

Annotated bibliography

Housing and Residential Segregation of Roma in Romania

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Preliminary remarks

Housing and segregation or spatial isolation has relatively recently been recognized as one of the major obstacles in Roma integration. Moreover, housing condition and living in ghettos has a special place in some of the mechanisms identified as being responsible for lack of employment or poor education. Despite recognition given to the relevance of the topic as relevant variable in structuring the life-chances of individuals, rarely was housing or residential segregation addressed in scholarly literature. When addressed at all it has a secondary role. In most cases residential segregation and housing problems in case of Romanian Roma are seen as concepts explaining other issues or phenomena pertaining to Roma communities. In the language of quantitative analysis, residential segregation is seen mostly as an independent variable that explains for example, why Roma participation in the labor market is so low, or why educational attainment is so poor. In other words the history and persistence of segregated communities falls in the background and the foreground of research is occupied by the implications of segregation.

Obviously, the bibliography compiled below reflects this structure of the domain. Items included in the list of references were searched looking at keywords such as housing, residential segregation, exclusion and marginalization since these latter terms are more readily used in analysis. I looked also in specialized bibliographies on Roma for example the ones compiled by Feischmidt or Fosztó, among others. From all the sources used I selected papers, books, and book-length reports that expressly address housing or residential segregation and more general studies that describe Roma communities. However, I left out several studies on exclusion, discrimination and even segregation as they tackled issues other than housing or residence (for example education or labor market).

Achim, Viorel. 1998. *Țigani în istoria României*. Bucuresti: Editura Enciclopedică.

—. 2004. "Documente privind deportarea țiganilor in Transnistria." București: Editura Enciclopedică.

It is one of the main historical analyses of Romanian Roma. Achim traces present economic hardships faced by the Roma in the period when they were slaves. The book documents Roma presence in Romania from the 14th and 15th century till today. It is an indispensable book for a historically informed sociology or anthropology. The collection of documents gathered by the author refers to deportation of Roma in Transnistria during the second world war and as such complements another collection of documents (see below) that testifies forced relocation, expulsion of Roma communities.

Bădescu, Gabriel, Vlad Grigoraș, Cosima Rughiniș, Mălina Voicu, and Ovidiu Voicu. 2007. *Barometrul Incluziunii Romilor*. București: Fundația pentru o Societate Deschisă.

A collection of studies based on survey data among Roma. It covers some of the hot topics of the moment, namely identification, housing, occupation, prejudices, tolerance. Two studies deal with housing, one of them addresses residential segregation and it could be considered a pioneer study because it is one of the first which tackles the issue.

Berescu, Cătălin. 2010. *Locuire și sărăcie. O privire interdisciplinară asupra spațiului locuirii sărace*. Universitatea de Arhitectura și Urbanism Ion Mincu București. Unpublished PhD thesis.

Berescu, Cătălin și Celac, Mariana (2006). *Housing and Extreme Poverty. The Case of Roma Communities*. București: Ion Mincu University Press.

Two interdisciplinary studies on housing and poverty. Authors combine theories and perspectives on poverty in general with special emphasis on architecture, urbanism and housing conditions.

Berescu, Cătălin. 2011. "The rise of the new European Roma ghettos: a brief account of some empirical studies." *Urban Research and Practice*. 4(3). P. 344-352

A study that starts from the observation that conflicts with Roma are very much related to ghettos or solution to conflicts produces ghettos. The study seeks to formulate epistemological stances for looking at Roma ghettos.

Bodó, Julianna (ed.). 2002. *Helykeresők? Roma lakosság a Székelyföldön*. Miercurea Ciuc: Editura Pro-Print KAM.

A collection of studies that uses the metaphor of place to describe the situation of Roma communities in Seklerland and their relation to Hungarians, the majority population in the region. A wide range of topics appear in this volume from economic transactions to questions of identity and self-definition, interaction patterns, and so on, all of them illustrated by plenty of empirical material.

Burtea, Vasile. 1996. "Marginalizare istorică și cooperare socială în cazul populației de romei." *Revista de cercetări sociale* 31:09-119.

—. 1997. "Câteva aspecte care agravează șansele populației de romei, și elemente pentru un program de preântâmpinare a unor efecte antisociale." *Rromathan* 1997:33.

Burtea describes the situation of Roma according to a series of criteria such as education, culture, religious practice, economic practices, and housing. On these dimensions he evaluates this situation using the concept of marginalization. He also writes about illegal or nearly illegal economic actions.

Cosima Rughiniș 2007. "Social Housing and Roma Residents in Romania." CEU: Policy Documentation, Budapest.

Rughiniș analyzes relocation measures as integral parts of housing policies in five Romanian settlements. The author provides a description of housing situation of Roma compared to majority population and seeks to answer the question whether relocation of Roma in the outskirts of the settlements are temporary solutions or they represent the entire policy for solving the housing problem. Ethnic segregation is understood as by the author both as a political project and as personal experience of the residents.

Cosima Rughiniș 2007. "Integration every other day. Public reasoning on Roma/Gypsy segregation in Romania." OSI Center for Policy Studies, Budapest.

