Policies and holds a Postgraduate Diploma in Contemporary Diplomacy. His area of interest is centered on issues related to vulnerable groups, including poverty, housing and social exclusion. He has also contributed to a series of studies concerned with housing, Roma and discrimination related issues. His professional experience is related to the local public administration sector, the non-governmental organization (NGO) sector and the United Nations Development Programme in Romania.*

Andreea Simona Marcela FAUR *graduated from the Faculty of Sociology and Social Work and is a probation councilor at the PSBT.*

Adrian Marcel IANCU *graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University of Bucharest and is a PhD candidate at the Alexandru Ioan Cuza Police Academy in Bucharest. His studies focus on issues of public order and national security. He is a specialist officer at the National Anti-Drug Agency (NAA) and is a United Nations (UN) expert. He attended a specialization in Criminal Law and Criminological Sciences at the Jean Monnet des Sceaux Faculty of Law in Paris and received an MA in European Union (EU) Substantive Law. He also took part in a series of international projects,*

*workgroups, seminars and conferences concerned with the rehabilitation and reintegration of drug-addicted youths, community service work, the pathway of under-aged delinquents and quasi-coercive treatment as an alternative to custodial punishment for drug-addict consumer offenders. He has published materials in Romania and abroad, including several papers and over thirty articles, most of which are concerned with drug trafficking and consumption.*

**Valeriu NICOLAE** *is a consultant for a number of organizations active in the field of social inclusion and human rights. He has published books and a number of articles on Roma minorities and, at the same time, he has presented at several international conferences on human rights, communication, change of negative attitudes and social inclusion through sports. In addition to these activities, Valeriu delivers training sessions at seminars on public diplomacy and relations with mass-media for several ministries of foreign affairs and is a moderator for Aspen Institute - Romania.*

**Dr. Daniela NICOLĂESCU** *holds a PhD in Sociology and is an expert in therapeutic justice for drug-addicted consumers, the protection of children's rights and the recovery of abused, neglected and trafficked children. Relevant articles she has published include: "Psychosocial Dimensions of Intra-Family Violence", in the* Journal of Positive Community Practices, *no. 1-2/2003, Bucharest, "Children Abandonment Prevention and Family Reintegration", in the* Social Work Review, *no. 2/2003, Bucharest; "Services for the Child as Victim of Abuse", in the* Social Work Review, *no. 3-4/2003, Bucharest; "Benefits of Law Courts Regarding Drugs", in the* Journal of Positive Community Practices, *no. 1-2/2009; "Intervention in Cases of Children as Victims of Human Trafficking", in the* Journal of Positive Community Practices, *no. 3-4/2009. Books published include:* Therapeutic Justice *(co-author), Concordia Publishing House, Arad, Timisoara 2006;* Therapeutic

Communities *(co-author), Civitas Publishing House, Bucharest 2008*; Child Trafficking in the Modern World *(author), Expert Publishing House, Bucharest 2010.*

Dr. Victor NICOLĂESCU *holds a PhD in Sociology (2006) from the University of Bucharest. Currently, he is an Associate University Lecturer at „Petre Andrei" University in Iași, Faculty of Social Work and Sociology. He collaborates with the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History. He has taken part in a number of national and international projects on topics related to the prevention of juvenile delinquency and illicit drug consumption, human rights, children's rights, social economy and rural entrepreneurship. Relevant books he has published include:* Community Policing *(2002), as co-author, with Pavel Abraham as coordinator;* Dictionary on Drugs *(2005), as co-author, with Pavel Abraham as coordinator;* The Worldwide Anti-drug Legal Framework *(2008), as co-author;* The Romanian Young Family between Tradition and Modernity *(2010) as author*, Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency and Drug Consumption in Buzau County *(2010) as coordinator;* Integrated Rehabilitation of Drug Consumers who Committed Penal Deeds *(2010) as coordinator;* Best Practices in the Social Economy Sector from Greece and Other EU Countries *(2010), as co-author and Sorin Cace as coordinator.*

Dr. Gabriel OANCEA *holds a PhD in Sociology from the Faculty of Law at the University of Bucharest. He has published a series of articles in the* Social Work Review, *including "Strategies and Defense Mechanisms Adopted by Women Inmates who Have Killed Their Intimate" and "Towards an Evaluation of Judges' Perception Regarding the Activity of the Probation Service". He has also published articles in* Psychology Review, *including "La délinquance juvenile comme phénomène social indesirable. Au-delà de la realité statistique".*

Florina PRESADA *graduated from the Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest and studied graduate courses in EU Policies and Administration at the College of Bruges, Belgium. Four years ago, she joined the Resource Center for Public Participation (CeRe) team as project coordinator, gaining experience in fields such as participatory strategic planning, advocacy and facilitation of participative processes. She is co-author of CeRe advocacy and public participation publications and on many occasions she has acted as a trainer on these topics. She coordinated the project, Participation of Young People through Images, using PhotoVoice as a method to increase the ability of young Roma people to fight against social exclusion in three Roma communities from Romania, Slovakia and Ukraine.*

Simona STĂNESCU *is a scientific researcher III at the Research Institute for Quality of Life (RIQL) of the Romanian Academy and a PhD candidate in Sociology at the Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, University of Bucharest. Simona is the author and co-author of many studies published in Romania and abroad. Her fields of interest include: social policy, the welfare state, the Romanian social assistance system, institutional building and legislative framework in social affairs, European social regulations, employment, human rights, the Roma population, and social economy. Since 2009, Simona has been the editor-in-chief of the online magazine, Social Innovation published by RIQL. She has coordinated teams of national and international experts in research on social development, Romanian sociological journalism and social economy. Books she has published include:* Romania's Accession to the European Union: Impact on the Romanian Welfare State *(coordinator, 2004),* Encyclopedia of Social Development *(co-coordinator, 2007),* Social Inclusion Policies during the Economic Crisis Period *(co-coordinator, 2010),* Research Report on Social Economy in Romania, from a Comparative European Perspective *(co-coordinator, 2010).*

Diana ȘERBAN *is a PhD candidate at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Sociology and Social Work and Head of the Drug Demand Reduction Department at the NAA. In her capacity as an accredited trainer in addiction prevention and assistance in cases of human trafficking and in the field of child protection, as clinical psychologist, psychotherapist in supervision in systemic family psychotherapy she coordinated and took part in the implementation of many national, community and extra-community-funded projects. She is an Associate Expert at the Department of Social Work and Psychology, Petre Andrei University, Iași (2006-2010). She is author/co-author of many scientific studies in the above-mentioned fields. Relevant publications include:* Best Practice Guidelines in Assisting Children, Victims of Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation, *Save the Children, Bucharest, 2004 (in Romanian and English),* Guidelines for Intervention in Child Abuse Cases, *Save the Children, 2nd Edition, Timișoara, Brumer Publishing House, 2004.*

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BSI       Bucharest School Inspectorate
CAPEA     Drug Prevention, Evaluation and Counseling Centers
CeRe      Resource Center for Public Participation
CIAA      Center for Integrated Assistance for Addictions
CRHAE     The Construction, Repair, and Housing Administration Enterprise
DHA       Disadvantaged housing area
DIFROCT   Department of Investigation of Felonies Related to Organized Crime and Terrorism
EC        European Community or European Commission
EPB       Ethnobotanic products
EU        European Union
FFCP      Foundation for Family and Child Protection
GDBMP     General Directorate of the Bucharest Municipal Police
GDSACP    General Directorate of Social Assistance and Child Protection
GPIR      General Police Inspectorate of Romania
MEA       Municipal Employment Agency
NAA       National Anti-Drug Agency
NAP       National Administration of Penitentiaries
NEA       National Employment Agency
NGO       Non-governmental organization
NIS       National Institute of Statistics
PCRM      Policy Center for Roma and Minorities
PDA       Public Domain Administration
PSBT      Probation Service of the Bucharest Tribunal
RA        Reduced attendance (education)
RIQL      Research Institute for Quality of Life
RON       New Romanian Leu
SC        Second chance (education)
UK        United Kingdom
UN        United Nations

US        United States

# LIST OF TABLES AND CHARTS

# INTRODUCTION

The mainstream population in Romania has long had the tendency to assign a certain territory to its society's "undesirable" categories as a means to make a difference between "normality" and "abnormality", irrespective of the principle based on which this was defined (religion, ethnicity, economic principle etc.). In Romania, the first large group of poor migrant beggars ("calici") dated back to the 17th century, in the towns of Iași, Roman and Câmpulung Muscel. In Bucharest, a slum, a well and a bridge (street) of the "calici" are mentioned (Livadă-Cadeschi, 2002). According to the same study, the interest of the rulers from the second half of the 18th century in the poor is mainly motivated by the latter's disturbing presence in the Romanian public space. Suspicions started to arise regarding the large number of beggars capable of work. The first documents forbidding begging in public places also appeared at this time. The main institutions delegated to dealing with issues of the poor were the church and the police. The latter's involvement shows the authorities' perception on the public space, where the poor were forbidden. Another issue was related to the weak employment rate of the poor, most probably because of the small difference between the income obtained from begging or from other sources and the salary of an unskilled worker.

The isolation of poor communities from the rest of society by means of walls or symbolic barriers, low professional training, weak participation in the labor market and a dependency on the social assistance system are problems which the contemporary Romanian society faces again. Measures to fight against poverty that are formulated on the public agenda and approached by authorities does not seem to have changed very much.

This study seeks to analyze the relationship between social exclusion and space, in a Romanian context. The most relevant example for the way social exclusion and space influence each other is the ghetto. We chose one of the best known ghettos in Bucharest as a case study: the Ferentari district, Livezilor Alley. The main reasons why we conducted our research on this

ghetto are because the respective area has many of the characteristics found in specialized literature as defining ghettos, because, in the public conscience, this territory is a ghetto, and because the Policy Center for Roma and Minorities (PCRM) has been developing, since 2010, projects addressing the children in this community, thus having the privilege to observe and work with the people who actually live in the ghetto.

The fact that there are areas inhabited mostly by disadvantaged groups of people represents a disadvantage for the entire local community, even though this aspect is less acknowledged. These areas are not just a mere accumulation of several types of deprivation, They are systems parallel to that of the majority, with a different culture and values, with their own ways to progress socially and to obtain recognition, often being an environment favorable to crime. At the root of all these issues is exclusion, social and especially territorial. Solutions are never easy and simple, especially in a country heading toward a minimal social state. But the main issue we currently have in Romania is not the issue of solutions, but the fact that there is a lack of knowledge and public recognition of these areas. Neither the public authorities, nor the researchers show any special interest in this type of community, which is very difficult to enter. Authoritative data on these areas are scarce, since many of the residents have no identification papers and no ownership or rental documents for the houses they live in.

## Why Hidden Communities?

The ghetto issue started to become visible in the Romanian public space in 2001, when the mayor from Piatra Neamț proposed to evacuate the Roma from the city and to establish a community surrounded by a barbed wire fence (which he himself called a "ghetto"). He presented it as a measure meant to improve their condition. Ever since, there have been many similar initiatives of other mayors who correlated, in the public consciousness, the establishment of ghettos with positive actions such as development, zoning, order, cleanliness, civilization, urbanism or rehabilitation of the historic center. Most often, though, the result of such actions was to move some communities (usually Roma communities) outside the locality or to surround their houses with walls or fences. Both measures reflect the wish of local authorities to isolate and to "hide" these communities. Barriers can be natural (a river, a hill) or can be built.

Other than physical isolation, most of the problems of these communities are not even visible on the public agenda. Most frequently, these are mentioned in relation to criminality and poverty. Even if these social issues are most of the time the direct effects of setting up and living in ghettos, it always looks as though the blame lies only with the residents. The public discourse, supported by local authorities and some politicians, is not about the causes, but about the consequences. In Romania there are very few serious debates about these communities. Personal dramas, chances to escape poverty or the relationship of ghetto residents with public institutions usually do not appear in the press. Thus, an image is created that blames the residents of these areas, without considering the influence the space has on people or on the development of future generations of residents. The perpetuation of this image of social undesirability has negative effects on the ghetto, thus developing a vicious cycle which becomes a serious hindrance to intervention measures.

The title of this document, *Hidden Communities*, also has another meaning, coming from the difficulty in analyzing and describing these areas. The use of questionnaires, applied by field operators from outside the ghetto is usually very difficult, given the residents' reticence to speak freely to outsiders and the possibility to receive answers that do not truly reflect reality. For this reason, in order to administer questionnaires for the purpose of this study, we used people known to the community. But no matter how difficult it is to collect information, a visit in such communities is enough to see the failure of all the approaches tried so far.

## *Methodology*

During the exploratory stages of research conducted about the community of Ferentari, Livezilor Alley, we used a holistic research methodology that incorporated both quantitative and qualitative data.

Why a case study? Because the figures in official statistics can only show part of the reality, the one which is visible in the public space and to authorities, but the in-depth explanation of the phenomena studied cannot be illustrated exclusively through such figures. For instance, by exploring the field of education, we found that the motivation given by teachers from a school that generally displayed weak educational performance is mainly the product of students' low capacity. It would be too simplistic from a cognitive point of

view to only use intrinsic factors, stating that all children from Romania's ghettos are weak in school without taking into consideration extrinsic factors such as housing conditions or opportunities for leisure.

Due to the complexity of the urban phenomenon studied, we chose to collect quantitative and qualitative data. The target categories of respondents included: community leaders, residents with a long experience of living in the area, residents from nearby neighborhoods, representatives of public authorities and representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) active in the area.

The qualitative research tools, both the in-depth interview guidelines and the focus group guidelines, covered social aspects (social evolution, area history), general housing conditions and urban elements (history of the settlement, mapping, relationship with neighboring districts), education (access, school performance, drop-out rates, illiteracy), employment, health, discrimination, migration, good governance and crime (drugs, prostitution).

A small survey was conducted on a sample of persons residing in the Livezilor Alley area. The research was conducted in December 2010, when field operators filled out 240 questionnaires in Livezilor Alley. The questionnaire consisted of 53 questions. The research tool was built in such a way as to be able to render an accurate picture of the way the area's residents live and perceive everyday life. The eight main topics addressed in the questionnaire include: general information about the household, perception on the area, education, health, housing, employment, good governance and citizens' safety. Results of the survey are not meant to be representative from a statistical point of view, but offer a snapshot of life in the community.

### Book Structure

The first chapter underlines the importance of space in the debate on poverty and social exclusion. In the context of globalization and capitalism, this relationship is as evident as it may be. Irrespective of whether we explain poverty from an economic, political, social or cultural point of view, the spatial dimension is present. The economic evolution worldwide

brought rapid changes in Romanian social policy, with evident consequences at the level of local community development. In the context of the recent economic crisis, we expect a growth in the number of the poor. They will come to live in spaces which, through the stigma they bear, will be a real hindrance to the social inclusion of population living in these neighborhoods. The statistics so far indicate that the poverty rate is a few times higher for the Roma population. This is the result of a strong correlation between residing in the Romanian ghetto and ethnicity.

The second chapter deals with an urban and architectural description of the area, followed by a presentation of the housing history and situation. The description of the ghetto in Livezilor Alley is made in the context of disadvantaged housing areas in Romania and of other Roma ghettos from Europe.

The next chapter analyzes the importance of good governance in setting up and administering the ghetto. The main topics addressed refer to the influence of the key stakeholders on the community and the relationships between this area and the local authorities. In this context, the chapter answers the question, "why is Livezilor Alley a ghetto?"

The following two chapters refer to the administration of justice and drug trafficking and consumption in Ferentari, thus putting it in line with the theories about the ghetto. The chapters on education and employment summarize the socio-economic conditions of this community.

The second part of the book makes a short presentation of other aspects of life of this ghetto, such as drugs, prostitution, teachers' attitudes, and the situation of welfare benefits.

The end of the book focuses not necessarily on solutions, but on analysis and intervention directions that must be developed in order to establish a coherent development policy of these disadvantaged communities, in the context of promoting social inclusion of the ghetto's residents.

### Limitations

This is a pilot study on a Romanian ghetto, which is also perceived as a Roma ghetto. For an accurate description, we chose a multi-disciplinary approach. Nevertheless, we outline a series of limitations in this study,

The word "ghetto" was used in various periods and countries to describe realities that are more or less different. In Romania, this word is not officially used in public policy documents. There are some Romanian poverty and housing specialists who acknowledge and describe ghetto-type communities. There are also specialists (especially from the public sector) who are reluctant to use this word. There is no understanding of the word ghetto commonly agreed upon by specialists and by the authorities, but there is a series of common characteristics that makes it different from other types of housing. One of the aims of this study is to generate an academic debate at an administrative level surrounding this word and, implicitly, those areas for which currently other words are used, such as "disadvantaged area" or "area affected by physical deterioration and social exclusion". In this light, we highlight the main socio-economic characteristics and the differences between ghettos and other types of housing areas.

This research focuses on the community in the Livezilor Alley area, but many of the characteristics of this area are similar to other Ferentari ghetto areas (such as Amurgului, Iacob Andrei, Tunsu Petre, and Zăbrăuțiului). Although these areas can be seen as pockets of poverty within a Bucharest district, the stigma associated with the idea of ghetto is extended into the public conscience to the entire district. The existence of this word in the public conscience requires us to use it in our study, with the specification that this study also analyses to what extent the characteristics of this area correspond to the ghetto characteristics described in literature.

There are characteristics that are specific to Ferentari in particular. First of all, it is located in Bucharest, where public services are more diversified than in other Romanian cities. At least theoretically, there are more opportunities to find a job or to choose a school for the children. Ethnically, this is a mixed ghetto, but there are also exclusively Roma ghettos. Ferentari is well known for drug trafficking and consumption, a fact which is not seen in other places at the same level of intensity.

*Florin BOTONOGU*

### *Bibliography*

Livadă-Cadeschi, Ligia, coordinator, *Poverty and Social Assistance in the Romanian Territories (XVIII-XX Centuries)*, New Europe College, Bucharest, 2002.

# PART I

# SPACE AND EXCLUSION


*Florin BOTONOGU*


## *Why Is Space Important When Speaking about Social Exclusion?*

Causes and solutions are different, depending on the field under which we analyze poverty. For economists, poverty is an issue directly related to the labor and capital markets. Sociologists analyze poverty as an issue related to the re-distribution of resources and the relationship with the mainstream society. On the other hand, social psychologists bring into discussion the issue of self-image and belonging to a group, while politicians see it rather as a power relationship. Regardless of which perspective we choose to employ, there are several main factors that influence poverty. Jamie Gough (Gough et al., 2006) argues that social exclusion occurs on the basis of mutual relationships and influences between economics, politics, sociology and culture. Similarly, what matters in social exclusion are the relationships between various territorial levels; global, regional, national and local. The forms of social power underpinning exclusion (rank, gender and race) are built not only within economic, social, political or cultural frameworks, but also at the territorial level. The idea of belonging to a certain space (country, city and district) and the relationship with the environment influence the chances individuals will ultimately have to overcome social exclusion.

Poverty, unemployment or exclusion are not the results of the failure of a certain type of economy, but the product of an entire system–capitalism. Space is an essential element to anti-poverty policies, due to the dynamics of capitalism, permanently seeking a cheap labor force, favorable work relations, markets and favorable political conditions. This continuous movement of capital generates flourishing places, but it also leaves behind poor communities. At a certain time, countries become attractive for investments,

but at any time other countries may offer a cheaper labor market and more attractive financial incentives. Cities with a high development potential also generate pockets of poverty. These cities have always attracted poor populations due to the lack of opportunities they offer, but their integration in that space is not full; the house they can afford is usually at the periphery, in slums, most often in deplorable conditions. Under such circumstances, a separate culture emerges, which is often rejected by the mainstream population. Therefore, we have "famous" and "infamous" neighborhoods. Generally, poverty is associated with "deviant" places, contrasted with "normal" ones. This contrast has always existed and continues to exist at all territorial levels: civilized countries versus "barbarian" colonies, flourishing regions versus poor regions, respectable districts versus ghettos.

In Romania, the relationships between the global, national and local dimensions, in the context of poverty, are more and more evident. The 2008 world economic crisis generated a context favorable to a political debate on the type of welfare a state should offer its citizenry. This debate materialized in a restriction of access to a series of social benefits (the current proposal stipulates a decrease in their number from 54 to 9). Public sector wages were cut by 25%, which only increased the number of workers living below the poverty line. Local authorities also have problems paying social welfare benefits from the local budget. Under these circumstances, it is expected that the number of poor people will increase and many of them will move to excluded, segregated places (slums, ghettos).

Another reason why space is important is that not only the poor determine the set up of a disadvantaged area. The inverse of this relationship is also valid. Once in these neighborhoods, the possibility to escape poverty is even smaller, the stigma associated with living in these places being the main cause for this. People living in ghettos have limited access to various resources (from transportation to legal employment). Investments in these areas are very scarce, and residents' access to public institutions, education or health services is very limited.

The relationship between local authorities and poor communities has a spatial dimension which in Romania is mainly of a conflictual nature and still insufficiently explored by researchers. Poor communities are located

either downtown, or on a strip of land which is of interest to a private company, or even on waste landfills. Poor communities are constantly being pushed to the periphery or outside of cities. Their spatial exclusion is a permanent danger that can compromise all other integration measures. These poverty pockets represent a new experience for the local authorities, especially after the year 2000. The way they have reacted so far has not been very efficient. Generally, these areas were created due to the direct intervention of the authorities, or because of their negligence. Some of these communities do not even show in urban plans. Many of their residents have no ownership documents for the land or the house they live in. All these aspects only hinder their social integration and access to the minimum resources necessary for a decent life in safe conditions.

### Space and Ethnicity

In Romania, the debate on poverty focuses mainly on vulnerable groups, and less so on territorial communities. In the collective memory, poor areas are usually associated with the Roma. There are many discussions and studies on the poor Roma communities, but the association between poor places and ethnicity is not always relevant.

First of all, the ethnicization of poor spaces is not justified by the reality in the field. Figures do not help either, given that last year, the number of poor people in Romania was two times higher than the higher estimates of the total number of Roma in Romania. There are poor communities that are segregated along ethnic lines and there are poor communities with a significant percentage of Roma. The lack of data and research concerning ethnicity in these Romanian areas does not allow us to formulate a clear opinion, but we can say that many of the Romanian ghettos, especially the urban ones, are not established exclusively on ethnic grounds, but rather on economic criteria.

Loïc Wacquant makes some clarifications on the relationship between segregation, poverty and ethnicity inside the ghetto. According to his theory, poverty is a frequent characteristic of the ghetto, but the degree of deprivation varies significantly inside it. Relationships do not always work

the other way, as not all poor communities can be labeled as ghettos. Similarly, all ghettos are segregated, but not all segregated areas are ghettos (for instance, the rich districts around the cities). The ghetto and ethnic communities have different functions. While ethnic communities are formed based on affiliation and solidarity between persons of the same ethnic origin, the ghetto is formed rather with some persons being excluded from society (Smelser, Baltes, 2004).

In Romania, a study published in 2004 (Stănculescu, Berevoescu, 2004) analyses the ethnic composition of poverty zones, based on ethnic self-identification, demographic behavior and forms of family organization. In the sample used for the study, only 17.3% of the poor from the urban areas and 18.9% from the rural areas identified themselves as Roma. Since the tendency of understatement is well known, the same study presented the data collected during the 2002 Census of Population and Housing. According to this, the Roma make up:

- 32% of the residents of poor areas in big, developed villages
- 6% of the residents in decommissioned industrial areas
- 26% of the residents of poor areas from historical centers
- 11% of the population from the areas named ghetto
- 38% of the population living near waste landfills
- 30% of the semi-rural areas, in the vicinity of landfills
- 12% of the semi-rural areas.

Second, these interventions in poverty-stricken areas must not be made on ethnic grounds. If the respective area is inhabited mainly by Roma, most of the time, local authorities are reluctant to extend services to those areas (there are many examples of roads or other facilities that end just at the entrance in the "gypsyhood"), and if not, there is the danger of generating certain imbalances inside the community.

Third, there are criteria/relationships related to intervention in poor areas that are just as important as, or possibly more important, than the issue of ethnic composition. The fact of their belonging to the urban or rural environment, the spatial relationship with respect to the mainstream

community, the age of the buildings and plumbing or the existing human resources determine to a large extent the quantity and types of necessary investments. Moreover, the socio-economic issues affecting the residents of these areas are similar, irrespective of ethnicity. For the type of intervention on buildings and infrastructure, ethnicity is also less relevant, except for the case when the inner space of the house is shared.

Wacquant refers to the ghetto as a "collective identity machine" (Smelser, Baltes, 2004). Due to spatial segregation, the cultural gap between ghetto residents and the mainstream population deepens to such an extent that their behavior is perceived as a singular one. Then, because of the impossibility to escape this spatial and institutional trap, the ethnic or religious differences between the residents start to lose their importance. The examples provided by Wacquant in the same article refer to the differences between Ashkenazi Jews and Sephardic Jews from the European ghettos, which transformed into a single common identity of "Jewish" and to the differences between the mixed-race and Afro-Americans from the American ghettos, which are considered "black" ghettos. Similarly, the ghetto chosen for this case study, with a majority Roma population, displays a visible ethnic mix. It is perceived as a "gypsy" ghetto, but has also created the identity of "ghetto-ist", first of all for the residents of Livezilor Alley and of other similar zones, irrespective of their ethnicity.

## Types of Poor Communities in Romania

There are many types of poor settlements but very few rigorous studies on the subject. Based on field research, Manuela Stănculescu (Stănculescu, Berevoescu, 2004) identified seven types of urban poor communities:

- Semi-rural areas – areas with houses in the periphery, usually with no access to utilities, with a combination of urban and rural lifestyles.

- Communities in the vicinity of waste landfills – appearing after 1990, with improvised dwellings made of clay and straw. Residents of these communities live mainly from the waste they collect from the landfill. The health risks are huge.

- "Cotorga"-type areas – a combination of the two areas mentioned above. Cotorga is an old district of houses near Roșiorii de Vede, in the vicinity of the waste landfill, inhabited by young people who lost their jobs after 1990. Because of lack of education and professional qualification, the only solution for them is to collect waste.

- "Historic center"-type areas – nationalized houses that became social housing and which are, generally, in an advanced state of degradation. Over the past years, we have seen a general trend to move the poor population (especially Roma population) away from the city center.

- The "ghetto" areas – former workers' apartments or studios for singles, with uncertain legal status. This paper deals with this type of area.

- Decommissioned industrial areas – former apartment buildings for workers. It seems to be specific to small towns which depended on a single factory nearby.

- Areas with apartment buildings with high overhead costs – are part of the large districts built in the communist era.

Going back to the matter of Roma preponderance in the poor areas, the study also presents statistics for each type of poor area below.

**Table 1: Roma self-identification versus hetero-identification**

| Type of area | Self-identification percentage of Roma | Hetero-identification percentage of Roma |
|---|---|---|
| Semi-rural area | 11.9% | 18.9%-21.3% |
| Cotorga-type area | 30.2% | 47.9%-53.8% |
| Waste landfills | 38.2% | 60.7%-68.3% |
| Areas called ghetto | 11.0% | 17.5%-19.7% |
| Historic center | 26.4% | 41.9%-47.2% |
| Decommissioned industrial areas | 5.6% | 8.8% - 9.9% |
| Areas of apartment buildings with high debts | 0.6% | 1.0%-1.1% |

The same authors also describe various pathways to poverty, drawing the conclusion that it is not very easy to fall into poverty when there is a large variety of resources and a strategic use of them and also when the individual is in an environment which benefits from varied resources, which are available to all.

Another classification of the types of Roma communities, based on the spatial criterion and on residential behavior is the one made by Cătălin Berescu and Mariana Celac (Berescu, Celac, Ciobanu, Manolache, 2006). According to this classification, there are:

- "center" communities – usually in historic centers, where families are at least at the second generation of urban living

- "block"-type communities – are the result of certain bad administrative policies, through which residents facing social problems were grouped in one place. These communities appeared as a consequence of allotments, individual relocations or evictions.

- peri-urban communities – having a mainly rural structure, but totally dependent on towns; clearly delimited communities, with a strong historical consciousness

- para-rural communities – resulted from the purchase or, more rarely, from the illegal occupation of the houses from areas with population in decline or that emigrated massively (e.g. villages abandoned by the Saxons of Transylvania).

- peri-rural communities – in the continuation of a village, but with a different type of spatial and household organization; a strong ethnic character.

- "autonomous" communities – are part of an administrative-territorial unit, but only formally, because, practically they are physically and socially separated from it.

The description in these studies is not exhaustive. Their classification is necessary in establishing the types of needs and intervention priorities, while a sustainable development can be possible only after a detailed analysis and consultation process with the community. Many times, the

intervention is very simplistic, since most mayors focus only on building and renovating houses.

## *Definition of the Ghetto*

A ghetto is a type of residential area for marginalized communities, and although it exists in reality and in the Romanian public consciousness, it is not recognized as a problem at an administrative level and is very little explored by Romanian researchers. To most people, the ghetto means drugs, prostitution, violence, criminality, Roma, apartment buildings in an advanced state of degradation and poverty, all gathered in the same place.

Ghetto is a term that has changed its meaning over time. Its origin is in Italian, "giudecca" "borggetto" or "gietto" to describe the area where Jews were compelled to live. In the Middle Ages, the practice was to allow Jews to live in certain districts as a way to attract them into the city so they could perform key functions such as money lending, tax collection or trading with far away countries. Gradually, from the 13th to the 16th centuries, the privilege turned into constraint. (Smelser, Baltes, 2004). According to Wacquant, during the first half of the 19th century, ghetto referred to the Jewish districts on the Atlantic coast, being different from the term "slum" that defined a disadvantaged housing area and with a social pathology. Then, it was used to describe areas inhabited by new immigrants from the lower classes. Later, the term described "slum"-type communities combined with ethnic living, areas where segregation added to the bad state of housing, criminality, poverty and other forms of social pathology. This form of the concept was scientifically validated by academics from the University of Chicago. After World War II, ghetto described the enclaves of Afro-Americans, after their migration to the industrial centers in the north of the United States (US, "the dark ghetto").

Researchers Pásztor Gyöngyi and Péter László defined ghetto as, "a place physically and socially closed, marginal, most often urban, where in a high concentration live ethnic, racial or sexual minorities, constrained by poverty and social restrictions" (Zamfir, Stănescu, 2007). Unlike terms such as "slum" or "shantytown", the ghetto has a specific ethnic or racial component. Due to

economic changes, especially in former communist countries, the term describes "districts of communist blocks, especially at the towns' periphery, very impoverished, sometimes with a rural specificity, respectively districts of mono-industrial towns" (Zamfir, Stănescu, 2007).

Wacquant summarizes the ghetto's purpose as essentially being, even from the beginning, an instrument of reinforcing the power of the majority of the population to limit the territory and control a certain part of the population. For the insiders, it functions as a protection and integration mechanism, helping them to avoid regular contact with mainstream society and favoring the development of a community within some well-defined physical boundaries (Smelser, Baltes, 2004).

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

## *Romanian Ghettos – Reasons for Concern*

According to European Union (EU) statistics, Romania is second as far as the risk of poverty is concerned and the first as regards to the risk of poverty for the population up to 17 years of age[1]. Romania also has the highest percentage of workers under the poverty threshold – 17%. In 2010, the chairman of the National Institute of Statistics (NIS) declared that the number of poor people reached 4 million[2].

The same EUROSTAT report revealed the fact that 79% of the poor people in Romania do not have a room where they can take a bath or a shower inside their house and 78% of them do not have a toilet in the house, Romania scoring last in the EU in these categories.

---

[1] *http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/3-18012010-AP/EN/3-18012010-AP-EN.PDF.*

[2] *http://www.romanialibera.ro/actualitate/eveniment/ins-unul-din-cinci-romani-este-sarac-199539.html.*

According to a recent research report (Research Institute for Quality of Life – RIQL, 2011), recent measures taken by the government (cuts in pension benefits, health and social assistance budgets) create the conditions for a minimal social state. Because of the fact that the country's economic performance is not remarkable and based on one of the highest inequality indices in the EU, we expect a growth in the number of people below the poverty threshold. This aspect, combined with the lack of proven policies of inclusion in the urban environments, will inevitably lead to the creation of new areas similar to ghettos.

The market economy works according to clear laws, with the profit motive being at its center. Housing in poverty areas and especially ghettos do not only represent an economic failure, but the failure of society as a whole. Wealth redistribution and ensuring some minimum standards are the state's obligations. Poverty pocket allow certain unwanted social phenomena to occur, which affects not only the residents of those respective areas, but also society at large. They become drug distribution centers, where organized crime has the opportunity to increase and where fundamental human rights are breached. The area must not be judged only by the criteria of those who generate these phenomena, but also by the fact that most of them end up in these areas because of the impoverishment and exclusion generated by mainstream society, which, through these mechanisms, is responsible for these areas.

*Bibliography*

Berescu C., Celac M., Ciobanu O., Manolache C., 2006, Housing and Extreme Poverty – The Case of Roma Communities, Ion Mincu University Publishing House, Bucharest

Marian Preda (coordinator), 2009, Risks and Social Inequities in Romania, Presidential Administration, The Presidential Commission for Social and Demographic Risks Analysis, Bucharest

Stănculescu M.S, Berevoescu I., 2004, Poor to Death, Looking for Another Life, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest

Zamfir C. (coord.), 2011, Social report of RIQL Romania: Answers to the Crisis, Romanian Academy, National Institute of Economic Research, RIQL, Bucharest

Zamfir C., Simona M.S., (coord.), 2007, Encyclopedia of Social Development, Polirom, Bucharest

Wacquant L, "Ghetto", in International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences edited by Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes. London: Pergamon Press, 2003.

**Internet resources**

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/3-18012010-AP/EN/3-18012010-AP-EN.PDF

http://www.romanialibera.ro/actualitate/eveniment/ins-unul-din-cinci-romani-este-sarac-199539.html
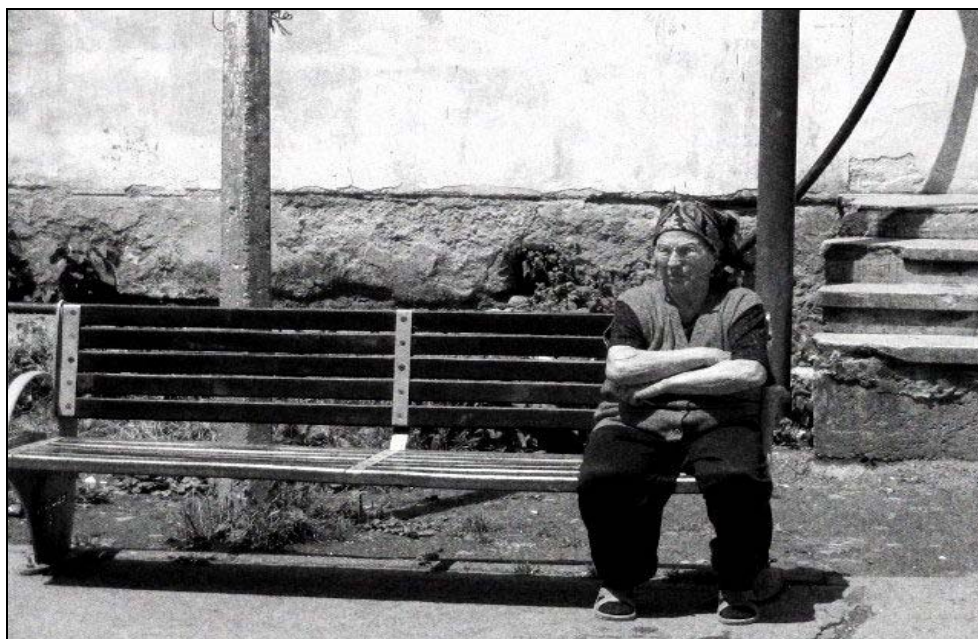
# THE GHETTO AND THE DISADVANTAGED HOUSING AREA (DHA) – LIVEZILOR ALLEY

*Cătălin BERESCU*

## Brief Urban and Architectural Description

Livezilor Alley is a sub-district area, developed next to Prelungirea Ferentari, behind a first row of short streets, which are typical Bucharest slums, with short and dense buildings set out on small lots. The Livezilor area is tangent to the slums through School 136, with Vâltoarei Street serving as its axis and Tunsu Petre, Surianu and Livezilor streets, as well as the fence of the Electromagnetica warehouse on Lacul Bucura Street serving as its borders. This area is created based on the principles of free urbanism, the alley covering in fact a surface of 26 apartment buildings, one park and one school, on the right side of Vâltoarei Street and 20 apartment buildings and one kindergarten on the left. From an administrative point of view, the alley itself has 30 apartment buildings, while the rest of them are on other streets, although they are part of the same ensemble. The spatial and administrative fragmentation can be explained by the interruption of the process of socialist modernization, whose aim was to create a district of apartment buildings meant to eliminate the former slum housing and to serve as a dormitory-district to the nearby industrial outlets. From an urban point of view, the entire Ferentari region is a housing area incompletely modernized, here and there incompletely urbanized, since Livezilor Alley and its dependant, Iacob Andrei Alley are located beyond an industrial area, once very active, but now almost completely abandoned.

Livezilor Alley, 2010 – photo by Cristian Bohănită



*Figure 1. Urban planning of the Ferentari residential area (from Silvia Costiuc, „Who Are the Residents of Ferentari?" in the study* DHA South, *Frontal Association, 2011)*

The industrial decline in the area was not accompanied by urban rehabilitation programs. On the contrary, the worker houses were abandoned for a while. Some workers even mentioned that they were supposed to be demolished. The withdrawal of some of the workers was followed by illegal occupancy of the apartments usually done by rural migrants and young families with no homes. This context generated a pattern for apartment acquisition which created an unwritten law, an informal system where the right of occupancy belonged to the first arrived and where the first occupant would pass it to the next tenant for an amount of money and under the conditions established jointly by direct negotiation. The authorities assisted in this process from a somehow neutral, weak position, which is perfectly reflected by the words of a mayor, "You find an apartment and I'll give it to you!" The mechanism starts with the identification of an apartment occupied informally, which today is identified as occupied illegally, continues with the informal tenants being convinced to leave the apartment in exchange for money, followed by a petition being filed with the city hall for allotting the respective apartment to a new family and finally, the eviction of the informal tenants, most of the time consensual.



Façade of apartment building 36 – photo by Ana Dora Matei

The presence of such a consistent poverty area can be historically explained by the migration across the centuries of Mahalaua Calicilor and Țigănia Mitropoliei, "extra-muros" poverty areas that were pushed to the outskirts during the city development process (Costiuc, 2011). The phenomenon of special exclusion of the poor and of the Roma is very common in Romanian cities and is also found in the long history of the formation of poor urban areas and also in the recent history of eviction accompanying modernization.

The area is notorious for drug distribution in Bucharest and it is known to be a Roma ghetto. Despite the stereotype, based on the idea that all the residents of Ferentari are Roma, the ethnic mix background of residents is quite diverse, with permanent residents being mainly poor workers and rural migrants. Violence, prostitution and drugs are external phenomena that penetrate the area and become a centralized epiphenomenon pertaining to groups of organized crime that territorialize here. It is not by chance that in the area characterized as a ghetto by the rest of the neighborhood, more than half of the residents declared that they came here after 2000.

After the first half of the 2000 decade, when Zăbrăuți Alley became famous in the world of those creating intervention programs and of international rapporteurs, especially since the state stopped providing social protection (Rughiniş, 2005), it seems it is now the turn of Livezilor to be the main attraction for the press and activists. Visits from international television stations and from European officials may start a new session of intervention programs, although for now they are only building up the negative perceptions related to marginality. What draws most attention is the drug consumption and the spectacular degradation of common space, with dirty façades, filled with laundry and satellite antennas, with the heavy, constant and stuffy presence of trash and disappearance of vegetation. The area was never very clean, but the filth seems to be related to drugs, certain residents claiming there is a close connection between the consumption and sale of drugs and the trash in the sense that the dealers and the consumers prefer to keep the trash to define this way a security area they can control more easily. The existence of the trash seems to be directly connected to an explicit filth preservation policy which creates a "no go area" where the drug culture can survive.

