

ROMA – BETWEEN ASCRIBED AND ASSUMED IDENTITY, A POSSIBLE MODEL FOR SUSTAINABLE INTEGRATION

Bratu-Maximilian CARAMAN PhD(c)

*Faculty of Human and Social Sciences,
Aurel Vlaicu University, Arad, Romania.
Caraman.maximilian@gmail.com*

ABSTRACT: Roma - between Ascribed and Assumed Identity, A Possible Model for Sustainable Integration.

The Roma community is often at the centre of many disputes and controversies. In fact, its identity hovers between an ascribed stigma (widely and indefinitely), and a rich cultural heritage. The question of identity is complex, as it integrates cultural, social, moral, spiritual, segregational, etc. Often, the identity of the Roma community hangs between elements assumed by its members and a consistent effort to avoid the identity ascribed as a stigma by social factors.

The present paper aims to capture this identity pendulum of the Roma community, to identify the elements consciously assumed and those attributed to it by the collective opinion (in most of the cases, the traits are negative and attribute a stigma to the community).

Between assumed and ascribed identity, the Roma community faces problems that society as a whole sees itself powerless to resolve or at least mitigate. Involvement on several fronts has brought modest results, whether in economic, social or educational projects. This paper aims to present an integrated model of progress in the social life of the Roma community.

Keywords: *rrom, integration, moral, spiritual, identity assumption.*

A large minority

Beyond the intentionally oxymoronic expression, what is flattering from the outset is the overwhelming number of those who identify themselves as Roma members. The number is certainly much higher, but the stigma

created means that more and more members of the Roma community hide or deny their origins. Usually, individuals resulting from mixed marriages choose to dissociate themselves from this identity. Speaking about the hidden identity of many Roma, G. A. Lazurică, one of the intellectual pioneers of the Roma in Romania who has assumed his identity and taken numerous actions to defend the fundamental rights of the Roma, suggests that their number would be much higher if many of them had not hidden their identity, either forcibly or circumstantially:

(...) I firmly affirm that many noblemen of Moldavia and Muntenia had sons with young gypsy girls whom they raised, were their heirs and their origin was hidden. Oh, how many great burghers of today do not boast of their estates, without guessing the origin of the blood boiling in their veins.¹

Although the approach is made in the interwar period, the situation has not changed much: gypsies still live under a stigma of identity and try to hide their identity when the conjuncture puts them in the situation of being assimilated.

The Romanian census (2011 and 2021) gives a number of more than 569477 Roma citizens living in Romania. At the European level, their number exceeds 9000000 members, making them the largest community without state boundaries in Europe.² Even if the statistics are approximate (many do not declare themselves or cannot be quantified, as they do not even have identity documents), it is nevertheless not difficult to take note of their presence everywhere. In the area between the Carpathians, the Danube and the Black Sea, their presence is substantial. Having given up nomadic life for good, at least in the area mentioned, they form communities, most of them poor, dependent on social aid. European Union statistics record a sad truth: the average income is 0.3 euro/day/rom, most children eat only once a day, are deprived of qualified employment, have no social or pension insurance, their only prospect is to make a living.³

1 Matei Petre (Ed.), *Mișcarea rromă din România în presa interbelică: 1933-1944 (The Romani movement in Romania in the interwar press: 1933-1944)*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2022.

2 Nicolae Geantă, *Rromii evanghelici din Romania (Evangelical Roma from Romania)*, Oradea, Casa Cărții, 2022, p.15.

3 *Ibidem*, pp. 15-20.

Although they have a heterogeneous demarcation, both in terms of territory, clans with which they identify, and professions practiced (some of which are no longer viable in the current economic context), the image created is almost unanimously unfavourable to them. They are always seen as part of the problem, without pointing the finger at a society that is incapable of offering real solutions to support them.

Roma or Gypsy?