The policy paper discusses resistance to integration of Roma people through the analysis of residential segregation. It is based on survey data and interviews and describes attitudes toward integration/segregation. Introduces two phenomena that result in residential segregation one of which could be termed as spontaneous aggregation due to action motivated by non-racist/non-racial preference; the other is deliberate segregation as a result of decisions based on cost-benefit

thinking. The argument is informed by a “broadly rational-choice perspective” on residential segregation that stems from ethnic antagonism.

Cosima Rughiniș 2007. “Segregarea rezidențială” in: Bădescu, Gabriel, Vlad Grigoraș, Cosima Rughiniș, Mălina Voicu, and Ovidiu Voicu. *Barometrul Incluziunii Romilor*. București: Fundația pentru o Societate Deschisă.

The author advances a subjective measure of residential segregation, meaning a subjective estimation of the proportion of Roma residing in a given neighborhood, settlement and in Romania. She advances a hypothesis according to which the logic of social geography is more relevant in discrimination than personal traits. In other words, Rughiniș states that public institutions discriminates not only persons but entire areas.

Cozma, Irina, Cosima Rughiniș, and Leonard Sultanesu. 2003. “Impactul social al politicilor publice în cartierul Zăbrăuți. Studiu de caz.” *Revista de Asistență Socială* 2003:75-83.

The study evaluates the results of public policies in a neighborhood in Bucharest. It is a poor neighborhood that accumulated huge debt that was impossible to repay. Eventually, the neighborhood became public poverty, but local authorities did not assume full commitment to address old and emerging problems.

Crețan, Remus. 2007. *Marginalitate socială și spațială: Conceptualizare și tipologie în cazul rromilor din Banat și sudul Crișanei*. Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest

One of the few studies that intend to connect space and social phenomena. It is a study that categorizes itself as an analysis in historical and social geography and uses concepts akin to space and movement such as geo-demography or spatial disparity. However, it is in fact a description of basic territorial distribution of Roma communities on settlement, county, and regional levels.

Engebrigsten, Ada. 2007. *Exploring Gypsiness: Power, Exchange and Interdependence in a Transylvanian Village*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books.

An ethnographic study of rural Gypsies in Romania. It focuses on marginality and shows that Roma are very much part of the Romanian cultural and social system, albeit as part of an asymmetric power relation where they are dominated by majority and serves as a buffer between

Romanians and Hungarians both of whom expresses contempt and aggression towards Roma. Engebrigsten's local ethnography addresses many questions ranging from gender and family to social structure, leadership and cosmology.

ERRC. 1996. *Sudden Rage At Down. Violence Against Roma in Romania*. Budapest: EERC.

—. 2001. *Stare de impunitate. Încalcarea drepturilor omului. Cazul rromilor din România*. Cluj-Napoca: CRCR.

A human rights and activist perspective on abuses of authorities in problems related to Roma communities. They signal and evaluate the actions of local authorities in relocations and evictions of Roma.

Fleck, Gábor and Cosima Rughiniş (eds). 2008. *Come Closer. Inclusion and Exclusion of Roma in Present-Day Romanian Society*. Pp. 247. Bucharest: Human Dynamics.

The book reports on the findings of a grand scale study that comprised a survey and several community studies. Intending to provide a broad perspective on the situation of Roma communities, the report addresses questions related to established domains of Roma surveys: education, housing, labor force, categorization, material conditions, health. Housing and residential segregation are included in the part that discusses quality of life. Case studies identify several urban ghettos scattered all over the country and note that there is no consensus between authorities and inhabitants regarding the history of the ghetto. It is one of the few studies that attempt to describe the formation of ghettos. They also tackle the issue of conflicts between ghetto dwellers, city dwellers and local authorities. Survey data analysis reports on property, density, access to main public utilities.

Gagyi, József (ed.). 1996. *Egy más mellett élés. A magyar-román, magyar-cigány kapcsolatokról*. Mircurea Ciuc: Editura Pro-Print -- KAM.

This is a volume that comprises studies on exclusion and inclusion as they appear in the Roma-Hungarian-Romanian relations in Seklerland. After an introductory chapter on exclusionary and integration techniques the volumes of the book presents in an anthropological perspective patterns and practices of segregation in economic activities or in general between local ethnic groups.

Goina, Mariana. 2009. "Între "țigani de mătase" și cei ce "fierb în suc propriu". Studiu de caz al comunității romi din Curtici, județul Arad." Pp. 171-196 in *Incluziune și excluziune. Studii de caz asupra comunităților de romi din România*, edited by G. Fleck, L. Fosztó, and T. Kiss. Cluj: Editura ISPMN.

This is a community study that shows residence patterns and categorization in an urban community. It shows that internal categories (within Roma groups) are as important as categories that apply in Roma-Romanian relations.

Grigoraș, Vlad. 2007. "Condiții de locuit și probleme financiare la populația de romi." Pp. 31-38 in *Barometrul incluziunii romilor*, edited by G. Bădescu, V. Grigoraș, C. Rughiniș, M. Voicu, and O. Voicu. București: Fundația pentru o Societate Deschisă.