### History of Habitation

If we were to accept our colleague Silvia Costiuc's hypothesis regarding the historical transitory movement of the beggars' slum towards the south, we must take a look at the evolution of the system of poor housing areas which goes from the historical center towards the suburbs as an expression of an urban policy with a long continuity, rather implicit than explicit, which makes it more difficult to identify the discrimination elements. The insecure housing conditions are not the result of active exclusion measures, but they result from abandonment and from an initial substandard situation. In the case of historical slums, we are talking about a wetland, while in the case of Livezilor Alley, we are talking about low-quality prefab homes, under-equipped and not maintained.
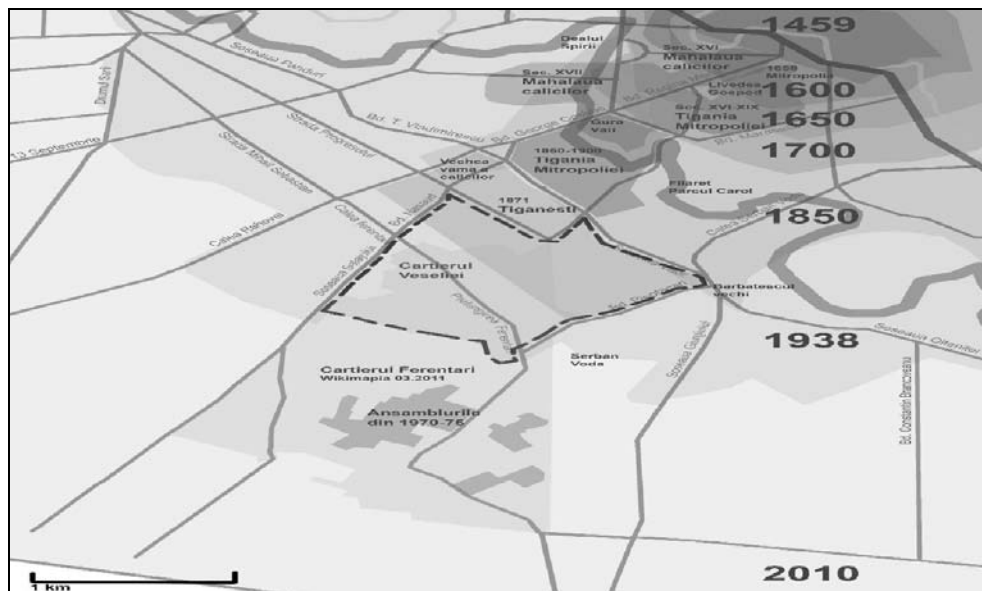
*Figure. 2 - The historical evolution of poverty areas*
*(from Silvia Costiuc, "Who Are the Residents of Ferentari?"*
*in the study* DHA South, *Frontal Association, 2011)*

The survey performed by PCRM shows that the residents mainly come from neighboring areas (Rahova, Sebastian and Ferentari) and from Bucharest's marginalized areas. There is also a percentage of immigrants who came through marriage or who came to find work. The main reasons that led to choosing to live in the area are related to the low financial resources of the respondents and the lower price of the houses (49%), the impossibility to identify better solutions (10.4%), but also the wish to live with a partner (7.1%). Approximately 9% of the respondents declared that they came to live in the area through their own choice. Those to whom state enterprises assured housing represent 7.1% of the residents and those who received housing from the city hall, only 4%. Special situations appear in cases where the respondents have been evicted from houses returned to former owners (4%) and in cases where they were cast out from their homes by other family members (1.7%).

The area also gained the reputation as an area inhabited by Moldavians, (a stereotype, more common to the forced industrialization era, held all rural migrants to be Moldavian), police in the area often using the acronym TMT ("țărani, moldoveni, țigani" or "peasants, Moldavians, gypsies") for the area (source: interview with a resident). Half of the ghetto area's residents moved here in the past ten years, approximately 40% during the 1990s, and 10% during the 1980s.

## Housing Situation

The physical state of apartment buildings is uneven, from a sub-average level in the sub-area behind the school to advanced degradation in the case of apartment buildings 32, 33, 36 and 37. The housing typology is classical for poor "apartment building" housing with a strong variation of the housing conditions both between the apartment buildings as well as between the apartments, with total degradation of the common areas and retreat in the individual space, with a community lacking cohesion and leadership. It arose from low standard housing abandoned by the administration at the beginning of the '90s, which contained a variety of legal situations difficult to anticipate, from abusive occupancy administered by gangster groups, to properties sold through real estate agencies on the free market. The educational and economic conditions are dire, the numbers showing for example that only a sixth of the houses are connected to gas and nearly 30% have a computer connected to the internet.

The residents' perceptions regarding the status of the apartments are extremely poor for 24.6% of respondents and poor for 37.1%. Only 36.7% of those surveyed consider that the status of the apartments is good. The explanations related to the status of the apartments are associated to individual efforts to create a minimum of comfort and to the presence of minimal utilities (running water, electricity etc.). The explanations associated to perceptions of the apartments as being in a bad or very bad status are mainly related to hygiene problems, the lack of decent living conditions, the small space, and the presence of humidity which has destroyed the interior of certain apartments. More than half of the respondents (57.5%) consider that they have no problems with their neighbors. The most frequent conflicts arising between neighbors are associated with drug consumption (12%) and the high level of noise (12%).

There are two types of apartments: studio apartments, with a bathroom and kitchen and one-bedroom room apartments, with a living room, kitchen and bathroom. The apartment buildings are made of large prefab panels, based on projects started in the '70s and comprise one-bedroom and studio apartments, grouped in buildings of two and three units each, with several buildings only made up of one unit. The storey structure is uniform, TB+GF+4, with the basement height between 1.60 and 2m. The roof is generally a terrace, with insufficient thermal insulation but with the waterproofing in a relatively good status. The main problems are represented by overcrowding (per 65% of respondents), rats and parasite insects (64%) and filth (68%). One third of the residents admit that they throw the trash directly out the window while the others throw it around the building. The apartments are connected to water and electricity but only approximately 20% of them have hot water.

The most prevalent utilities are cold water and electricity (98% of the apartments). Other high values are shown for cooking stoves (87.6%) and for cable television (62.9%). The lowest values are for radios, air-conditioning units and window grates. Most of the apartments are heated by electric hot plates (41.2%) and with air heaters (40%), while only 19.2% of the respondents opted for electric heaters.

*Chart 1. Housing amenities*
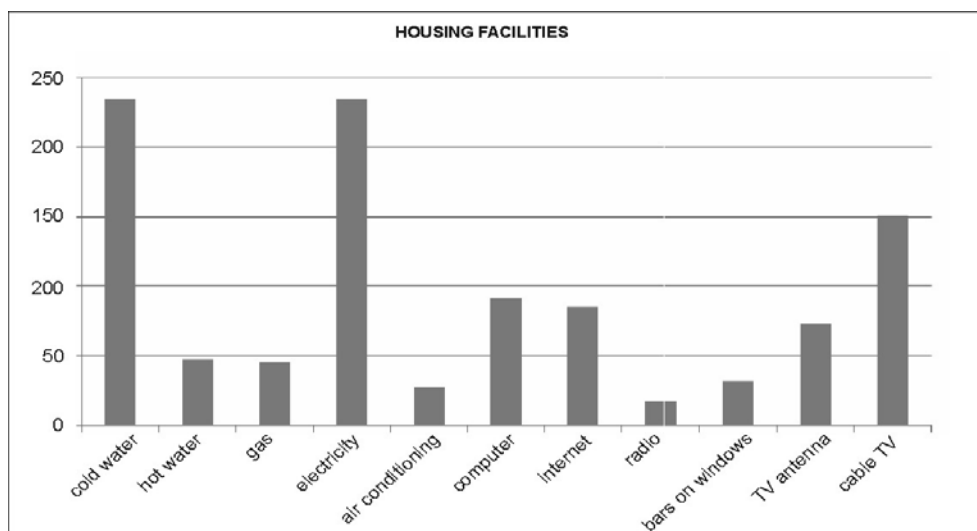
The main housing problems encountered by the residents of the studied area are related to the presence of trash and by the horrible smell caused by it (84.2%). Furthermore, other important problems include those associated with the presence of filth (68%), overcrowding (65%), the presence of parasites (64.2%), and faulty appliances (61.7%).

**Table 2. Housing problems**

| What problems do you encounter with your home? | YES | NO | DNK/ NR |
|---|---|---|---|
| Overcrowding | 65% | 30.4% | 4.6% |
| Lack of safety (no door, burglaries, violent neighbors) | 23.3% | 70.8% | 5.9% |
| Dirt (walls, floors, ceiling) | 68% | 28.3% | 3.7% |
| Faulty appliances (electricity, running water, ditch, gas) | 61.7% | 34.2% | 4.1% |
| Smell | 84.2% | 8.8% | 7% |
| Parasites (fleas, lice, bugs) | 64.2% | 25.8% | 10% |

*DNK = Do Not Know*
*NR = No Response*

In the category "other problems", the most frequent are those related to the waterproofing of the apartments (the fact that it is raining inside and the presence of humidity), those due to the presence of rats and to lack of lighting on the apartment building hallway.

While apartment buildings are connected to electricity and running water, there is no elevator and the heating, which was initially centralized through a neighborhood substation, is available only for a portion of the apartment buildings, the rest using mostly electrical appliances to heat their homes.



Apartment building 36 – common interior installations

The state of physical degradation of most of the apartment buildings on Livezilor Alley is so advanced that it no longer enables normal repairs and maintenance has become impossible. The electrical installations are visible here and there, with plenty of live contacts located in areas of access and circulation and thus immediately dangerous to any visitor who has not been warned in this regard. The basements have been flooded for many

years and they represent a major source of bad smells and potentially, disease. Considering how old the structures are, the quantity of water and its long presence in the basement, it is quite possible that the buildings' supporting structure is severely affected. Besides the effect on the structure, we must not forget the stench, the humidity, the mosquitoes, and the fact that the apartments on the ground floor have wet floors all the time.



Studio apartment on the ground floor, apartment building 36 -
photo by Cristian Bohăniță

According to the survey, 78% of the households encounter difficulties in paying maintenance costs, and the utility costs cannot be covered from their current income. There are countless families with huge debts. The residents consider that their health is greatly influenced by the housing conditions (78.7%) and by the presence of trash (94.2%).

The apartments' market value is low, the cost for a studio apartment varying between Euro 3,000 and 14,000, but it is not very clear how many of the sales are done legally and how many by informal agreement between the parties. The difference as compared to current apartment prices in Bucharest is very high and it can be easily associated to stigma, as most of the buyers from other areas think Ferentari is a ghetto and for those in the neighborhood, Livezilor Alley is definitely a ghetto. 92.9% of those living in the disadvantaged housing area identify the sub-area as a ghetto.

## *What Is a Roma Ghetto in Europe Today?*

The term ghetto is used with certain easiness both in everyday language as well as in social science literature., Those using it refer to an unsanitary, unfit, degraded housing area and/or with no or little utilities, with distinct physical or symbolic limits, inhabited by a poor and minority population in the widest sense of the term, with features different from those of the majority, mainly ethnic and religious (Paugam, 2005). Historically speaking, the term was used to designate the neighborhoods inhabited by Jewish populations. Between the functioning of the Middle Age Venetian ghetto to the construction of the ghetto walls in Krakow, Poland in 1942, a continuity of attitudes that today we would call urban policies, lasted and culminated during World War II through a tragedy that engulfed all of Europe.

The contemporary ghetto has a wider meaning though, being faithful to and maintaining the semantic continuity of the original term by the idea of exclusion. In order to be able to use the concept of discrimination easily when it comes to housing, we shall provide a few examples. The first is the one of relocating Roma camps (Bosnian refugees) from downtown Rome to 30 kilometers away, on a land plot with no connection to the nearest city, surrounded by a barbed wire fence and guarded at all times by a police car, with unpaved access from the highway, without links to public transportation, with insufficient water access, etc. The location is officially named "Villaggio della solidarità" and it is one of the clearest examples of a contemporary ghetto. The second case is the one of a Roma community near Sofades (Greece, region of Thessaly), which has benefited from European funds and which, in the name of cultural identity preservation, has also been relocated, this time to a place correctly designed from an urban and architectural point of view, but a few kilometers away, on a field nearby. The community, which had been fairly homogenous to start with, became mono-ethnic, based on the stated goal of reproducing a societal pattern specific to the Roma. This idea, used to manipulate a poor, uneducated and marginalized community, which would become forever excluded from the city's common life, strikes as a racist concept.

Unfortunately, while waiting for the development of a form of ethnic self-organization which would lead to development, countless Roma activists, especially from the Roma "nationalism" area, support these kinds of solutions. The idea of aggregating a community with a strong identity, a legitimate idea in cases when communities are very cohesive and have resources (Sinteşti, Buzescu, Costeşti, Zanea etc.), has no connection whatsoever with the current state of segregation based on poverty and ethnicity that is taking place under the cover of speeches and European programs.

The third example is also from Greece, where, at some distance from Trikala, but also from any other establishment, a group of Roma benefiting from state funding for housing construction were settled. The superb view of Mount Olympus does not compensate for the lack of access to schools, hospitals and standardized housing, which had to be built based on a certain project in order to obtain the credit, resulting in approximately 50 white boxes spread on the land. Obviously, the families do not have the same number of members, the same needs nor the same economic level, but the community reached this housing solution following an administrative process which did not give them too many options and which disregarded their extremely low level of knowledge. So they got to live on the only land they could afford and they built the houses based on a project they did not understand, because nobody asked them and they had no other choice. Actually, a type of social housing was promoted under the idea of access to property which severely limits the opportunities for personal growth of those living there.

I have chosen examples where we deal with types of discrimination that are increasingly vague, which show to various degrees the legal concepts of direct and indirect discrimination. They are, on different levels, also examples of contemporary Roma ghettos. Livezilor Alley is a case of high complexity, with pronounced dynamics and which contains a diversity of situations which should not lead us to simple judgments regarding the area. Therefore, it should also not allow the development of stereotypes which would further represent the basis for simplistic, leveling policies, which disregard the many differences between communities, the ones within communities, and those between individuals, most of the time

reducing everything along ethnic criteria ("programs for Roma"), or to programs for investment in infrastructure that are supposed to automatically produce social inclusion.

Most of the time, the ghetto, especially the urban one, is associated with violence, with danger, with the idea of difficult access. In the ghetto you cannot move about in the same way as in any other part of the establishment; you always need a mediator, a person who makes the transition from the physical and symbolic order of a normal establishment to a territory where a particular, local and possibly violent authority exists in parallel with the official one. Insofar as violence produces changes in the use of the space, it is a form of two-sided discrimination, acting both on the inside as well as on the outside of the area.

If the historical ghetto is the one creating a type of otherness (ethnicity, race, religion) and a form of housing discrimination (segregation), with less marked signs of poverty, the contemporary one accepts but also concentrates various forms of differences, it brings up the economic exclusion and adds new forms of discrimination (exposure to improper housing conditions, exposure to conditions of environmental risks, forced eviction, denial of access to certain services related to the domicile ("redlining"), etc. This form of urban housing is not transitory and it does not respond to general stimuli for economic growth. These types of poverty areas have a remarkable degree of stability (Bowles, 2006).

The area generally considered by Ferentari residents to be a ghetto is Livezilor Alley. Besides Livezilor Alley, residents provide answers with a higher degree of generality to the question of which part of the neighborhood is a ghetto: as answers such as "the entire neighborhood", "Ferentari" and other answers make up approximately 5% of the total. Out of the entire sample, only one respondent claims not to live in the ghetto, and 92.9% claim they live in one.

A very interesting project developed by Komunitas Association in 2009 and which targeted the students from School 136 has shown their strong perception as being residents of a space where there is a lot of trash and drugs but also the need for playgrounds and green areas.
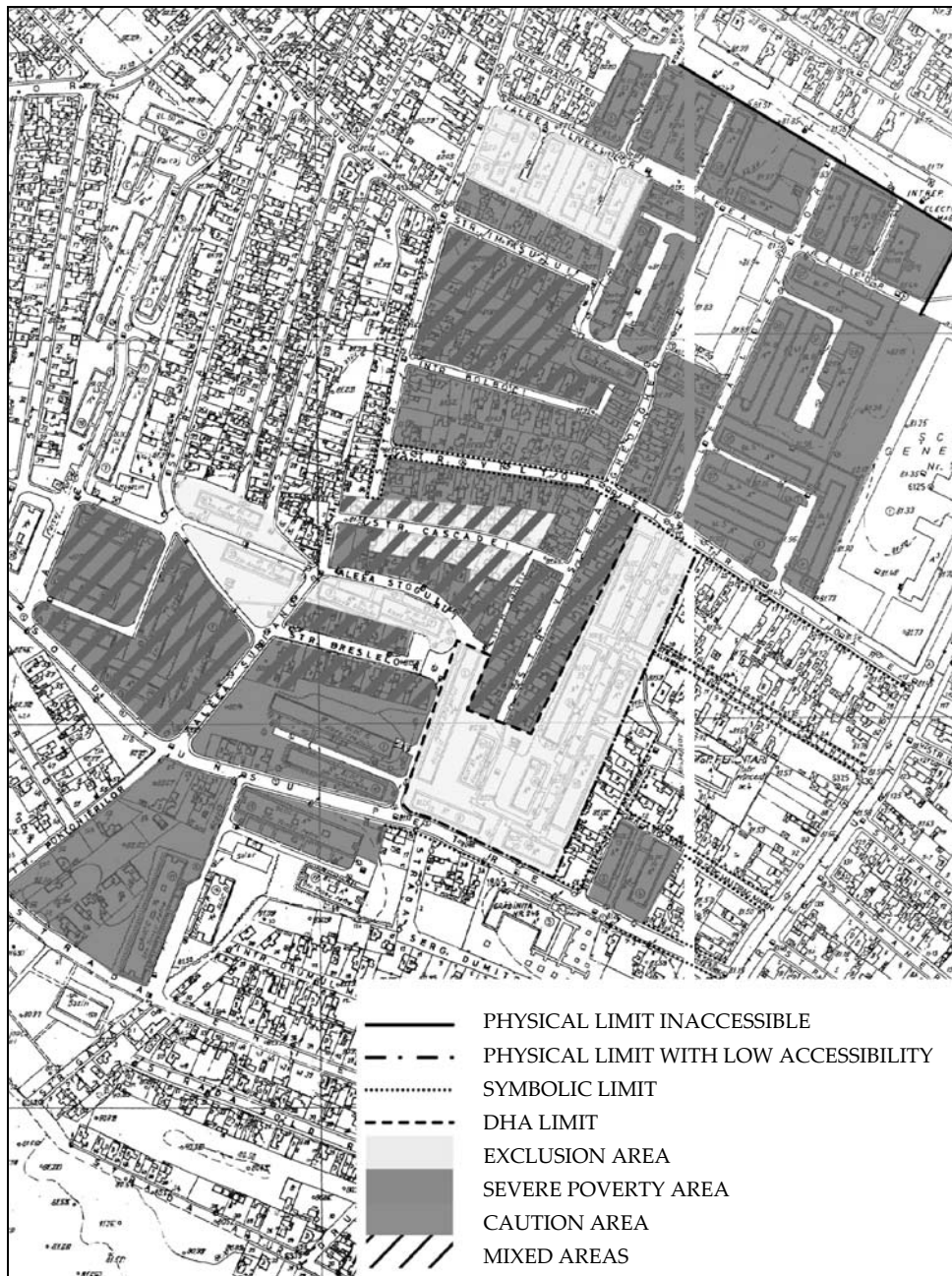
*Figure 3. Livezilor disadvantaged housing area and Livezilor Alley ghetto*

PHYSICAL LIMIT INACCESSIBLE
PHYSICAL LIMIT WITH LOW ACCESSIBILITY
SYMBOLIC LIMIT
DHA LIMIT
EXCLUSION AREA
SEVERE POVERTY AREA
CAUTION AREA
MIXED AREAS

Therefore, we will use the term ghetto to designate the area from Livezilor Alley which is located on the left side of Vâltoarei Street coming from Prelungirea Ferentari Street for the following reasons: significant presence, probably as a majority of the population, of Roma, significant presence of migrants from the peri-urban and rural environments, low education levels, high unemployment rate, the presence of violence and drug consumption. Language, which contains semantic overlaps that we cannot avoid, has a flexibility that can generate confusion vis-a-vis the status of an area, either through uniformization, or through simplification, or through exaggeration. In order to avoid this we propose a set of terms accompanied by brief definitions to help us better describe the situation on the ground.

The first term we define is "poor housing areas" and it pre-supposes the presence of a majority of homes below standard, visible urban under-endowment, minimum presence of public utilities and poor status of the infrastructure. Ferentari is an area which comprises several slums, former villages brought within the boundaries of the city over time, with land plotting in the 20th century connecting them. These areas display marks of interwar and socialist modernism, which makes some buildings stand out from the rest of the neighborhood. The historical slum developed along Calea Ferentari can be considered as being a poor housing area.

The highlighted area shown on our map corresponds to poor housing characterized by an extremely high degree of homogeneity and a high degree of vulnerability of the households and of the infrastructure. Here we encounter low housing quality, less visible on a physical level, characterized by complex dynamics, where certain households succeed in improving their homes through individual effort, while most stagnate and others head worse conditions.

One level down on the habitation quality scale are severe poverty areas characterized by remarkably insecure conditions, defined by: a significant level of overcrowding (minimum 3 persons per room), a lack of certain utilities, the presence of dangers related to housing (sources of bad smells, inadequate installations, the lack of adequate means of fire protection, freefall, electrocution, etc.)

The lowest housing level is in the exclusion area. Here we encounter not only poor conditions but also a strong stigma, together with the presence of housing insecurity and of violence. Like in the other areas, the housing situation is not homogenous, with many households making special efforts to maintain a decent housing level.

## Conclusions

The current status of the buildings, which are in an advanced state of physical degradation, requires at least a program of complete repairs.

Considering the age of the buildings, the minimal quality of the structure and the length of the period of flooding of basement, it would not be surprising for a technical expert to reach the conclusion that some of the apartment buildings need to be demolished. Even if they were structurally stable for a period of time long enough to justify rehabilitation, that rehabilitation should include not only the replacement of all electrical, sanitary and heating installations, but also rebuilding the common areas and the facades.

Any immediate program which, for example, only proposes improving the thermal insulation or waterproofing restoration but does not take into consideration an intervention for the entire area and is not supported by a coherent social and urban integration policy cannot produce lasting improvements. Such intervention would only prolong a visible agony of the unsafe and insecure buildings. Overcrowding and the constitutive characteristics of substandard housing are major causes of undignified housing. Some of the causes for the degradation of the housing environment must be not only determined but addressed urgently.

Finally, one must consider the difficulty of undertaking any welfare project that improves the conditions of apartments, which are currently either private or mixed property. Since there is no legal framework regulating such interventions, the only programs that are implemented have a strong political dimension. They are fast, superficial, and expensive and their target is not to solving the structural problems but rather to provide quick fixes calculated to obtain votes. The "heroic" removal of the trash, only under the threat of rebellion or before visits by official delegations, the mounting of urban furniture, or the plans for "thermal efficiency improvement" without understanding why trash is produced and dumped in the area or how the public space is actually used or what is the perspective of heating a studio apartment inhabited by eight persons are examples of actions that make inefficient use of already low resources..

Intervention programs in such areas must begin with community development actions which aim at informing the residents and building up the capacity for consultation and dialogue between them. Public participation thus becomes possible for those living in the area, who are in

a good position to help set up realistic parameters for any intervention. Unfortunately, the focus is placed, more often than not, on specialists and services providers, companies specialized in solving various problems, whether they be technical or "social" (i.e. related to providing welfare services). In this paradigm, the funds are always insufficient and the suppliers, providers, designers or consultants benefit from them, while the receivers of services do not.

## *Bibliography*

BOWLES, Samuel, DURLAUF, Steven, HOFF, Carla (ed.). *Poverty Traps*. Princeton University Press, 2006.

COSTIUC, Silvia. "Who are the residents of Ferentari?" in *The study Disadvantaged Housing Areas in the South Part of Bucharest*, Frontal Association, Bucharest, 2011.

Paugam, Serge, *Les formes élémentaires de la pauvreté*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 2005.

Rughiniş, Cosima, "Genre et citoyenneté: accès à l'électricité, droit au bail et démision de l'Etat", in François Hainard et Christine Verschuur (coord.), *Mouvements de quartier et environnements urbains - La prise de pouvoir des femmes dans les pays du Sud et de l'Est*, Paris, Karthala, 2005.

Wacquant, Loïc, *Urban Outcasts. A Compared Sociology of Advanced Marginality*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2008.

# GOOD GOVERNANCE
# AND FERENTARI

*Florina PRESADA*

Research concerning areas considered ghettos, both in the US as well as in Europe, frequently contains discussions about the phenomena present inside these areas but not the phenomena that created the ghettos in the first place. Furthermore, even within this research, which tries to explain how the ghetto areas were formed, the processes that lead to ghettos do not necessarily include the role of local government. Therefore, a direct connection between ghetto-ization and the performance of local authorities has not yet been established.

From this perspective, this study aims at researching some of the factors that are influencing the appearance of the ghetto phenomenon, by identifying the effects that local government (be it good or not) may have on the local community—in our case, the Ferentari neighborhood, located in District 5 of Bucharest.

In this regard, we will identify the relationships among the members of the community as they are described by the respondents to the study, and between the external environment and the community, and the way these relationships maintain the current status of Ferentari neighborhood, considered a "ghetto" by the general public and also by the local community.

Other points of interest will be, on the one hand, the elements specific to the ghetto, as they are found, both physically/empirically and at the level of perceptions, in the area under discussion, as well as, on the other hand, the interventions of the local public administration in this area.

In the Romanian media, and especially media outlets from Bucharest, Ferentari is the center of all urban evil: here we find drugs dealers, people who steal, who vandalize public places, who keep their children out of school, who live in filth, violent people, people who do not pay for public utilities, an area inhabited by a population that is unwanted and undesirable.

The comments of those hearing such news refer to the area as a ghetto[3] and compare it to other areas perceived as such (Rahova, Sălăjan, Pantelimon) although it seems that none of these is as feared and has as negative a perception associated with it as Ferentari.

From an administrative point of view, Ferentari is an area from District 5 of Bucharest. Within the government of Bucharest, this district is considered as the lowest performing of all six districts. From the perspective of good governance, the administration of District 5 is not transparent. It does not inform, consult, or at least comply with the laws of the local public administration and it has weak performances in what concerns the public services it offers, these being the conclusions of the latest studies in the field[4]. If we were to look at this administration from the point of view of good governance criteria, it would most definitely classify as failing.

The sub-standard local government did not have a ghettoizing affect on all of the neighborhoods from District 5, which also comprises neighborhoods such as Cotroceni, 13 Septembrie, Dealul Spirii, Rahova (the last one presents ghetto elements, but not as obvious as Ferentari).

- So what is the connection between governance and ghettoizing?

---

[3] *In this regard we find examples about Ferentari neighborhood on Wikipedia, where it is described as "Little Bronx" from Bucharest and as unique among other neighborhoods from Bucharest as being „the only area from Bucharest with two police stations and two gendarmerie stations", http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cartierul_Ferentari*

[4] *"The Road of Public Representation – from Citizen to Counselor", National Association of Citizens Advice Bureau, Resource Center for Public Participation, Bucharest, November 2010 ; „Report of the Local Public Administration Monitoring in the Process of Urban development", Active Watch – Press Monitoring Agency, Bucharest, December 2010.*

and

- Does the Ferentari neighborhood have the characteristics of a ghetto?

The public administration of District 5 has not investigated Ferentari area and does not have an official situation which can show the status of the neighborhood. Therefore, our only source of information was the community.

The proposed research framework consists in identifying the elements specific to the ghetto but also the context in which they developed and led to a common recognition of the neighborhood as an "infamous" space, in order to take us back to the local governance sphere, so that we may determine the connection (if any) between the current status of Ferentari and performance of local public institutions.

To accomplish this task, we used questionnaires administered in the area under discussion (some streets from Ferentari neighborhood where the "ghettoizing" phenomenon is perceived as being more obvious), focus groups with the citizens from these areas, and institutional perception mapping. Within the scope of this research, institutions are not only those public structures acting with the purpose of achieving some political objectives, but also those patterns and channels of interaction between the various social or political actors.

## *What Is a Ghetto?*

The first question that we will try to find an answer to is whether Ferentari presents the elements characteristic of a ghetto, and what exactly generates the public perception of it being a ghetto.

The notion of ghetto has been studied especially in American social science literature, where it became a subject of study for both sociologists and anthropologists. They developed various theories related to the genesis of the ghetto, initially perceived as an enclave of marginalized racial or ethnic minorities, the primary one being "the black ghetto" (subsequently, also Hispanic-American ghettos).

In time, the ghetto (usually defined along ethnic lines) has begun to be associated to a territory characterized by: the predominant existence of social housing, poverty, a population with low access to resources and services, degradation of urban infrastructure, high rate of violence and crime (the presence of gangs and clans and drug trafficking), a population with a low level of education, a high rate of unemployment, segregation, etc. Nevertheless, it is difficult to say if, when observing these phenomena within a certain territory, we can speak of ghettoizing. Research of these areas, including the ghettos, has not succeeded in finding a "standard pattern" which would facilitate the designation of an area as a "ghetto". Within the past 20 to 30 years, both the US and Europe have seen the advent of ghettoized areas where, for example, the ethnic criterion no longer applies, even if the other phenomena are still present.

At the political and social levels, some theoreticians of ghetto social organization claim that these areas are characterized by social disorder, the inexistence of social networks (or weak social networks), and by weak political participation and civil involvement (Wilson, 1996). Therefore, it is not enough for a certain area in the city to present the above degradation and deprivation phenomena. This status must be completed by dysfunctional social organization. Even in this case, diagnosing an area as ghetto according to its level of social organization theory might be unjustified. There is research showing that social networks and civic involvement can exist inside of the ghetto (Whyte, 1943, Martinez, 2006, Cattacin, 2006 - self regulated spaces of solidarity), even if the area continues to be – at least in what concerns perception – a ghetto.

So what is left of the definition of a ghetto? We still have poverty, segregation, separation from the "majority" both spatially as well as socially, and the perception regarding the area, poverty and segregation, the latter phenomenon being usually more important in the effects it produces than the actual ghettoizing (Wacquant, 2007). The modern definition of the ghetto emphasizes marginality and segregation, both spatially as well as socially, and the minority–majority dichotomy, the minority being re-interpreted here so that ethnicity does not play a central role. Even if we find social structures and forms of civic involvement in the

ghetto, what really matters is the distance and separation of these forms and structures from those socially and formally accepted. It is not enough for these residents to find the means to support each other, to be involved in the life of their communities. This community will remain detached and will continue to lack the means to participate socially and politically in a formal way. It remains a marginalized community, with a parallel organization system, without entry points to certain social and political opportunities extended and available to mainstream society. Their existence is the symptom and consequence of the phenomena that generated the ghetto in the first place.

Literature offers various definitions of the ghetto, identifying multiple characteristics of the ghettoized community, without necessarily finding a universal definition of the term. Therefore we can say that the elements that define a community under scrutiny as being a ghetto area may vary from case to case, so that the lack of one element does not mean the lack of the actual phenomenon, but its manifestation in a specific form.

## *Is Ferentari a Ghetto?*

For this study, for the purpose of finding a relationship between governance and ghettoizing in Ferentari, we will focus on several elements: social organization of the area, its relationship to formal social and political systems, and the perception on the area, even if, at this point, our focus is merely exploratory and based on signs that are easy to verify empirically.[5] We will take a look at social organization because it corresponds to certain realities that are part of the description of the ghettoized area – it responds to certain specific social and political needs in the researched area - and at the relationship of these structures and actors with the formal networks or other formal structures. We revisit the perception on the area because it

---

[5] *As I explained, the ethnic criterion for defining a ghetto is not singular and final in characterizing an area, therefore we have not used it in this analysis. On the other hand, currently the general public perception is that Ferentari is inhabited by "gypsies", which could explain the phenomenon of marginalization and segregation of the area (aspect relevant for the area in the absence of data supporting this perception).*

generates effects that support social organization inside the ghetto and separation from the majority group. The stigma associated with the area perceived as ghetto leads to segregation and marginality (Wacquant, 2007). And last but not the least, we examine the physical status and the state of degradation of the infrastructure, which can highlight the characteristics of a ghettoized space.



*Fig. 4. Institutional perception mapping,*
*Ferentari - photo by Florin Botonogu*

*Social Organization, the Community and the Relationship with Formal Political and Social Institutions*

The Ferentari neighborhood also includes traditional houses, villas and apartment buildings with owners' associations or apartment buildings inhabited exclusively by tenants. We also noticed a mixed area, with spaces where you can characteristics of ghetto communities (unemployment, degradation of the public space, improper housing, drug trafficking) and others where such phenomena no longer exist. A few meters away from each other we have tidy areas, with well maintained houses and yards, and apartment buildings used for social housing in an advanced state of degradation. The two worlds do not interact with one another and they do not seem to connect, the high fences of the yards proving the wish of those living here to be separated from the outside space containing the old apartment buildings.

On Livezilor, Vâltoarei, Veseliei and Surianu streets, there are apartment buildings for social housing built in the '70s for the workers brought from all over the country to work in the many factories and plants in Bucharest. After the Revolution of 1989, following a process that lasted several years, many of these factories were closed or privatized. The final result was the same: the people living here lost their jobs. In time they left the area, leaving behind the apartments. The people say that the places cleared were occupied by other residents of the city, especially by those who could not afford to pay rent.

These streets are characterized today by poor housing conditions and public spaces that are unfriendly to its residents, used most of the time to deposit trash, although this was not always the case.

"There used to be a small park here. The '80s were better. It was clean, we had hot water. Livezilor Alley was gorgeous" (older resident of the area).

Even if they are separated by a complex network of streets, the people living in these apartment buildings, whether closer or farther apart from each other, use the word "community" when they talk about the life in their neighborhood and about the problems they encounter.

Urban planning may conceptualize urban space from the point of view of its physical or administrative limitations, but the construction of the urban space involves operating social and symbolic limits. The latter lead to creating the social limits – actually, "boundaries" – which define a certain space. Therefore, Vâltoarei Street is a "boundary" in this community. When you come from Prelungirea Ferentari, "on the left side is the ghetto" (although on the right side of the same street there are apartment buildings of equal age, but not as decrepit). Therefore, it is more useful for us to understand the preeminence of these social boundaries or delimitations in analyzing the social organization of this community than to succeed in delimiting exactly "the ghetto" on the ground.

The community is a special social construction. The term has the role to designate and delimit a reality on the one hand functional, associated to spatial boundaries, and on the other hand symbolic, crated through the common experiences lived in this space (Venkatesh, 1997). The common experiences from Ferentari described by the people we interviewed address "problems". Therefore, in the areas delimited by the streets mentioned above, we find certain categories of social actors and a certain type of interaction between them, whose purpose is to regulate access to resources and opportunities.

*Social Actors*

The listing of the actors that are important for the community in a certain order is not arbitrary. In the researched area, the residents have mentioned those actors that they consider to be most important for them, the closest to their community: "the junkies", the drug dealers, the anti-drug police (special forces), "the community leaders", the welfare intermediaries and the people liaising with political parties during election campaigns.

Last on the list in terms of relevance to the community are the political parties, the community police, the local counselors, the city hall/the mayor, the senators and the deputies elected to these electoral colleges, which are located outside the community, but have an influence on it.

Among these categories of social actors, halfway between the most relevant category of actors and the least, we have schools and NGOs.

The presence of the "junkies" in the first place among relevant social actors is explained by the fact that life in this community is strongly influenced by the existence of drug trafficking, especially as of 1994: "until then, there were no drugs here".[6] The perception of some of the residents is that approximately 70% of the people are taking drugs, regardless of their age: "children, old people, they all take drugs".

Although drug trafficking and consumption influences them, as they say, "negatively" (generates fear and insecurity, violence, "they're a source of infection"), the residents we talked to chose to avoid drug trafficking. Respondents consider they do not have the power to go against drug dealers so they avoid talking about them. They chose to keep their children away from drugs and junkies. Maybe that is why some of the actors closest to the community, besides those involved in drug consumption and trafficking, are special "masked" police. Although they "sometimes abuse their power, first they take you and then they ask questions", they are

---

[6] *Besides, the study „Social Mapping of Bucharest 2010", National School for Political and Administrative Sciences, Faculty of Political Sciences, Sociology Department, mentions Ferentari as one of the two largest drug trafficking areas in Bucharest.*

regarded as a positive actor, one that is necessary in this case for the community.

"Community leaders" are those persons who are trying "to do something" to improve life within the community. Excluding the presence of drugs, life in this area is characterized by the presence of trash, the lack of the public utilities (running water, electricity), the degraded urban infrastructure (starting with apartments, installations and common areas and ending with the public spaces), the lack of green spaces, poor public lighting. These issues are cited as the most pressing by area residents.

Some of the residents are trying to remedy these problems. They organize themselves to maintain the cleanliness of the apartment building hallway, they try to organize themselves in apartment owners associations to better connect to public utilities, or they clean the space around their own apartment building. There were cases when the residents of two units from the same apartment building discussed separate management of their units, so they could "improve" the building (to build a fence, clean up, have utilities), but during the meeting, those who wanted separate management encountered the opposition of other tenants who were aware that if they were to start a formal owners' association, they would have to pay for the utilities, which would be impossible because of their financial situation.

Only a few people are regarded as community, but they are perceived as positive actors in the community. The people consider that it is a one-way relationship, the community leaders being the ones who mobilize the community rather than vice versa. When questioned about the possibility of solving the problems in the community on their own, these individuals admitted that, "in the end, we cannot do anything without help. When the city hall sends dumpsters, we can start cleaning".

Another important category of actors in this community is represented by the intermediaries for obtaining welfare, also considered to be community leaders. These leaders are the intermediaries between those wishing to access the welfare offered through city hall and the actual institution. The people go to these intermediaries, who help them "put together the file" in

exchange for a percentage of the welfare checks they receive. Some sources say that this percentage is divided between the intermediaries and the clerks from the city hall. Most of the time, people go to intermediaries because they do not trust that the clerks from the city hall will consider their welfare application fairly. Some of the residents refuse to go through intermediaries this (most of the time, the remainder of the welfare check is not worth their while) and in this case they do not benefit from any social assistance. Additionally, the residents' perception of corruption within the city hall and among politicians is unanimous (focus group on good governance). "I asked the people from PDA [Public Domain Administration] when they're going to pave our street and one of them checked a list and told me that their records show it was already done a few months ago".

When talking about the presence of elected officials among the citizens from Ferentari, residents remember moments during the electoral campaign, both for local as well as for parliamentary elections, when the candidates were present in the community. However, this occurs, "only before elections", they recall.

Electoral campaigns are very important in a community but in the specific area under discussion, they have particular significance. Here, electoral campaigns are important due to the financial earnings they can bring. "People come here in big cars, with suitcases, and they give money for votes. Some vote as they are told because their conscience will not give them peace for taking the money. Others vote as they please". This situation explains the presence in the Ferentari community of people who are connected to political parties, another category of actors mentioned as being important for the community. The people appreciate the relationship with them as being "positive". The practice of giving cash for votes may also explain the high percentage of those stating they vote regularly (89.6% of the respondents).

Another category of actors identified by the community as important are political parties. They are present in the community only before elections. The relationship with parties is appreciated by respondents as negative, and one-directional—from the parties to the community—, as it exists only

during the electoral campaign. The people would want for the political parties to be closer to the community and more accessible. Until recently one of the political parties had local headquarters at the intersection of Calea Ferentari with Veseliei, but the office was shut down. Respondents generally do not know where the headquarters or offices of the political parties are located. They believe that no parties are present in the community.

Respondents also mentioned the deputy elected in electoral district 20 (to which their neighborhood belongs) as being an important actor. In the 2008 campaign, "she [the deputy] was almost all the time at School 136 and she did a lot of good things, and she promised to do more. But nobody has seen her around since she was elected". The people think that the deputy should be closer to them and help them solve their problems, especially since she is in the same party as the mayor. They do not know where her office is.