Society calls them generically „gypsies”. Regardless of the language in which the term is pronounced, it carries with it a defamatory germ. It is often associated with negative behavioural traits („You behave like a gypsy”, „You’re a gypsy”, „We’re not gypsies!” are just some of the expressions we hear, or often use). It comes as no small surprise to a non-member of the community when they themselves choose to call themselves „gypsies”. For them it is a kind of heroism to assume their identity and show their worth to others. The name Gypsy comes from *atigani*, used by the ancient Greeks as a nickname. The meaning marked exclusion and translated as untouchable, pagan. The semantic evolution has been rapid and wide-ranging: Germany - *zigeuner*, Italy - *zingari*, France - *tzinganes*, Russia - *thigan*, Hungary – *czigani*.⁴

In Eastern Europe, after the fall of communism, the term „Roma” was imposed (in 1993 the Council of Europe recommended the use of the term Roma instead of Gypsy), along with the whole lexical family. Political correctness requires the use of these terms instead of denigrating terms such as ‚gypsy, gypsyism, gypsy, to (become) gypsy’. The provision is not wrong, but it is insufficiently consistent to counteract the predominantly negative reporting of the collective mind on the phenomenon in question. On a personal note, in direct interaction with representatives of the Roma community, especially activists and leaders, I could notice a certain pride with which they call themselves Gypsies. The word is always pronounced with an emphasis that hides, on the one hand, a stoicism of assuming the condition and, on the other hand, a heroism of pride in being a Gypsy. Of course, the use of the term is associated with virtues from the Gypsy area:

4 M. Băcanu, *Țigani, minoritate națională sau majoritate infracțională* (Gypsies, national minority or criminal majority), București, Bravo Press, 1996, p.12.

music, dance, traditions, the beauty of women, emotional intelligence, cleverness, business dexterity, etc.

The turning point in the adoption of this terminology was in 1933, when the General Union of Roma in Romania was founded. From that moment on, the term „Roma” began to be used in the public space, especially since many other groups appeared that defended or claimed the rights of this ethnic group⁵, along with several thematic publications: *Glasul Rromilor* (1936), *Foaia Poporului Rromesc* (1935), *Țara Noastră*, Ediție specială pentru Rromii din România (1937).

As expected, the deadline was not imposed from the start. Society was unfamiliar with it, media outlets were limited, the legislative framework did not regulate mandatory use. Ethnic Roma remained under the stigma of being gypsies. Alongside the attempt to impose the term „Roma”, terms such as „Gypsies”, „non-Orthodox”, „emancipated Gypsies” were used. A special case is the term „neorustic” (new peasant), used in Transylvania for self-designation. The name was assigned at the end of the 18th century by the Josephine administration in Vienna. Although the term was coined outside the community, it was adopted for use within it, as many wanted to escape the stigma created by the use of the term ‚gypsy’. It was a menialty in the face of social depreciation. The term gained substantial currency, going as far as the founding of an organization called the Neorustica Fraternity by Lazar Naftanaila, who proved his inconsistency by publishing the newspaper *Neamul Țigănesc* (from 1935). The disadvantage of using this term was its predominant use in the Austro-Hungarian area, or, after the emergence of central community organizations in Bucharest, i.e. in the old Kingdom, the use of the term was no longer conclusive. Thus the use of terms with a general range of coverage (gypsy and Roma) was imposed.

It was G. A. Lăzurică, who also founded the first Roma organization that included the entire community on the territory of united Romania (the General Union of Roma in Romania). Lăzurică’s public debut was by identifying himself as a Gypsy. Even in his initially published articles, he unabashedly uses the terms gypsy, gypsy, gypsy literature. A few months later, he disavows the use of these terms, which he declares offensive, and

5 Matei Petre (Ed.), *Mișcarea rromă din România în presa interbelică: 1933-1944* (*The Romani movement in Romania in the interwar press: 1933-1944*), Cluj-Napoca, Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2022, p. 59.

the term Roma as the only appropriate one to represent them⁶ suggests that Lăzurcă's intentions may have been political, as he needed a differentiating element in the political struggle for supremacy within the community, a struggle he was waging with I. Popp Șerboianu. Beyond this aspect, it is certain that the term begins to be used more and more within the community and to be adopted more and more often by public opinion.