Description of housing conditions and access to basic infrastructure in the context of more general material conditions of Roma. The author uses standard variables and indicators computed on data of Roma Inclusion Barometer of Soros Foundation.

Haller, István. 1998 "Cazul Hádáreni". *Altera* 4 (1998) 7, 106-123.

The article describes an interethnic conflict between Roma and Romanians in a Romanian village in 1993. The conflict resulted in four deaths and several houses burned down. The article presents the point of view of many actors involved such as NGO's, local and central authorities, the police.

ICCV. 2002. *Indicatori privind comunitățile de romi din România*. București: Editura Expert.

A presentation of the situation of Roma communities according to several indicators developed by the institute that researches problems related to quality of life.

Merfea, Mihai. 1991. *Țigani: Integrarea socială a romilor*. Brașov: Editura "Bârsa".

Pons, Emmanuelle. 1995. *Țigani din România: o minoritate în tranziție*: L'Harmattan.

Describes the new social and political conditions of Roma identity politics.

Nastasă, Lucian and Andrea Varga. 2001. *Minorități etnoculturale. Mărturii documentare. Țigani din România (1919-1944)*. Cluj-Napoca: Ethnocultural Diversity Center.

A historical perspective on Romanian Roma. A collection of documents that shows local policies and actions for the relocation, sedentarization, and deportation of Romanian Roma between the two world wars. In the introduction a case is made for a change in dealing with Roma, from a pure concern with safety and moral problems to a mixed one in which race is also present.

Reventa, Ana, Dena Ringold, and William Martin Tracy. 2002. *Poverty and Ethnicity: A Cross-Country Study of Roma Poverty in Central Europe*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

Ringold, Dena. 2000. *Roma and the Transition in Central and Eastern Europe: Trends and Challenges*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

Ringold, Dena, Michell A. Orenstein, and Erika Wilkens. 2005. *Roma in an expanding Europe: Breaking the poverty cycle*. Washington: The World Bank.

All three reports are quantitative analysis of Roma condition in Eastern Europe. All three focus on poverty and delineate structural disparities between Roma and non-Roma and explain them through endowments, opportunities and historical factors.

Sandu, Dumitru. 2005. *O hartă socială a comunităților de romi. O hartă a săraciei comunitare prin sondajul PROROMI*. București: Banca Mondială.

This is a methodological paper that tries to develop indicators for identifying poor Roma communities and to design an operational model for intervention in these communities.

Tîrcă, Miruna. 2009. "Ghetou de lux? Aleea Zăbrăuți, București." Pp. 39-60 in *Incluziune și excluziune. Studii de caz asupra comunităților de romi din România*, edited by G. Fleck, L. Fosztó, and T. Kiss. Cluj: Editura ISPMN.

Tîrcă describes the process of a sort of gentrification of a ghetto. Provides the history of the ghetto and describes the current situation of its inhabitants and documents a change in the sense of integration into the mainstream (school attendance, occupation, etc.)

Zamfir, Cătălin and Marian Preda. 2002. *Romii în România*. Pp. 354. București: Expert.

The chapter signed by Adrian Dan describes housing conditions of Roma according to standard indicators such as available space, density and their relation to basic social variables such as educational level, occupation, and so on.

Zamfir, Elena and Cătălin Zamfir. 1993. *Țiganiii între ignorare și îngrijorare*. București: Editura Alternative.

Since it is the first book length study of Roma published after the collapse of communism it represents a first in many respects and carved a path for future studies of Roma, especially studies that rely on survey data and quantitative methodology. It defines the “Roma problem” as a social problem stemming from poverty and not as an ethnic problem; although in their interpretations of different aspects of Roma communities the authors often build on cultural traits, or the culture of poverty perspective. The study contains a chapter on housing and dwelling conditions. It uses three dimensions or indicators to describe housing conditions in Roma communities: density of dwellers, house quality and comfort, and care for housing condition mostly for furniture. The third indicator has been an exceptional one ever since. Another first in this report is the use of map in reporting a case study on Roma-Romanian conflict that ended in devastating Roma houses in a village in Romania. Spatial analysis is used here as a visual tool, as a graphic illustration, similar to a table or graph.

Zamfir, Cătălin and Cosima Rughiniș. 2000. “Mechanismele sociale ale dezvoltării comunitare. Studiu de caz al comunității Zăbrăuți, București.” Pp. 49-90 in *Diagnoza problemelor sociale comunitare. Studii de caz*, edited by E. Zamfir and M. Preda. București: Editura Expert.

Zidărescu, Mircea. 2007. *Sărăcia în comunitățile de romi din România*. Iași: Lumen.

It is a published PhD thesis structured in five chapters on theoretical approaches to poverty, case studies in Roma communities, and Roma poverty policies. It has an extended Annex which comprises most of the methodological instruments used in data gathering namely interview guides with different actors. The book combines description and diagnosis with evaluation of projects for Roma.