Within the same district, the people are represented nation-wide by a senator. Many could not remember his name when first asked about him. The people do not know who he is and they have not identified any connection between this senator and the community.

The city hall is one of the actors identified as being important for the community, but it is located outside of the community, being one of the most distant community actors. In what concerns the relation with the city hall, besides the mayor, the people could not name anybody else within the institution.

Another actor also located outside of the community is the community police. The community does not know the community or the district police officers and, they wish for the district police officers to be more present in the community, to inform them and to act whenever necessary ("to maintain peace and order"). Within the community, I also met people who think that drug traffickers are protected by the community police. The institutions ensuring public safety and order do not enjoy the community's trust. The survey results show the highest percentage of respondents not trusting these institutions. The answer "I have very little trust in them" is selected by 43.3% of respondents regarding the gendarmerie, by 46.6% of

respondents regarding the district police, and by 52.1% of respondents regarding the community policy). The gendarmerie and the district police obtained values of approximately 20% positive responses in the categories of trusting their work "a lot" and "highly", while the community police was only trusted by 12% of the respondents.

The school as an institution is an actor identified as being of high priority and very important for the community. The people consider they have strong ties to it, though the positive relationship is unfortunately mostly one-directional, from the community towards the institution. Respondents consider that the schools, "although accessible to the community, are not involved in the community". It is a relationship appreciated as being "so-so", because the schools could be more present in the community, through programs which would rebuild connections between formal structures and the residents.

Non-governmental organizations are also actors present in the community, placing halfway in terms of importance between the actors perceived as closest to the community (drug dealers) and those perceived as most distant from the community (namely the political actors). There are at least four non-governmental organizations serving the community through various interventions: one organization addresses injectable drug users and runs a syringe/needle exchange program; another organization works with the children at the nearby school offering "urban education" activities; another one offers assistance by organizing sports and recreational activities for young people, and recently, another organization (PCRM) is present in the community through an alternative education club established at the neighborhood school, through which it offers academic assistance to the students, support to parents, as well as various extracurricular activities, designed to bring together the children and parents from the community.

The perceptions of NGOs in the community vary. Some people admit that a majority of people in the area currently consider these NGOs as being "paid" (i.e. receiving financial support) thanks to the people in the area. Others say the NGOs want to help them and they expect the NGOs to take over and solve the problems of the community. There is also another

category of respondents (34.2%) who believe that NGOs can provide assistance for problems, but that residents will ultimately have to solve by themselves.

### *Analysis of the Social Organization and the Connection with Formal Power, Resource, Political and Social Structures*

The description and analysis of the social actors in the Ferentari community show that the area matches the criteria of being a ghetto, with structures that respond to specific needs, and which are broken from the formal structures of power and resources.

The primary characteristic of the social actors mentioned above appears to be specific to this community. This is represented by the network of structures and individuals playing the role of intermediating for the transmission of information and resources to the community from the outside, as well as within the community. Their existence is at once the consequence and symptom of failure of this community to access adequate resources and opportunities offered by the formal system existent in the wider society. The "intermediation" from Ferentari responds especially to the need for information, at least when it comes to access to public resources (access to welfare).

The intermediation structures that we see here are not equivalent to the traditional intermediation structures between other communities and local public authorities. Normally, in a society considered to be democratic, it is a good thing for these intermediation structures to exist, when they represent the legitimate interests of the residents and they make efforts for these interests to be taken into consideration by the authorities, or when they solve community problems.

Both in the case of welfare intermediaries as well as in the case of the practice cash for votes, we are dealing with a perverted intermediation interface between the formal system of power and the community. These are "mafia"-like network structures, which by abusing, on one hand, the residents' inability to represent themselves before the authorities and, on the other hand, the public authorities' inefficiency, is using the residents for

their own benefit. They are the consequence of failed relations between the community and public authorities.

The lack of information in the community is confirmed by the high percentage of those who "do not know/do not respond" to the question, "Who could help solving the problems?" Averaging 50%, response rates are much higher for this category than for categories where an answer is identified.

**Table 3: Who can help solve these problems?**

| Institution | YES | NO | DNK/NR |
|---|---|---|---|
| The city hall | 41.7% | 5.4% | 52.9% |
| All the residents | 37.1% | 14.2% | 48.7% |
| NGOs | 34.2% | 15.4% | 50.4% |
| The school | 25.4% | 35.4% | 39.2% |
| The individual (myself) | 24.6% | 33.3% | 42.1% |
| The church | 16.2% | 42.5% | 41.3% |

*Source*: 2010 PCRM survey in Ferentari neighborhood, Livezilor Alley

During several discussions regarding the rights they have in their relationship with the public authorities, the residents of Ferentari involved in the research could not tell us any of these rights. The people admitted that they were "not really" informed, they "do not know how", they "do not know where to get the information". When they need information, they go to the local leaders that are welfare intermediaries. They are not aware that the list of documents for obtaining welfare is posted on the information board at the city hall. They mentioned some failed attempts to interact with the public authorities, either initiated by themselves or by others. One such person noted that, "other people tried too and they said there are no funds for us". When they go to the city hall and ask questions, they claim they are sent from one office to another. They are not aware that they have the right to ask for and to receive information that is of public interest (actually, they do not even know what information of public

interest means), nor that the local council's meetings are public and they can participate.

This inability to obtain essential information and to integrate into the formal systems of information and public participation led to the appearance of those alternative sources of information, the intermediation, with the residents of the area becoming dependent on them. One of the effects of this situation is the worsening of the lack of interaction between the community and the local public authorities, and this due to a local public authority that is not open and is inefficient from the perspective of public information and transparency of the decisions.

Another characteristic of the community from Ferentari and which confirms its disconnect from the public or formal structures of power and from resources is the residents' wish or tendency to solve their the problems on their own, without admitting the need for the intervention of the responsible public authorities. They want to administer their alley, they want to start their own groups and are willing to organize themselves in patrols to maintain cleanliness. A group of residents from the apartment buildings on Livezilor Street managed to employ (actually, to pay with the tenants' money, without them being organized in an association having an administrative fund) a person to clean the apartment building.

The above mentioned situation seems to be the consequence of the distance, the disconnect between the authorities and the community from Ferentari. Among the residents, there are countless examples of failed attempts to reach the authorities responsible for solving local problems. They either cannot get a meeting, or the authorities do not succeed in solving the problem and they give up after the first attempt ("for example, a dumpster was brought here four months ago, but the people stole it"), or the people lost their trust in the authorities' power and wish to solve their problems. The final result is the same. There is the tendency between these people to help themselves, without appealing to alternative resources and public authorities. That is precisely why, participation in community life registers relatively high values for the categories destined to apartment unit (sub-division of the apartment building) meetings (50%) and consulting for decisions related to the apartment building (55.8%).

Organized action to keep the apartment building's hallways staying clean (79.2%) can also be considered to be such an indicator. Thus, the residents are resolving problems for the spaces nearest to them: our alley, our apartment building, our hallways, etc.. If we were to accept the definition of the social organization as the extent to which organized citizens manage to hold and maintain control for achieving some common purposes (Wilson, 1996), then this community has failed. It has failed because the people have not managed to organize themselves and to solve those problems they listed and which define them as a community (drugs, trash, lack of jobs etc).

The tendency to wish to solve problems on their own also shows the areas in which the residents' power of intervention and decision can manifest itself. Since they do not have access to the formal process of decision-making regarding their community, within institutions such as the city hall and the local council, they are limited to those institutions where they can use their own power of decision. Therefore, the community is restricted to a single apartment building or to a single alley, because this is the only place where they can participate as a group and make decisions together.

Another symptom of community segregation is its disconnect from larger social networks, either formal or informal. It is also indicative of the fragmentation existing in Ferentari, a community which is defined by the experience of common problems (the same way that Bourdieu considered this marginalized population as being characterized by the fact that it is "homogenous in dispossession/deprivation"[7]). In this place, we do not find the parallel structures of social solidarity that we see in the "traditional" ghetto. When they encounter a problem, approximately 90% of the respondents consider that the best solution (sometimes the only solution) is to help themselves. The situation described coincides with one of the post-industrial hyper-ghetto symptoms, characterized by the lack of a buffer space for retreat (lack of a "hinterland", Wacquant, 2007), when the opportunities offered by society cannot be accessed (including the labor

---

[7] *"…a population homogenous in its dispossession…", Bourdieu (1993), quoted in Wacquant (2007).*

market). The ghettos of the '50s or the '60s were social enclaves where marginalized people would find social networks able to offer help in finding a job or financial support until another job was secured. Today, in the modern ghetto, this space has been dramatically reduced.

The lack of access to formal markets of resources and opportunities, the creation of a new social organization are accompanied by the development of an underground economy (in addition to drug trafficking), which allows the residents "to make a living". This is characterized by various "trickeries" or "maneuvers" (interviews with several residents), and also by many other illegal activities. One person stated, "If we had a good life, we would not steal" (focus group on good governance). These types of economic activities, observed and documented by countless research projects on ghettos all over the world, is the consequence of a community that does not have access to the resources offered by the formal labor market. Still, it allows survival in this context of deprivation. The level and source of the income of those we interviewed shows a poor and vulnerable community.

For half of the sample interviewed, the family's main source of income is salaries. Those receiving welfare checks from the state and unemployment benefits add up to 9.1%, and the money received from other members of the family represent the main source of income for 8.3% of the population represented by the sample. Those persons that have other main sources of income make up a high percentage of the population (30%). People interviewed for the survey did not provide details on what other sources of income they had.

Even if half of the people we interviewed have their salaries as a main source of income, the population distribution based on monthly incomes offers an image of the poverty in this area. Thus, of those holding salaried jobs, 13.8% have monthly incomes of less than RON 200, 21.7% of the sample have incomes between RON 200 and 500, 34.6% earn between RON 500 and 1000 monthly, and 29.6% have monthly incomes exceeding RON 1,000. Looking at salary levels as an average reveals that 70% of the respondents have monthly incomes of less than RON 1,000. The majority of

the respondents declared that these incomes are not enough to cover the basic expenses of their household (food, maintenance expenses etc.).

Lack of access to the formal labor market is determined first and foremost by the level of professional training of those living in Ferentari. Illiteracy is found in 10.4% of the households from the research sample. Approximately half of the respondents did not respond to the question regarding the number of professionally qualified persons in their household or declared that they have no persons in the household having a qualification or a stable job.

## *The Performance of the Public Administration of District 5 in Relation to Its Citizens*

The access to information of public interest, in Romania, is regulated by Law 544/2001 regarding free access to information of public interest which outlines a series of obligations for any public institution, therefore implicitly for the local public administration. Other obligations to inform the public are regulated by Law 215/2001 for local public administration and Law 52/2003 on decision-making transparency in public admi-nistration. Therefore, information should be made public *ex-officio* and any other information should be communicated upon request to the parties in question. The information that should be communicated *ex-officio* should be available to any citizen, either on the information board at the city hall or on the institution's website. The law does not confine the communication channels used, so the local public institutions may use any other channels they may find efficient in the effort to inform the public. In Bucharest, the district city halls also use other methods of communicating information, such as city halls monthly informative bulletins, which they use to communicate information on the decisions made and the district's development strategies, information boards or the information booths/centers within neighborhoods, fliers left in the mail boxes and many other such methods.

In what concerns the city hall of District 5, an analysis of the city hall's website – the main means of information in the urban environment – shows

the lack of the *ex-officio* information that should be available to every citizen. The site of the District 5 city hall does not contain the name of the mayor, nor the organization or functioning of the mayor's specialized unit, nor the name of the contact person whom citizens should contact if they wish to file a complaint, nor other types of information that the institution should make public.

At the same time, the city hall, as secretariat of the local council, should offer information related to the structure on commissions of the local counsel and also their contact information. On this website we could only find information regarding who the elected councilpersons were and what party they belonged to. Nothing is posted regarding council committees, contact information, the councilpersons' activity reports, and more importantly, information regarding the meetings of the local council. There is no information on the date of the meetings (posting this information is a legal obligation stipulated by Law 52/2003 on decisional transparency in public administration), their agenda, or the meeting minutes. Furthermore, the site does not contain any decision made by the local council of District 5. According to current legislation, the meetings of the local council should be public and they should be announced to the public at least 3 days in advance.

The only data available on the site of District 5 city hall includes, the list of educational institutions present in the district, information regarding the release of identity documents, registry office, taxes and duties, documents necessary for registering or erasing mopeds, documents necessary for submitting applications for welfare and social benefits for handicapped persons (the latter being under the management of the local council). The citizens are offered a single point of contact – an address, a telephone number, a fax number, without giving the name of any contact person.

All of this information has been requested from the city hall in an official request, to which the institution had the obligation to respond within 30 days. No official response was received following this request, not within, and not following the expiration of the legal term. This situation is not an exception. The lack of public information offered *ex-officio* and especially the lack of responses to requests for information of public interest

demonstrate the degree of transparency of the local public administration of District 5[8].

As for the information board at city hall headquarters, which should offer public information on the institution, the situation is similar to the one on the city hall's website: there is only one information board containing information on social benefits.

According to legislation, the city halls and the local councils have the obligation to assure time and space for citizens hearings. These hearings give citizens the opportunity to present or to a public servant (a counselor of the mayor or a local councilperson), a situation that is problematic for them and to request its resolution.

With regards to access during hearings with service and specialized departments of city hall of District 5, the residents from the researched area declared that they were either refused access to those responsible for solving their problems (by guards at the entrance to the city hall) or their requests for hearings received no response.

Moreover, District 5 has two problems regarding hearings:

- the citizens do not have access to the contact data of their local councilpersons or to the information regarding the location and the calendar of these hearings;

- the city hall does not provide the local counselors a space for organizing these hearings, in case any citizen succeeds in contacting them. Those offering hearings are providing these services at the party's headquarters. This situation is mentioned in the monitoring reports presented previously.

---

[8] *"The Road of Public Representation – from Citizen to Counselor", National Association of Citizens Advice Bureau, Resource Center for Public Participation, Bucharest, November 2010 ; „Report of the Local Public Administration Monitoring in the Process of Urban development", Active Watch – Press Monitoring Agency, Bucharest, December 2010.*

The citizens questioned about the presence of the local councilmen in their neighborhood claim they do not know who they are and that, "nobody ever comes here, neither from the local council nor from the city hall" anyway.

During the past years, a series of investigations have measured the degree of satisfaction of the residents from Bucharest's districts regarding their local public administration, which allows comparisons between the various administrations and public institutions from each district.

When asked "Are you satisfied with the way the district mayor has exercised his position until now?" citizens from District 5 rate their mayor at 4.64 on a scale of 1 to 10 (the lowest score obtained across Bucharest districts) – on a scale from 1 to 10 – he obtained 4.64 (consistent with the situation in the previous year, when he scored lowest among other district mayors as well).[9]

Respondents of District 5 participating in another study, who were asked "Are you satisfied with your district mayor?", rated their satisfaction at 5.4 (the lowest rate of all the districts).[10] Furthermore, the percentage of citizens intending to move out of their district to other districts from Bucharest is the highest in District 5[11].

### *The Stigma of the Perception of District 5 as a Ghetto*

The research of urban space shows that this is subject to social ranking processes. Neighborhoods, both in the US, as well as in Europe, have come to centralize social categories with similar characteristics, which do not refer to race and ethnicity only, but more often to the social and economic status of residents. Social barriers are instruments for social differentiation

---

[9] *"Social Mapping of Bucharest 2011", National School for Political and Administrative Sciences, Faculty of Political Sciences, Sociology Department.*

[10] *"Local Democracy in Bucharest – Part 3, Comparisons, Districts 1…6", Sociological Research and Branding Company for Pro Democratia Association, Bucharest, March – April 2011.*

[11] *Ibid.*

– in terms of ethnicity, social, economic or professional status differences – based on which the access to resources and opportunities is regulated. That is precisely why urban space has come to reflect the social space, and moreover, to reproduce inequalities existent at the social level.

This paradigm also applies in the Ferentari area. Behind social barriers, there are symbolic and cultural ones, created by social actors to distinguish between categories of individuals, practices and spaces. Therefore, certain spaces are becoming "dangerous" or "desirable" because they are inhabited by people belonging to a certain social category. This space is the reflection of cultural divisions. The space and the existence of several communities (houses/apartment buildings) and the corresponding social fragmentation in Ferentari are the products of this process of interaction between social, symbolic and cultural barriers. A taxi driver who reaches the end of Vâltoarei Street does not want to turn left to leave his client and it seems that even the ambulatory service is not in a hurry to respond to calls from the residents of certain streets in the neighborhood. At the neighborhood school, some of the students are referred to as "ghetto people".

The negative perception of the area, spread amongst the general population of Bucharest (79% of respondents to the question "in your opinion, which is the worst neighborhood in Bucharest?" rate Ferentari in first place) (National School of Political and Administrative Sciences survey, 2011), turns Ferentari into a space destined for those who do not find their place anywhere else in the city. It has become a place for those who cannot adapt, for whatever reasons, to the formal system of the labor market. The more recent history of the researched area shows the year 1990 as a turning point for attracting a certain type of demographic to the neighborhood, where "the apartments belonged to nobody" – a population characterized by the lack of economic means, a fact which is supported by the findings of this study.

Out of the 233 respondents with valid answers to the question referring to the year they moved to the area, a little over half came to the area between 2000 and 2010 (120 respondents), 22 moved between 1979 and 1989, and 91 moved between 1990 and 1999. Those living in the perimeter representing

the object of the research mainly came from areas nearby. Therefore, Rahova, Sebastian and Ferentari neighborhoods cover a significant weighting of the answers, the majority of the respondents living in areas considered "marginal" (areas adjacent to Ferentari) and with a bad reputation. The main reasons which led them to choose to live in the area are related to the poor financial situation of the respondents, the lower price of the apartments (49%), and an inability to identify better solutions (10.4%).

The category of answers referring to appreciating the area for "the lower living costs" gathered a significant number of responses.

The perception on the area penetrates all social layers up to the public servants from the local or decentralized institutions: "the people at the National Employment Agency (NEA) from District 5 treat us like we went there to steal; they don't give me the apartment allotment documents or a recommendation for employment"; "at the city hall, they see where you come from, the way you talk, that you have an accent and they don't let you get in..."(focus group on good governance).

This kind of perception can also explain the absence of elected or representatives in the community, the equivalent of a political redlining[12]. The local counselors, the mayor, the deputy and the senator – all elected as representatives for a constituency that includes this community – are not present in any way in Ferentari. Their offices are located in central areas of the city and of the district. The elected deputy has an office on Regina Elisabeta Boulevard, and the senator on Izvor Street (both locations in District 5, but at the opposite extremity of Ferentari neighborhood).

---

[12] *Redlining is a discriminating practice in providing services based on criteria related to ethical origin, race or domicile; it was noticed and studied for the first time in the black, segregated communities from the American cities: for example, the providers of financial services would not grant loans to people from these communities. The name of redlining comes from the fact that these suppliers were delimiting by a red line on the map the areas where they did not want to provide services (where the potential clients could have come from).*

In the absence of official information and data, a comparison between the provision of public services and investments in the various neighborhoods of District 5 can only be done by observation. Therefore, the problems related to the inefficiency or the inexistence of these services (sanitation, public lighting, urbanism, public safety) is noticed to be more obvious in the areas of Ferentari and Rahova. There were attempts for resolution from the local public authorities, but only immediate and sporadic, which led to failure: "they put benches in front of my building, but they did not take the trash!" Political redlining, generated by the area's stigma, seems to have turned into redlining for the public services and for public investment. As such, public investments, at least in infrastructure, are minimal in this neighborhood in comparison to the rest of the district and this leads to the faulty provision of services for sanitation, lighting, housing rehabilitation and public space rehabilitation or of public safety services.

That is why the main reason that leads to the public perception of the Ferentari area as a ghetto is the appearance of the public space in the neighborhood, which is what is visible to the public. In Ferentari, the public space is generally abandoned, belonging to nobody, not even to the public authorities responsible for maintaining it. This space, characterized by abandonment, became populated by a marginalized social group, which generated and increased the perception of the area as ghetto, which in turn led to the community's schism from the formal social systems and from the political and public decision making processes. Recent studies quoted previously in this paper[13] show that the area is perceived as one of the city's areas with constant drug trafficking and high crime rates.

At present, the public spaces in the neighborhood - the spaces between the apartment buildings, the parks, the parking lots – have become landfills. Graffiti is omnipresent on the walls of the apartment buildings in the area. These spaces have lost their sense of functionality, a symptom characteristic of the modern ghetto. Beyond the resolution of the major problems of the area, such as trash and drugs, residents want a gym, green

---

[13] *"Social Mapping of Bucharest 2010", National School for Political and Administrative Sciences, Faculty of Political Sciences, Sociology Department.*

spaces, parks, spaces for socializing. This is a sign of their will to give the space functionality and purpose. There are attempts by the residents to appropriate the space and give it a purpose, a flower garden in front of an apartment on the ground floor here, painting the walls of the apartment building there, etc.

When asked, "What do you like most about the area where you live?", more than three quarters of the respondents of the PCRM survey answered "I don't like anything".

Another characteristic of the area under scrutiny is the residents' sense of insecurity. The majority of the respondents consider that they live in an unsafe neighborhood. Therefore, according to the respondents, both they, as well as their acquaintances could easily be the victim of crime. Approximately 43% of the respondents consider they cannot walk safely around the neighborhood during the day and 64% believe that walking around the neighborhood at night is dangerous.

This kind of urban space is not present in other areas from District 5, such as Cotroceni, Dealul Spirii/13 Septembrie or Sebastian. These neighborhoods were not socially downgraded by the urban actors inside the city, so these communities attracted different demographic elements than those found in Ferentari. They had the opportunity to access those structures providing resources and opportunities. It may be that the residents of Ferentari have been and are "deprived of all the assets necessary to participate in the various social games" (Bourdieu, 1993 in Wacquant, 2007), but this is not the case for the other communities from District 5.

The stigma related to the area is best reflected within the community itself, where people are angry that the media and public opinion portray Ferentari as an infamous place with a bad reputation. "We're not all alike" is a statement that comes up frequently. Discussions with the residents reveal the shame of living there and the fact that the space of "Ferentari" does not figure in the individual's identity (Petonnet, 1982 in Wacquant, 2007), a positive indicator of the area's downgrade. The people do not want to be associated with an area that people outside their community have such a bad opinion of. Those who can afford to eventually move away,

start by moving their children to another school. Among the reasons why the children on these streets do not go to School 136 is the parents' wish for them to go to another school and the poverty in the neighborhood.

The shame of living in Ferentari is also observed in the perception on their neighborhood and it is shown in the results registered in the exercise where respondents were asked to position their own neighborhood among the other neighborhoods in Bucharest. On a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is the worst neighborhood and 10 is the best in terms of housing conditions, Ferentari is on the last position, with the lowest average of all the neighborhoods – 5[14]. Although this result can be interpreted as a consequence of poor administration of District 5, the other neighborhoods from District 5 did not register averages low enough to be included in the classification of worst neighborhoods, Ferentari being the only neighborhood from District 5 that is included.

## *General Conclusions*

This chapter presented data that places Ferentari in the phenomenon of the ghetto, as described in literature.

The public space is degraded both on the infrastructure level as well as on a symbolic level, that of social functionality. Desperation has become a cause for continued criminal practices (drug use, drug trafficking). Therefore, the public space becomes a symbol of poor social status. It is abandoned, under the control of local gangs, an undesirable space, where the residents of the neighborhood can throw their trash away without any legal or social consequences. The loss of this space is admitted with regret in the common conscience.

The filthy streets, the buildings that are about to fall apart, the trash on the streets, the walls full of graffiti, the abandoned social housing are all well known trademarks of a ghettoized urban space.

The community's average level of education is medium to low, only a small number of the respondents holding tertiary education diplomas. Incomes

---

[14] *Ibid.*

are also low, less than RON 1,000 on average per family per month. Access to resources or social services is low because of the status of the community members. Poverty is socially punished or "rewarded" by poverty.

The community's relations with the outside world are mainly characterized by segregation, and are accompanied by common suffering reported vis-a-vis their stigmatized social status. In the public perception, Ferentari is already designated as a ghetto and the community is more and more marginalized in relation to the external social environment.

The members of the community see the area as being non-desirable. They are afraid for their safety, but they want to outgrow this status that is also transferred to them, as individuals.

Nevertheless, various associations appear inside of the community, which bring people together with the purpose of accessing those resources or services that could bring them increased individual wellbeing. We listed above countless signals by which the community sends the message that it wants a better communication with the public authorities, that it is aware of the need for change through involvement.

The local public authorities continue with a standard approach without responding to certain specific needs identified within the community, with sporadic, superficial interventions, inefficient on average and long term. The community perceives the authorities negatively, as discriminatory, and showing a total lack of interest.

The analysis of the social organization of the researched area from Ferentari shows a community defined by the problems encountered by the residents. These problems are generated mainly by poverty (resulted from the lack of education and professional qualifications of those living here, which leads to low incomes and insecure jobs), and the disconnect from formal decision-making structures and resources. This explains the existence of informal intermediation structures for access to information and resources by the community, of drug trafficking and the underground economy. The residents' desire to get involved in solving the problems within the

community is determined by the proximity of the problems that need to be solved, and on the other hand we noticed the people's desire and tendency to solve the problems on their own, without addressing formal structures of public decision-making (determined by the little trust they have in the public authorities and the political factors). We also noticed the lack of an organized social solidarity system, even if there is no access to the public one. In this community, built in terms of common problems of the residents, we are dealing with a fragmented social organization and marked by the resolution of immediate problems, both from the point of view of their emergency as well as of their proximity to the individuals experiencing them.

The situation in Ferentari is due to local public authorities that are generally not open and inefficient both in the area of public information and that of administration (the trash, the drugs, the abandoned public spaces are all proof of poor administration). Over the course of many years, the local public administration made no visible efforts to solve the serious problems of the area. They have tried to solve the problems sporadically, without attempting to change the general framework of the community. The area is treated like any other neighborhood from District 5 (except during election campaigns).

The researched area from Ferentari shows us a social organization responding to the ghetto phenomena, but more important for this study is the disconnect from formal social, political and economic structures. The stigma associated with the area has generated the space favorable to the development of these phenomena which led to its perception as "infamous" and in time, as a ghetto. The parallel social organization, detached from formal structures, re-confirms its marginalized position within the city, and it does not connect to the formal structures because it does not have the ability to do so. It is a vicious cycle that goes on and on. The streets in Ferentari remain the privileged space of a marginalized social class. The local authorities do not address these special needs, ignore them, and even make them worse (through the perception and the behavior of the city hall clerks and of the local elected representatives towards the area).

*Public Policy Recommendations*

The discussion on the ghetto and governance appears traditionally in the context of elaboration and implementation of public policy for areas perceived as ghettos. Usually, an aspect of the intervention area is researched, followed by public policy recommendations, either to stop and to prevent the occurrence of a negative phenomenon, or to explain the failure of a public policy and to remedy the effects in an area perceived as ghettoized. No public policy seems to consider an exhaustive diagnosis. The examples of successful public intervention in the ghetto are few, their history being accompanied by many instances of failed attempts. In other countries, the transition from singular policy approaches referring to a single aspect of the problem (such as welfare for education, subsidized low rents, professional training, and social welfare) to an integrated approach took place gradually. At the same time, the process for planning public intervention in the ghetto began to include the residents' participation among the means used to assure the success and sustainability of the intervention (beginning with the '60s Model Cities Program within the War on Poverty in the US and ending with the urban regeneration programs in the past 20 years in Denmark[15]).

Very few public interventions take into account the social organization existing in the ghetto. This could be the first aspect that experts in public policy look for, since this is where they can see the needs to which the ghetto has tried to respond. The analysis of the social organization could provide answers for the questions regarding the areas and fields for public intervention in the ghetto as well as those related to public policy solutions that could be selected. Furthermore, the ghettoized area formed its own system for responding to the disconnect from public policies and the social system functioning within the majority. The social organization shows where the separation occurred and how the local community responded to it.

In what concerns the Livezilor Alley area, it is necessary for the local public authorities and other decentralized institutions to adapt and multiply their

---

[15] *http://www.kvarterloeft.dk/uk_version/uk_main.htm, website of the Danish National Secretariat for Urban Regeneration.*

efforts with respect to this community. Not adapting the level of effort of interventions, which is the same for the entirety of District 5, has led, in time, to ghettoizing the area, because the area did not have to the same needs as others in the district. Public authorities cannot apply the same treatment to all of the communities from District 5. An efficient public policy needs to identify the needs as precisely as possible – which did not happen for Ferentari – and to search for the best solution for each identified need, which results in a customized intervention. Ferentari, just as all the other the areas presenting signs of ghettoizing, needs special, ample, coordinated and integrated programs.

The analysis of the social organization from Livezilor Alley shows that it is necessary, before anything else, for the public administration of District 5 to recreate connections with the community. Considering the separation of this community, its marginality, generated especially by the lack of public information, public participation could be a first step to remedy the area's complex problems. Public participation presupposes access to information, which does not exist here. Thus, public information and participation in this area should be the basis of any public intervention. Public participation, rebuilding the connections with public authorities would represent the first point of connection with the formal systems of governance. It is also the most legitimate step to take, because it includes the public decision structures elected by citizens.

The residents of the area must be involved first of all in public decision-making regarding the programs targeting the area. They could take on some of the responsibility for the elaboration and implementation of such programs, which would also have the important effect of granting value to these citizens, in addition to ensuring better decision-making and a higher degree of implementation.

Another type of intervention in such areas is modifying the public space, as requested by the people living there, who need green spaces, wide and friendly open common areas, with efficient public lighting. Studies of successful urban regeneration projects – especially in Denmark[16] – show

---

[16] *Ibid.*

that the modification of the space in order to be accessed by the residents leads to a decrease of drug trafficking and lower crime rates in these spaces.

At the same time, the efforts of the NGOs present in the neighborhood should also focus more on public information and participation, on organizing the citizens, so that they connect with the public authorities and with other formal or social public systems for the purposes of decision-making and access to opportunities. Until now, the interventions of NGOs in the area have been limited, trying to address some of the problems present in this area, most of the time "immediate" ones, which perpetuates the current situation. These interventions have treated the symptom, and not the cause of the problem. An integrated and coordinated intervention is needed, especially at the level of these social actors.

The connections between the residents of Ferentari and the rest of the city must be reestablished in order to positively modify the city's perception on this neighborhood.

The solutions for good governance are suggested by residents: "He should be the liaison between the city hall, the local council and the community". This principle must represent the base for programs created especially for Ferentari neighborhood. All the programs for the area should be implemented within integrated, "neighborhood-like" structures, which would include, first of all, the residents, and then representatives from the institutions responsible for the resolution of the various problems of the area, such as representatives of the NEA, the local council, the Roads and Parks Administration, the City Hall's City Planning Department, the community police, the Anti-Drug Police, the Public Health Department of Bucharest, as well as of NGOs, for coordinated and integrated interventions. Past attempts of intervening in the area – both by NGOs, as well by the local public authorities – have failed because they tried to solve problems immediately, by addressing the effects rather than the causes of the grave situation the neighborhood is in. For example, public utilities cannot be provided before a system is in place that ensures people's ability to pay for them, or we cannot think that there will be regular disposal of

the trash without providing an adequate number of dumpsters or spaces for waste disposal.

## *Bibliography*

Bonney, Norman, "Work and Ghetto Culture", in *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Dec. 1975), pp. 435 - 447, The London School of Economics and Policy Science, Blackwell Publishing

Bourdieu, Pierre et al., "Effets de lieux" in *La misère du monde*, 1993, Paris: Points/Editions du Seuil or "Effects of Place" in *The weight of the world: social suffering in contemporary society*, 1999, Cambridge: Polity Press, Stanford: Stanford University Press

Bruch, E. Elizabeth, University of Michigan, MARE, Robert D., University of California - California Center for Population Research, Los Angeles, "Segregation Processes", *Online Working Paper Series*, January 2008

Cattacin, Sandro, "Why Not "Ghettos"? The Governance of Migration in the Splintering City", *Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations*, School of International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Malmo University, 2/06

http://www.yale.edu/polisci/conferences/2011-02-23-TShelby.pdf

Joseph, Lauren, Stony Brook University, "Finding Space Beyond Variables: An Analytical Review of Urban Space and Social Inequalities" in *Spaces for Difference: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 29-50, Department of Education, UC Santa Barbara", 2008

Marian Preda (coordinator), *Social injustice and risks in Romania*, the Presidential administration, the Presidential Commission for Social and Demographic Risks Analysis, September 2009, Bucharest

Martinez, Cid, "Challenging the Sociological Notion of the "Ghetto": A Case Study of South Los Angeles" in *ISSC Fellows Working Papers*, Institute for the Study of Social Change, UC Berkeley, March 2006

Shelby, Tommie, Harvard University, *Justice, Self - Respect, and the Culture of Poverty*, paper in the Policy Theory Workshop - Yale University, February 2011

Sobin, Dennis P., "Why Increase Citizen Participation among Ghetto Residents?" in *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3, March 1972, pp. 359 – 370

Stansbury, Jeffrey D., University of California, Los Angeles, "Organized Workers and the Making of Los Angeles, 1890-1915" in ISSR Working Paper Series, Institute for Social Science Research, UC Los Angeles, 2008, ProQuest LLC

Tomlinson, Mark, "Lifestyle and Social Class" in *European Sociological Review*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 97 – 111

Venkatesh, Sudhir Alladi, Harvard University, "The Social Organization of Street Gang Activity in an Urban Ghetto" in *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 103, No. 1 (Jul. 1997), pp. 82 - 111, The University of Chicago Press

Wacquant, Loïc, "Decivilizing and Demonizing: The Social and Symbolic Remaking of the Black Ghetto and Elias In the Dark Ghetto", in Steven Loyal and Stephen Quilley (eds.), The Sociology of Norbert Elias, Cambridge University Press, 2004., pp. 95 – 121

Wacquant, Loïc, "Territorial Stigmatization in the Age of Advanced Marginality" in *Thesis Eleven*, No. 91, November 2007, pp. 66 - 77, SAGE Publications (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi and Singapore)

Whyte, William Foote, (1943) *Street Corner Society. The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, 4th Edition, The University of Chicago Press, 1993

Wilson, Robert A., University of Delaware, "Anomie in the Ghetto: A Study of Neighborhood Type, Race, and Anomie" in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (Jul. 1971), The University of Chicago Press, pp. 66 - 88

Wilson, William Julius, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*, 1996, First Vintage Books Edition (paperback), Random House, 1997

*** Active Watch - Press Monitoring Agency, Bucharest, *Report of the local public administration monitoring in the process of urban development*, December 2010.

*** "The nongovernmental sector and the public sphere" in Mihaela Lambru and Ancuta Vamesu (coordinators), *Romania 2010 - the nongovernmental sector - profile, tendencies, challenges*, Foundation for Civil Society Development, 2010, pp. 95 – 129

*** Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, King Baudouin Foundation, "Governance in Multiethnic Communities. Conditions, Instruments, Best Practices, Ways to Achieve and Measure Good Governance at the Local Level", 2007

*** *Local Democracy in Bucharest - Part 2: Research on districts, District 1*, Sociological Research and Branding Company for Pro Democratia Association, Bucharest, March 2011

*** *Local Democracy in Bucharest - Part 2: Research on districts, District 2*, Sociological Research and Branding Company for Pro Democratia Association, Bucharest, March 2011

*** *Local Democracy in Bucharest - Part 2: Research on districts, District 3*, Sociological Research and Branding Company for Pro Democratia Association, Bucharest, March 2011

*** *Local Democracy in Bucharest - Part 2: Research on districts, District 4*, Sociological Research and Branding Company for Pro Democratia Association, Bucharest, March 2011

*** *Local Democracy in Bucharest - Part 2: Research on districts, District 5*, Sociological Research and Branding Company for Pro Democratia Association, Bucharest, March 2011

*** *Local Democracy in Bucharest - Part 2: Research on districts, District 6*, Sociological Research and Branding Company for Pro Democratia Association, Bucharest, April 2011

*** *Local Democracy in Bucharest - Part 3, Comparisons, district 1…6*, Sociological Research and Branding Company for Pro Democratia Association, Bucharest, March - April 2011

*** National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux, Resource Center for Public Participation, Bucharest, *The road of public representation – from citizen to counselor*, November 2010

*** *Social Mapping of Bucharest 2010*, National School for Political and Administrative Sciences, Faculty of Political Sciences, Sociology Department

*** *Social Mapping of Bucharest 2011*, National School for Political and Administrative Sciences, Faculty of Political Sciences, Sociology Department

**Internet resources**

*http://www.kvarterloeft.dk/uk_version/uk_main.htm – Site of the National Secretariat of Urban Regeneration in Denmark.*

.

# JUSTICE MANAGEMENT IN GHETTO COMMUNITIES – THE CASE OF FERENTARI

*Victor NICOLĂESCU, Adrian Marcel IANCU,*

*Gabriel OANCEA, Andreea Simona Marcela FAUR*

It is scientifically proven that poverty leads to crime and violence (Valdez, Kaplan, Curtis, Jr., 2007), especially in disadvantaged areas such as ghettos. Poverty also limits educational resources, which leads to lack of professional qualifications and difficulty in securing steady employment. Therefore, people from poor areas struggle with the high probability of finding a refuge in alcohol and drug consumption, followed by acts of aggression or violent crimes, that allow them to secure their means of subsistence – on the one hand, but also to protest social injustice - on the other.

In the US, several studies (Berrien and Winship, 2002, Meares, 2009, Tyler and Hou, 2002, and Fagan and Malkin, 2003) identified a "legitimacy crisis" in the relations between African-Americans, the court, the police and the wider criminal justice system. The disproportionate number of African Americans in jail or in prison (according to the statistics one in four black people goes to prison) and the incidents regarding police brutality or abusive judicial practices within the communities of black people represents a problem of contemporary American society. Excessive enforcement utilizing repressive measures and confining sanctions to those persons in an insecure social-economic situation does not represent a solution for solving the problems of their communities. Communities with

a high risk of social exclusion face more cases of discrimination by law enforcement officials in the absence of diversified measures for recovery and re-integration into society of the people displaying aggressive behavior or violating the law. This analysis proposes to identify the criminal context in the Ferentari community in Bucharest District 5, starting with certain characteristics that are also observed in other urban areas where the ghettoization phenomenon indicates disturbances in law enforcement, but also extremely violent reactions in the case of police repression (see the riots from Los Angeles in 1992, the violence in France in 2010, and the recent street actions in Great Britain in August 2011).

---

**Cases of discrimination in law enforcement**

*These abusive police and court practices have created, due to asymmetric penalties applied based on the color of the skin, huge resentment in the African American community. One eloquent example is the different treatment of the cases of Tyrone Brown and John Wood. Tyrone Brown, an African American young man was sentenced to life in prison, while John Wood, a white man, was released, although he had committed several serious crimes. At 17, Brown was involved in the theft of the amount of 2 dollars and he was sentenced to 10 years - with probation. Since he violated probation testing positive for marijuana, his probation was revoked and he was sentenced to life in prison. Wood killed an unarmed man and was sentenced to 10 years with probation. Although he violated probation testing positive for cocaine, his probation was not revoked. Moreover, although he repeatedly violated other conditions of the probation, he was released before the expiration of the initial 10 years of the sentence.*

*Source*: Valdez, Kaplan, Curtis Jr., 2007

---

The connection between the consumption of alcohol and drugs and violent crime implies complex relationships between a series of individual and community variables. Among the community variables, poverty (Valdez, Kaplan, Curtis Jr., 2007) and especially its centralization in certain areas has an important role in each individual's relationship with society, her/his attachment to society, and the consumption of drugs and violent crime, with certain urban areas, such as ghettos, having a culture of violence.