All these efforts have been driven mainly by the desire to combat ethnic stigma. As I mentioned, there are situations where the use of the term Gypsy is still active, but these situations are rare and alternating. Here is a conclusive excerpt in this regard:

Brothers, [...] only we Gypsies live shunned and bypassed by all! We have no friends! We have no protectors! [...] All of us, but absolutely all of us, are equally shunned and shunned in society, and even if our origin is forgotten for a while, we are still mocked, because we are ashamed of our origin. The first step we must take in society, if we want to command respect and esteem, is not to be ashamed of being Gypsies! Let each of us speak the word proud Gypsy clearly and cleanly, as a protest and a warning to all those who have the taste to joke with us, that we are not ashamed, that we are Gypsies, indeed we are proud. Our pride transforms our mentality and that of those around us⁷

Gradually the term Roma is adopted even by leaders who initially refused to use the term, but the same inconsistency is noticeable. In many cases, the term „non-romatic” is used interchangeably with „Roma” or „gypsy”, and this by the same leaders or the same journalistic sources. In some cases political interests led to the retention of the term gypsy as a sign of support for Șerboianu (he founded the community organisation in Oltenia), but, feeling the burden of stigma, they shifted to emancipated gypsy, then adopted the term rrom.⁸

6 G. A. Lăzurică, „Când păzeau străjerii” („When they guarded the guards”), *Adevărul literar și artistic*, XII, 9 aprilie 1933, p. 644; Matei Petre (Ed.), *Mișcarea rromă din România în presa interbelică: 1933-1944* (*The Romani movement in Romania in the interwar press: 1933-1944*), Cluj-Napoca, Editura Institutului pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2022, p. 60.

7 Lazăr Naftănăilă, „Către toți țiganii din Ardeal” („To all the Gypsies of Transylvania”), *Neamul țigănesc*, I, februarie 1934, p.1.

8 Haralambie Luca, „Apostolul țiganilor” („Apostle of the Gypsies”), *Neamul Țigănesc*, I, aprilie 1935, p. 1.

Beyond disputes or hesitations, it is important to take steps to represent the Roma community and the specific interests they had. Solutions for the increasingly inadequate jobs on the labour market, social mobility, collaboration with state institutions and authorities (Church, police). Roma leaders used these levers pragmatically, turning them into opportunities. Under the impetus of promises, they have accepted the transition to Orthodoxy, the use as a voting mass for some political parties, relocation to multi-ethnic areas to balance the weighting in favour of the Romanians, facilitating control over nomads.

Roma and segregation

Segregation is a widespread phenomenon. Although the finger is pointed at certain areas or even countries that practice the phenomenon, the truth is that in one way or another, at one level or another, segregation is present everywhere. Segregation (cf. DEX, 1998) is the factor of racial separation, i.e. a form of discrimination based on race, consisting in the application of different criteria and standards within the same country or community (housing districts, educational environment, access to culture, ease of transport, quality and consistency of medical care, etc.).

As far as the Roma community is concerned, segregation is present at different levels and with different degrees of intensity. Despite the efforts made by central, zonal or local administrations, they still struggle with specific problems such as: high economic and social costs, limited or poor access to infrastructure facilities, no or insufficient social services, violence, living in unsanitary spaces that favour the spread of diseases, triviality or continuous exposure to natural hazards due to the marginal areas where they are forced to live. As a result of segregation, the community becomes increasingly vulnerable economically, medically and socially⁹ The disadvantaged group becomes unable to obtain the resources necessary for a decent living (quality and sufficient food, clothing, housing), and the prospects for the betterment of future generations are reduced, due to restrictions on quality education, medical or complex social services.

9 Viorel Mionel, "Tipologia segregării sociale în mediul urban" („Typology of social segregation in urban areas”), *Revista transilvană de științe administrative*, nr. 1 (25), 2010, p.50.

The Roma community falls into all the sub-categories identified by Viorel Mionel (Mionel, 2010): racial, ethnic, socio-economic, confessional segregation.

Racial and interracial segregation of Roma

It is well known that Roma have their settlements in the outskirts of the villages. This polarisation has also occurred because of poverty or because of direct rejection by local ethnic groups. The appearance of these neighbourhoods is that of slums, dominated by disorder, lack of systematisation, squalor and insalubrity (some of the best known are the Roma communities of Pata Rât, Cluj-Napoca, Bereasca and Mimiui, Ploiești, Lunca Craiovei or near Iași). The rejection is both from the Romanians and especially from the Hungarians or Germans. This demographic segregation has caused damage to property. Even if financially able Roma build imposing buildings, their market value is far below the value of the investment made, as the stigma of the area greatly reduces the value of the property. Some localities are known for their sumptuous Roma houses, but their value is depreciated for the reasons mentioned above (for example, Toflea, in Galati county, nicknamed Beverly Hills because of its palace-style houses, or Turda, in Cluj county, where Roma villas are designed like castles).