Nevertheless, the association between drug consumption and violent crime on an individual, situational and community level is more complex. Although the association between alcohol consumption and violent crime has a very long history, it was only in the past few years that academic research has tried to establish the degree of this connection. The studies conducted (Parker, Cartmi, 1998, Weine and others, 2001) prove that alcohol leads to aggressive or violent behavior, while drug consumption determines a less violent behavior (Fagan, 1990, Miczek, De Bold, Haney, Tidey, Vivian, and Weertz, 1994). Therefore, we can say that violent crime varies, not based on the type of the substance consumed but based on the characteristics of the urban environment where the individual grew up or is living. Police statistics show significant differences of the crime between various metropolitan areas also support this theory. The poorer the area, the higher the level of violent crime. Even if alcohol or drug consumption is closely connected to crime, the social characteristics of the individual and poverty within the community are the main factors of this connection, the obvious example in this regard being the American ghetto.

---

**The context of the ghetto in the US**

*According to a study on crime associated to alcohol and drugs consumption, conducted in 24 urban areas from the US (Valdez, Kaplan, Curtis, Jr., 2007), only a third of the arrested offenders were accused of violent crimes. With regard to their nationality, 19% were Hispanic Americans, 23% European Americans, and 58% African Americans. The average offender is relatively young, with a low education level, aged under 30, and likely a high-school dropout (as in the case of 56% of offenders). In terms of marital status, most of them (56%) are single, 30% married and 14% divorced or separated. 63% of the subjects' urine tested positive for various types of drugs: 45% for cocaine, 26% for marijuana, 7% for opiates and a lower percentage for seven other types of drugs.*

*In terms of level education (high school graduation), most of the areas included in the study have high school graduation rates of 13 to 17%, while unemployment in those areas ranges between 10 and 13%.*

*The study disproves the theory according to which there is an indigenous culture of violence in the ghettos and the barrios.[17]*

---

[17] *Name for a Hispanic ghetto.*

*Even if this truth is inconvenient, the crime rate in the US does not explain the sudden and dramatic increase of massive incarcerations of the African American population within the past 30 years. Although the crime rate fluctuated over time and even decreased at some point, the detention rate increased constantly (William J. Chambliss, 1994), the main consequence of this increase being the "war against drugs" (Michelle Alexander, 2010), with drug-related crimes leading to an increase by nearly two thirds of the population incarcerated in federal prisons and by more than 50% in state prisons.*

*The collateral victims of this "war" were found among the black population – mass arrests for minor crimes, drug-related or not. In 2005, for example, four out of every five drug-related arrests were for drug possession, with only one for dealing, most of the persons jailed in state prisons having no history of violence or of involvement in drug dealing activities. Actually, in the '90s – the period of the most dramatic expansion of the drugs war – nearly 80% of the increase in drug-related arrests was for possession of marijuana, a drug considered to be less harmful than alcohol or tobacco.*

*For example the prison population in the US has increased by 167% between 1980 and 1992 (William J. Chambliss, 1994), with minorities, mostly young African Americans and Latinos arrested and being sentenced to prison disproportionably. In 1991 (Maurer, Mark, 1992) male African Americans aged between 15 and 34 represented 14% of the total population, but more than 40% of the incarcerated population (in Washington D.C. and Baltimore between 40 and 50% of the African Americans aged between 18 and 35 were in prison, jail, or on probation or pursued for crimes Miller, Jerome M 1992).*

*Although white people use more drugs than black people and more than 80% of the US population is white, 66% of the detainees in state prisons, arrested for drug-related crimes are black.*

At present, there is a tendency within American society to soften the notion of ghetto – the term designating (according to the new tendencies) a wide urban area characterized by severe poverty. This new take on the term eliminates racial references, the character of the poverty, the historical meaning and the social context.

According to the new context, the ghetto is perceived as a "disorganized" social formation that needs to be analyzed in its entirety, in terms of lacks

and deficiencies, both individual as well as collective, in order to identify the internal principles governing its specific functioning.

## *Justice Management in Disadvantaged Communities*

Law enforcement in disadvantaged communities such as ghettos implies knowing the current tendencies of justice management, highlighting the elements of innovation and good relationships with honest citizens, who are potential victims of street aggression or violent crime. From this perspective, different applications of various contemporary judicial patterns were noticed among specialists consulted from within the police, the probation service, the prison system, and the centers for anti-drug prevention, evaluation and counseling. Thus, over the past decades, the justice management system has become a subject for study within public policy circles in various democratic states. The analysis of this field supposes understanding the fundamental concepts of justice management, as well as those patterns used for law enforcement.

In order to advance into the structuring of the analysis referring to justice management in disadvantaged communities such as Ferentari, a revision of the primary objective of the law management process is necessary. We must ask ourselves, what are the values, the problems, the prevalent discussions, the influence of policies over time, and the processes and practices that are responsible for the path of the justice management system. Furthermore, it is necessary to explain that criminal lawsuits do not represent a manifestation of the subconscious desire to catch, judge and sentence offenders.

The review of the main perspectives on these questions derives from the theoretical approach elaborated by H. Packer (1969) and M. King (1981). Each perspective – the fair trial model, the crime control model, the welfare and rehabilitation model, the power (domination) model – will be presented briefly below in order to open a window into what drives criminal justice policies and processes.

**Table 4. Justice management models**

| | |
|---|---|
| The fair trial model | <ul><li>interest for the individual's civil rights by highlighting the need of a fair legal trial</li><li>establishing a formal series of rules</li><li>the criminal trial should not benefit from its own illegalities, such as using evidence that was obtained illegally</li><li>establishing policies and procedures that achieve a balance between the defendant's rights and the state's power</li></ul> |
| The crime control model | <ul><li>punishment of all criminal behavior, regardless of the consequences on the civic rights</li><li>the police has extended powers and freedoms to act on its own in establishing the facts differentiating an innocent person from a guilty person</li><li>it simplifies and assures the celerity of the trial by the fact that the accused agrees to plead guilty</li><li>mistakes are allowed while trying to identify the persons guilty for committing a criminal act, dysfunctions motivated by the general objective to punish crime</li><li>it is appreciated that one credible evidence is allowed in the criminal trial, even if the methods by which it was obtained were not adequate</li></ul> |
| The welfare and rehabilitation model | <ul><li>the concepts of guilt and punishment are rejected as being insignificant, but mentioning that the crimes represent only simple opportunities for social intervention</li><li>the rehabilitation of the accused by their orientation towards mental and social normalcy through treatment, assuring better housing conditions, job security etc.</li><li>the primary objective of the justice management institutions is to collect information on the accused regarding problems such as medical history, family, educational level and social circumstances based on which a diagnosis of the antisocial behavior is reached and adequate treatment is recommended.</li><li>a reevaluation is made which is characterized by the proposals for systematic and radical reforming of the justice management system and by promoting measures for public protection and for improving the entire system</li></ul> |

| | |
|---|---|
| The power (domination) model | • criminal law represents is the embodiment of all that is unacceptable or intolerable for most of the members of the society. These ideas have been included in the currents appeared within 1965-1970 and they referred to the "new criminology", "conflict criminology" and "radical criminology"<br>• the criminal justice system was defined as a weapon used by the groups in powerful positions to justify and preserve not only their economic /capitalist power by mentioning the class difference, but also the various types of socio-political domination by repressing certain types of behaviors they considered to be defined as unacceptable or illegal |

*Source*: Abraham, Nicolăescu, 2008.

Presenting the above models offers a framework in which to further analyze the justice management system in ghetto communities, a relatively new idea promoted in democratic societies over the past two decades.

Enforcement of justice in the community, especially in those areas known to have serious social problems have flourished over the past fifteen years, this process representing a feasible alternative to the formulae proposed by traditional justice systems. Similar to community measures for justice management, the new formula for justice enforcement imposes itself also as a form of therapeutic justice, aiming at solving different types of problems (Rottman and Cassey, 2000).

### *The Particulars of Ghetto Areas and High Crime Rates*

During 2011, in order to identify the crime characteristics of ghetto areas from Ferentari neighborhood, we considered the following initial hypotheses identified within the evaluations of the specialists involved in the research:

• the official the crime rate is perceived as being higher in District 5 (which includes Ferentari area) than in other areas from Bucharest, and the acts of violence are more frequent

- social control is based on informal rules based on cohabitation between the residents of the area and crime gangs (association with the informal criminal leaders is desired)

- joint opposition of the residents in the area, manifested during police raids, represents a form of acknowledgment of another legal system being perceived as interference in the community's life

- public order services are used rather in the self defense moments and not to reestablish order or punish the guilty parties

- the law enforcement system has three levels: the formal system (the police/the gendarmerie), the informal system (gangs), and the perceived system (latent)

- the fear of criminality is higher than in other areas of Bucharest

- the socio-economic context encourages very little the rehabilitation of persons released from prison

- the absence of civic education, the buildings' degradation and severe poverty represent the main causes for crime.

## *Crimes Registered in Police Records*

Due to urban overcrowding, as well as to multiple temptations for offenders, Bucharest and especially infamous areas such as Ferentari, represent a special attraction for all offenders.

The analysis of statistical data made available by General Directorate of the Bucharest Municipal Police (GDBMP), between 2008 and 2010, shows that after a period of regress in 2009, in 2010 the total number of crimes increased, a possible explanation being the economic crisis encountered by Romania.

Although a larger number of crimes was recorded in 2010 in comparison to other years, the crime rate reported per 100,000 residents is lower than in 2009 (when the lowest number of crimes during the analyzed period of time was recorded), a contradiction that can be explained by the increase of the number of residents of Bucharest. According to the Annual Report of

the GDBMP, in 2010, 63% of the crimes in Bucharest were of judicial nature, 24.5% of another nature, and 12.5% were economic crimes. This crime structure shows, through the preponderance of the judicial crime, that there are premises of a relatively high feeling of insecurity.

**Table 5: Number of crimes and crime rate in Bucharest**

| Criminal offenses | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total number of offences | 32,870 | 32,563 | 39,458 |
| Out of which: | | | |
| − economic crimes | 6,130 | 7,110 | 5,751 |
| − judicial crimes | 19,343 | 18,573 | 26,607 |
| − other crimes | 7,397 | 6,880 | 7,100 |
| Crime rate per 100,000 residents | 433.693 | 505.491 | 487.434 |

*Source*: GDBMP, 2011.

The analysis of crimes committed within the districts of Bucharest shows an exponential increase of the number of crimes in districts 1, 3 and 6, and a constant decrease of the number of crimes in District 5. It is interesting to note that the perception of a higher crime rate in District 5 as compared to the other districts from Bucharest is not validated by the data recorded within the past 3 years. Crime data per district as a percentage of the crimes across Bucharest is presented in the table below.

**Table 6. Crime rates by district**

| | 2008 | | 2009 | | 2010 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of crimes | % of total | Number of crimes | % of total | Number of crimes | % of total |
| District 1 | 4,795 | 18.88 | 4,992 | 20.05 | 7,176 | 21.77 |
| District 2 | 3,767 | 14.82 | 3,447 | 14.15 | 4,512 | 13.69 |
| District 3 | 5,621 | 22.13 | 5,488 | 22.37 | 7,136 | 21.65 |
| District 4 | 4,119 | 16.21 | 3,617 | 14.80 | 5,127 | 15.55 |
| District 5 | 3,157 | 12.43 | 2,854 | 11.72 | 2,462 | 7.47 |
| District 6 | 3,938 | 15.50 | 3,949 | 16.21 | 6,539 | 19.84 |
| Total | 25,397 | | 24,347 | | 32,952 | |

*Source*: GDBMP, 2011.

We cannot speak of crime and crime rates without mentioning the number of persons investigated in relation to those crimes. In the table below, we can see that the number of persons who are investigated follows the same path as the number of crimes. There was a decrease during 2009, followed by an increase in 2010, the situation being identical in what concerns the distribution of these persons district[18] (the same conclusion is shown by the percentage of persons from District 5 involved in crimes in relation to the total number of persons who committed criminal offences within the past three years).

**Table 7. Number of persons investigated**
**as related to the number of crimes**

|  | 2008 | | 2009 | | 2010 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Number of crimes | % of total | Number of crimes | % of total | Number of crimes | % of total |
| District 1 | 3,434 | 17.32 | 3,553 | 23,70 | 3,502 | 18.86 |
| District 2 | 3,184 | 16.06 | 2,919 | 19.48 | 2,890 | 15.56 |
| District 3 | 4,691 | 23.67 | 4,126 | 27.54 | 4,294 | 23.12 |
| District 4 | 3,077 | 15.52 | 2,788 | 18.61 | 2,481 | 13.36 |
| District 5 | 2,621 | 13.22 | 2,228 | 14.87 | 2,033 | 10.96 |
| District 6 | 2,810 | 14.17 | 2,916 | 19.46 | 3,368 | 18.13 |
| Total | 19,817 | | 18,530 | | 18,568 | |

*Source*: GDBMP, 2011.

Institutional reform carried out nation-wide also included law enforcement structures dealing with public safety and order, establishing a new action framework with new tasks and responsibilities.

In this context, the structures for maintaining public order in District 5 are also adapting their functioning, changing the operation of local police based on legislative changes adopted at the beginning of 2011. From the

---

[18] *The numeral differences between the total of determined crimes /investigated persons and their division on districts are due to the fact that the crimes ascertained by other structures (BPR, IGJR and IGPF) are not shown in the tables.*

perspective of getting the police structures closer to community problems, it is important to mention the fact that there is a close collaboration between the community police and the police precincts serving the Ferentari area[19].

The exponential increase of crime, witnessed during the past years despite efforts by the state and civil society, represents a real danger for social development and affects every citizens' right to live in security. Although the police structures continue to remain essential for fighting and preventing crime, the citizens and the communities must become increasingly visible in the complex area of social order and quality of life.

As mentioned above, some areas present a certain potential for crime due to poverty (and Ferentari is at the top of the list in this regard), promiscuity, certain preconceived mentalities, poor economic development, the authorities' lack of interest in remedying the problems of the population inhabiting these areas, the lack of social services and of jobs, and the tendency of the other members of the community to socially isolate these people. All of these factors add up to creating a potential negative profile for the residents of the area under scrutiny from Ferentari neighborhood, an area characterized by poverty and by the lack of security for the ordinary citizen.

Before trying to present the programs for re-integration into society of persons in the records of the Probation Service of the Bucharest Tribunal (PSBT), we think that a brief presentation of this service's history and activity is necessary.

The Bucharest Tribunal was founded as a structure under the authority of the Ministry of Justice in September 2001, following the existence in Bucharest and in other Romanian cities within the 1997 to 2001 period of experimental probation centers which sought to manage elements specific to probation in the criminal justice system.

---

[19] *Based on the interview with Mr. Mihai Ciubotaru, Executive Manager of the Community Police for District 5.*

The legislative document that incorporated the Probation Service, back then known as social re-integration and monitoring services, Government Ordinance no. 92/2000 on the organization and functioning of the services concerning the rehabilitation of the offenders and supervision of non-custodial sentences, expressly stipulated the fact that these services are founded for the rehabilitation of the persons who committed crimes and were not detained, and the supervision of these persons' obligations as established by the courts.

It should be noted that initially, the activity of these services overlapped with a series of pre-existing criminal law institutions, respectively the suspension of prison sentence under supervision and the educational measure of releasing under supervision the minors who had broken the law. One characteristic of these institutions is the fact that the courts could order the observance of certain measures and/or obligations by the persons thus sanctioned for a period of time stipulated by criminal law.

Initially, the competence to supervise the observance of these measures and obligations was granted by the legislators to the courts (to the judges in charge of the execution of sentences) or to other institutions (usually the police). The establishment of the probationary services, correlated with a series of successive modifications of the law, led to these services playing an essential role in the execution of the above-mentioned criminal sanctions.

The legal provisions we mentioned before reveal that the legislative framework governing the activity of the Probation Service in relation with the sentenced persons envisioned these services as having a dual purpose: on the one hand, first and foremost, the rehabilitation of these persons and on the other hand, supervision of the way these persons observe the measures and obligations imposed by the courts.

When approaching the issue of programs for reintegration in society carried out by the Probation Service, we must consider the fact that this social reintegration concept is vast, has been discussed a lot in the specialized literature, and its definition has suffered and is suffering countless transformations, based on social, political or ideological developments. The concept is closely connected with the level of

institutional development, the mentalities, and the financial resources available to a society.

The legal framework governing the activity of the Probation Service specifies the fact that social reintegration activities take place by attracting and involving the community. This time too the legislators use a more general concept, namely the community, which is rather inadequate to the realities of the Romanian society. However, when analyzing the legal provisions thoroughly, the concept of community is broken explained as the public or private institutions in the community, as well as specialists whose services can be accessed to cover the needs of persons on probation.

*Supervision without Detention of Persons Who Committed Criminal Offences – Statistical Data, Programs for Social Reinsertion and Case Studies*

According to the statistics from the PSBT, the system was supervising 1,364 persons in 2009. Out of these, 365 persons were from District 5, and 215 persons from the Ferentari neighborhood. In terms of the crimes for which the persons from Ferentari were convicted, we know that 96 of them had been convicted for theft and aggravated theft, 38 for robbery, 29 for possession of drugs with the intention of consumption, and 17 for drug trafficking. In terms of their age, 23 were minors, 163 were aged between 18 and 25, 21 were aged between 25 and 35, and 8 were aged above 35. Furthermore, out of these 215 persons, 54 had problems related to the systematic consumption of heroin, while 25 of them reported an occasional consumption of this drug. Considering the severe addition induced by heroin, saying you are an occasional consumer is a euphemism. From the point of view of educational level, 35 of these persons were uneducated and 47 of them had dropped out of elementary school.

Returning to the issue discussed in this chapter, the specific programs for reintegration into society conducted by the PSBT, we must mention the fact that currently the service does not have a set of programs focused on the target group of this study –those living in the Ferentari area.

The reason for this is that the current organization of the Probation Service makes it difficult to focus efforts to work with a small category of beneficiaries from a specific area, because the current territorial jurisdiction of the service is equivalent to an entire county, covering both Bucharest and the Ilfov county. Under these conditions, people from the Ferentari area are included in the general programs that the service is currently carrying out for all the persons in its records, regardless of their specific needs and challenges.

The PSBT is currently carrying out four structured programs (three group programs and one dedicated to individuals). The presence of the structured programs for the persons on probation is a characteristic of the "What Works" initiative, which was started in the United Kingdom (UK) in the

'90s. The "What Works" theory started with a crisis of the probation systems known as "Nothing Works", and its particularity is represented by the fact that it started an evidence-based practice.

This trend started the elaboration of a series of structured programs, which test the offenders' thinking, attitudes and beliefs in the following categories: orientation towards habits, cognitive-behavioral approaches, the ability to shape the pro-social behavior, community contribution and a high degree of integrity to the program (Păsărică and Mitricuna, 2008, p. 324).

Such a program is the one-on-one individual counseling program, focused on a cognitive-behavioral approach, according to which, changing the offender's way of thinking can change her/his behavior. During twelve sessions structured into five modules (thoughts, attitudes, motivation, and objectives; problem solving; beliefs/introspection; empathy towards the victims; and preventing the relapse), the program aims at supporting the beneficiaries of the Probation Service to set goals, find solutions, be empathetic, become more flexible, and develop their thinking based on consequences. This way, the beneficiaries are becoming more capable to give up criminal behavior, by creating new means to prevent return to the same behavior patterns (Vlad and Mihăilă, 2008, p. 330).

An approach similar to the one-on-one program is used by the program STOP – Think and change! This program is also based on cognitive-behavioral approach, the difference being that it is a group program. The program includes ten (generally weekly) session and focuses on identifying dysfunctional thoughts and feelings and encouraging alternative thinking patterns, and aims at making the beneficiary aware of the necessity to change their dysfunctional behavior. This program is also characterized by a high level of interactivity between the trainer and the participants.

Another program carried out by the PSBT across the city is the Development of Social Abilities for Minors (DSA-Minors) program, based on the principles of theories involving effective conditioning, social education, and self-determination. This is a group program, with a high level of interactivity between the probation counselors and the

beneficiaries, which introduces theoretical principles that the counselors then correlate with the beneficiaries' life experiences. The program incorporates ten themes such as verbal and non-verbal communication, means of recreation, decisions and negotiations, self-affirmation etc. The program aims at helping minors to define their role in the family, to manage their relationships with family members, and to build up their decisional capacity. At the same time, the program aims at creating a framework by which the minors succeed in improving their relationships with persons in their groups of friends, to increase their ability to resist peer pressure, and to improve their capacity to express feelings and to manage to solve disagreements and conflicts peacefully, since it is well-known that, at least in the case of minors, involvement in criminal activities is facilitated by relationship-related difficulties and by the lack of capacity to express refusal within the group of peers.

One last program, closely connected to the previous one, is entitled Development of Social Abilities for Adults (DSA - Adults). The program aims at improving a series of fourteen habits of persons breaking the law. Each of these habits represent the object of a module. Some of the modules are communication and listening; emotions and how to react to anger and criticism; how to interact with the authorities; risk factors; and expressing anger. The program aims at helping the beneficiaries of the Probation Service to improve their social skills, based on individual needs. The theory behind this program is that social and personal behavior is learned in the context of social interaction. Actually, we are referring to the theory elaborated by Albert Bandura known as social learning. In terms of the practical means by which the DSA - Adults program aims at achieving a behavioral change, an essential role is represented by role play, which includes the practice of both the actual (potentially risky) behavior of the beneficiaries and of the model behavior, with the purpose of helping the beneficiaries cope with the challenges of everyday life in different ways.

Generally, within the practice of the PSBT, those sentenced of crimes are included in these programs based on an obligation imposed by a court of law. Therefore, the court can instruct these persons to attend a program deemed appropriate to the convict's needs during the period detention.

Considering the recent application of these programs by the probation service, no complex evaluation of thee success of an intervention based on structured programs has taken place to date. Moreover, we do not have any information regarding the evolution of the persons living in Ferentari area after completing these programs. Nevertheless, considering the challenges specific to their neighborhood (easy access to drugs, difficult access to social services and a high crime rate), the question that must be asked is how effective can these programs be in restructuring the personality and cognitive and problem-solving skills of a person whose *modus vivendi* is characterized by life in an area where the exclusion phenomenon is a characteristic of everyday life.

Thus, literature from the UK heavily criticized cognitive-behavioral programs, claiming that, although the programs acknowledge the importance of the social context in which a person evolves, they tend to diminish its importance (Kathleen, 2006), while the social context marks the resolution and cognitive skills of the person. Criticism of these programs also mentioned the fact that they ignore certain aspects such as gender, diversity and ethnicity (Shaw and Hannah-Moffat, 2006).

Besides the structured interventions mentioned previously, which are often based on an obligation imposed by a court of law, the PSBT also carries out so-called assistance and counseling interventions, at the request of convicted persons. The law stipulates that persons under the supervision of the Probation Service can send a request for assistance and counseling to cover their needs that present a criminal potential. These needs can be related to education, professional training, support for stopping substance abuse (drugs, alcohol), mediation of family relationships, or counseling with the purpose of helping the supervised person to identify solutions for their problems.

Although so far the PSBT has not performed an evaluation of the challenges encountered by persons living in the Ferentari area who are registered in the records of the service, it is noteworthy that that most of the time, these persons deal with a multitude of (often interdependent) problems.

Additionally, most of the time many beneficiaries are not aware of these problems or they minimize them, considering them to be facts of life in a neighborhood like Ferentari. At least three of these challenges are considered as defining for persons living in the area by probation practitioners.

The first such problem is drug addiction. The Ferentari area is well known for drug trafficking and consumption, especially heroin, which is associated in criminal proceeding with committing crimes (theft, robbery) in order to obtain the amounts of money necessary to procure the drug or with crimes falling under the terms of Law 143/2000 on prevention and control of illegal drug trafficking and consumption (drug trafficking or possession of drugs with the intention of consumption).

The consumption of heroin usually starts at an early age (we met people who start as early as 12-13) and most of the time it is facilitated by the accessibility of the drug in this area. Moreover, considering the reputation that Ferentari has gained within the world of heroin consumers, the area is also visited by addicts living in other areas of Bucharest, which increases the possibility of contact with addicts for those who are not using drugs. There are two structures under the control of the NAA in the area – the Drug Prevention, Evaluation and Counseling Centers (CAPEA) and the Center for Integrated Assistance for Addictions (CIAA) – which the Probation Service is collaborating with in order to enroll addicts in programs for counseling and treatment based on substitute drugs. Furthermore, the service carries out programs for motivating the beneficiaries, based on the motivational interview technique. However, if beneficiaries continue to live in the Ferentari area, return to heroin consumption is very quick and triggers immediate exclusion from the program, because the services of these two centers are in high demand.

Another problem is represented by the high rate of school dropout in the Ferentari area. The data available through the Bucharest School Inspectorate (BSI) places this neighborhood in a top position in this aspect.

One of the reasons for this phenomenon is the insecurity of financial resources of the families in the area, who prefer to sacrifice the children's educational and professional future, because they can be used for various household activities. Moreover, the poor educational level of the family leads to education not being a priority. The PSBT collaborates with schools and NGOs with the purpose of enrolling persons from this area having problems related to the low level of education into educational programs. We noticed that a recent trend is for the courts to order persons sentenced to suspended prison time under probation to attend educational courses during the probation period. Not observing this obligation leads to the suspension of prison time being revoked.

Closely related to the problems mentioned previously is professional insecurity. The lack of professional qualifications, when correlated with the lack of abilities for keeping a work schedule, and the unrealistic expectations of the level of earnings related to a persons' actual skills, lead to frequent job loss or employment in work characterized by uncertainty (day laborers in construction, workers in carwashes). Under these circumstances, although the Probation Service has concluded a collaboration agreement with Municipal Employment Agency (MEA) from District 5, the success acquired by the persons registered with the service in terms of enrollment in professional qualification courses or job search programs is insignificant.

Romania's accession to the EU offered it the possibility to implement professional qualification programs financed by European structural funds. One example is the program implemented by the Ministry of Culture for the rehabilitation of the former Gabroveni Inn, which provided professional training courses and hired the trainees. Some beneficiaries (among them residents of Ferentari) failed to complete the course due to problems involving addiction, lack of discipline, or lack of a minimum degree of education.

Probation practice reveals that most of the time, minors and young people from this area already show criminal behavior when they are tried and

sentenced to probation, According to Romanian criminal legislation, a minor cannot be held criminally liable before turning 14. In this case, quasi-impunity determines the development of real criminal carriers developed prior to turning 14, so that the penal measures taken after this age no longer reach their purpose. Moreover, the existence of criminal behavior in the family leads to the belief that criminality is something normal. In most of the cases, minor offenders' parents have convictions of their own and members of their family are in prison.

In the case of minors, situations of abuse by neglect are frequent. We are talking about children on the street who are not supervised by their parents, spending most of their time outdoors. Under these conditions, children frequently associate with persons with criminal behavior. The effectiveness of the intervention of the Probation Service is limited in these cases, with little to no response of these minors and young people to the measures and obligations imposed by the courts, followed by a quick relapse to criminal behavior shortly after starting the supervision process.

## Case study 1

*P.Gh, aged 22, was sentenced to a three-year prison term with suspension of punishment execution under the surveillance of the PSBT, for a five-year trial term, for committing the crime of high-risk drug trafficking..*

*During her trial, the court requested an evaluation report to be prepared by the Probation Service. The conclusions arisen from the evaluation conducted by the probation adviser emphasized the fact that the defendant came from a disorganized family and had a low educational level – the school dropout occurred in her case after graduating four grades and repeating fifth grade twice. Other members of the defendant's family also had criminal records, the father and one of her brothers being convicted for aggravated theft.*

*The defendant was on trial for an offence classified in the category of high-risk offences in terms of public safety and the defendant had started selling drugs as a minor, at the insistence of her partner, who was an adult and had taken advantage of the fact that she was easier to manipulate. At the time of evaluation, Gh. was not a drug consumer, but the following criminogenic factors were identified: her neighborhood (Ferentari – an area with many drug consumers and traffickers, some living there, but most of them coming in to find drugs from other neighborhoods in Bucharest) and the fact that two of her brothers were regular consumers of heroin. The latter aspect was noticed during the home visit of the counselor, who was invited into the studio apartment by one of the defendant's brothers, and could notice the poor furnishings, a persistent smell of humidity, as well as two used syringes lying near some bread, on the table in the small kitchen.*

*As a result of the final conviction, P. Gh. was placed under the supervision of the Probation Service, which informed her about the measures and obligations required by the court, emphasizing the necessity to never get in touch with her former partner and to go back to school (mandatory request). Upon the court's request, the probation counselor intervened by identifying the school closest to her home, but also providing assistance and counseling in order to make her aware of the problems she was facing and to identify alternatives to criminogenic risk situations. Unfortunately, the defendant's profile did not allow for her inclusion in one of the individual or group counseling programs of the service.*

*Though she benefited from intensive assistance and counseling and was supported by the probation counselor to cover other needs as well, the defendant has had a negative turn in her evolution under probation to date, due to lack of positive family models and community support.*

*Although she was supported by the counselor to enact significant changes for her future development, such as resuming studies and getting a job, the defendant started consuming heroin and has been a regular consumer for over six months. The reasons for starting to use drugs ("out of curiosity, friends") indicate the lack of an incorporated system of pro-social norms and values, as well as the potential impact of the environment she grew up in and where she embraced a certain subculture.*

*Currently, the intervention in the case of this person is focused on two directions:*

*1. Mandatory attendance of an educational course, considering the fact that she violated this obligation by failing to complete the courses in the first two years of her probation term, but also in order to reduce the spare time she spends among drug consumers.*

*2. The use of methods specific to the motivational interview technique, so that she may become aware of the need to get a specialized treatment in order to reduce/stop the drug use, but also to increase her motivation for change.*

*Also, since it is important to monitor the way the convict complies with these mandatory measures and obligations, the service maintains contact with her mother, as this is the only person who is not currently in prison (the father, the brothers and the sister of the defendant are incarcerated in a penitentiary), and also with competent institutions for vocational orientation (a very good collaboration with the educational counselor from School 136 in District 5), and with the institutions providing treatment and psychological counseling, which are under the authority of the NAA (CAPEA).*

**Case study 2**

*B.L., male, aged 30, has been sentenced to a four-year imprisonment term, with the suspension of punishment execution under the supervision of the Probation Service for a nine-year period, for having committed the crime of possession and high-risk drug trafficking*

*The sentenced individual was not evaluated prior to his entry in the Service's records by a pre-sentence evaluation report. During the first meeting held with him, he was informed that the court imposed on him the compliance with certain measures and obligations, pointing out the fact that he had to perform 8 hours of unpaid community service each month for 9 years. To this effect, a unit subordinated to the PDA of District 5 was identified and, considering the collaboration protocol between this institution and the Probation Service, B.L. was integrated into the community and successfully fulfilled the activities recommended by the team leader for a few months, until health problems occurred.*

*The evaluation performed in the beginning of the supervision process emphasized the fact that he had been raised in an orphanage, and in the course of time he developed a series of relationships with people from the underworld. He was uneducated and consequently had no professional training. Also, he showed no interest in lucrative activities, as he was involved in the intermediation of various goods procured with questionable methods. Furthermore, although he was convicted for committing a crime related to high-risk drugs, he had never used heroin, admitted to the perpetration of the crime, and collaborated with the criminal prosecution authorities during the criminal trial and justified his involvement in criminal activities by the fact that he had no job and an insufficient income.*

*In terms of his marital status, we mention that he is involved in a partnership relationship with G.T., who has two children from a previous relationship and is also sentenced, as an accomplice to the same crime, being under the supervision of the Probation Service. The supervised individual moved to Ferentari, here when he started living with his partner. The two have a minor child, L., and he agreed to raise the other two children. In regard to their partnership, we specify that B.L. practiced verbal and physical violence against his partner on several occasion, on the assumption that he could not bear her jealousy anymore. Therefore, the probation counselors provided them with individual counseling in order to reconcile the conflicts and to improve their communication skills. B.L. managed to gain self-control, but he insisted on believing that, as a man, he has the right to cheat and he may preventively slap his wife "once or twice".*

*Regarding the way B.L took care of the children's education, we mention that he dealt with mobile phone trading in Berceni Market and gained an income which allowed him to provide a decent living. Since he had neither education nor qualifications, he wished for the three children to go to school. The fact that one of the children started using heroin at the age of thirteen and the 16-year old girl eloped with a married man represented an opportunity for B.L. to accuse G.T. of not having provided them with a proper education, and most of the fights started from these issues.*

*Regarding the reason why his son consumed drugs at a very young age (12 – 13 years old), B.L. claimed that life in Ferentari is divided into two: drug consumption and drug trafficking, this way trying to also justify his involvement in the criminal offence.*

*In terms of intervention, although the counselor pushed for the Probation Service to support the person in his vocational orientation, we mention that B.L. had a low motivation for change, and the fact that he complied with the surveillance measures was due to his fear of not being imprisoned and losing his freedom. Despite the regular attendance for community service as set forth by the court, and even though his interview sheet indicated that he was interested in complying with the probation measures, he was incarcerated for committing a crime similar to the one he had been registered for in the Service's records (drug trafficking). His partner is still under the supervision of the Service and thinks that B.L. has no chance to be reintegrated anyway, as his past would catch up with him (suggesting that once he got involved in drug trafficking and continued living in Ferentari area, there was no way of escaping from the influence of the people involved in drug trafficking).*

**Case study 3**

*G.G., aged 21, was sentenced to three-year prison term with suspension of punishment execution and placement under the supervision of the Probation Service for a six-year term, for committing the crime of high-risk drug trafficking..*

*The PSBT had not previously prepared an evaluation report for him. Evaluation at the beginning of the supervision process showed that he came from a problematic family, as his mother had died in 2003 and his father showed signs of alcohol addiction and had very serious medical problems (amputation of lower legs and tuberculosis), currently being immobilized. The person who took care of raising and educating G.G. and his older brother was the 79-year old grandfather. Initially, the convict lived in Pantelimon neighborhood until the age of 11, but the apartment located in this area was sold because of financial constraints and the family moved to the Ferentari area (Livezilor Street). This relocation coincided with the occurrence of G.G.'s problems. Therefore, against the background of reduced supervision from the grandfather and the physical and emotional abuses he was subjected to by his father, he left school and joined a group of friends with criminal activities from the Ferentari area, with his problems peaking with his starting to use injectable heroin. The fact that G.G. got into this situation was also facilitated by his psychiatric problems (among others, the convict suffers from slight mental retardation), correlated to educational deficiencies and to decision-making problems. During his initial evaluation, he stated he had felt a great difference between the Pantelimon and Ferentari areas ("I had good friends there, here you have no choice").*

*The intervention of the Probation Service was obstructed by the fact that the court ordered G.G. to visit the Service headquarters on a quarterly basis, which made the collaboration with G.G. rather difficult. The Probation Service tried to determine the court to allow the Service to decide the dates for meeting with the convict based on the risk principle, but its request was denied. Nevertheless, the Service tried to include G.G. in the existing community services for drug consumers.*

*The CIAA from District 5 was involved, evaluated the convict, and decided to place him on a waiting list prioritizing the case, should a free position for methadone treatment appear. This fact, in addition to his low motivation for change, determined G.G. to abandon his goal of quitting heroin, believing that he may give up drugs on his own. Furthermore, since the court decision instructed for quarterly visits to the Service's headquarters, he gave up extremely easily compliance with this obligation imposed by the court as well. Under such circumstances, the Service proceeded to issue two warnings, and the convict was to enter the procedure for removal of suspension of punishment execution under supervision, which would result in G.G.'s serving the sentence in a penitentiary.*

*Conclusions and Recommendations from the Probation Service
Point of View*

Considering the situation described above, currently the PSBT lacks a clear, thorough picture of the Ferentari area phenomenon. The information available to the service is mostly empirical and no thorough analysis has been performed on the living context and the profile of the persons who are registered on the service's records and live in this area.

However, it is important to take such a step in order to identify the best methods to intervene in the practice conducted with individuals from this area. Also, an evaluation and a summary of best practices developed by the Probation Service are required.

On the other hand, it is doubtless that the problems raised by living in this area are complex and that their solution requires the involvement of a large number of decision-makers, the Probation Service being able to contribute as well, based on its expertise accumulated overtime.

It is clear at this point that the problems experienced by individuals living in Ferentari may be solved by applying a long-term strategy which would reunite local and central public institutions, NGOs and other private structures and, especially the individuals who are perceived as decision-makers or have influence in the area. With respect to this point, we must remember that some  conditions for development have been created in the Ferentari area by the establishment of the institution of the mediator – individuals who live in the area and facilitate the relationship between the educational and health institutions on the one hand and the residents of the neighborhood on the other.

The experience accumulated by other countries that have faced the problem of the ghetto and the difficulties generated by it and have identified solutions must also be taken into account.

A condition for success is also the diversification of the social, educational, medical, and addiction treatment services made available to those who need them.

We should not forget that part of the problems faced by residents from this area stem from the lack or inappropriateness of the services provided. In close connection to this point, we should not ignore criminologist Maurice

Cousson's statement about the problems related to delinquency prevention, that the "institutions must apply a proactive policy in this domain, that is to intervene as soon as possible when an individual finds himself or herself in a risk situation, that may cause him or her to get on the wrong side of the law" (Cousson, 2005). From this perspective, the attitude of the institutions, who are waiting for the vulnerable groups to take the first step in accessing services, is not conducive to solving the problems, all the more so since the ghetto residents have no knowledge of such institutions and are not in the habit of cooperating with them.

### *Persons Convicted in 2010, Registered in the Records of the National Administration of Penitentiaries and Who Reside in Bucharest*

Statistical analysis of the persons sentenced to prison and who are residents of Bucharest indicates the fact the District 5 has the highest number of convicts in penitentiaries (276), an aspect that contradicts the levels of criminality in the neighborhood, according to the data presented above. District 5 has the lowest total number of criminal acts recorded in the last three years as compared to the other districts.

**Table 8. Number of persons convicted in 2010,
by gender and age by district**

|  | By gender | | By age (years) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | M | F | 14-18 | 18-21 | 21-30 | 30-40 | 40-60 | >60 |
| District 1 =165 | 152 | 13 | 7 | 30 | 65 | 35 | 28 | 3 |
| District 2=268 | 244 | 24 | 3 | 28 | 104 | 88 | 38 | 7 |
| District 3=258 | 243 | 15 | 1 | 26 | 91 | 97 | 40 | 3 |
| District 4=130 | 123 | 7 | 1 | 14 | 57 | 35 | 20 | 3 |
| District 5=276 | 252 | 24 | 3 | 47 | 113 | 61 | 48 | 4 |
| District 6=146 | 140 | 6 | 3 | 20 | 50 | 42 | 31 | 0 |
| Bucharest | 1,154 | 89 | 15 | 165 | 480 | 358 | 205 | 20 |
| total | 1,243 | | 1,243 | | | | | |

*Source*: National Administration of Penitentiaries (NAP), 2011.

According to marital status, the persons imprisoned in penitentiaries who reside in District 5 live predominantly in concubinage (116) or are not married (94), a trend also noted in the other districts of Bucharest.

**Table 9. Number of persons convicted in 2010,**
**by marital status by district**

|  | Married | Single | Concubinage | Divorced | Widowed |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| District 1 | 26 | 65 | 63 | 8 | 3 |
| District 2 | 55 | 75 | 125 | 9 | 4 |
| District 3 | 51 | 83 | 108 | 13 | 3 |
| District 4 | 24 | 48 | 51 | 7 | 0 |
| District 5 | 54 | 94 | 116 | 8 | 4 |
| District 6 | 36 | 47 | 52 | 9 | 2 |
| Bucharest total | 246 | 412 | 515 | 54 | 16 |
|  | 1,243 | | | | |

*Source*: NAP, 2011.

According to recidivism status, the number of prison convicts who are residents of District 5 and have no criminal history (113) is close to the number of recidivists from the same district (117), a particularity specific to this district. From this point of view, a diluted perception on "criminality layout" is recorded in the fifth district and the hypothesis of conditions favorable to committing crimes by persons with no criminal past record is taking shape, which requires the implementation of consistent actions to prevent criminality.

**Table 10. Number of persons convicted in 2010,**
**by recidivism status by district**

|  | No criminal history | With criminal history | Recidivists | Minors |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| District 1 | 63 | 25 | 76 | 0 |
| District 2 | 102 | 46 | 120 | 0 |
| District 3 | 0 | 144 | 114 | 0 |
| District 4 | 47 | 23 | 60 | 0 |
| District 5 | 413 | 46 | 117 | 0 |
| District 6 | 59 | 18 | 69 | 0 |
| Bucharest total | 385 | 302 | 516 | 0 |
|  | 1,243 | | | |

*Source*: NAP, 2011.

The educational profile of residents of District 5, sentenced to prison, indicates a high number of convicts with middle school studies (112),

elementary studies (74) and illiterate persons (20), District 2 being the one with most illiterate convicts (30 persons).

**Table 11. Number of persons convicted in 2010,**
**by education level by district**

|  | Illiterate | Elementary school | Middle school | Vocational studies | High school | Post-graduate (high school | University | Military school |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| District 1 | 11 | 27 | 81 | 15 | 20 | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| District 2 | 30 | 44 | 107 | 16 | 51 | 2 | 17 | 1 |
| District 3 | 14 | 37 | 116 | 19 | 58 | 2 | 12 | 0 |
| District 4 | 3 | 16 | 43 | 20 | 38 | 1 | 9 | 0 |
| District 5 | 20 | 74 | 112 | 19 | 42 | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| District 6 | 2 | 24 | 61 | 7 | 44 | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Bucharest | 80 | 222 | 520 | 96 | 253 | 6 | 65 | 1 |
| total | 1,243 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

*Source*: NAP, 2011.

The employment profile of convicts from District 5 serving prison terms is relatively similar to that of convicts from District 1 and is characterized by a high number of unemployed individuals (215 individuals as compared to 134 in the District 1, which ranks second from this point of view).

**Table 12. Number of persons convicted in 2010,**
**by employment status by district**

|  | Employed | Unemployed | Receiving unemployment benefits |
|---|---|---|---|
| District 1 | 31 | 134 | 0 |
| District 2 | 165 | 103 | 0 |
| District 3 | 190 | 68 | 0 |
| District 4 | 41 | 89 | 0 |
| District 5 | 59 | 215 | 2 |
| District 6 | 54 | 91 | 1 |
| Bucharest | 540 | 700 | 3 |
| total | 1,243 |  |  |

*Source*: NAP, 2011.

*Persons Released in 2010, Registered in the Records of the National Administration of Penitentiaries and Who Reside in Bucharest*

The analysis of data regarding the situation of the persons released from penitentiary during 2010 and residing in Bucharest, in terms of gender, age, marital status, education, employment and recidivism status across the five districts of Bucharest revealed the following conclusions:

In terms of gender and age, the fifth district stands out by the large number of released convicts aged 21 to 30.

**Table 13. Number of persons released in 2010, by gender and age by district**

|  | By gender | | By age (years) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | M | F | 14-18 | 18-21 | 21-30 | 30-40 | 40-60 | >60 |
| District 1 =131 | 122 | 9 | 3 | 12 | 56 | 37 | 22 | 1 |
| District 2=216 | 199 | 19 | 2 | 24 | 96 | 58 | 32 | 6 |
| District 3=240 | 227 | 13 | 2 | 14 | 96 | 86 | 39 | 3 |
| District 4=143 | 139 | 4 | 0 | 7 | 62 | 46 | 25 | 3 |
| District 5=240 | 224 | 16 | 1 | 30 | 106 | 63 | 40 | 0 |
| District 6=159 | 149 | 10 | 2 | 18 | 58 | 48 | 33 | 0 |
| Bucharest total | 1060 | 71 | 10 | 105 | 474 | 338 | 191 | 13 |
|  | 1,131 | | 1,131 | | | | | |

*Source*: NAP, 2011.

In terms of marital status, most of the individuals released from prison, who are residents of the fifth district, live in concubinage or are single.

**Table 14. Number of persons released in 2010, by marital status by district**

|  | Married | Single | Concubinage | Divorced | Widowed |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| District 1 | 19 | 55 | 54 | 2 | 1 |
| District 2 | 44 | 80 | 83 | 9 | 2 |
| District 3 | 39 | 81 | 107 | 8 | 5 |
| District 4 | 22 | 49 | 63 | 8 | 1 |
| District 5 | 43 | 74 | 114 | 6 | 3 |
| District 6 | 34 | 57 | 60 | 8 | 0 |
| Bucharest total | 201 | 396 | 481 | 41 | 12 |
|  | 1,131 | | | | |

*Source*: NAP, 2011.

In terms of criminal history and recidivism status respectively, the data below reveals that the fifth district ranks second in the number of persons released who had served their first conviction, first in the highest number of persons with criminal history, and second in the number of recidivists.

**Table 15. Number of persons released in 2010,**
**by recidivism status by district**

|  | No criminal history | With criminal history | Recidivists | Minors |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| District 1 | 57 | 19 | 55 | 0 |
| District 2 | 112 | 37 | 69 | 0 |
| District 3 | 92 | 44 | 104 | 0 |
| District 4 | 45 | 28 | 70 | 0 |
| District 5 | 93 | 46 | 101 | 0 |
| District 6 | 64 | 26 | 69 | 0 |
| Bucharest total | 463 | 200 | 468 | 0 |
|  | 1,131 | | | |

*Source*: NAP, 2011.

The educational situation of those released from District 5 is similar to the one of the persons imprisoned, with most released individuals only having completed middle school (118) or elementary school (43).

**Table 16. Number of persons released in 2010,**
**by education level by district**

|  | Illiterate | Elementary school | Middle school | Vocational studies | High school | Post-graduate (high school | University | Military school |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| District 1 | 6 | 21 | 72 | 10 | 16 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| District 2 | 30 | 35 | 89 | 12 | 41 | 0 | 11 | 30 |
| District 3 | 8 | 33 | 102 | 22 | 68 | 1 | 6 | 8 |
| District 4 | 4 | 22 | 61 | 17 | 31 | 1 | 7 | 4 |
| District 5 | 13 | 43 | 118 | 15 | 41 | 1 | 9 | 13 |
| District 6 | 6 | 14 | 82 | 15 | 34 | 2 | 6 | 6 |
| Bucharest total | 6 | 21 | 72 | 10 | 16 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
|  | 1,131 | | | | | | | |

*Source*: NAP, 2011.

In terms of employment status, the number of persons released from penitentiaries and who are residents of the fifth district, is relatively similar to the numbers from the second district, with 148 unemployed persons released in the fifth district as compared to 143 in the second district.

**Table 17. Number of persons released in 2010,
by employment status by district**

| | Employed | Unemployed | Receiving unemployment benefits |
|---|---|---|---|
| District 1 | 38 | 92 | 1 |
| District 2 | 75 | 143 | 0 |
| District 3 | 185 | 54 | 1 |
| District 4 | 42 | 101 | 0 |
| District 5 | 92 | 148 | 0 |
| District 6 | 71 | 88 | 0 |
| Bucharest total | 503 | 626 | 2 |
| | 1,131 | | |

*Source*: NAP, 2011.

The existence of a relatively large number of unemployed persons both in the second and the fifth districts may be construed as a rationale in favor of the theory stating that the lack of employment and, consequently, the lack of resources needed for subsistence, generates criminality.

*Case Studies of Persons in Detention Who Are Residents of District 5*

---

**Case study 4**

*C. P.M. is 37 years old and born in Mediaş, Sibiu County. Currently, he is under the custody of Giurgiu Penitentiary where he serves a nine-year prison sentence, for committing a sexual crime His educational level is average, as he has graduated high-school. He also secured vocational qualification as a carpenter before committing the crime.*

---

*In 1998, C.P.M. was sentenced to two years and six months in prison for committing the crime of aggravated theft, but he was released on probation after one year and six months.*

*He committed the sexual crime in the evening of June 22, 2002, when C.M.P. forced the minor S.M.A. to have sexual intercourse with him. At the time of arrest, his residence was in the fifth district of Bucharest.*

*During detention, he had an aggressive behavior towards both the prison staff and other detainees, which triggered 15 disciplinary punishments for failing to comply with the rules imposed during the execution of the prison term. During this period, he did not stay in touch with a supporting environment, being visited by his friends only sporadically.*

*For the purpose of social reinsertion, C.P.M. underwent psychological, social and educational evaluation, and participated in sports and library activities, and in programs dedicated to aggressive detainees.*

*During imprisonment, he was characterized by ambition, egocentrism, and low self-control. He gradually adjusted to the prison environment, making efforts to censor himself. He is attached to his past and has a low level of intellectual development, suffering from a slight mental deficiency.*

*Though he has completed the portion of his sentence necessary to serve for conditional release and probation, however, his oscillating behavior during detention has led the court to delay his release.*

---

**Case study 5**

*G.G.A. is 34 years old and is born in District 5 of Bucharest. Currently, he is in custody at the, Giurgiu Penitentiary where he is serving a seven-year sentence, for one of the offences provided for by Law 143/2000 on preventing drug trafficking and illegal drug consumption.*

*His educational level is average to low (he has completed five grades) and he has no job/profession. He is not married, but he has a minor child with his partner.*

*On June 30, 1999, he was sentenced to five years of imprisonment for committing the crime of robbery. He was released conditionally to serve the rest of his term under probation.*

*During his probation period, in 2003-2004, he repeatedly sold various amounts of heroin to several drug consumers in Bucharest, and he purchased and possessed drugs for his*

*own use. When he committed the offence, his residency was still in Bucharest, the fifth district. G.G.A. was followed locally in order to be arrested.*

*While serving the prison sentence, he received two disciplinary punishments for failing to observe the internal prison regulations. His low level of intellectual development and educational deficiencies are also due to drug use.*

*He did not keep a close contact with a supportive environment, with seldom visits by his sister, who supported him morally and financially.*

*His preparation for return and reintegration into the community, after completion of his criminal sentences, is a process that started on the first day of imprisonment and took place throughout the sentence term, intensifying at its end. For social integration, he took part in psychological, social and educational evaluation, sports, and library activities, and in the "Prolib" educational program, especially designed to increase the chances of social inclusion.*

*He adjusted with difficulty to the prison environment, having an aggressive and self-aggressive potential, showing isolation tendencies and a depressive disposition, being predominantly sad, dispirited, and showing lack of trust and emotional immaturity.*

*He fulfills the conditions for being released on probation in terms of the required time spent in prison, but his release on probation has been delayed twice by the court due to his behavior during imprisonment.*

---

### Case study 6

*M.F. is 37 years old and was born in the fifth district of Bucharest. Currently, he is in custody at the Jilava Penitentiary, where he is serving a 17-year prison sentence for committing the crime of robbery.*

*His educational level is average (he has completed grades), but he has no job or qualification. He is married and has three children.*

*From June 1996 to February 1997, he committed seven crimes of violent robbery. On October 25, 1996, he violently attacked and robbed K.Q., a foreign citizen, who died a few days later because of the wounds inflicted during the robbery. M.F.'s domicile was still in the fifth district of Bucharest when he committed the crime.*

*M.F. has no criminal history prior to this conviction and he showed good behavior during the prison term, being rewarded twenty-five times.*

*During the execution of punishment, he made sustained efforts for social reintegration and to improve his educational level, participating in many programs and activities such as table tennis, civic education, a conference on the occasion of the International*

*Day of Tolerance, a program dedicated to maintaining an active life, an initiation course in computer use: data entry operator, "I among people" assistance program, and a health education program. Also, he took part in editing the magazine of the prison division, in religious activities, in the Exit II prison theater festival, and in a Christmas show.*

*He kept in touch with a support environment, mostly through visits, being morally and financially supported by the members of his family (mother, father, cousin, and wife) and by other persons as well.*

*During preventive custody, he tried to commit suicide, but he changed his attitude later and proved to have a structured personality, demonstrating practical tendencies and abilities. He socializes with difficulty, even though he has communication skills.*

*In terms of level of preparation for liberation, M.F. has made considerable efforts for his reinsertion into society.*

## Criminality Perception and the Feeling of Fear in the Community

The conclusions of the PCRM survey conducted in Livezilor Alley area emphasized the fact that the public order and safety institutions do not enjoy the trust of the population living in the area. Thus, the highest values are recorded for the "I have a very low level of confidence" category (gendarmerie 43.3%; district police 46.6%; community police 52.1%). The gendarmerie and district police register values of approximately 20% in the "high level of confidence" category and the community policy only reaches 12% in that same category and 0% in the "very high level of confidence" category.

**Table 18. Confidence in Public Order Institutions**

| Do you have confidence in the… | Very low level of confidence | Low level of confidence | High level of confidence | Very high level of confidence | DNK/NR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gendarmerie | 43.3% | 14.6% | 22.5% | 2.9% | 16.7% |
| District police | 46.2% | 15% | 20% | 0.4% | 18.4% |
| Community police | 52.1% | 17.1% | 12.1% | 0% | 18.7% |

*DNK=Do Not Know; NR= No Response*

*Source*: PCRM survey.

Out of the total number of respondents, only 11.2% had ever filed a complaint to the police.

*Chart 2. Percentage of persons who filed complaints with the police*
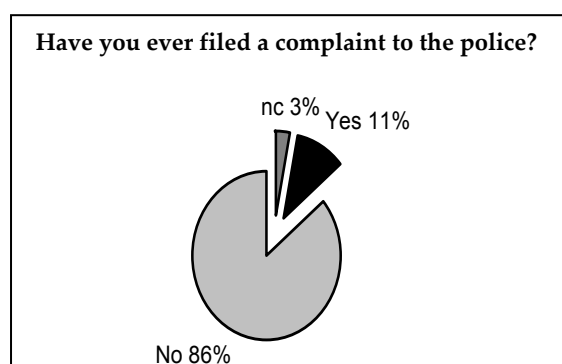


*Source*: PCRM survey.

The reasons for filing complaints to the police were the conflicts and fights with the neighbors, violent fights, and other forms of violence. Other reasons mentioned are: thefts, offences related to drugs and physical restraint of people.

**Table 19. Reasons for filing complaints with the police**

| If yes, why did you file a complaint to the police? | YES | DNK |
|---|---|---|
| Lack of courtesy; conflicts with neighbors - scandals, fights | 3.3.% | 96.7% |
| Beatings, violence | 2.1% | 97.9% |
| Breach of road/traffic rules | 0.0% | 100% |
| Corruption | 0.0% | 100% |
| Illegal arrests | 0.0% | 100% |
| Illegal searches | 0.4% | 99.6% |
| Illegal requests for identification | 0.4% | 99.6% |

*Source*: PCRM survey.

With regard to the perception of policing activities in the Ferentari area, only 14 persons (i.e. 5.8% of all respondents) consider that the police activity has

improved as compared to 5 years ago, while approximately 48% consider that police activity is the same, and 45% believe that it has worsened.

*Chart 3. Perception of police activities*
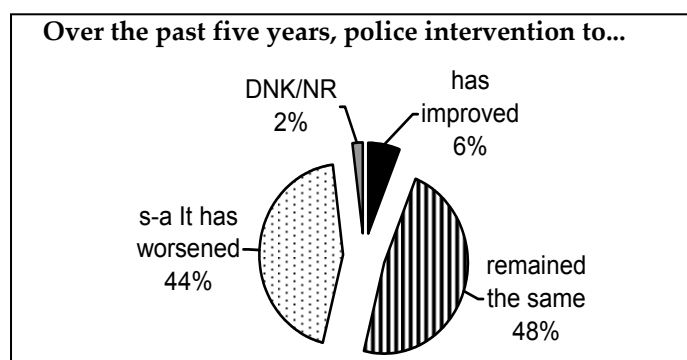
More than half of the respondents are dissatisfied with action taken by the police after reporting an offence, only 14% of them declaring to be satisfied with police action when they report an offence.

The lack of citizen cooperation (67.5%) and the low training level of the police officers (54.2%) are considered the main impediments to police activity. High percentages are also recorded for the categories reserved to neighborhood gangs (47.9%) and shortage of material and financial resources of the police (42.1%).

**Table 20. Causes that prevent the police from doing its job**

| What do you think obstructs police activity? | YES | NO | DNK |
|---|---|---|---|
| Neighborhood gangs | 47.9% | 22.9% | 29.2% |
| Lack of citizen cooperation | 67.5% | 7.1% | 25.4% |
| Shortage of material and financial resources | 42.1% | 21.2% | 36.7% |
| Poor police officer training | 54.2% | 13.8% | 32% |

Most of the respondents consider that the neighborhood gangs were above the law (60%), while only 15% of the interviewees believed the opposite.

In the last year, eleven persons of those surveyed (4.6%) were victims of crimes and theft was the most reported offence. Other types of recorded crimes were: house breaking, armed robbery, robbery, threats and rape.

**Table 21. Victims of crime during the previous year**

| Were you the victim of a crime during the past year? | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 11 | 4.6% |
| No | 216 | 90.0% |
| DNK | 13 | 5.4% |
| Total | 240 | 100.0% |

Most of the respondents consider that they live in an unsafe neighborhood and estimate that both they and their acquaintances can easily become the victim of a crime. Approximately 43% consider that they cannot walk safely around the neighborhood during the day and 64% believe that walking around the neighborhood at night is dangerous. The future is regarded with pessimism because both criminality (75.4%) and drug consumption (73.4%) are perceived as growing phenomena.

**Table 22. Safety in Ferentari**

| To what extent, do you believe that in the neighborhood...? | To a very small extent | To a small extent | To a large extent | To a very large extent | DNK/ NR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| You could be the victim of a crime | 14.6% | 17.5% | 17.5% | 32.1% | 18.3% |
| A friend might be the victim of a crime | 11.2% | 10.8% | 15% | 36.7% | 26.3% |
| You are safe when you go out alone during the day | 11.2% | 10.8% | 15% | 36.7% | 26.3% |
| You are safe when you go out alone at night | 40.4% | 22.9% | 13.8% | 6.2% | 16.7% |
| Drug consumption will increase | 1.2% | 0 | 11.7% | 61.7% | 25.4% |
| Criminality will increase | 0.8% | 0 | 10.4% | 65% | 23.8% |

*Source*: PCRM survey.

Half of the responders do not know or do not want to answer the question regarding the means of reintegration into society for a person released from penitentiary. Nearly half of the subjects (41%) consider there are no such means, and only 9% of the respondents believe that such means of reintegration exist.

The main obstacles invoked for the process of reintegrating a person released from penitentiary are the negative characteristics of the area, the influence of the entourage and the difficulty to change one's behavior. The respondents who chose the positive answer regarding the presence of means for reintegration into society motivated their option by the power of individuals to correct their mistakes and to take advantage of a second chance offered by the society (in which case, the effort is left entirely to the individual).

The high percentage of respondents believing that persons released from prison are more likely to repeat the offence if they return to the neighborhood (45.8%) can be interpreted in the same way. The answer stating that the chance to commit a new crime upon release is not higher in this neighborhood than in others was selected only by 2.1% of the respondents.

*Conclusions*

As a first conclusion to the issues presented in this chapter, we can state that the social reaction to the category of individuals coming from the poor areas of Ferentari is nourished, just as in the case of American ghettos, by repressive conceptions, which are completely disproportionate to the actual social danger. Public opinion has often pronounced in favor of harsh punishments, of isolation of these individuals, but this attitude probably represents only the reflex of the false beliefs that these individuals can no longer be socially recovered in any way and there are no chances of reintegration. A change in mentalities and attitudes largely depends on the strength of beliefs that form their basis. These beliefs are a function of the collected and accepted information and of course, a function of personal experience or certain prejudices. Therefore, providing correct information

to the public and the authorities about the real causes of this type of criminality and about the fact that most of these individuals are no different from those considered socially normal, may change the erroneous attitudes into a perception of the phenomenon that may better correspond to the truth and common sense. For these reasons, it is highly important to raise the awareness of the public opinion in order to achieve a correct appreciation of this phenomenon and its consequences, as well as of the value of each human being and the observance of their inalienable rights.

Unfortunately, the general trend is, as underlined above, to exclude this category of people through isolation, as they appear to be unable to reintegrate socially in the eyes of the public opinion. Although this is completely exaggerated, the increasingly discussed inability of the persons living in the poor areas of the Ferentari neighborhood and who committed penal offences to rehabilitate becomes the perfect justification for the repressive attitude towards such persons. The experience of social workers is the only way to demonstrate that we are not dealing with offenders that cannot be reintegrated into society, and the only correct and efficient answer to this problem is the development and diversification of social mechanisms for prevention and protection. The fact that a person living in poor conditions commits a crime must be considered a signal for lack or deficiency of protection and not as an opportunity for a repressive response.

The social stigma is equally reflected in the policies treating these individuals as irrecoverable offenders. Since they commit crimes and often get involved in illegal activities, the public opinion does not consider that they can find feasible legal alternatives for earning their living and they are seen as perpetual threats to social order.

We must remember that any legislative criminal system requires a balance between punishment and rehabilitation, and the main purpose of a criminal code is social control. The success or failure of criminal punishment stems from the way the offender is "socialized" rather than how s(he) is "moralized".

Under such circumstances, a change in the collective (societal) mentality towards victims and delinquents is required in order to appreciate the full

value of effective alternatives to imprisonment, which allow for the preservation of self-respect, treat the causes of delinquency, and last, but not least, enable the rehabilitation and social integration of delinquents. These considerations should be taken into account for justice system reform and the achievement of positive results from legal, social, police and interventions, as well as from the prison and probation systems for the benefit of society. The experience of modern states demonstrates not only the value of new mentalities meant to give a more human touch to the justice system, but also the efficiency and pragmatism of administering justice within the community.

## *Bibliography*

Chambliss, William J., 1994, *Policing the Ghetto Underclass: The Politics of Law and Law Enforcement*, George Washington University.

Cousson, M., 2005, *Prevention of delinquency*. Bucharest, Gramar.

Fagan J., 1990, "Intoxication and Aggression", in M. Tonry, J.Q. Wilson, editors, *Drugs and Crime*, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, pp. 241-320.

Kathleen, K., 2006, "Dangerous thinking: a critical history of correctional cognitive behaviouralism", in G. Mair, *What Matters in Probation?* (pp. 53-89), Cullomton, Devon, Willan Publishing.

Maurer, Mark, 1992, *Young Black Men and the Criminal Justice System: A Growing National Problem. The Sentencing Project*, Washington D.C.

Michelle, Alexander, 2010, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness, the New Press*.

Miczek, K.A.; De Bold, J.F.; Haney, M.; Tidey, J.; Vivian, J.; Weertz, M., 1994, "Alcohol, drugs of abuse, aggression, and violence", in A.J. Reiss Jr., J.A. Roth, editors, *Understanding and Preventing Violence*, Washington, D.C., National Academy Press, pp. 377-570.

Mihalache, Flavius; Botonogu, Florin; Stănescu, Simona Maria (coordonator), 2011, *Percepții și evaluări ale rezidenților asupra zonei Ferentari- Aleea Livezilor*, raport de cercetare nepublicat, Policy Center for Roma and Minorities.

Miller, Jerome M., 1996, *Serach and Destroy: The Plight of African American Males in the Criminal Justice System*, Alexandria, National Center of Institutions and Alternatives.

Parker, R.N.; Cartmill, R.S., 1998, „Alcohol and homicide in the United States 1934–1995 — Or one reason why U.S. rates of violence may be going down", *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 88(4), 1369–1398.

Pasarica, R., and Mitricuna, B. (2008), „Data Collection and Diagnosis", în V. Schiaucu, and R. Canton, *Probation* Manual (pp. 316-328). Bucharest: Euro Standard.

Sarah, Glyn, 2006, *Playing Ethnic CARD – politics and ghettoisation in London's East End*, online papers archived by the Institute of Geography, School of Geosciences, University of Edinburgh.

Shaw, M.; Hannah-Moffat, K., 2006, "How cognitive skills forgot about gender and diversity", in G. Mair, *What Matters in Probation?*, pp. 90-121, Cullomton, Devon, Willan Publishing.

Valdez, Avelardo; Kaplan, Charles D.; Curtis, Russell L. Jr., 2007, „Aggressive Crime, Alcohol and Drug Use, and Concentrated Poverty in 24 U.S. Urban Areas", *American Journal of Drug Alcohol Abuse*, 33(4), pp. 595–603.

Vlad, M., and Mihaila, P., 2008, „The One on One Program (OTO)", în V. Schiaucu, R. Canton, *Probation Manual* (pp. 328-338), Bucharest: Euro Standard.

Weiner, M.D. et al., 2001, „From Early to Late Adolescence: Alcohol Use and Anger Relationships", *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 28(6), pp. 450-457.

**Internet Resources**

ghetto - Definition from the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary - http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ghetto

Ghettos: The Changing Consequences of Ethnic Isolation available at http://www.bos.frb.org/economic/nerr/rr1997/spring/glsr97_2.htm

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghetto

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venetian_Ghetto

http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=ghettoandsearchmode=none

http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=GHETTOanddefid=3109682

# DRUG TRAFFICKING AND CONSUMPTION – SPECIALIZED INTERVENTIONS IN RISK AREAS

*Victor NICOLĂESCU, Adrian Marcel IANCU,*
*Diana ȘERBAN, Daniela NICOLĂESCU*

Drug consumption, next to trafficking, is one of the most serious social problems contemporary societies are confronted with. Regarded in most criminology and deviance sociology manuals as a "crime without victims" which is not prejudicial to society in its entirety, but only to the individuals involved in drug consumption, that phenomenon is still an acute social problem, which affects the health of a nation and has economic, legal, criminal and medical consequences. It increases the costs related to social and medical assistance and contributes to the amplification of other social issues.

From a social point of view, drug consumption has negative consequences on the productivity and reproductive potential of society members, as well as on their health resources. Also, drug consumption determines the increase of illegal drug traffic, as a component of organized crime, in certain favored residential areas. The connection between crime and drug consumption is bi-directional in the sense that the persons who take drugs enter into conflict with the normative system and vice versa (Iancu, 2010).

However, various studies illustrate that easy access to drugs on the market does not play a major role in the process of creating addiction, especially when people are aware of the negative effects of drugs. Much more important are the personality factors at play, so that drug addiction is more of a symptom of a certain psychological need than the symptom of an illness.

Various studies and psychological evaluations have shown that, at its onset, drug use can be a means to discover one's identity, to reduce anxiety and existential suffering, to solve various personal and social issues, or to respond to peer pressure. That means drugs are especially used by people who live in high risk areas, characterized by poverty, lack of social services and utilities, large segments of the population with poor education and without jobs, as well as mob-type informal organizational structures, which compete with state institutions in enforcing the law in those areas.

Other psychological explanations have highlighted the main personality traits that can increase the likelihood of addiction, but no conclusive representative personality type has been identified that favor addiction. Researchers of Freudian orientation consider that consumers' life histories can explain drug addiction. Thus, it has been found that, in many cases, the father's absence from home or his rejection towards the son is correlated with drug addiction. Other studies have shown that the influence of one's entourage is crucial for the decision to take drugs, especially in adolescence. The results of psychological studies have shown that the phenomenon of consumption/addiction does not have a single cause and that certain areas where poverty and social exclusion predominate – significant in that sense is Ferentari neighborhood in District 5 – have higher levels of drug consumption and trafficking than other, less marginalized areas.

The individuals who are exposed to social exclusion, who for that matter can be deemed a disadvantaged social group, can be classified by several sub-groups, depending on their origin (poor families living in the proximity of drug addicts or drug dealers, homeless people, migrants, jobless persons, children and adults in conflict with the law, children who have abandoned school or have run away from home, children whose parents work abroad etc.). Social exclusion as well as exclusion from the family and the circle of friends is leads to a vicious circle of addiction. Regardless if the drug addiction affects an individual facing challenges, a homeless person or a street child, society should acknowledge that every individual is important and has the right to receive assistance and services related to education, employment and social benefits, in order to be able to overcome her/his problems (Iancu, 2006). For that purpose, public

conscience must act in this direction, but in conditions specific to ghetto areas, such as the Ferentari neighborhood, which is sometimes called "little Bronx" and known as a heaven for dealers and drug consumers, this seems almost impossible. That is why, in the case of Ferentari, public administration must play a primary role in order to ensure, in the first place, a climate of public order and safety, decent living conditions for the residents in the area and, not in the least, for the economic development of the area and for the lifting of the artificial barrier placed by public conscience and opinion towards the residents of this area, which is deemed seedy.

## Drug Trafficking in Ghetto-Type Areas

Taking into consideration the characteristics of ghettos in general and of American ghettos in particular (Valdez, Kaplan, Curtis, Jr., 2007), we notice that, generally, certain areas in the Ferentari neighborhood can be compared with those areas of poverty and crime called, in the common language, ghettos[20]. Starting from that premise, this survey tries to make an analysis of the impact of drugs (trafficking and consumption) in areas with an increased community risk, namely ghetto-type areas. The main considerations taken into account in the analysis performed on Ferentari are as follows:

- the involvement of the people residing in that area in unlawful drug trafficking-related activities is increasing through the relational isolation of the community (the access of strangers is filtered and announced)

- children and youth are exposed to unlawful drug trafficking and consumption in the absence of efficient preventive measures

- the services of local public administration are limited to curtailing and preventing drug consumption

- the crime-drugs relationship is consolidated in the absence of integrated rehabilitation programs both for the community as well as for its members.

---

[20] *Ghettos: The Changing Consequences of Ethnic Isolation available at http://www.bos.frb. org/economic/ nerr/rr1997/spring/glsr97_2.htm.*

## Unlawful Drug Trafficking in Bucharest

The analysis of statistical data reveals that nationwide, approximately half of the crimes committed under the influence of drugs took place in Bucharest (Iancu and Nicolăescu, 2010). Most thefts under the influence of drugs were perpetrated on the street, which raises a question about the safety of citizens. The official figures are not large, but it is known that there is a "black" figure of crime, which reflects real crime, that there are persons who, although they have been the victims of crimes, have not filed a complaint, and that the Romanian General Police Inspectorate does not have a real possibility of highlighting, within statistical indicators, all the crimes that had drug consumption as a favoring factor. That is why we tend to believe that the figures shown by the statistics are only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to crime related to the consumption of drugs. After crimes that fall under the provisions of Law 143/2000 (which deals with drug-related offences), which account for the majority of crimes committed, the second most prominent category are crimes against the patrimony, namely house theft, pocket theft, theft of purses and bags, theft from cars, and robberies (Iancu, Nicolăescu and Frusinoiu, 2010).

From the analysis of the data available at the General Police Inspectorate of Romania, GPIR (the Department of Police Records, Statistics and Operative Records, 2010) regarding criminal offences favored by drugs that were perpetrated from 2006 to 2009, it results that approximately 75 to 80% of the persons investigated for these felonies resided in the Bucharest municipality, namely in districts 5 and 3. Regarding felonies taking place in the reference interval, Bucharest municipality accounts for approximately 40 to 45%.

Thus, according to police data, there were 1,679 crimes falling under the provisions of Law 143/2000 in 2008 in Bucharest, which is a 33.78% increase as compared to 2007 (1,255 crimes), with most of these crimes (76,17%) being infringements of the provisions of article 4 of the above-mentioned law, meaning purchase and owning of drugs for individual consumption.

In 2008, 4,426 persons were investigated for drug-related offences in adjudicated cases, which is 3.74% less as compared to 2007, when 4,598 persons were investigated, but 110% more than in 2006, when 2,108 persons were investigated. The Bucharest municipality stands out clearly from the

rest of the country, with a percentage of 55.81% (2,470 persons) of investigations, followed by Cluj, where 288 persons were investigated, Craiova (187 persons), Alba Iulia (186 persons), Constanța (179 persons), and Timișoara (145 persons) (territorial offices of the Department of Investigation of Felonies Related to Organized Crime and Terrorism – DIFROCT, 2008). Also, during 2009, the specialized structures of DIFROCT, within the Prosecutor's Office with the High Court of Cassation and Justice) investigated a number of 4,922 persons for violations of anti-drugs legislation, which represents an increase of 56.40% as compared to the previous year. The Bucharest municipality accounted for 53.65% of the total number of investigated persons (2,641 persons). Of the 4,922 persons investigated in 2009, 976 were referred to court, and of these, 38.42%, i.e. 375 persons, were from the Bucharest municipality. Of the total of 3,111 accused persons who were not prosecuted, only 914 persons were investigated for drug trafficking.

According to the data of the NAA (2009 *Evaluation Report Regarding the Stage of Accomplishment of the Activities Planned for 2008 in the Action Plan for the Implementation of the NAA, from 2005 to 2008*), during 2009, the Prosecutor's Office of the High Court of Cassation and Justice and the Prosecutor's Offices of the 15 courts of appeal solved 2,906 criminal cases regarding crimes perpetrated in the drugs and precursors framework, out of which 2,141 at the level of Bucharest municipality, which accounts for 73.67% of the total number of cases solved.

In 2009, the courts ordered the enforcement of definitive prison sentences for 676 persons for violations of anti-drug legislation, 330 of whom were sentenced in the Bucharest municipality (48.81%).

Out of the total of 676 persons with definitive sentences, the courts ordered the conditional suspension of sentence execution for 84 persons (9 of them in the Bucharest municipality – 10.11%) and the suspension of execution under supervision for 192 persons (76 of them in the Bucharest municipality – 39.58%).

Regarding enforced punishment, the largest preponderance (152 persons) is that of jail sentences with a duration varying from 1 to 5 years, followed by those with a duration varying from 5 to 10 years (148 persons). At the level of the Bucharest municipality, to sentences with a duration varying from 5 to 10 years have the highest preponderance (122 persons out of 330

sentenced persons received this sentence), followed by sentences with a duration from 1 to 5 years (74 persons) and those ranging from 10 to 15 years (37 persons).

In the detention units subordinate to the NAP, on December 31, 2008, there were 935 persons with definitive sentences for crimes provided for under Law 143/2000 for the prevention and fighting of unlawful drug trafficking and consumption, with its subsequent amendments and supplements.

At the level of the two penitentiaries – Rahova and Jilava – which serve the Bucharest municipality and Ilfov county, the data regarding persons investigated and sentenced for drug-related crimes is as follows:

**Table 23. Number of persons jailed in Bucharest prisons for drug-related offenses**

|  | 2008 | | 2009 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Preventive arrest | Definitive sentences | Preventive arrest | Definitive sentences |
| Jilava Penitentiary | 139 | 78 | 0 | 142 |
| Rahova Penitentiary | 51 | 243 | 358 | 102 |

*Source*: NAP, 2010.

During 2008, the criminal proceedings bodies requested the Probation Service[21] to draw up evaluation reports for 18 persons who had been investigated based on article 2 (referring to trafficking) of Law 143/2000 and for 8 persons investigated for crimes included in article 4 (referring to consumption) of the same law.

Also in 2008, the courts requested evaluation reports for 135 persons investigated for crimes provided for under article 2 of Law 143/2000 and for 60 persons who had committed criminal acts mentioned in article 4.

In 2009, Probation Service issued a total number of 403 evaluation reports – 276 for persons investigated under article 2 and 127 for persons investigated under article 4. At the level of Bucharest municipality, the

---

[21] *NAA, 2009 Evaluation Report Regarding the Stage of Accomplishment of the Activities Planned for 2008 in the Action Plan for the Implementation of the NAA, from 2005 to 2008.*

Probation Service issued 118 reports (29.28%), with 100 reports for persons investigated under article 2 and 18 persons investigated under article 4.

It is worth noticing that, in the case of the persons sentenced for having perpetrated crimes in violation of anti-drug legislation, who are under the supervision of Probation Service, we find a significant increase in 2009 as compared to 2008, from 310 to 660 persons (422 persons for acts provided for under article 2 and 138 persons for acts provided for under article 4 / L 143/2000). Out of the total of 660 persons, 238 (36.06%) are from the Bucharest municipality (209 persons for acts provided for under article 2 and 29 persons for acts provided for under article 4 / L 143/2000). Supervision measures based on article 86³, paragraph 1, items a-d of the Criminal Code were applied for 201 persons (73 from the Bucharest municipality) out of the total of 310 registered in 2008 and for 401 persons (221 from the Bucharest municipality) in the first 6 months of 2009. The ascending trend is also visible in the case of sentenced persons having the obligation to submit to treatment or detoxification (according to article 86³, paragraph 3, items a-f of the Criminal Code), with an increase from 101 persons (40 from the Bucharest municipality) in 2008 to 157 persons (74 from the Bucharest municipality) in 2009.

### Drug Consumption – A Threat for the Community

The first studies regarding the prevalence of drug consumption among the population (2003) estimated the number of consumers of injectable heroin in Bucharest at approximately 24,000 persons, which stands for 1% of the total city population. The consumption of injectable heroin is very alarming, taking into consideration the dramatic consequences in the medium and long term on public health (the increase of incidence of HIV/AIDS, A, B and C hepatitis, tuberculosis etc.) and the rate of criminality associated with unlawful drug trafficking and consumption (The National Anti-Drug Strategy 2005-2012, Chapter II, Reduction of Demand, www.ana.gov.ro).

The most recent survey among the general population (The National Report on the Situation of Drugs, 2008, NAA/The Romanian Observer for Drugs and Drug Addiction, Chapter II, Drug Consumption in the General Population and Specific Sub-Groups, p. 19, available at www.emcdda.

europa.eu) reveals that cannabis remains the most consumed drug, followed by ecstasy, heroin, hallucinogens and cocaine. The regional distribution of the prevalence of illegal drug consumption have shown that cannabis is consumed in the entire country, with Bucharest and Transylvania registering the highest percentage of users, ecstasy is used in the entire country except for Dobrogea, with significant proportions of users in Bucharest and Transylvania, heroin is consumed in Bucharest, Transylvania and Oltenia in equal proportions (0.2%), while amphetamines and cocaine (crack or free-base) are used only in Bucharest (by 0.3% and respectively 0.5% of the capital population, with users ranging between 15 and 64 years of age).

In 2008, the geographic distribution of sites where death occurred as a consequence of drug consumption in Bucharest, with the exception of deaths occurring in hospitals, is as follows:
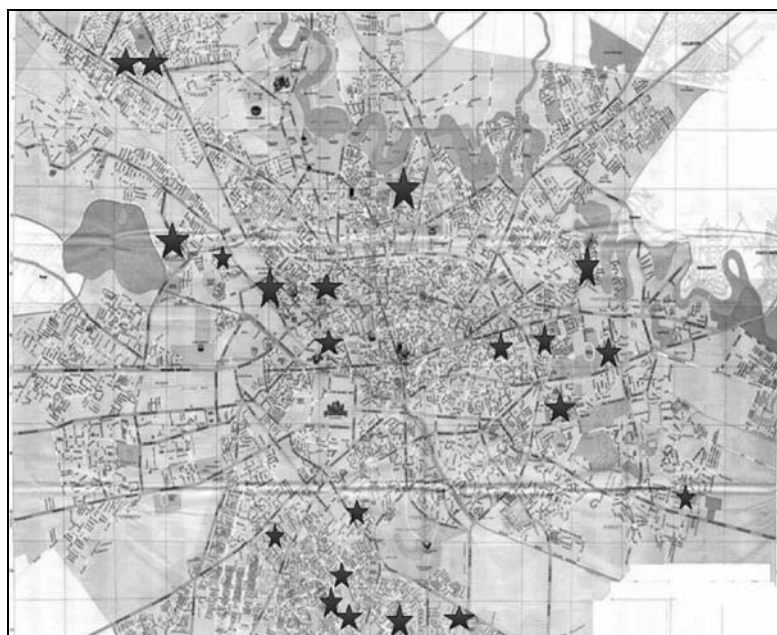


*Figure 5. Geographic distribution of deaths caused*
*by drug consumption in Bucharest - 2008*

By comparison, the distribution of sites where death occurred as a consequence of drug consumption in 2007-2006 is shown below:



*Figure 6. Geographic distribution of deaths caused by drug consumption in Bucharest – 2006-2007*

Comparative analysis of the two maps shows a much more uniform distribution of deaths in 2008 as compared to prior years, when the Rahova-Ferentari area made up for more than half of the cases.

*Medical, Psychological and Social Assistance Services within the Community – the Pericle CIAA – Case Studies*

According to the data supplied by the National Center for the Organization and Insurance of the Informational and Information Technology Systems in the Field of Health within the Ministry of Health, 3,165 cases of admission to treatment as a consequence of drug consumption were reported nationwide in 2008, with 14 medical units in Bucharest and across the country submitting data. From January to September 2009, the number of drug consumers who came to the CAPEAs and benefited from assistance was 1,090.

The integrated community services for drug use prevention and assistance to drug consumers in District 5 of Bucharest (CAPEA in District 5 and the Pericle CIAA) are a model of reaction to the problems of drug consumption and related crime.

As an example of good practices in the field of prevention of drug consumption, it is also worthy to mention the project Addicted to Freedom implemented in 2010 by the NAA, in partnership with the School Inspectorate of District 5, the Proximity Police of District 5 and the Bucharest City Police, through its Crime Prevention Service. The goal of the project was to inform middle school and high school students, as well as other young people, their families and the community regarding the negative effects of "ethnobotanic" substances and plants through all communication channels available to those categories of the public, in order to change the false perceptions on these substances being promoted by the sellers of such products.

A total of 453 students from 8 secondary schools (114, 136, 141, 146, 150, 135, 126, and 130) and 3 high schools (Ion Barbu theoretical high school, the Energetic Technical College and Dimitrie Bolintineanu theoretical high school) from District 5 benefited from the project. Additionally, 56 teachers and 50 parents were informed about the risks related to the consumption of new substances with psychoactive effects ("ethnobotanics").

The total number of beneficiaries registered by the Pericle CIAA (located in District 5, close to the ghetto) in 2010 was 174. Among those, 166 benefited from integrated assistance, including drug treatment, and 8 benefited only from psycho-social interventions for drug consumption.

Of these, the number of beneficiaries admitted to the drug treatment program was 96. The total number of beneficiaries who left the drug treatment programs was 85, as evidenced by the chart below.

*Chart 4. Beneficiaries of the Pericle CIAA*
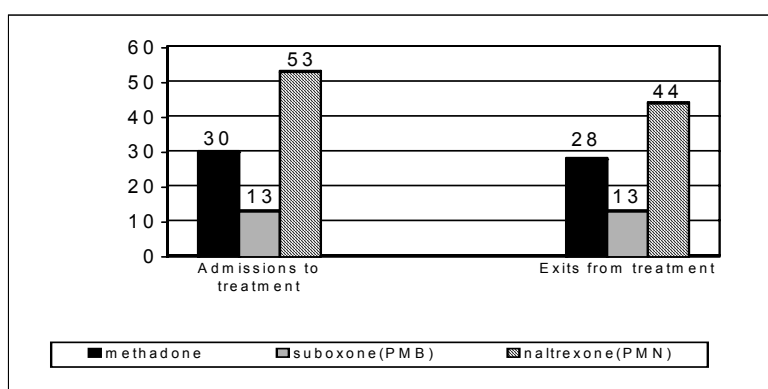


*Chart 5. Reasons for leaving treatment*
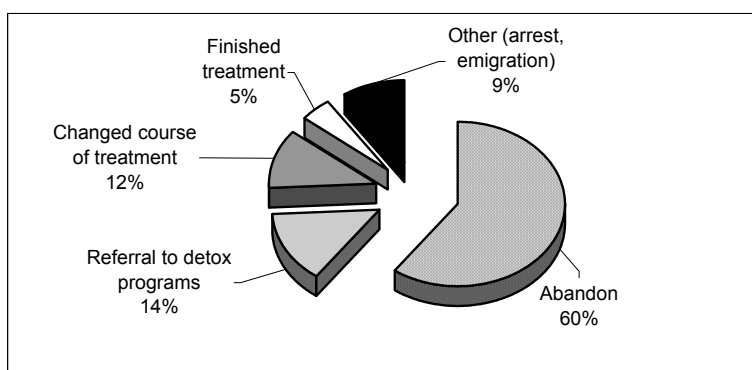
*Chart 6. Sources of referral of beneficiaries in 2010*
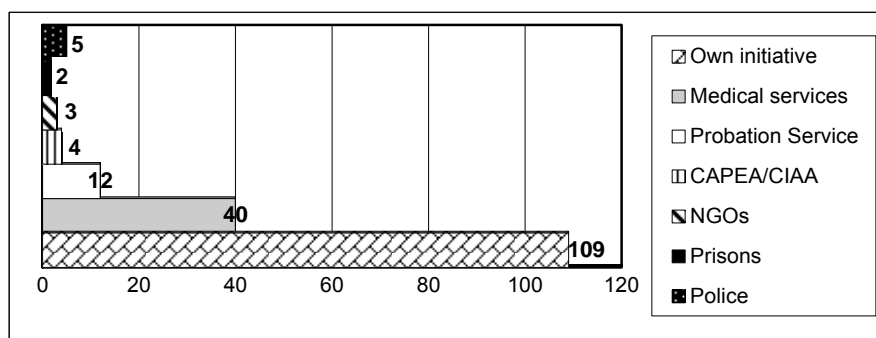


The total number of beneficiaries who are currently receiving integrated assistance is 85.

*Chart 7. The total number of beneficiaries*
*receiving integrated assistance*
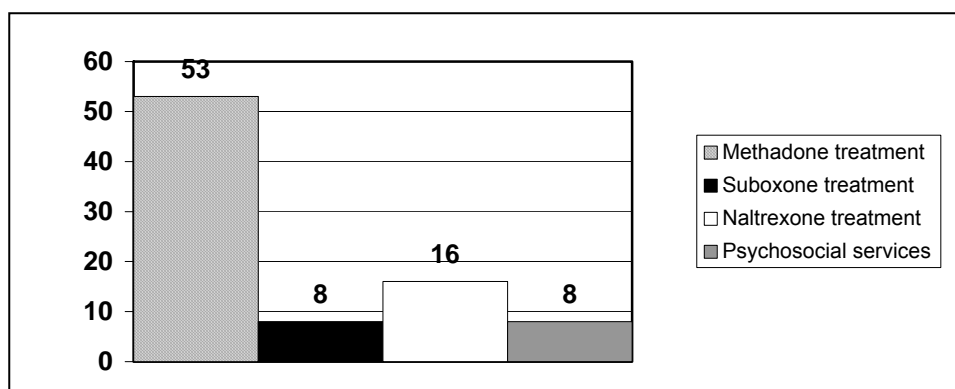


The main substance abused by the group served by the Pericle CIAA is heroin (168 of the beneficiaries are heroin consumers), with 3 cannabis consumers and 4 consumers of other substances (legal drugs, known as "ethnobotanic"products – EBP) registered at the Center.

*Chart 8. Types of drugs used*
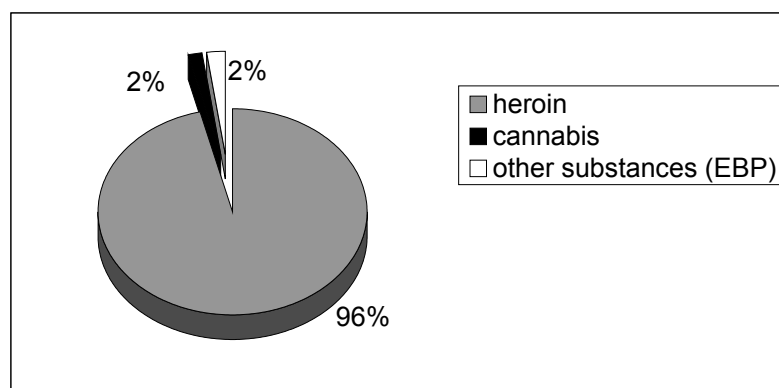


An alarming increase in the number of beneficiaries with a history of heroin consumption who started to take legal drugs ("ethnobotanics") was registered in 2010. Of the total number of beneficiaries, 24 admitted to the consumption of EBP, and 19 left the treatment before the end of the year.

## Services Provided to Drug Consumers

The Pericle CIAA provided the following types of services to the community it serves:

- information sessions regarding consumption risks and treatment alternatives (1,173 beneficiaries)

- medical evaluations (174 beneficiaries)

- psychological evaluations (174 beneficiaries)

- social evaluations (174 beneficiaries)

- case management sessions (1,034 beneficiaries)

- psychological counseling sessions (1,323 beneficiaries)

- social assistance services (739 beneficiaries)

- medical consultations (2,893 beneficiaries)

- psychiatric consultations (134 beneficiaries).

Among the services provided by the Pericle CIAA, medical consultations and counseling sessions account for most of the activity.

*Chart 9. Types of services offered by the Pericle CIAA to drug users*
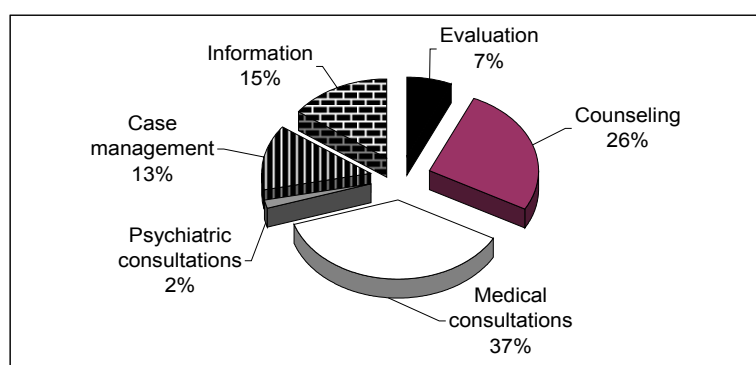


The Pericle CIAA registered 74 persons (parents, relatives, and partners) as care-takers of drug consumers and provided them two types of services: information (62 sessions) and psychological and social counseling (34 sessions).

In November 2010, the Pericle CIAA team of specialists, together with the specialists of the Foundation for Family and Child Protection (FFCP), conducted a survey on the improvement of quality of life after beginning treatment, targeting the Pericle CIAA beneficiaries who received integrated assistance. The questionnaire distributed for the survey broke down the concept of improvement of quality of life of the beneficiaries under treatment into five essential dimensions:

School situation, measuring the return to school of those beneficiaries who had dropped out of school and/or at finalizing studies interrupted by increased drug consumption.

Professional situation, measuring the return to work and re-integration into society, as well as results of vocational training of the beneficiaries during treatment.

Relationship with the family, measuring the improvement of the relationship of the beneficiaries with their family, as a direct consequence of giving up drugs and beginning treatment.

Medical situation, assessing whether beneficiaries managed to enroll with family doctors and/or to start paying into the national health insurance program, as a consequence of beginning the treatment

Legal situation, measuring the degree to which crime related to drug consumption of the beneficiaries decreased, as a consequence of the initiation of integrated assistance.

Psychological aspects related to the improvement of the self image, self control, interest in a healthy life and improved relationships with others, associated with giving up drug consumption and admission into a program of psycho-social and medical assistance.

The population included in the survey was 70 beneficiaries of the Pericle CIAA. The demographic profile of respondents by age was as follows: 17% women and 83% men, of whom 44% belong to the 26-30 years of age group, 33% belong to the 31-35 years of age group, 14% belong to the 20-25 years of age group, 7% belong to the 36-40 years of age group and 2% are older than 40.

*Chart 10. Distribution of beneficiaries by age*
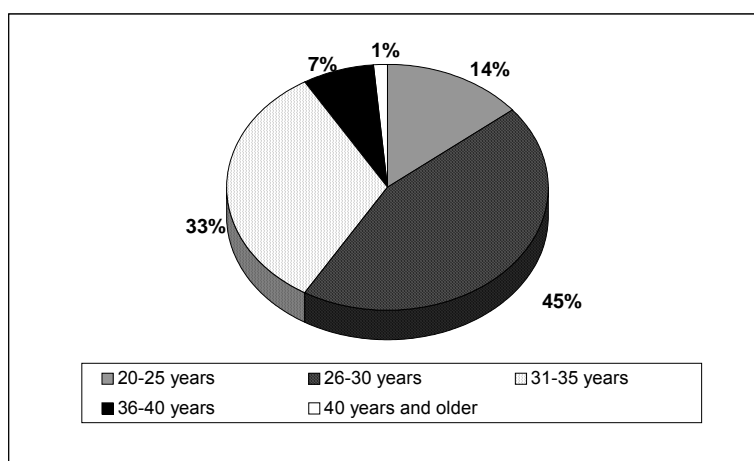
In terms of type of treatment, 74% of the survey responders were included in the substitution treatment program with methadone (PMM), 13% were under treatment with naltrexone (PMN), 10% were under treatment with suboxone (PMB) and 3% benefited exclusively from the integrated psycho-social services.

*Chart 11. Distribution of beneficiaries by type of treatment received*
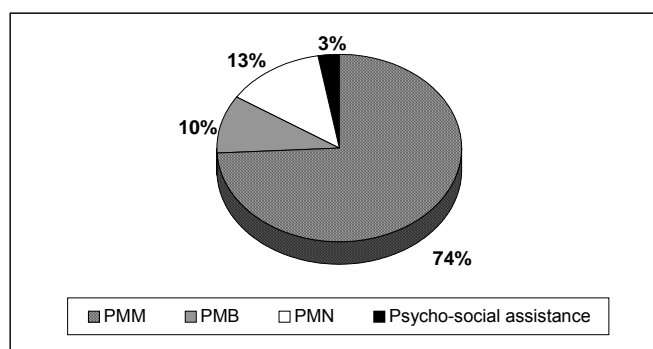


In terms of marital status, 40% of the sample were not married, 37% were in stable couple/partnership relationships, 20% were married, 2% were divorced and 1% were widowed.

*Chart 12. Distribution of beneficiaries by marital status*
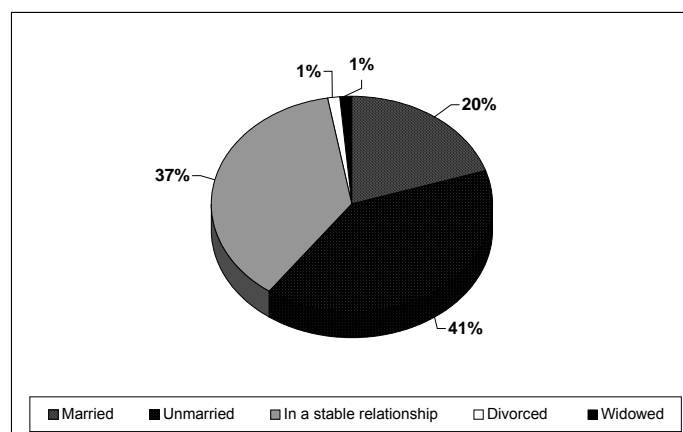


The charts below show respondents' progress in the five sub-categories used to measure quality of life.

## Chart 13. Beneficiaries' educational situation before and after treatment
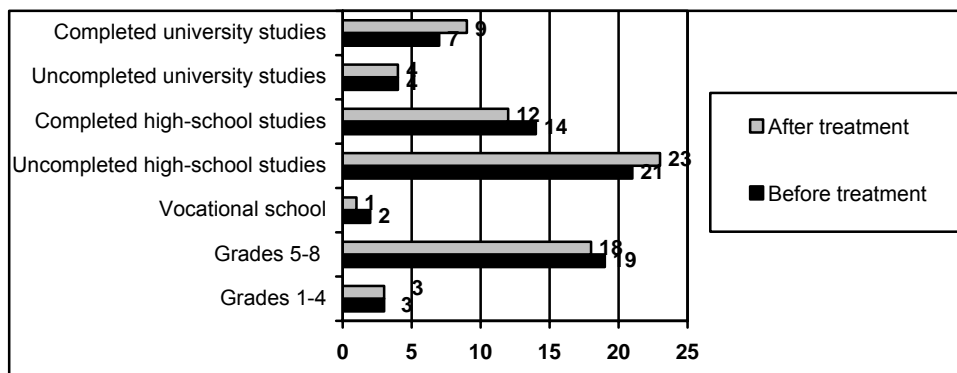


Regarding the educational situation of beneficiaries, it is worth noting that, starting with October 2010, the Pericle CIAA social assistant and the FFCP psychologist, in partnership with School 148, concentrated their activities around (re)integrating beneficiaries in formal education, for the purpose of finalizing the mandatory years of study and obtaining graduation certificates for the first eight grades. At the same time, the beneficiaries received advice on how to draft an adequate curriculum vitae and appear at a job interview, in order to promote their socio-professional reintegration into society.

## Chart 14. Beneficiaries' relationship with the family before and after initiating the treatment
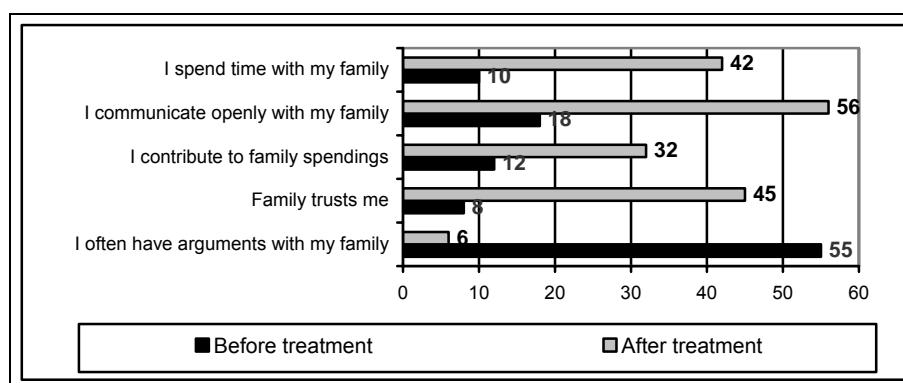
## Chart 15. Beneficiaries' professional situation before and after initiating treatment



| | |
|---|---|
| I have no job | 18 / 24 |
| I am unemployed | 2 / 8 |
| I work occasionally | 8 / 5 |
| I am unregistered worker | 14 / 9 |
| I am employed | 24 |

■ Before treatment  □ After treatment

## Chart 16. Vocational training of beneficiaries before and after initiating treatment



■ Before treatment  □ After treatment

| | |
|---|---|
| I did gratuate any vocational courses | 55 / 43 |
| I received qualification at workplace | 9 / 6 |
| I graduated vocational training courses | 6 / 21 |
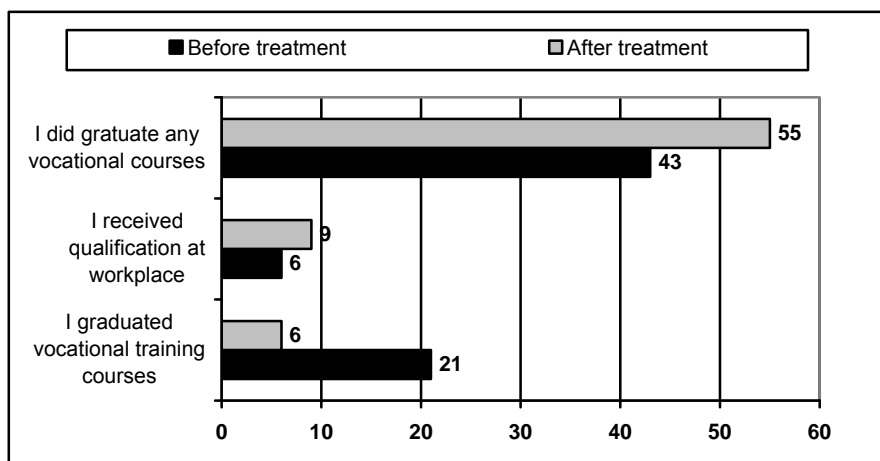
## Chart 17. Beneficiaries' medical situation before and after initiating treatment



Legend: Before treatment, After treatment

| Category | Before treatment | After treatment |
|---|---|---|
| I don't have health insurance | 44 | 40 |
| I have health insurance | 26 | 30 |
| I don't have a family doctor | 15 | 13 |
| I have family doctor | 55 | 57 |
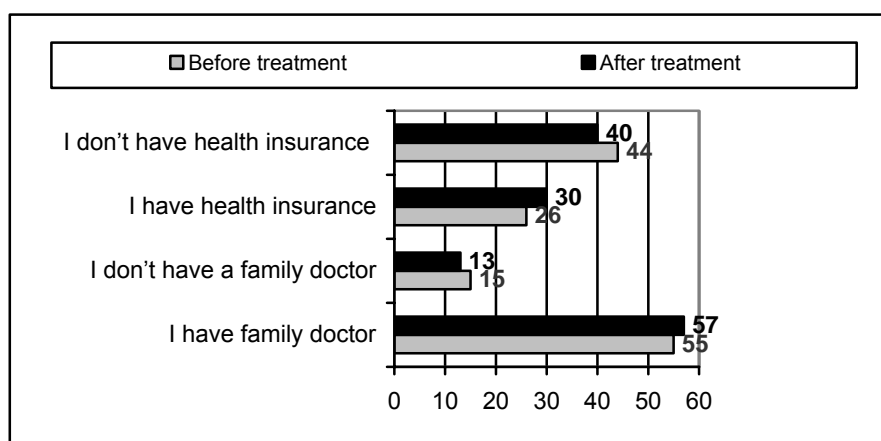
## Chart 18. Beneficiaries' legal situation before and after initiating treatment



| Category | Before treatment | After treatment |
|---|---|---|
| Other situations | 1 | 1 |
| Supervision measures | 6 | 9 |
| I executed the prison sentence | 26 | 0 |
| Police custody | 1 | 0 |
| In course of trial | 1 | 1 |
| Criminal fine | 9 | 5 |
| Without criminal records | 26 | 54 |

Legend: Before treatment, After treatment
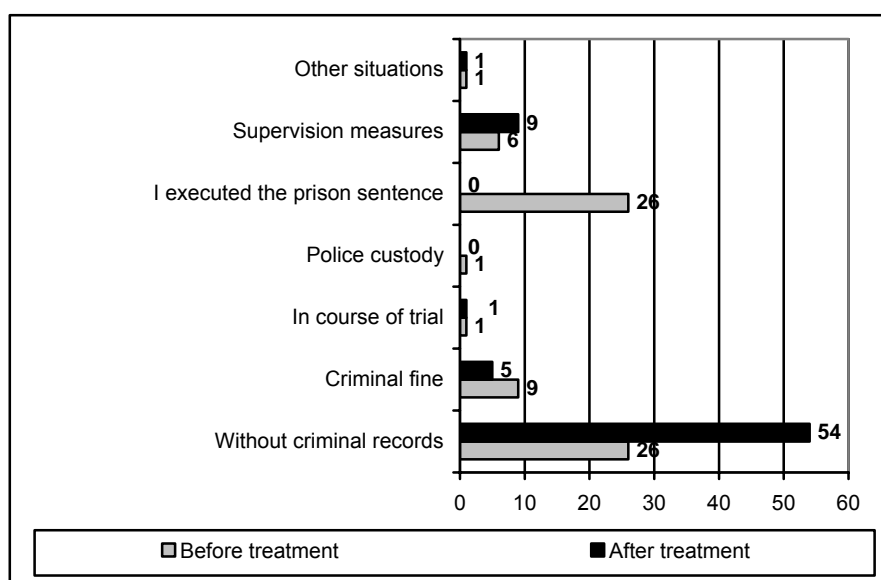
*Chart 19. Beneficiaries' self-evaluation of the self image and of interpersonal efficiency before and after initiating the treatment*
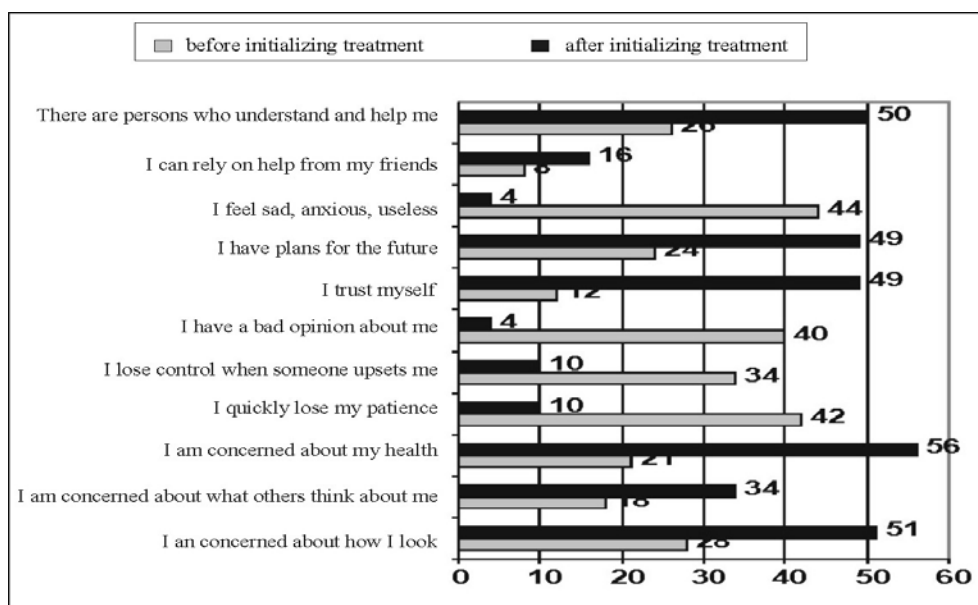
**Case study**

*Ș.A, 22 years, student at Bioterra School, Bucharest in the first year, in the records of the X Clinical Psychiatry Hospital, returns to the hospital with polymorphous symptoms caused by the heroin withdrawal: osteo-muscular pains, chills, night sweating, throwing-up, psycho–motor anxiety, insomnias, irascibility, the irrepressible desire to take drugs (craving).*

*The beneficiary declares that, after a period of abstinence of 9 months, she resumed heroin consumption, injecting the most recent does the night before (she showed needle marks on both arms).*

*After the hospital detoxification treatment, she was sent to the Pericle CIAA.*

Social – familial and professional history:

- *she graduated from high school and is a student in the first year at Bioterra School, Bucharest;*
- *she is not married;*
- *she lives with her mother (a Romtelecom operator), grandmother and a younger step sister (student);*
- *her father left for Canada, after having divorced her mother; the mother remarried;*
- *she has no income of her own;*
- *for 3 years, she has been a chronic heroin consumer (intravenous) and she takes drugs alone or with her boyfriend, whom she has known for 8 years;*
- *she declares she never had problems with the police, but she accumulated big debts with the heroin dealers;*
- *she has tried to give up consumption several times but, because of her social circle, did not succeed (two 9-month periods of abstinence).*

Pre-morbid personality:

- *background mood – cyclothymia;*
- *habits and attitudes as compared to the norms – drug consumer (heroin) for approximately 3 years;*
- *does not observe social norms;*
- *she spends her spare time with her boyfriend;*
- *hobbies - films, walks.*

Psychiatric examination:

- *The beneficiary cooperates and is communicative. Oriented temporally and spatially auto and allopsychic.*
- *She has a mobile face, a mobile mimic, alive glance, gestures with normal amplitude, neat apparel.*
- *She says that she started consuming heroin 3 years ago in variable quantities*

*(approx. 50 mg / day): "the first doses were for pleasure, then I continued because I had company; I've had 2 9-month periods of abstinence".*

- *After the last detoxification cure, the patient has immediately resumed intravenous heroin consumption because of the circle of friends and because of the family conflicts.*
- *Depressive mood; insomnias, superficial unrestful sleep, irritability, irascibility, reduced tolerance to frustrations.*
- *Feelings of uselessness, of devaluation, of incapacity, of depersonalization–derealization.*
- *There were no signs of psycho-productive elements of the type of hallucinations, illusions and delirium.*
- *Difficulties of integration in the social and familial environment, tendency of isolation and solitude.*
- *Decrease of the vital impetus and of the useful efficiency of daily activities.*
- *She has kept her capacity of self-conduction. She is aware of her disease.*

Toxicological analysis:

- *amphetamines 143.4 (positivity 1000)*
- *barbiturates 65.3 (positivity 200)*
- *benzodiazepines 0 (positivity 200)*
- *methadone 0 (positivity 300)*
- *cannabis 0 (positivity 20)*
- *cocaine 0 (positivity 300)*
- *opiates 99.9 (positivity 2000)*

Diagnostic: Syndrome of addiction to opiates (heroin) against the background of an unstable psycho-emotional personality in the course of structuring.

Treatment:

 I. Drug treatment:

- *substitution treatment (Methadone) 12cp/day;*
- *de-contracting drug (Midocalm) 2 tb/day;*
- *antispasmodics (No-spa, Algocalmin) 3 tb/day;*
- *anxiolytic (Alprazolam 3 tb /day);*
- *tymostabilizer (Carbamazepine 400 mg /day);*
- *hypnotic (Rivotril) 1 tb in the evening.*

II. Psycho-therapeutic cognitive-behavioral group intervention for relapse prevention:

*Initially there is the first contact with the beneficiary for the establishment of a therapeutic relationship. What follows is the signing of the therapeutic contract and the explanation of the way the treatment works. This initial stage is followed by:*

1. Introductory session:
- *group formation; establishing the basic rules of the group;*
- *presentation of the general model of relapse prevention;*
- *presentation of the general structure of the sessions;*
- *establishing individual goals;*
- *presentation of the work notebook and of the tasks for home; presentation and practice of a relaxation exercise (the image of a clepsydra);*
- *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*

2. First session:
- *presentation of a technique of focusing the attention;*
- *feedback on reaching/maintaining the goal from the previous week;*
- *introduction and presentation of the decisional balance;*
- *the realization of a decisional balance of the group regarding heroin consumption;*
- *establishing the goal;*
- *presentation of the tasks to do at home;*
- *practicing a relaxation exercise (controlled breathing);*
- *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*

3. Second session:
- *practicing a technique of focusing the attention;*
- *feedback on reaching/maintaining the goal from the previous week;*
- *presentation of the theme of risk situations, identification of situations of great risk;*
- *sliding vs. relapse;*
- *presentation of the concept of coping (strategies of coping) and practicing strategies in a role play;*
- *presentation of the tasks to do at home;*
- *practicing a relaxation exercise (hour glass exercise);*
- *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*

4. Third session:
- *practicing a technique of focusing the attention;*
- *feedback on reaching/maintaining the goal from the previous week;*
- *the realization of a functional analysis of a situation presented in the group;*
- *presentation of the "anger" theme and the connection between it and heroin consumption;*
- *functional analysis and ABC analysis for an anger situation;*
- *confrontation of irrational thoughts about anger and formulating a rational*

*thought, as an alternative;*

- *strategies of coping with anger;*
- *presentation of the tasks to do at home;*
- *practicing a relaxation exercise (hour glass exercise);*
- *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*

5. Fourth session:
   - *practicing a technique of focusing the attention;*
   - *feedback on reaching/maintaining the goal from the previous week;*
   - *introduction of the "depression" theme - group discussion on that theme;*
   - *functional analysis and ABC analysis for a depression situation;*
   - *confrontation of irrational thoughts about depression and formulating a rational thought, as an alternative and practicing it in a role play;*
   - *strategies of coping with depression; presentation of the tasks to do at home;*
   - *practicing a relaxation exercise (hour glass exercise);*
   - *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*

6. Fifth session:
   - *practicing a technique of focusing the attention;*
   - *feedback on reaching/maintaining the goal from the previous week;*
   - *introduction of the "anxiety" theme - group discussion on that theme;*
   - *functional analysis and ABC analysis on a fear situation;*
   - *confrontation of irrational thoughts about fear and formulating a rational thought, as an alternative and practicing it in a role play;*
   - *strategies of coping with anxiety;*
   - *presentation of the tasks for home;*
   - *practicing a relaxation exercise (controlled breathing);*
   - *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*

7. Sixth session:
   - *practicing a technique of focusing the attention;*
   - *feedback on reaching/maintaining the goal from the previous week;*
   - *introduction of the term "craving" (eagerness/need of consumption); group discussion on that theme (thoughts, emotions, physiological sensations, behaviors);*
   - *presentation of the craving diary;*
   - *functional analysis of a craving situation; strategies of coping with the craving;*
   - *presentation of the tasks to do at home;*
   - *practicing a relaxation exercise (controlled breathing);*
   - *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*

8. Seventh session:
   - *practicing a technique of focusing the attention;*
   - *feedback about reaching /maintaining the goal from the previous week;*
   - *introduction of the term "social pressure" - group discussion on that theme (experiences of sliding under the pressure of other persons;*
   - *functional analysis of a situation of social pressure;*
   - *strategies of coping with social pressure; practicing them in a role play;*
   - *presentation of the tasks to do at home;*
   - *practicing a relaxation exercise (controlled breathing);*
   - *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*
9. Eighth session:
   - *practicing a technique of focusing the attention;*
   - *feedback on reaching /maintaining the goal from the previous week;*
   - *introduction of the "psychological trap" concept; group discussion on that theme (experiences of psychological traps);*
   - *functional analysis of a situation of psychological trap (thought traps and errors);*
   - *strategies of avoiding traps;*
   - *reviewing the emergency plan in case of sliding;*
   - *presentation of the tasks to do at home;*
   - *practicing a relaxation exercise (controlled breathing);*
   - *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*
10. Ninth session:
    - *practicing a technique of focusing the attention;*
    - *feedback on reaching /maintaining the goal from the previous week;*
    - *identification of stress sources in one's life;*
    - *the principles of a balanced lifestyle;*
    - *the realization of the balance must vs. want;*
    - *introduction of the "positive addictions" concept - their identification in the group;*
    - *presentation of the tasks to do at home;*
    - *practicing a relaxation exercise (controlled breathing);*
    - *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*
11. Tenth session:
    - *practicing a technique of focusing the attention;*
    - *feedback on reaching/maintaining the goal from the previous week;*
    - *resuming the presented concepts; group discussion on the theme of the*

> *approached topics;*
> - *offering feedback to clients (an opinion on their evolution, on the acquired skills);*
> - *anticipating future great risk situations; formulating strategies of coping with them;*
> - *presentation of the tasks to do at home;*
> - *practicing a relaxation exercise (controlled breathing);*
> - *session closing;*
> - *filling out the evaluation questionnaire.*

The case study highlights the fact that, by intensifying psycho-social interventions and by increasing the quality thereof, the results on the social condition of the beneficiaries of Pericle CIAA have significantly improved during the reference period, in the following areas:

- the quality of beneficiaries' relationships with their families in terms of communication, the time allotted by the family to the beneficiaries, as well as the beneficiaries' participation to the family budget;

- the professional situation of the beneficiaries, by increasing the number of beneficiaries who have jobs and who have taken career training courses according to their individual abilities/skills, their educational profile and the labor market;

- the medical situation, by increasing beneficiaries' access to family doctors;

- the legal situation.

## *The Perception of the Community Regarding Drug Trafficking and Consumption*

The survey has revealed that there is no person who thinks that drugs do not affect the area: approximately 75% are convinced that drugs have a negative effect on the area, and 25 % of the respondents have chosen the response versions "I do not know" or "I refuse to answer".

The main issue the presence of drugs in the area is associated with is the negative influence they have on children. Other significant explanations for the negative impact of drugs are associated with the feeling of fear and insecurity that drugs create, as well as stigma related to drugs that affects the reputation of the area negatively.

The main three causes accounting for the presence of drugs in the neighborhood are: the precarious situation of the area (78.8%), the number of consumers (77.1%) and the poor police intervention (71.7%). The presence of drug dealers is also perceived as a significant cause of drugs in the neighborhood (70%).

## *Conclusions*

If the sentencing of drug dealers is a normal reaction of the legal system, the punishing of drug user for having broken the law, under conditions of rigid enforcement, is oriented only towards the legal aspects and becomes a real mistake with dire consequences both for the recovery of the individual *per se*, as well as for the rest of society.

The roles of various actors in the criminal justice system and of treatment providers change and complete one another, allowing courts to judge and assess from a complex perspective the manner of "social recovery" of the drugs consumer. In order to appreciate constructively and efficiently the manner of intervention, sentencing and/or treatment of the drugs consumer, in order to ensure success in her/his psychological, social and moral recovery, we must take into consideration the entire set of social, cultural and individual determining factors, as well as collateral problems such as mental illnesses, basic medical problems, sexually transmitted diseases, homelessness, basic educational deficiencies, unemployment and level of qualification, marital and family problems, as well as long-term effects of physical and sexual abuse from childhood.

The reactions towards drug addicts (as criminals) are developed starting from the legislative framework which is directly connected to their control and punishment. At the same time, we must be ever more willing to admit that punishment is not enough and that it is necessary to apply new strategies of educational intervention and treatment in order for this

problem to be efficiently managed. Research proves more and more clearly that unilateral measures have no efficiency in the case of crimes perpetrated for the consumption and under the influence of drugs.

In industrialized countries, the current status of public knowledge about criminality and justice raises serious problems regarding the quality of criminal law. The public frequently manifests its dissatisfaction regarding criminal law and legal practice, often having expectations that are incompatible and contradictory with the results of judicial activity. Furthermore, the public is poorly informed about criminality and the activity of the judiciary.

Of course there are many areas of social policy where public opinion has diverging opinions or is not correctly informed (e.g. the public health system, the national defense system, etc.), but they do not have the same impact as the problems related to the carrying out of judicial decisions. The criminal justice system depends on the public's confidence in order to be fully efficient. Without complete faith in its correctness and efficiency, it would probably stop functioning. Law enforcement needs public consent and governments ignore the crises of confidence in the justice system and the danger that these crises may create. That is why the criminal justice system holds a unique place in the public sector, and the public's attitudes towards that system require a special response.

If poorly informed, the public may reach inefficient or incorrect conclusions regarding policies related to crime. Criminal law and related policies are different from those regarding education, health or other areas of social policy. Often the process is reactive, and politicians realize that when they are thrown out or lose elections as a result of not coming up with visible answers to public opinion. Most often however, politicians are proactive, exploiting public misunderstandings regarding certain expectations with the purpose of obtaining electoral support. Criminality is a perennial source of concern and all politicians who promise tough, decisive measures against it only want to obtain electoral benefits, "criminal populism"[22]

---

[22] *The term of "criminal populism" was adopted by several authors, the phenomenon being defined and analyzed in detail by Roberts J. and Hough, M. in the work Public Opinion, Crime and Justice, 2002*

having been a defining element of politics for several years now. Criminal populism benefits from a public lack of information about criminality and justice and honest politicians are often disadvantaged if those practicing it are perceived as coming up with solutions to crime.

Those responsible for this situation are first the legal system, which has or should have an interest in its decisions being well understood and second, the scientific research community. The academic environment and governmental researchers must lay down the basics of understanding criminality and justice and have the obligation to provide quality information. Criminologists, in particular, should make sure that the information they have access to is available to everyone who create or constrain criminal policies.

Influencing public opinion regarding criminal punishments requires first and foremost a good understanding of the nature of public opinion and in particular of the forces that can influence it. Before expecting to influence public opinion, we must have a clear vision on what is possible and how it can be achieved. The key concepts must be realistic and pragmatic. If we want to influence the nature of policies in the field of criminal law and responses to criminality, we must act gradually, and not through dramatic changes.

The forces affecting criminal law and related policies should always be far outside the influence of political parties, so that they may be pragmatic and avoid undue influences on them.

The ways to influence public opinion depend first on the understanding of the development of public attitudes towards the punishment, second, on the understanding of key points of influence and third, on the effective interventions that influence public knowledge or attitude.

By its social and criminal complexity, we estimate that the Ferentari area—as an area of high community risk—deserves special attention and needs special programs and interventions, customized both for the purpose of reducing criminality and increasing citizens' safety, as well as at the level of attitudes and mentalities—within that community, as well as outside it.

*Bibliography*

Avelardo Valdez, Charles D. Kaplan, and Russell L. Curtis, Jr. - Aggressive Crime, Alcohol and Drug Use, and Concentrated Poverty in 24 U.S. Urban Areas, Am J Drug Alcohol Abuse. 2007; 33(4): 595-603;

Iancu, Adrian Marcel - Drug traffic and consumption – a threat to public order, in the volume of works of The international session of scientific communications Internal Affairs and Justice in the Process of the European Integration and Globalization, Alexandru Ioan Cuza Police Academy, Bucharest, 13th-14th of May 2010,

Iancu, Adrian Marcel; Nicolăescu, Victor Criminality in the Drugs Regimen. Case Survey: Bucharest Municipality, in the volume of works of The International Session of Scientific Communications Internal Affairs and Justice in the Process of the European Integration and Globalization, Alexandru Ioan Cuza Police Academy, Bucharest, 13th-14th of May 2010;

Iancu, Adrian Marcel; Nicolăescu, Victor; Frusinoiu, Paula Stefania – Drug Trafficking and Consumption in Bucharest Municipality – the Current Context for Integrated Interventions at Community Level, Information and documentation newsletter, issue 2/2010;

Roberts J., Hough, M - Public Opinion, Crime and Justice, 2002

**Internet Resources**

The National Administration of Penitentiaries - www.anp.ro

The National Anti-Drug Agency – "2009 Evaluation report regarding the stage of accomplishment of the activities envisaged for the year 2008 in the Action plan for the implementation of the National Anti-Drug Strategy, from 2005 to 2008". Available at www.politiaromana.ro

Ghettos: The Changing Consequences of Ethnic Isolation available la http://www.bos.frb.org/economic/nerr/rr1997/spring/glsr9 7_2.htm

The National Report on the Situation of Drugs, 2008. ANA/The Romanian Observer for Drugs and Drug Addiction. Chapter II. The drug consumption in general population and specific under-groups. p.19. Available la www.emcdda.europa.eu

The National Anti-Drug Strategy 2005-2012, Chapter II, Reduction of demand, www.ana.gov.ro

# SCHOOL IN THE GHETTO

_Florin BOTONOGU_

T o build an adequate theoretical framework regarding education in ghetto areas, we need to analyze education data in the Roma communities (in Ferentari, Livezilor Alley, the Roma are a majority) and education in the poor communities. After a short introduction regarding the state of the education system in Romania, this chapter presents several relevant statistics regarding education in the poorest Roma communities. Afterwards, I analyze data regarding the performance of schools in District 5 of the capital, as well as other data gathered from the PCRM survey conducted in the Livezilor Alley area.

Students' school performance is not influenced solely by factors pertaining to the education system. I have decided to present mostly data in this chapter, while in the second part of this book, I will present data regarding the family status and community factors that influence education.

## Education in Romania

Unlike other social fields, education has enjoyed special attention from the government, as it is now considered a national priority. Beyond the debates regarding education financing, teachers' salaries, administrative reorganization or students' performance, education is an extremely important issue in poor areas, because it represents the only opportunity children have to escape the vicious circle of poverty, to "break out" of from the ghetto. In many cases, schools are some of the few state institutions available in the neighborhoods. However, their involvement in community life is many times very low, despite their great potential to stimulate parents. Field research has shown that only a quarter of the residents of

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

According to the report of the Ministry of Education on the state of the national education system in 2010,[23] the number of children attending the education system during the reporting period is lower by 148,200 as compared to the previous school year.

Nearly 80% of the school-aged population is enrolled in the education system, but the trend for the past years is a downwards one. There is a difference at sub-national between enrollment rates in primary and secondary school, with the rural environment having 20% lower rates than the urban environment. The report's recommendations for this problem refer to an increase in financial investment in the system. However, material investments are not sufficient. There are refurbished schools in villages or poor urban areas, but they still have personnel deficits or low quality of teaching staff.

The school life expectancy for a 5-year old child is 16.4 years, lower than the European average of 17.3 years.

Between 2001 and 2009, the average primary and secondary school enrollment period, in total, was 7.5 years. Significant gaps are again noticed between the urban and rural environments.

Another problem also encountered in underprivileged areas is the growing number of school children who are older than the appropriate official age groups (10 years for the primary cycle and 14 years for the secondary cycle). This is due to late first-time student's school attendance and to "second chance" programs.

The nationwide enrollment rate in the 10-year mandatory education system is 96.4%.

---

[23]    *https://www.fundatiadinupatriciu.ro/uploaded/Raportul%20asupra%20sistemului%20 national%20de%20invatamant%202010.pdf*

The eighth grade graduation rate in 2009 was 91.8%, with a 26% gap between the urban and rural environments.

In 2008, the over-25 year old adult participation rate to the education and ongoing training system (at 1.6%) was four times lower than the EU average, with only 15% adults from rural communities.

After 10 years in which the school drop-out rate increased (in 2007 it grew by over 50% as compared to 2002 levels), a decrease was recorded in the school year 2008-2009, with an average drop-out rate of 1.7% (for the primary and secondary cycles). Again, there is a large gap between the urban and the rural environments.

The early drop-out rate for the past three years was 17.3% in 2007, 15.9% in 2008 and 16.6% in 2009, which places us on the forth place in the EU, after Malta (36.8%), Spain and Portugal (31.2%) and above the EU average of 14.4%.

## Evaluation through National Testing

The national testing carried out for fourth graders in 2007 resulted in 14.5% of the students earning an "unsatisfactory" grade in Romanian language, 22.8% in science and 8.8% in mathematics.

The passing rate for the national testing carried out for eighth graders at the end of the 2009-2010 school year was 83.3% for Romanian language and grammar and 76.4% for mathematics.

The 2006 data gathered for the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) placed Romania in last place in the EU in terms of student achievement in reading comprehension, with over 50% of the students evaluated at level one or lower in reading. A 2011 European Commission (EC) study[24] reveals the fact that Romania and Bulgaria have the highest percentage of students facing problems in this field (around 40%).

During the past three years the percentage of qualified teaching personnel has stayed at 98% for the primary cycle and 96% for the secondary cycle.

---

[24] *http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/130EN.pdf*

Some gaps that have appeared between test results reported by schools and Romanian results at the level of European testing have raised questions regarding the performances of the education system.

All indicators point to rather large gaps between the urban and the rural environments. The system's faults are extremely visible not only in the rural areas, but also in poor urban areas, in Roma communities or in the ghettos, many of them a combination of urban and rural environments. As an example, we will present the conclusions of a study carried out in 100 of the poorest Roma communities in the country.

### *Education in Roma Communities*

It is known that the Roma population is a young population. According to the data provided by the Open Society Foundation[25], out of a total population estimated between 1,800,000 and 2,500,000 Roma in Romania, the number of children under 18 is estimated to be between 230,854 and 926,650, or 43.1%. On the basis of estimates from official data:

- 58.8% of these children are attending primary education, and 31.7% are graduates at this level

- 7.3% are attending secondary education and 9.6% are graduates of some type of education at this level

- 1% are enrolled in tertiary education, with only 0.7% graduates at this level

A study on the poorest Roma communities in Romania (Duminică, Ivasiuc, 2010) analyzes the quality of education Roma children have access to. The main aspects surveyed are: school facilities, the quality of human resources and ongoing training of teachers, how discrimination is addressed, school drop-outs, repeated school years, non-inclusion of children in the education system, and early school abandonment.

The researchers have shown that, the more Roma children attending a school, the lower the quality of that school's facilities (i.e. special labs for science, languages, etc., the school gym, the existence of a library and the number of books available).

---

[25] *http://www.soros.org/initiatives/esp/articles_publications/publications/monitoring_20061218/table_2008.pdf*

The number of qualified teachers also decreases as the number of Roma children in a school grows. The percentage of teachers commuting to work is 60% and teacher's turnover in the 2008-2009 academic year was 9.2%.

The number of ongoing teacher training hours that teachers attend is 7 times lower in the schools in these communities. The teachers' understanding of subjects such as racism, discrimination or intolerance is at a minimum level and many of them are not aware of the existence of these phenomena in society.

The study also shows that there is no widely accepted definition of school drop-out, as the Ministry of Education uses different definition criteria submitted by schools. According to schools responses, the school drop-out rate in these communities is at 6%, while community questionnaires rate it at 9%. Most of the time, the drop-out prevention strategies (family discussions) take place only after the child has dropped out and start with blaming the family.

The main causes of school drop-out are poverty (44%) and bad school results/repeated school years (16%).

In schools within the communities surveyed, 76% of the children who dropped out of school are Roma, which tends to confirm, in the authors' opinion, the inadequacy of the pedagogic curricula and teaching strategies for the Roma.

Because of poverty and the long distance to the school, 2% of the Roma children surveyed never went to school. When analyzing the reasons why most Roma never continue their studies after graduating the mandatory education system, the authors reveal the lack of community models that made it in life through education.

Cases of segregation at class or school level make up 31% of all analyzed schools. No change in this situation seems to be desired by any of the teachers, parents of the Roma children, or by the parents of the non-Roma children. Among the reasons quoted for the reluctance to de-segregate is the difference in performance levels between classes and schools. This is why desegregation must be accompanied by measures dedicated to

increasing the educational level of the Roma children and to educating teachers and parents about discrimination.

The study concludes that, contrary to general opinion, it is not the low value placed on education among Roma families that is the main cause of their children's poor performance in school, but other phenomena within the system, such as segregation, discrimination, unqualified personnel and inadequate school facilities.

### *Education in District 5*

District 5 is the district with the highest number of students repeating school years (school year 2009-2010), both in the primary cycle (159 children) and in the secondary cycle (386 students). The number of students earning awards at international competitions (195) is higher than the number of students earning awards at national competitions (102) (BSI).

The analysis below shows both the schools with large numbers of Roma children but also schools with low student achievement. The relation between a school, the Roma and the ghetto is not easy to capture, all the more so since the data (even the official data) is not always consistent. As for teachers' attitudes towards their students, the conclusions of the study carried out in the poorest Roma communities largely apply to the ghetto areas as well.

The source of the data below is the School Inspectorate of District 5.

**Table 24. Kindergartens with highest number of Roma children**

| Educational institution | Total no. of children | No. of Roma children | Percentage of Roma children | No. of children speaking Romani | Percentage of children speaking Romani |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kindergarten no. 54 | 359 | 67 | 18.66% | 6 | 8.96% |
| Kindergarten no. 24 | 184 | 32 | 17.39% | 4 | 12.5% |
| Kindergarten no. 53 | 220 | 30 | 13.64% | 15 | 50% |
| Kindergarten no. 34 | 206 | 10 | 4.85% | 0 | 0% |

*Source*: BSI, 2011.

**Table 25. The number of Roma students enrolled**
**in high schools in District 5**

| Educational institution | Number of Roma | Percentage of Roma |
|---|---|---|
| National College "Gheorghe Lazăr" | 28 | 2.50% |
| High school "Ion Barbu" | 27 | 1.99% |
| High school "Ştefan Odobleja" | 18 | 1.33% |
| High school "Dimitrie Bolintineanu" | 28 | 1.47% |
| Technological College "Grigore Cerchez" | 27 | 1.93% |
| Food Industry Technical College "Dumitru Moţoc" | 98 | 7.23% |
| Economics College "Viilor" | 149 | 9.61% |
| Energy Technical College | 20 | 2.11% |
| Industrial High School "Dimitrie Gusti" | 10 | 0.54% |

*Source*: BSI, 2011.

**Table 26. Schools with the highest official**
**number of Roma children**

| Educational institution | Total number of children | Number of Roma children | Percentage of Roma children |
|---|---|---|---|
| School no. 147 | 605 | 194 | 32.06% |
| School no. 136 | 411 | 178 | 43.31% |
| School no. 141 | 819 | 152 | 18.56% |
| School no. 148 | 875 | 148 | 16.91% |
| School no. 125 | 307 | 106 | 34.53% |
| School no. 144 | 249 | 86 | 34.54% |
| School no. 2 | 528 | 67 | 12.69% |
| School no. 135 | 720 | 59 | 8.19% |
| School no. 103 | 601 | 45 | 7.49% |
| School no. 134 | 471 | 43 | 9.13% |

*Source*: BSI, 2011.

As usual, statistics regarding the number of Roma must be taken with a grain of salt. Fluctuations in the figures are due not only to the identification method for the Roma, but also to variation in reports filed by the schools.

The schools with the highest number of drop-out children (total for the primary and secondary cycle) during the past four years are shown below.

**Table 27. School drop-out during the
last four years**

| Educational institution | School year | | | | | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2006-2007 | | 2007-2008 | | 2008-2009 | | 2009-2010 | | |
| | 1-4 | 5-8 | 1-4 | 5-8 | 1-4 | 5-8 | 1-4 | 5-8 | |
| School no. 141 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 15 | 18 | 87 |
| School no. 143 | 10 | 13 | 6 | 15 | 2 | 11 | 0 | 5 | 62 |
| School no. 131 | 8 | 12 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 56 |
| School no. 125 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 11 | 17 | 5 | 3 | 53 |
| School no. 147 | 4 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 13 | 43 |
| School no. 130 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 34 |
| School no. 114 | 1 | 16 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 29 |
| School no. 103 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 27 |
| School no. 126 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 24 |
| School no. 134 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 20 |

*Source*: BSI, 2011.

The first observation we can make is that there are large differences even between the first 10 schools in terms of school drop-out rates (listed here), as the difference between the schools in the first and last positions is 67 children who dropped out of school in 4 years. Only 5 schools of those with the highest number of Roma are listed in the table, but we believe this is because the schools with high numbers of Roma children fail to report all school drop-out cases.

For the last academic year on record (2009-2010), the highest drop-out rate is 4% for the primary cycle and 4.33% for the secondary cycle, more than double the national average (1.7%).

A relevant picture of student achievement in District 5 arises from the percentage of those who pass the national student capacity exam, unique theses and national evaluation. The classification is based on results from the 2009-2010 school year, shown next to results from the previous years for comparison.

**Table 28. Percentage of students passing the national student capacity exam, unique theses and national evaluation**

| Educational institution | 2009-2010 (%) | 2008-2009 (%) | 2007-2008 (%) | 2006-2007 (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| School no. 130 | 50 | 55 | 56 | 74 |
| School no. 136 | 56 | 79 | 79 | 36 |
| School no. 148 | 60 | 47 | 31 | 49 |
| School no. 147 | 61 | 74 | 74 | 59 |
| School no. 135 | 63 | 60 | 63 | 63 |
| School no. 125 | 65 | 47 | 70 | 50 |
| School no. 2 | 66 | 88 | 95 | 73 |
| School no. 144 | 67 | 63 | 100 | 44 |
| School no. 131 | 72 | 87 | 77 | 80 |
| School no. 115 | 75 | 82 | 67 | 38 |

*Source*: BSI, 2011.

In this area, we see an approximately 30% gap between the lowest percentage of achievement and the national average.

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

The number of permanent and substitute teachers in schools provide a fairly good image of the teaching quality and of the fluctuation of personnel. If in the case of primary-school teachers the situation is better, in the case of middle school teachers, there are several schools where the number of substitute teachers is close to or exceeds the number of permanent teachers.

**Table 29. Number of permanent
and substitute teachers**

| Educational institution | School year 2009-2010 | | School year 2010-2011 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Permanent teachers | Substitute teachers | Permanent teachers | Substitute teachers |
| School no. 2 | 13 | 11 | 12 | 11 |
| School no. 115 | 2 | 13 | 4 | 11 |
| School no. 125 | 3 | 13 | 4 | 13 |
| School no. 132 | 10 | 19 | 4 | 21 |
| School no. 136 | 10 | 19 | 4 | 21 |
| School no. 144 | 3 | 13 | 4 | 13 |
| School no. 147 | 15 | 12 | 14 | 13 |
| School no. 148 | 15 | 22 | 15 | 18 |

*Source*: BSI, 2011.

At the level of the municipality of Bucharest, 76.78% of all teaching jobs are held by permanent teachers and 20.48% by substitute teachers (BSI, Ministry of Education, 2010). In some cases listed in the table above, this ratio is reversed.

The situation of education institutions that offer "second chance" (SC) and "reduced attendance" (RA) classes in District 5 is as follows:

**Table 30. Number of students enrolled
in SC and RA programs**

| School no. | 2006-2007 | | | 2007-2008 | | | 2008-2009 | | | 2009-2010 | | | 2010-2011 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | SC | RA | Level | SC | RA | Level | SC | RA | Level | SC | RA | Level | SC | RA | Level |
| 128 | 0 | 100 | G | 0 | 100 | S | 0 | 86 | S | 0 | 93 | S | 0 | 93 | S |
| 131 | 29 | 0 | P | 45 | 0 | P | 53 | 0 | P | 52 | 0 | P | 29 | 0 | P |
| 136 | 25 | 0 | P | 25 | 0 | P | 25 | 0 | P | 45 | 0 | P | 90 | 0 | P |
| 141 | 45 | 0 | P | 44 | 0 | P | 30 | 0 | P | 30 | 0 | P | 15 | 0 | P |
| 144 | 10 | 0 | P | 11 | 0 | P | 10 | 0 | P | 10 | 0 | P | 10 | 0 | P |
| 148 | 0 | 360 | S | 15 | 325 | PS | 10 | 325 | PS | 15 | 325 | PS | 15 | 240 | PS |
| Total | 109 | 460 | 569 | 140 | 425 | 565 | 128 | 411 | 539 | 152 | 418 | 570 | 159 | 333 | 492 |

P= Primary cycle; S= Secondary cycle (middle school)

*Source*: BSI, 2011.

Another variable that must be taken into account when analyzing schools in underprivileged areas is the number of students over the appropriate age required for every education cycle. Here is the situation in School 136 for the past three years:

**Table 31. Number of children enrolled
in primary school**

| School year | Age | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 7 years | 8 years | 9 years | 10 years | 11 years |
| 2008-2009 | 47 | 60 | 52 | 34 | 26 |
| 2009-2010 | 37 | 53 | 50 | 45 | 17 |
| 2010-2011 | 48 | 38 | 51 | 45 | 19 |
| Total | 132 | 151 | 153 | 124 | 62 |

*Source*: NIS.

We notice that most children register for first grade at age 8 or 9, when they should be in second grade.

**Table 32. Number of children enrolled
in secondary (middle) school**

| School year | Age | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 11 years | 12 years | 13 years | 14 years | 15 years |
| 2008-2009 | 42 | 50 | 49 | 43 | 17 |
| 2009-2010 | 30 | 50 | 50 | 41 | 14 |
| 2010-2011 | 35 | 39 | 47 | 44 | 32 |
| Total | 107 | 139 | 146 | 128 | 53 |

*Source*: NIS.

As for the children who repeat academic school years, fail classes or leave school without finishing the number of credits required for graduation, the situation at School 136, for the secondary cycle (middle school) is as follows:

**Table 33. Number of children who fail courses, repeat school years or leave school without completing credits required for graduation**

| Grade | No. of children leaving school before completion of credits/percentage | No. of children who fail classes/ percentage | No. of children repeating school years/percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fifth grade | 9/18% | 13/26% | 5/10% |
| Sixth grade | 10/20% | 5/10% | 0 |
| Seventh grade | 8/16 % | 17/34% | 1/2% |

*Source*: School 136.

These figures and percentages are calculated for two groups of students enrolled each school year, with an average number of 25 students per group, and are extremely relevant to the system's efficiency. When analyzing the high percentage of fifth grade students who fail classes and repeat school years, we can say that the transition from the primary to the secondary cycle is challenging for students. This may be caused in part by the poor quality of the education received in the previous cycle, but also by teachers' inadequate skills in working with children.

To end this chapter, I have put together data regarding the number of children who drop out of school and the passing rates for national tests for the schools with the highest number of Roma children. The data are valid for the school year 2009-2010.

**Table 34. School drop-out and passing of national tests at schools with the greatest numbers of Roma children**

| Educational institution | Number of Roma children | School drop-outs | Percentage who passed national tests |
|---|---|---|---|
| School no. 147 | 194 | 17 | 61% |
| School no. 136 | 178 | 0 | 56% |
| School no. 141 | 152 | 33 | 80% |
| School no. 148 | 148 | 0 | 60% |
| School no. 125 | 106 | 8 | 65% |
| School no. 144 | 86 | 0 | 67% |
| School no. 2 | 67 | 0 | 66% |
| School no. 135 | 59 | 0 | 63% |
| School no. 103 | 45 | 1 | 86% |
| School no. 134 | 43 | 4 | 100% |

*Source*: BSI, 2011.

The passing grade rates seem to confirm the low quality of education in these schools. We have reserves regarding the accuracy of school drop-out data.

## *Data Regarding Education in the Livezilor Alley Area*

Per the PCRM survey, the results relevant to education are as follows:

- 20% of households include individuals who have dropped out of school.

- Illiteracy is present in 10% of households, and the number of illiterate adults is higher than the number of illiterate children.

- 75% of the ghetto children study in School 136, which is the nearest. The main reasons why parents enroll their children in another school are the presence of drug addicts and Roma children at School 136, and the low student performance levels of the school.

- Most parents declare themselves satisfied with their relationship with the school, while some of the main reasons for dissatisfaction are the poor school facilities and the faulty school-parent relationship.

- A little over 10% of the parents declared they provide no homework help whatsoever to their children. The reasons why they do not are the lack of necessary knowledge, lack of time and the fact that they are at work all day long. It is also possible that members of the family other than the parents take over this task. Nearly 15% of the parents declared that they help their children with homework for as long as they need it.

- Nearly half of the parents are convinced education will not help children escape poverty, while a third sees a tight connection between education and escaping poverty.

## *Conclusions*

The report on the state of education in 2009-2010, drafted by the BSI and the Ministry of Education, recognizes the existence of a connection between the low quality of education and poor areas: "On the other hand, some school units located in underprivileged areas, poor neighborhoods, face

real challenges in initiating and maintaining their connection with the community, and the schools need to step up their efforts in order to support their students to continue their studies"[26]. The fact that the report highlights the important role of area poverty instead of individual poverty is proven by a separate reference to the parents' lack of wealth: "The precarious financial situation of many parents has negative consequences on their interest in school. The price of textbooks, often too high, as well as of other school materials (stationery, notebooks, school bags, etc.) is also a challenge. The effect of these economic factors can be extremely serious, from lack of interest and low attendance (even at the secondary level) to school drop-out"[27].

The improvement of education participation and of the quality provided by ghetto schools must become a priority for the Romanian education system. Most EU states have developed a system called "priority education areas", initiated in England in 1967 (United Nations Children's Fund, 2006). It is applied to specific urban areas (with a focus on immigrants, rural population transferred to the city and even the Roma) and to underprivileged rural areas. The purpose of this program is to support educational activities in areas where poverty prevents school performance. The program has also been implemented in Romania. The main reasons why the program was not continued was the meager support granted by the local authorities, non-involvement by non-governmental organizations and the lack of funds.

When outlining an intervention strategy, it is essential to have clear objectives as well as to apply innovative methods for solving old problems. Priorities in education for underprivileged areas (including the area of focus for the research) are:

- to reduce illiteracy
- to increase school attendance
- to improve school results

---

[26] *http://www.ismb.edu.ro/Subpagini/stareainv.html*
[27] *Ibid.*

–  to correlate the education process with the labor market, to ensure social integration

–  to improve the relationship between school, parents and the community

–  to increase the quality of the teaching process, including teachers' understanding of basic notions regarding inter-cultural interactions and discrimination.

In order to meet these objectives, it is necessary to resort to innovative interaction and education methods for the ghetto children. The living conditions and ghetto culture have a visible influence on the children, but, if the teaching method fails to take this into account, the results obtained will be poor.

A recent study by the EC[28] has shown that, while all countries take measures to decrease illiteracy, in order to obtain the expected results, these measures must be adapted to each target group.

Alongside other organizations with interventions in the area, PCRM is tackling this objective through an Alternative Education Club it operates in School 136. The development of children's skills and abilities aimed at closing education gaps through various classes and homework coaching is combined with measures for stimulating active citizenship among parents, through their constant involvement in the activities of the club and the organization. Important stakeholders are also involved, such as the local authorities, the Ministry of Education and the other actors in the community.

In poor areas and especially in ghettos, education has a different significance as compared to what we generally perceive it to be. One of the main challenges not only for the system, but for society, is that of knowing how to "sell" education, against the background of poverty and ghetto culture. In order to adjust the system in such a way that it efficiently targets children in underprivileged areas, investments—both material and financial—are required.

---

[28] *http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/130EN.pdf*

*Bibliography*

European Commission, 2011, Teaching Reading in Europe: Contexts, Policies and Practices, quoted from http://eacea.ec.europa. eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/130EN. pdf

Duminica G., Ivasiuc A., 2010, *One School for All? Access of Roma Children to Quality Education*, Vanemonde Publishing House, Bucharest

Fleck G., Rughinis C., coord., 2008, *Come Closer – Inclusion and Exclusion of the Roma in the Modern Society in Romania*, Bucharest, Human Dynamics

Bucharest School Inspectorate, Ministry of Education, 2010, The State of Education, school year 2009-2010, quoted from http://www. google.ro/search?client=safariandrls=enandq=starea+invatam antului+2009-2010+ISMBandie=UTF-8andoe=UTF-8andre- dir_ esc=andei=ujNCTqb_MsjGtAapxvG1Bw

Jigau M., coord., 2006, *Pilot Intervention Program through the Priority Education Areas System*, Alpha MDN Publishing House, Bucharest

Ministry of Education, 2010, Report on the State of the National Education System, quoted from https://www.fundatiadinupatriciu. ro/uploaded/Raportul%20asupra%20sistemului%20national %20de%20invatamant%202010.pdf

Sarau G., Radu E., 2011, *School Mediator's Guide – for the Roma Communities*, Vanemonde Publishing House, Bucharest, quoted from http://www.unicef.ro/andfiles/ghid_mediator_scolar.pdf

PCRM survey/research

# LIVEZILOR ALLEY, FERENTARI – A MARGINALIZED OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

*Simona Maria STĂNESCU*

With a population estimated at approximately 10 to 12 million persons, the Roma are the largest ethnic minority in the EU and are often confronted with difficult situations[29]. The chapter explores the problem of employment in the former area of apartment buildings for single people in Livezilor Alley, Ferentari neighborhood in District 5 of Bucharest Municipality. The neighborhood displays the characteristics of "areas popularly known as ghettos" (Stănculescu and Berevoescu, 2004). Hence, the chapter analyzes the impact of living in an urban ghetto on employment. The research hypothesis we wish to test is that the residential affiliation to a marginal urban area of the ghetto type has an impact on the employment of its residents.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights mentions the right of each person to a work place (Article 23, paragraph 1) and a dwelling (Article 25, paragraph 1). The analysis of the employment situation of residents of the Livezilor Alley area is integrated in the perspective that living in inappropriate and unhealthy conditions is a violation of a basic human right (Holmström and Karlbrink, 2001, p. 405-406). A second starting point of the analysis is citizenship in the sense of "creative utopia (...) which strives to surpass ethnic passions (...) to maintain the rationality of a political organization based on justice and the idea of liberty and equality" (Schnapper, 2000, p. 203).

---

[29] *** *An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, 2011, p. 2*

The chapter proposes a presentation of the main concepts used, an analysis of discrimination against the Roma and an analysis of employment among the Roma, and presents the case study regarding the employment profile of the population living in the Livezilor Alley area of the Ferentari neighborhood.

In accordance with the European recommendations to improve Roma employment and promote desegregation[30], we hope that this study will contribute to the improvement of the employment situation of vulnerable groups .

*Conceptual Approach*

The study starts from the premise of analyzing the area as a complex community. The community is approached in a classic manner both from the point of view of the physical space and as social system. The community as physical space is "a context first of all with spatial characteristics, but it cannot be reduced to that" (Precupețu, 2006). Starting from the assumption that a territorial community „is also a social status community and a community of interests", we also have to take into account the diversity of the residents and of the situations they confront (Rughiniş, 2004).

From the point of view of the theories of human or urban ecology as "deciphering, describing and theorizing the elements and rules that structure the urban space" (Gyongyi, 2007), the chapter embraces the urban structure pattern "keno capitalism" of the postmodern city, in the context of a city that "is more and more segmented and exclusivist, where crossing from one side of the city to another becomes more and more problematic" (ibid.).. This approach is the line of research initiated by the Chicago School (Precupețu, 2006).

---

[30] *** *Council of the European Union, Council conclusions on advancing Roma Inclusion, 3019th Employment, social policy health and consumer affairs, Council meeting, Luxembourg, 7 June 2010, p. 5-6*

The new urban ghetto takes over spatial segregation adding economic and spatial exclusion, as an "area in which space and race are combined to define and isolate a certain population segment considered «inferior» by the dominating powers in society" (Stanculescu and Berevoescu (coord.), 2004, p. 32). The economic structure of the city, the type of restructuring and the vicinity effect (Musterd, 2002, p.2) represent at the same time the main factors of social fragmentation and urban integration.

The definition of the ghetto used in this chapter is the following: "very poor neighborhoods, closed from a social and cultural point of view, usually populated by ethnic groups" (Gyongyi and Laszlo, 2007). Hence "the term ghetto (...) has a mainly ethnic and/or racial significance", the ghetto being both isolated and segregated" (Gyongyi and Laszlo, 2007). For this reason and in the absence of studies regarding the poor population that lives in urban ghettos, the analysis will focus on the problem of employment from the perspective of precarious living conditions and the Roma population.

## *The Roma in Romania*

The Roma are one of the most vulnerable minorities in Romania, and "the element which differentiates the poverty profile between this segment of population and the other categories consists, in fact, in the spatial concentration thereof which is greater than in the case of other segments of population" (Sandu, 2005). On the other hand, "the segregation of different ethnic and racial minorities" (Gyongyi and Laszlo, 2007) is responsible for the appearance of ghettos. For these considerations we chose to analyze the problem of employment from the perspective of living in the ghetto.

The attitude towards ethnic minorities is determined by the structure of the population: "a homogenous ethnic composition of a country determines the global orientation of the population towards a less tolerant attitude from an ethnic point of view"(Tufiş, 2001). In Romania, the main problem is not "the problem of Roma as Roma", but "the relationships between a part of the Roma population and the majority of the population" (Zamfir and Zamfir, 1993).

Similar to Bulgaria, the Roma population in Romania shows the tendency of living in communities made up of mainly Roma (Tufiș, 2011, p. 154). As such, "almost 60% of all Roma communities are poor and they are home to over 50% of the entire Roma population" (Sandu, 2005, p. 5).

### How Much Discrimination Do The Roma Face In Romania?

Ethnic discrimination is a major problem faced by minorities across EU member states[31]. Compared to other ethnic minorities such as the Sub-Saharan African population or the North African population, the Roma population is the most exposed to discrimination: "every second Roma respondent was discriminated against because of ethnic reasons at least one time during the last 12 months"[32]. At the European level, the Roma were the most discriminated against in: the Czech Republic (64%), Hungary (62%), Poland (59%), and Greece (55%)[33].

A quarter of the Roma population in Romania that was interviewed in 2009 considered it was discriminated against at least once in the past year in nine aspects of daily life[34]. The same value is recorded in the case of North Africans in France and Albanians in Greece. Comparatively, Romania places below the European average of 30%[35].

As an aggregated group compared to other ethnic minorities, the Roma registered the highest value of discrimination in aspects of daily life. The

---

[31] *** *European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey – main results report, 2009, p. 6*

[32] *Ibid. p. 8*

[33] *Ibid. p. 9*

[34] *Discrimination in search of a job; discrimination at the work place; discrimination by a real estate agency or a dwelling owner;  discrimination by the staff in the health care services; discrimination by the staff in the social services provision institutions; discrimination by the staff in the education institutions; discrimination in a coffee shop, a restaurant, a bar or a night club, discrimination in a shop; discrimination at a bank in trying to open an account or get a loan;*

[35] *** *European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey – main results report, 2009, p. 36*

average number of aspects of daily life in which the Roma in Romania were discriminated against is below the European average. Italy is the country with the highest values of daily discrimination firstly against Romanians, followed by North Africans.

The Roma as an aggregated group compared to other minorities suffered the most discrimination incidents during the last 12 months in Romania, which places below the European average. Similar to the European tendency, the majority of discrimination cases in Romania are not officially reported (81% as compared to 82% at the European level)[36]. The Roma as an aggregated group do not report discrimination occurred in a coffee shop or bar (93%), in a store (92%), or when searching for a job (90%). On the other hand, the most reported is discrimination in school (31%), followed at a considerable distance by discrimination in the bank (18%), and at work (16%)[37]. Discrimination is generally not reported because: "nothing would have happened", "I am not sure how to report it", "too trivial", and because of "concern regarding negative consequences"[38]. In Romania, the lowest values for reporting are recorded because "nothing would have happened" and respondents were not sure how to report it[39].

Comparatively to another six EU member states[40], 41% of the respondents in Romania consider discrimination based on ethnic origin or migration as being widespread. Except for Bulgaria (36%), the other countries recorded response values double those of Romania for this question. Comparatively, Romania recorded both the second highest value of considering this phenomenon as inexistent as well as the lowest percentage of those who could not say if it was widespread.[41] Romania recorded the lowest values during the last 12 months for discrimination based on ethnic reasons and

[36] *Ibid. p. 51*

[37] *Ibid.  p. 52*

[38] *Ibid., p. 55*

[39] *Ibid,, p. 164 - 165*

[40] *Bulgaria, Greece, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary*

[41] *European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey – main results report, 2009,  p. 156-157*

for discrimination in aspects of daily life. The percentage of 10% for discrimination during the last 2-5 years was surpassed only by Bulgaria (8%)[42]. On a detailed analysis of the nine aspects of daily life, ethnic discrimination in Romania during the last 12 months and during the last 2-5 years occurred when in search of a job, at work, and in relation to medical staff. At the other end, the Roma in Romania did not feel discriminated at the bank or by a real estate agency or a landlord[43]. The rare activity of the Roma in these two aspects of daily life may serve as an explanation for the apparent lack of discrimination in the latter two situations.

*Discrimination and Employment*

At the European level, employment is the main area of life where discrimination is felt, whether it appears during a job search or at the work place[44]. Comparatively, few Roma in Romania have had a job or are in search of one. Almost one third of the respondents have had a work place during the last 5 years, compared to the European average of employed ethnic minorities (69%). The situation in Romania is surpassed only by that of the Roma in Poland[45]. At the other end, 99% of those from Central and Eastern Europe have had a job in Ireland. At the same time, 35% of the Roma population interviewed in Romania were in search of a job, as compared to the European average of ethnic minorities, at 55%. The lowest values were recorded in the case of Russians in Lithuania (18%) and the Turks in Germany (22%). 95% of those in Central and Eastern Europe and 95% of the African population in Malta are in search of a job.

As an aggregated group, the Roma display the lowest average value (43%) of the employed. The main reasons for which they did not find a job are: "they are not yet on the labor market" (31%) and "they looked for a job but they did not find any" (30%). From the point of view of the occupational status at the moment of carrying out the interview, the values registered for

---

[42] *Ibid., p. 161*

[43] *Ibid.,  p. 162*

[44] *Ibid., p. 6*

[45] *Ibid., p. 38*

the Roma are alarming: almost half are inactive on the labor market, over a quarter are employed, and under a quarter are unemployed.[46] Compared to other ethnic minorities, the Roma have the highest percentage of unemployment, the lowest percentage of employment and the highest percentage of homemakers. At the moment of the research, the unemployment rate of the Roma in Romania was of 6% compared to 12% the European average unemployment rate of ethnic groups.

From the point of view of gender and occupational status, 12% of Roma women in Romania worked compared to the European average on ethnic minorities of 49%. Lower values were recorded only by Roma women in Poland (11%) and in Greece (10%). Only a quarter of the Roma men in Romania were working, a much lower rate than the European average of 65%. The value recorded in our country is, as a matter of fact, the lowest in all EU member states.

By comparison with ethnic minorities from EU member states, the Roma in Romania are mainly represented in the area of domestic/unpaid work: 71% of Roma women in Romania work in domestic/unpaid jobs as compared to the European average of 21% and 14% of the Roma men work in domestic/unpaid jobs as compared to the European average of 1%. The Roma women in our country are similar to the Roma women in Greece (where 70% work in domestic/unpaid jobs). The Roma women in the two countries are far from the women belonging to other ethnic groups in other EU member states. In third place, but at considerable distance, we find the African women in Malta, with 46% working in domestic/unpaid jobs. The Roma men in Romania are the most inactive as compared to the ethnic groups in the EU member states: 48% are inactive as compared to the European average of 20%. The next highest percentages of inactive men are recorded in Poland (42%) and among Russians in Latvia (41%).

In the EU member states, the Roma are the most discriminated against ethnic group both when searching for a job and while employed. 38% of the Roma population in search of a job was discriminated against at least once during the last 12 months. At the same time, 19% of the Roma who

[46] *Ibid., p. 40*

declared themselves active in the labor market were discriminated against at work. The Roma are in the top ten ethnic groups that are discriminated against both when searching for a job (per statistics in six states in the order of values of discrimination recorded: Hungary, the Czech Republic, Greece, Slovakia, Poland, and Bulgaria) and while at work the work place (per statistics in four states: Greece, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland). The situation of Roma in Romania is not found among these[47].

Ethnic origin as an obstacle in job promotion in Romania displays the lowest value—38%[48]--as compared to six other EU member states[49]. The discrimination of Roma in Romania while searching for a job is at the lowest levels during the last 12 months (vis-à-vis the date of the survey) and the respondents in Romania are least likely to state they are discriminated against because of this reason. Similarly, discrimination at the work place ranks among the least prominent types discrimination, being at the same time the least reported[50]. From a socio-demographic point of view, the most discriminated Roma are those under 55 years of age and the unemployed[51].

## *Employment of the Roma*

Two main challenges of the Roma in Romania are employment (especially because of difficulties in finding a job) and the level of income (Sandu, 2005). From the point of view of the perception of the Roma population towards the most important problems their families face, we acknowledge an increase in the preoccupation with work and employment. According to surveys, the problem of "lack of jobs" moved up in rank from fifth place among top challenges in 1998 (after lack of money/poverty, health and living conditions) to the second place in 2003. In both years, the main

---

[47] *Ibid., p. 43*

[48] *Ibid, p. 158*

[49] *Bulgaria, Greece, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary*

[50] *\*\*\* European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey – main results report, 2009, p. 161-162*

[51] *Ibid., p. 165*

problem identified by the population surveyed was "lack of money/ poverty" (Stelian, 2009), which is also related to employment.

A stereotype regarding working Roma is that they are lazy and they do not want to work. Researches show that this stereotype does not have a base in reality (Zamfir, Postill and Stan, 2001, Cace, Mărginean, 2002, Stănculescu and Berevoescu, 2004, Fleck and Rughiniş, 2008). The stereotype is contradicted both by the attitude of the Roma population towards work and the real effort made by the population to work as laborers in jobs that are often stigmatizing (Florea, 2008). Roma families send their children to work to contribute to the wellbeing of the family, being fully aware that this thing is illegal and that they expose their children to a series of dangers (Cace, Mărginean, 2002). The activities carried out by the poor Roma who do not succeed in entering the formal labor market "further accentuate the poverty and the marginalization, as well as the negative stereotype, which feeds the lack of trust of the population in this ethnic group" (Zamfir, Postill and Stan, 2001). Furthermore, as informal workers, they do not have health insurance, do not enjoy paid vacation and have no chance to receive a pension, so that from the point of view of "the social costs of the economic reforms, they are the main losers. They did not lose the most, but they lost even the little they had, their future is in danger, they have lost at the level of their image, receiving the label of «the ones who do not like to work», so «they deserve whatever happens to them»".  (Stănculescu and Berevoescu, 2004, p. 184).

From the point of view of professions and occupations held by the Roma population, the data from 1998 as compared to that from the 1992 census indicated a desire of the Roma population to have a profession and showed a doubling of the number of those holding modern professions and a slight increase in the number of those who held traditional professions. During both of the two years, the most common employment status of the Roma population was joblessness. However, if the census of 1992 showed that the second and third most common employment statuses were employed or informally self-employed (carrying out activities of one's own), things changed in 1998. The informally self-employed status was the second most

common after the jobless status, with the category of the formally employed ranking third (Duminică, 2006).

The occupational status of the Roma in Romania is part of the theory of "separation of the labor market", according to which economic competition plays a role in the development of ethnic antagonism reflected through employment of the Roma predominantly in certain professions (Tufiș, 2001). The Roma in Romania have "the tendency to monopolize a social layer characterized by a low level of wellbeing, by a rather low level of prestige (although there are differences in the way in which different Roma groups are perceived depending on their life style) and by "traditionally gypsy" occupations, although not all Roma pertain to the same layer and this layer is not made up exclusively of Roma" (Ibid.).

### The Ghetto in Livezilor Alley

From an ethnic point of view, the residents of the Livezilor area are not exclusively Roma but they represent the majority. Nevertheless, like in similar neighborhoods (Zăbrăuți), the neighborhood is ethnically labeled in the public discourse, and the non-Roma residents are labeled as Roma even when they state that they are not (Rughiniș, 2004). This reality confirms the profile of ghettos encountered in urban areas: "the ghetto population is not completely homogenous from an ethnic point of view, but is homogenous from an economic point of view. Nevertheless they wear the stigma of the ghetto and, often, they live in unwanted intimacy" (Rughiniș and Florea, 2008). Ethnic discrimination has become a fact of life, irrespective of the age or the number of those who are being discriminated against.

"At school, there were some gypsy workers who removed the snow and, being very cold outside, because it was winter, they entered the hallway to warm up. The bodyguard kicked them out. Why? Not because they did something, but because they were gypsies. The discrimination is clearly felt. Or they come to register and you hear comments: Look at these crows, they come to register their children" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

Livezilor Alley even has a nickname well-known among the ones who know the area: "Moldavians-Gypsies-Soldiers" (focus group with representatives of the public authorities, PCRM 2011).

Unlike the main characteristics of European ghettos, the area analyzed by us does not include improvised dwellings, but the apartment buildings in the area are in an advanced state of deterioration.

In the case of ghettos in Romania, "because of the significant increase of poverty (...), the liberalization of the real estate market, as well as the lack of social policies in this sense, the disadvantaged categories withdraw more and more in parts of cities where the infrastructure and the quality of the buildings are questionable" (Gyongyi and Laszlo, 2007). This is also the case of the Livezilor Alley area.

The history of the area is lost in time, but is related to the activity of the company Vulcan.

"Since Vulcan was established. The studio apartments were property of Vulcan. They were built by the company Vulcan. I have lived in the area for about 15 years, but then they did not look so bad then. This is the most affected one" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

"All these apartment buildings were rented at that time to the labor force of some companies (focus group with representatives of the public authorities, PCRM 2011).

The image of workers moving into apartment buildings set-up for single persons in the area to have a better life and then getting abandoned seems to be the red thread of the area's history. The image is completed by the perception of the neighbors.

"The apartment building I live in is 46 years old. It was among the first in the neighborhood. But people were here, in the Iacob Andrei area, before that. Well, a long time ago it was a clean, elegant area, with working people who had jobs. People came from all over and got employed and moved into the studio apartments. First there were the single ones, then they also moved here with their families. And all the madness started with the families. The area got overcrowded, they started drinking, doing drugs.

This situation is old, not recent" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

The deterioration of the area is supposed to have begun at the beginning of the ´90s in the context of the overcrowding, of the economic crisis and the increase in the unemployment rate.

"Many came here. The apartment buildings deteriorated a lot..."

"The deterioration happened after the '90s..."

"Being given to CRHAE [The Construction, Repair, and Housing Administration Enterprise], some of them were sold. Being already of low category, they were cheap to buy as compared to other apartments in the area: from Rahovei, from Alexandrei Road and so on. (...) All the apartments were put on sale, not only those. And then the fluctuation began".

"Some were purchased. Some, in the '90s, were passed on to CRHAE. CRHAE got the spoils because nothing was sold legally; they took a bribe, they sold it to a gypsy, he did not have the money and passed it on through receipts on hand and in the meantime it was abandoned"(focus group with representatives of the public authorities, PCRM 2011).

Based on the methodology proposed by Sandu (2005) for identifying poor Roma communities, we selected two indications (related to three dimensions) from the Index of Poverty in the Roma Community (Sandu, 2005). For the Roma community in the Livezilor area, we propose the analysis from the perspective of the indicator "communities of Roma located next to landfills" from the dimension "Where do they live?" (accessibility) and the indicator "main income source is the minimum guaranteed income or occasional activities" from the dimension "What resources do they have? (income sources)" (Sandu, 2005). Even though those in the Livezilor area do not live next to a landfill, we may consider the trash piled between the apartment buildings as being equivalent to one. In fact, the trash represents maybe the most difficult, visible and intractable problem of the area. According to the results of the PCRM (2010) survey, few respondents keep the trash in trash bags and then deposit it in

especially designated places. The majority throw it in the space between the apartment buildings and the street. One third of the respondents throw the trash directly out the window. Directly correlated, the main problems found by the residents in the area are the presence of trash and the smell relieved by it.

### Support of Public Institutions

Areas that are marginalized from an urban point of view display big risks of exclusion on the labor market. Depending on the state of an area population's general wellbeing, "a crucial aspect is the extent to which educational and employment programs are accessible to the less qualified of the labor force" (Andersen, 2000). The analysis of the level of education and professional training would support the adaptation of curricula with a view of promoting a minimum acceptable level of education to enter the labor market for those who seek to do so. Although the survey administered in Livezilor Alley shows a relatively high rate of illiteracy, especially among adults, we did not identify any educational programs dedicated to the illiterate population at School 136.

The residents feel powerless in relation to public authorities who are incapable of responding favorably to their needs.

"I went to the city hall, I told them that I had four children, that I worked for RON 500, I and my husband …the minimum wage and: We can't help you, dear, you have an employment contract. I put together the papers for school to receive an indemnity for the children, as they told me from school… And when I went there they told me that they couldn't give it to me because I was over the (eligible income) amount by RON 10. And then one can do nothing but give up" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

"I want to tell you that they say about our area that there are many poor people and... there is nothing to be done... educated people tried to go to the city hall, to all, to ask them to do something, at least about the cleaning. And they said that there are no funds for us. (...) There is too much trash, basements full of water, of trash, of infection... so many children that

practically sit on infection. And the city hall could do something in this respect, not only come and say vote for me" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

Area residents do not seem to get support from anyone, so each one tries to fend for oneself as well as one can.

"You can find work only if you go from shop to shop or if you have acquaintances" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

The locals are forced to remember typical "success methods" in the area. Finding an innovating solution which goes around the law has become a survival mechanism.

"You work illegally, get a medical certificate, take it to the city hall and you receive welfare" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

The failure of legal methods of earning a living leads people to give them up little by little. They prefer to find alternative solutions instead of waiting powerlessly for support from institutions that do not recognize them and that ignore them systematically.

"We don't have water, we are not registered anywhere as having water, electricity, not a single thing...."

"They don't even look at you, including at the job center" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

On the other hand, public institutions tacitly accept this state of things, preferring not to intervene although the reality on the ground requires intervention. Public institutions perform certain activities not in order to help, but with minimal effort, just to be able to say they have done their work, thus aggravating the situation. "The employment caravan", the MEA program dedicated to poor Roma communities, is carried out with rather modest results.

"They came. They only had 73 jobs, which didn't get filled anyway because the participants didn't have the required education or qualifications. Only one job on a construction site, as a hammer drill worker, was filled" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

Although the organizers of the caravan in Livezilor Alley acknowledged the low educational and professional level among the local population, no educational or professional program was established to adapt to the population's needs so that the knowledge gap would be reduced in favor of the residents in the area. Furthermore, the residents do not find real support in MEA interventions. Even in those cases when they go to authorities with responsibility in this area (i.e. MEA), the results are poor.

"You go there, they talk to you as if you came to steal something... they talk to you like this: You, what are you doing here, aren't you ashamed to walk in like this? You go wait outside... and there is no one inside. (...) And they say that there are no jobs... and they don't give you any assignment paper because if they gave me an assignment paper, I would go search for a job with the assignment paper, with a recommendation, that would be another story. But no, first you go to see if they want to hire you... and, if they want to hire you, you go back and they give you an assignment paper... they don't want to work extra... " (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

From the point of view of its residents' employment profile, the analyzed area is a ghetto-type area dominated by "persons employed in the official labor market, persons employed informally, and women homemakers aged 40 years or older" (Stanculescu and Berevoescu, 2004). The residents' perception of the employment situation in their area confirms this occupational profile.

"You wouldn't want ministers... to live in studio apartments! Workers with different professions. Both qualified and unqualified… More unemployed" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

The dependence of the poor persons in the area on the social welfare system represents—in the opinion of the area's residents—an obstacle to looking for a job. Receiving welfare (especially at the minimum guaranteed income) or accessing certain social services (e.g. soup kitchen) are looked upon unfavorably.

"Yes, maybe there are people who really need that indemnity and they don't give them anything. (...) You should see how some come to take the indemnity with a cab".

"In our building, I think we are 10 people who do not receive any indemnity, the rest all receive indemnities. That's why they stay at home relaxed and don't go to work".

"Young people do not really work because they don't like work… They submit certificates attesting they are ill and receive indemnities" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

The employment difficulties on the labor market of those who live in the Livezilor Alley area in Ferentari neighborhood are also due to the fact that the Bucharest Ilfov region is the second least tolerant in the country (after Southern Wallachia) in terms of tolerance towards difference in the workplace. Furthermore, tolerance towards the Roma is lowest as compared to other minority groups (Tomescu and Cace, 2011). Nevertheless, we acknowledge a higher tolerance in urban area of the region as compared to the rural areas (Tufiș, p. 104). With regard to social economy, both employers and current employees were against hiring new Roma colleagues (Stănescu, 2010, Tomescu and Cace, 2011). Livezilor area residents who try to get a job usually face this obstacle.

"What do they say? I don't want to hire you because you are a gypsy" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

Often finding a job abroad represents the main strategy of emancipation of the Roma population, the main change factor for their situation (Gabor and Rughiniș, 2008). Nevertheless, some of those who return to the community after the experience of working abroad are blamed.

"I saw, among those who leave, people who really came back, have a job or go abroad… I even saw Roma who work and live an honest life and came back..."

"Tell me about it! I also know people who went abroad and came back with "collars on their necks" and rings. Are you trying to tell me that they did honest work?! They don't send their children to school because they have

money, and when they send them to the movies, they call the cab, because they don't know where the bus station is anymore. And previously they only ate a croissant with milk [school lunch]…" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

As compared to 2008, the unemployment rate doubled in 2010, while "the evaluation of chances of obtaining a job indicated increased pessimism and situation similar situation to that of 1999" (Mărginean, Precupețu, 2010). The results of the PCRM (2011) survey also confirm the pessimistic tendency among the population who lives in Livezilor Alley.

According to similar research performed in a more central and more accessible ghetto in Ferentari, Zăbrăuți, Roma children abandon school in order to take up permanent and seasonal jobs illegally. The main factors responsible for this state of things are family poverty and cultural patterns (Cace, Mărginean, 2002). Nevertheless, the area's residents are aware of the importance of school and the impact that graduation from school has on one's prospects of finding a job.

"We need jobs and for that we need education. It is a vicious circle. But all starts from education."

"If we don't have a job, we have nothing to make our situation easier" (focus group with Ferentari residents, PCRM 2011).

According to the survey carried out by PCRM (2011) in the Livezilor Alley area, its residents have a serious education deficit, which we estimate has and will continue to have a negative impact on finding and keeping a job. Close to half of the respondents are graduates of middle school only, with the number of persons holding college degrees being very low. There were also cases of residents who had not graduated from any type of school or only from primary school. A fifth of the households surveyed include a member who has dropped out of school.

These answers should be analyzed from the perspective of the human capital of the area. The results of the survey show that most of the respondents belong to the segment of active population in terms of age, with the highest number of responders in the 35-45 age group. From the

perspective of the structure of the households but also from that of the occupational status of the adults in the households surveyed, the majority of the households are made up of two adults and just over half include at least one working adult.

According to the PCRM (2011) survey, those who work are generally employed as unskilled workers. A little over a half of the respondents declare that have a qualification while under a quarter have a stable job. The main problems faced by the residents of the area when getting a job are affiliation to the Roma ethnic group, the low level of education, and the general lack of jobs.

The problem persists even after finding a job. Half of the respondents state that their salary represents their main source of income. Though salaried, those in the area who are employed are also poor: 70% of the respondents state that they have monthly incomes under RON 1,000, which is insufficient for covering household expenses, health or child rearing costs.

The unhealthy living conditions, the difficult access to health services, the fact that some of the residents are not registered with a family doctor, the insufficient amount of money earned by residents, which sometimes does not even cover the cost of medicine, raise questions regarding the recovery period for an area working person who falls ill and is unable to go to work as a result.

Against the backdrop of a low level of education, problems related to life in the ghetto (trash, bad are challenges to the continuous lifelong learning process, a key element in self-development and professional ascension.

## *Conclusions*

Almost all of the survey respondents recognized the fact that they lived in a ghetto and perceived Livezilor Alley as the most representative ghetto in Ferentari. The institutions which the residents consider the most active are the public medical cabinet and the school. At the other end of the spectrum, we find the police and the city hall. This dynamic evolution takes place in the context of respondents' self-perception of having to live in the area as a result of unfavorable situations that are not within their control. At the

same time, the respondents think that the main reason for moving into the neighborhood is poverty.

According to the theory of self-generating stages of ghettoization in the urban environment (Henderson and Ledebut 1972 in Gyongyi and Laszlo, 2007), one of the first such stages is the discrimination of certain groups in the labor market. The last stage, that of isolation and self-isolation, reflects the inability of residents and institutions to solve the situation and promote social inclusion of vulnerable groups. The worsening of the situation will result in "huge reinsertion and reintegration costs" (Gyongyi and Laszlo, 2007). From this perspective, the results of the PCRM (2011) survey show those responsible to improve the situation in the Livezilor Alley area are reaching  the advanced stage of tacitly accepting their abandonment of the area.

To a great extent, the employment profile of the residents from Livezilor Alley in Ferentari corresponds to the general characteristics of the issue of employment among the Roma people.

Living in a ghetto influences the process of joining the labor market. The interconnected social problems of the ghetto residents (unhealthy living conditions, poor access to health, and low levels of education) reduce their chances to find jobs and negatively influence maintaining jobs that are often found with great difficulty.

The research validated the hypothesis that the employment status of the Livezilor area residents is influenced by their belonging to a marginalized area. In other words, urban marginalization has a direct impact on occupational marginalization.

### *Bibliography*

Sorin Cace, Ioan Marginean, Daniel Arpinte, Eugen Baican, Simona Ilie, Flavia Marin, Florin Moisa, Ana Maria Preoteasa, Laura Surdu, Mihai Surdu, Roma Children Who Work and their Families – Socio-Cultural Characteristics and Living Conditions, Ro Media Publishing House, 2002

Sorin Cace, Ana Maria Preoteasa, Cristina Tomescu and Simona Maria Stănescu (coordinators), Legal and Equal on the Labor Market for Roma Communities – Diagnosis of Factors which Influence the Employment Level of the Roma Population in Romania, Soros Foundation Romania, 2010

Dana Costin Stelian, Roma Children between Survival and Success, Expert Publishing House, 2009

John Andersen in collaboration with Gestur Hovgaard, Soeren H. Jensen, *The politics of ambivalence and gambling in Copenhagen*, 2000 in The Scandinavian Studies Track, Roskilde Universty, Department of Social Sciences, 2001

Gelu Duminica (coordinator), The Access of Roma to Social Services – Realities and Tendencies in the Year 2005, AMM Design, Cluj Napoca, 2006

Gabor Fleck, *Employment* in Gabor Fleck and Cosima Rughinis (editors), Come closer – inclusion and exclusion of Roma in the current Romanian society, 2008

Ioana Florea, *Attitudes and Expectations from Life* in Gabor Fleck and Cosima Rughinis (editors), Come closer – inclusion and exclusion of Roma in the current Romanian society, 2008,

Pasztor Gyongyi, *Urban Structure* in Cătălin Zamfir and Simona Stănescu (coordinators), Encyclopedia of Social Development, Polirom Publishing House, 2007

Pasztor Gyongyi and Peter Laszlo, *Ghetto and Ghetto-ization* in Cătălin Zamfir and Simona Stănescu (coordinators), Encyclopedia of Social Development, Polirom Publishing House, 2007

Pasztor Gyongyi and Peter Laszlo, *Spatial and Social Segregation*, in Cătălin Zamfir and Simona Stănescu (coordinators), Encyclopedia of Social Development, Polirom Publishing House, 2007

Ioan Mărginean and Iuliana Precupețu (coordinators), The Quality of Life in Romania in 2010, Expert Publishing House 2010

Flavius Mihalache, Perceptions and Evaluations of the Residents of the Ferentari-Livezilor Area, unpublished research report, Policy Center for Roma and Minorities, 2011

Iuliana Precupețu, Community Development Strategies, Experts Projects, 2006

Cosima Rughiniş, Uncomfortable Knowledge – Social Interventions in Disfavored Communities in Romania in the Years 2000, Printech Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004

Cosima Rughiniş and Ioana Florea, *Problems related to Dwellings* in Gabor Fleck and Cosima Rughinis (editors), Come closer – inclusion and exclusion of Roma in the current Romanian society, 2008

Cosima Rughiniş and Ioana Florea, *Who are the Roma?* in Gabor Fleck and Cosima Rughinis (editors), Come closer – inclusion and exclusion of Roma in the current Romanian society, 2008

Sako Musterd, Social exclusion and segregation: neighborhood effects, course 7 within the online master *EUREX – European online seminar on urban transformations, poverty, spatial segregation and social exclusion*, 2002

Dumitru Sandu, The Roma Communities in Romania – a map of community poverty through the PRORPMI survey, World Bank, Bucharest, July 2005

Manuela Sofia Stanculescu and Ionica Berevoescu (coordinators), Very poor, in search of another life!, Nemira publishing House, the Sociology Library, 2004

Simona Stănescu (coordinator), Research Report on the Social Economy in Romania from a Compared European Perspective, 2010 available on www.mmuncii.ro

Paula Tufis, Social Structure and Ethnicity, Romanian Sociology, 2001, 1-4

Cătălin Zamfir, Kyoko Postill and Ruxandra Stan, Informal Economy in Romania, United Nations Development Programme, 2001

Cătălin Zamfir and Elena Zamfir, Gypsies between ignorance and concern, Alternative Publishing House, 1993

\*\*\* European Commission, Proposal for a Council Decision on guidelines for the employment policies of the Member States Part II of the Europe 2020 Integrated Guidelines 2010

\*\*\* European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, 2011

\*\*\* Council of the European Union, Council conclusions on advancing Roma Inclusion, 3019th Employment, social policy health and consumer affairs, Council meeting, Luxembourg, 7 June 2010

\*\*\* Introductory word in Gabor Fleck and Cosima Rughinis (editors), Come closer – Inclusion and Exclusion of Roma in the Current Romanian Society, 2008

\*\*\* Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by the General Meeting of the United Nations Organization by resolution 217 A (III) of 1 December1948

\*\*\* European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey – main results report, 2009

\*\*\* *Fact Sheet no. 21 - The Human Right to Adequate Housing* in Leif Holmström and Lena Karlbrink (coordinators), United Nations Human Rights Fact Sheets, no. 1-27, published by Raoul Wallenberg Institute, Lund, Sweden, seventh editions 2001, pp. 401 - 430

\*\*\* Integrated European Platform for Roma Inclusion Road map (30 June 2010), 2010

\*\*\* *Preconceptions and Tolerance at the Work Place in Romania* in Cristina Tomescu and Sorin Cace (coordinators), Study on the mobbing phenomenon and some discrimination types at the work place in Romania, Expert Publishing House, 2011

# PART II

# THE UNSEEN FACE OF CRIMINALITY

*Valeriu NICOLAE*

## Drugs

Drug consumption in the Ferentari neighborhood is already a well-known problem. That phenomenon is visible especially in the Livezilor Alley area, where the syringes of those who use drugs can be found both in the street and inside the apartment buildings.

The age when drug consumption starts is very low. There are children aged 8 who are drug users. I have had the opportunity to talk to a 10-year old child who was forced to inject drugs in the pubic area, because all of his veins were scarred. A large number of youth inject drugs in their throat, because their arms are full of syringe scars.

Poor men (the majority of Ferentari residents who are drug addicts are very poor), especially teenagers and those in a decrepit state, gather used syringes, carefully collect the remains of drugs  and thus prepare a new dose to inject.

Also, women prostitute themselves with the purpose of procuring the drugs they depend on. I have spoken to a teenager aged 12, a drug user, and who has been prostituting herself for more than half a year only in order to secure the next dose.

There are also couples who are drug addicts. Often, the male partner is involved in petty thefts on the street (wallets, mobile phones), while the women prostitute themselves, either close to where the men are stealing or on the Bucharest beltway.

In rare cases, parents addicted to drugs abuse their own children in order to have access to drugs. Most often, parents force their children to beg, steal or sell stolen or smuggled products (especially cigarettes). Sometimes, the abuse becomes extreme. A conversation with an underage prostitute revealed that her father, a man with multiple convictions, forced her to prostitute herself with the purpose of securing the money needed to procure his drugs.

There are also drug consumers who sell narcotics. Their number is not as large as one would expect, because of the need for protection of drug dealers.

There is a clear hierarchy among drug dealers. Those who distribute drugs to drug users, so that they in turn sell them as intermediaries, are residents of the Ferentari neighborhood. Their world is extremely violent and death threats are used with the purpose of scaring off any attempt to turn in some of the dealers. Above them, there are dealers with more influence and apparently closely connected among themselves. Rumors on the street claim that a large number of the people who have disappeared from the neighborhood were murdered. In a certain situation, such a rumor was proven false when a young man supposed to have been killed returned from Italy.

On the street, the most widely used drugs are heroin (packs of poor quality, in the form of small balls, which most often do not contain heroin, but cement used for wall insulation) and methadone.

Lately, there has been an explosion of so-called "legal drugs" sold in "Dream Shops", which abound in the Ferentari neighborhood.

The number of drug consumers from Ferentari who are admitted into rehabilitation programs in  specialized centers is small. Sometimes, those who arrive at such centers are placed on a waiting list, with the wait lasting up to three weeks.

Surprisingly, there is a support network within the community, which tries to help drug addicts or their children. In most cases, close relatives of the addicts act to send them to jail for drug trafficking. Going to prison

however, most often for long periods of detention, is perceived by most people as a sure way of obtaining new potential drug consumers.

## *Prostitution*

Prostitution in the ghetto remains, unfortunately, one of the few alternatives that teenage girls have if they wish to escape the extreme poverty they live in. There are many cases of underage girls who accept Euro 200 a month to prostitute themselves, only to escape life in the ghetto. A special case is that of a girl who lives with her mother and with three brothers off one salary (her mother's), which is below Euro 120 a month. For her, the Euro 200, plus the living expenses offered by a pimp, are a golden opportunity.

There are a number of pimps known for trafficking girls from Ferentari into Italy, France, Spain and the UK. I believe that the majority of girls follow them to those countries willingly.

In a particular case, a teenage girl aged 13 ran away from home in order to prostitute herself in another town in Romania. When we managed to find her and force her to return home, she was very indignant, as she had been very impressed by the standard of life offered to her by the pimp.

Prostitution is one of the easiest solutions for most of the young girls and for those with a nice physical appearance. Most often, such girls will become drug uses. Often, the pimp will facilitate their addiction.

Another phenomenon encountered in Ferentari is that of the lover boy. Young, good-looking lads insist around the young girls and force them to prostitute themselves. The young girl accepts with the purpose of "saving" the boy or with the idea of gathering money in order to get married to him and to have a place of their own.

Prostitution is part of ghetto life. Prostitutes are not faced with the same stigma as in the case of traditional or normal communities. In the ghetto, there are significant connections between drugs, thefts and prostitution.

Most prostitutes want to migrate, thinking that the money they could earn in Western Europe might guarantee their safety and a prosperous life.

Abuse of prostitutes from Ferentari is a very frequent phenomenon. Rapes and violent beatings are regular parts of their lives.

## Thefts

In Ferentari, theft is greatly interconnected with drug consumption and poverty. I have seen groups of youth coming from the malls with stolen objects on many occasions.

Car break-ins, break-ins to apartments and small shops, as well as the theft on buses, the subway or in other crowded areas (such as markets) are aspects of everyday life for most of the youth in the Ferentari neighborhood and for the great majority of those addicted to drugs.

In general, thefts do not occur in the neighborhood, but in richer areas close to the Ferentari neighborhood.

A large number of identification documents are returned by thieves to the police. As in the case of prostitution and of drugs, the local police seem to be more preoccupied with maintaining the status quo than with solving the existing problems.

Discussions regarding the phenomenon of corruption among police men and women are often encountered among the residents of Ferentari—most of them or their relatives have admitted that they know police personnel who take bribes.

## Violence

Violence is a reality encountered on a large scale. Domestic violence is usual rather exceptional. Children are often involved in fights among themselves or with other groups of children in the neighborhood or from other areas.

Many times, the children I have worked with fought in the park, as a reaction to the derogatory words of other children.

Learning how to fight well is a matter of status for the men in the neighborhood.

*Incarceration*

Most people in the ghetto view prison very differently from the majority. Prison is perceived as an unpleasant experience, but one that is unavoidable. "Prison makes you a man" is what I have heard most often.

Among the people in the ghetto, accepting incarceration is a rather normal thing, taking into consideration the fact that the majority of them have close relatives who are or used to be in prison.

Also, prison is seen as a means of developing useful connections with the underworld or as a means of trafficking drugs.

# OTHER IMPORTANT SOCIAL ISSUES

*Florin BOTONOGU*

## *Education*

Beside problems related to the education system, there are three main factors that influence the level of school achievement among children from the ghetto: the school/teachers, parents and the environment.

The attitude of teachers towards children in the ghetto is strongly influenced by prejudices towards the Roma: Roma children are unruly and hard to educate (even impossible to educate), cannot perform highly, their parents do not care about their education, they do not have respect for teachers, they do not come to school because they get married very early, and the examples do not stop here. Poor academic achievement is generally attributed to the ethnic group and the environment.

In October 2010, PCRM partnered with School 136 to open an Alternative Education Club inside the school. Aware of the big problems the children faced in the area of education, the members of the organization have intended to use alternative methods for the development of the children's learning abilities. Thus, the children receive various courses of interest to them (theater, dance, football, film making, handicrafts, etc.) or take part in courses organized by other institutions (such as creativity camps organized by the Village Museum), in exchange for participation in after-school type activities (where homework gets done) and for the parents' involvement in their education. A great part of the club's activities are dedicated to closing the knowledge gaps of children who do not possess the knowledge they should per the grade they are enrolled in (as is the case of children in secondary school who have difficulties in reading a text or solving simple mathematical operations). While the majority of teachers at the school are

complaining about the students' behavior and capacity to learn, the teachers invited to the club to teach various courses do not see major differences between the children here and other groups of children. An important aspect of a teacher's relationship with children is the way the teacher manages to attract their attention and to stimulate them to learn. It is necessary to attract teachers who know how to do this to schools in the proximity of the ghetto areas. As in many other parts of the world, teachers who work in schools in disreputable neighborhoods do so to gain experience or because of the lack of alternatives, which means there is a great fluctuation of personnel.

As to the parents, things are somewhat similar. More methods to attract them to the school and determine them to work further with the teachers are needed. The conviction that education does not help one to escape poverty is quite common among parents. Very few attend parent meetings; they are usually the ones whose children have good results in school. The help given with homework and the time parents devote to their children also depends on several factors. Many of them are not available to their children for various reasons: they work abroad or work long hours, while some are in detention. Some of the parents do not have the knowledge necessary to help their children with school work. In other cases, the parents' attention is focused on every day problems related to the economic survival of the family.

Space also plays an important role, overcrowding being a very important obstacle to children's concentration as they do their homework. Some of the parents need advice about children's education and especially the education of teenagers, when the social environment influences their behavior negatively.

The ghetto culture does little to encourage school attendance. Recognition in the ghetto does not stem from a job or a degree, and examples of success for children are those who make it, regardless of the means. It is important for children to spend as much time as possible outside the ghetto (there are children who have seldom left the ghetto and have never left Bucharest) and it is important to offer them success stories from outside the ghetto.

The reasons children do not go to school are very diverse: from the illegal residence of the family in the area and the complete lack of interest of the family (often single-parent families) to poor academic results obtained repeatedly, their circle of friends, or the attraction of earning money.

An initiative worth praising is that of so-called "second chance" classes. Family histories of those who attend such courses are usually complex and include elements such as family abandon by one parent, drugs (used or sold by the children and/or their parents), jailed parents, and domestic violence. These courses are also attended at times by parents whose children go to (sometimes the same) school.

For instance, R.P. (32 years old) attends "second chance" courses because her parents never sent her to school. At the time of the interview, besides those courses, she had a job and attended two other vocational training courses. Due to her personal experience, she praised the education of her two children. She is aware that, without a degree to prove graduation of the mandatory years of school, she cannot obtain a good job.

After the first three years of schooling, A.P. (15 years old) dropped out. Her mother is now in detention and when she registered in a "second chance" program in third grade, it was very difficult for her, because she could not read. The reason why she chose to attend the courses is that when she went out, she could not read billboard adds or posters and it made her feel inferior to the other teenagers.

C.D. (12 years old) has been living with his grandmother, who enrolled him in the "second chance" program. His parents are divorced, the father does not care too much about the child, and the reasons for coming to school are "to learn" and "become somebody".

Beyond these negative aspects, the area is also home to parents who are extremely interested in their children's performance in school, students who have high grades or who go on to high school while living in the ghetto. On average, the difference between the area students' high grades obtained at the area school and the results obtained on national tests is great, with the students obtaining the highest grades in their neighborhood school barely passing the national tests. There is also a great gap between

the real educational level of students and the level they should have attained per the grade they are in, which denotes the easiness with which the school passes students from one grade to the next. Sometimes, good behavior only can ensure a student's passing to the next grade.

The role of the school counselor in such communities is very important. S/he establishes the connection between the school and students' parents, advises both the parents and the children and succeeds, with the help of various NGOs, to develop various projects or activities together with the children. Unfortunately, the number of school counselors in Bucharest is decreasing, the main problem being that of financing. In the book *The School Counselor's Guide (for Roma Communities)* (Sarău, Radu, 2011), Elena Radu, the school counselor from School 136, shares her experience and describes several relevant case studies.

## *Health*

In Livezilor Alley there is an increased risk of hepatitis, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. Injectable drugs pose a risk not only for consumers (who may share the same syringe), but also for the entire community, syringes being very visible in public places and easily accessible to children.



Another important risk factor is the uncollected waste thrown next to the apartment buildings (often directly from the window) or in public places. The unhealthy living conditions, the flooded basements of the apartment buildings, the presence of rats, the problems with water and sewage also contribute to the increased risk of illness.

Many of the residents of this area do not contribute to the health insurance system and do not benefit from the services of a family doctor or from other medical services. As the health system faces financial shortages, the access of area residents to medical services becomes more and more difficult.

There are NGOs offering health programs to the community. Among them, there is a program which encourages injectable drug users to replace old syringes with new ones.

## NGO Interventions in Ferentari – Livezilor Alley

There are many NGOs which have provided and still provide services in the Ferentari Livezilor Alley area. What concerns the authors of this study is their vision on how to approach problems in the area, as reflected by the projects they implement. The main projects which have been or are being carried out offer the following services:

− pre-school education

− day centers--spaces, usually established inside schools, where children do their homework and take part in various other activities of alternative education

− job counseling

− establishment of a tailoring workshop

− assistance center for drug consumers

− film viewing on various themes

− improvements to public spaces (within the community or in the school yard)

− various children's camps and sports training courses

− debates about urban challenges and resources

− material assistance for the children's families

− informal education workshops

- needle exchange program/medical consultations

NGO interventions have been and remain largely focused on education and children. Even if the children registered in these programs show improvement (they do not drop out of school, have acceptable school grades), the current situation remains disastrous. The main challenge facing NGO interventions is sustainability. Most of these interventions were funded by external donors, but after 2007, the number of donors dropped significantly. Currently, the main source of long-term financing are structural funds.

In order to obtain long-term results and a strong impact on the community, there is need for much greater involvement of the local and central authorities, which can use multi-annual financing programs, to generate real change at the level of school performance, which would contribute to a change in the attitude of parents and children towards education in the long term.

The main intervention of local authorities in the area is also related to education and consists of the renovation of School 136.

### Child Protection and Social Assistance

According to the data supplied by General Directorate of Social Assistance and Child Protection (GDSACP) of District 5, the rate of parental abandonment in the Ferentari Livezilor Alley area is estimated at 5 to 10%. A total of 38 children are registered by this institution for placement with families. Of these, 21 are placed with a family, 15 are with maternal assistants and 2 are in the residential center.

A number of 165 children benefit from other types of services, such as counseling for the children or the families that care for them, as well as other support services.

There are also maternal assistants in that area. One of them resides in Livezilor Alley and another six in Calea Ferentari.

Protective measures have been instituted for the families of 39 children in the ghetto areas, as follows:

- 13 families residing in Zăbrăuțiului Street

- 5 families residing in Livezilor Alley

- 4 families residing in Calea Ferentari

- 9 families residing in Iacob Andrei Street

- 1 family residing in Tunsu Petre Street

- 5 families residing in Imașului Alley

- 2 families residing in Stogu Alley

A total of 15 children benefit from protective measures as a consequence of the fact that their parents are in detention. There are no recorded cases of parents who got out of prison and asked for the revocation of the protective measure.

The situation of poor families that receive some form of social assistance from the city hall is as follows:

1. Disabled persons receiving indemnity:

- Imașului Alley - 53 persons

- Imașului Street - 19 persons

- Livezilor Street - 20 persons

- Livezilor Alley - 184 persons

- Intrarea Livezilor - 6 persons

- Stogu Alley - 39 persons

- Pieptănari Boulevard - 23 persons

- Iacob Andrei Street - 159 persons

- Tunsu Petre Street - 103 persons

- Zăbrăuțiului Street - 67 persons

- Calea Ferentari - 196 persons

The total number is of 869 persons.

2. Files for family support benefits, granted to families with incomes under RON 370/person:

- Livezilor Street - 3 files

- Pieptănari Boulevard - 1 file

- Iacob Andrei Street - 9 files

- Tunsu Petre Street - 1 file

- Zăbrăuțiului Street - 10 files

- Calea Ferentari - 3 files

3. 40 families benefit from the minimum guaranteed income:

- Imașului Alley - 2 files

- Livezilor Alley - 9 files

- Stogu Alley - 1 file

- Pieptănari Boulevard - 5 files

- Iacob Andrei Street - 7 files

- Tunsu Petre Street - 5 files

- Zăbrăuțiului Street - 10 files

- Calea Ferentari - 1 file

The statistics demonstrate clearly that, contrary to general opinion, very few families in the ghetto benefit from the minimum guaranteed income.

4. Families benefiting from the indemnity for single-headed households:

- Iacob Andrei Street - 55 families

- Livezilor Alley - 43 families

- Tunsu Petre Street - 16 families

5. Families benefiting from supplementary income (the net income per family member does not exceed the net minimum salary per economy)

- Iacob Andrei Street - 16 families

- Livezilor Alley - 13 families
- Tunsu Petre Street - 3 families

When shown in relation to the total number of residents in these areas, the statistics cited above do not confirm the myth that most of them live off the financial support offered by the state.

# IN LIEU OF CONCLUSIONS

*Florin BOTONOGU*

Ghettos pose a serious problem to any national government and local authorities.

In recent years, countries such as France and the UK, which have not neglected it, have been confronted with uprisings of youth living in this type of community, and the price paid by both countries was great by all measures. Romanian national authorities, although confronted with an increase in the number of the poor and a real risk of increase in the number of ghettos, continues to ignore this problem. It is completely left to the care of local authorities, which are, most often, unable to find sustainable solutions. Furthermore, the solutions found often lead to the violation of fundamental rights and to the exposure of ghetto residents to various risks.

This study is exploratory, attempting to describe the ghetto from as many points of view as possible. Its main purpose is not to provide solutions, but rather to describe the main angles from which the ghetto should be considered (other than those that we have been accustomed to) and the areas where intervention should be stimulated.

In order to build policies that address the needs of ghetto residents, we first need political will, then a solid knowledge of the phenomenon in Romania and, last but not least, resources.

The relationships developed by Romanian politicians with ghettos thus far have not lead to a substantial improvement in the living conditions of residents of those areas. A sustainable approach to the problem of ghettos may not be in line with the politicians' agenda for many reasons (the

reaction of the majority of voters, politicians' need to be reelected, and the need for large funds for development of positive initiatives).

## *Is a National Policy Needed in Order to Address the Problem of Ghettos?*

First, there is need for a policy that addresses the problem of living in poverty in Romania. Life in ghettos is not the only example of life under conditions of poverty, just as the Roma are not the only underprivileged group living in ghettos. Researchers' estimates suggest that over one million Romanian citizens are living in undignified conditions.

Another reason for developing a policy related to ghettos is that, often times, local authorities violate fundamental human rights or ignore intervention methodologies agreed at the international level. The lack of clear laws and significant punishment in case of their violation gives certain mayors the occasion to create ethnically segregated communities, to surround apartment buildings with tall walls, or to evict entire communities.

In the majority of the cases, the living conditions are below the minimum accepted standards and school performance in these areas is disastrous. Access to goods and services is also restricted. As we have high-lighted, even the stigma the area is associated with is an important obstacle to fighting social exclusion. The existence of such poverty areas leaves a negative mark on the entire society, because they have a generally negative influence on the society. The Ferentari neighborhood is famous for drug trafficking and crime, phenomena largely affecting those who live outside the ghetto as well.

The competent ministry acknowledges this problem and already has a methodology of intervention in the communities affected by physical degradation and social exclusion. Until now, only little effort has been made for its enforcement, but we hope that the ministry takes it into account for future interventions. Besides formulating a policy, the main challenge in this area is the absorption of structural funds (mainly the European Regional Development Fund), which allow interventions for those living in disadvantaged areas.

## - Priorities for the Future

As regards intervention, we do not find ourselves under the paradigm of a single solution. Every community is unique. The first question to be asked is how to start. The challenge is in finding the point where, if there is intervention, maximum results are obtained. The engine of the intervention may be the church, the school, an NGO or another institution, but any intervention must take into consideration a framework of social and standard of living policies, which are very general and neglected in Romania. It is for this reason that, in many cases, not only the health, but also the lives of poor people are endangered.

## - Priorities in the Short Term

The first problem is that of a deficit of knowledge. The communities living in poverty are very diverse and their classification would help us sketch the general intervention models. The first mistake in intervention is that there is no programming of the intervention stages. Most often, houses are built without first consulting the community, without ensuring their connection with the city or access to social services.

Data collection at the local level and centralization at county level would help very much with the drafting of a development strategy for each county, based on data obtained in the field. Maps of communities living in poverty both at the local and county levels would be the best foundations for decisions of how to invest resources from the state budget or structural funds.

Another short-term priority is raising awareness of this problem. Beyond the prejudice of society towards the ghettos, very few people who make administrative decisions and few politicians are interested in the mechanisms triggering the negative phenomena ghettos are associated with. Blaming the residents of those areas is, in general, the answer preferred by most people.

Forced evictions are a worrying phenomenon in Romania, first because they usually lead to the formation of segregated communities, which, in time, are very likely to turn into ghettos. There are also cases when the evicted persons are not offered alternative housing. Clearer legislation in this area would diminish this phenomenon.

## - Priorities in the Medium Term

Piloting and creating successful intervention models in more types of poor communities/ghettos is absolutely necessary for a successful policy. Such projects must be sustainable in the long term and their results and impact must be very clearly quantified. No matter whether they are addressing education or health, there is need of as many types of successful projects as possible for various types of communities living in poverty. The piloting of the intervention methodology of the Ministry of Development will create a model for each intervention stage, from consulting the community to the manner in which buildings are designed.

The development of human resources specialized in tackling the problems of those living in poverty is essential for the success of any type of intervention. Without a profound understanding of the phenomenon, we will reach the same solutions that are applied today. From students to public administration workers, from representatives of NGOs to researchers, qualified people are needed to study and understand the multiple aspects of living in underprivileged conditions. The establishment of national and local bodies that promote research and awareness of such areas will lead to adopting efficient long-term solutions.

## - Priorities in the Long Term

The creation of a policy addressing the needs of those living in poverty and establishing mechanisms of implementation thereof are the only means to reduce this phenomenon. A set of laws which address as many problems as possible, regarding both the living space and the people in poor neighborhoods is absolutely necessary for sustainable development at the local level.

Finding innovative methods of addressing life in poverty (other than the building of social buildings) will lead to containment of this phenomenon.

The solutions for buildings in ghettos are divided into two categories: relocating the citizens (accompanied by the demolition of the apartment buildings) or renovating the buildings. As to the social structure and associated phenomena, there is need for long-term interventions and sustainable solutions.