Unfortunately, segregation is also present at the intra-community level, in the sense that rich Roma segregate themselves from poor Roma, denying them access to their exclusive areas. The phenomenon is observed both at the level of housing areas and access to economic resources.

Ethnic segregation of Roma

Marginalisation and exclusion of Roma is more pronounced in urban areas, although it is also present in rural areas. The rejection is not unfounded. The majority community or ethnic group feels threatened by not sharing the same values. The community ethos is disturbed by the lack of hygiene rules, immorality, increased crime, high levels of noise characteristic of the Roma, all of which lead to a self-preservation reflex. The attitude is partly justified: in one sense it is natural, in another sense it is a civic duty to integrate our neighbours. Efforts and progress have been made in this di-

rection, but the process takes time and resources much more generous than we expected as a society.

Seen from both sides, we can also speak of self-segregation in the case of this type of segregation, in the sense that the efforts made to integrate the Roma, whether financial, legislative, social, etc., have met with resistance from the Roma. They resist change, undervalue the efforts made and victimise themselves.

Economic segregation

Economic segregation is the most visible of all forms of segregation. It takes the form of a lack of jobs or employment in unskilled jobs, which are also the lowest paid. In rural areas, the lack of land ownership means that work is daily, or seasonal, focused on harvesting berries, mushrooms, various plants, collecting scrap metal or recyclables. Remuneration for these activities is low, insufficient and inconsistent. Do not ensure continuity of income so that it can be budgeted for. Accumulating debts between harvest seasons or between periods when they have work to do and when they have nothing to do creates imbalances and frustration.

Material deprivation leads to increased crime from an early age and social insecurity. Most Roma citizens have no health insurance, unemployment and sickness cover or pension funds.

Confessional segregation of Roma

Denominational segregation involves exclusion or marginalisation within a community because of religious practices. At present, Roma do not widely practice a religion of their own. Assimilation into the national church, due to material advantages, was not based on spiritual convictions. In the same way they have chosen to support, in certain contexts, one political party or another.

The post-revolutionary period saw an orientation of Roma communities, especially towards the evangelical confessions. Because of these conversions, some were subjected to persecution, mockery, threats or even expulsion from the group.¹⁰ The phenomenon is specific to all situations

¹⁰ Nicolae Geantă, *Rromii evanghelici din Romania (Evangelical Roma from Romania)*, Oradea, Casa Cărții, 2022, p. 88.

of religious pioneering. Many of the communities that had shown reluctance have come over time to embrace mostly evangelical faiths (mainly Pentecostals, but also Baptists, Adventists or Jehovah's Witnesses). At the opening gala of the National Roma Language Olympiad, Cluj-Napoca, 2023, one of the leaders of the Roma community made the statement „the Roma community in Romania has assumed, in proportion of 80%, the Pentecostal faith”. (I made this observation personally, by attending the event as an observer from the Cluj County School Inspectorate). Beyond an overly generous approximation, the statement deserves our attention, as the religious factor can be one of the tools to mitigate and solve the problems faced by the Roma community.

Roma - a report on the moral and spiritual factor

All the factors mentioned above (demographic, economic, social, educational¹¹ or cultural) cumulate in the moral and spiritual factor. Because of their poor material condition and lack of education, Roma often live by their own laws or even outside any laws. Consequently, scandals, fights, gang or party feuds and vendettas, theft, speculation, insolence, gambling, violence, crime of all kinds, slang and licentious language, extramarital relations, promiscuity, begging, occult practices, non-payment of taxes to the state and tax evasion are the order of the day. The lack of morality and spirituality is the result of the fact that the Roma did not have an ethnic church, did not have moral and spiritual role models and did not develop lasting and constructive relationships with the majority religious communities.

The incidence of the monasteries, especially from the Middle Ages until their disentailment under Cuza in 1867, did not play as beneficial a role as might have been expected. They were treated as masses of labour for the monasteries, which did not lift them from the status of slaves. It further alienated them from moral values, precisely because their exponents were perceived as their enemies. Moreover, conducting religious services in Slavonic, Latin or Hungarian was a major impediment. As a result, the Roma community was perpetually isolated and the gap between them and the rest of society widened.

11 Ioan-Gheorghe Rotaru, “Valences of Education”, in *Proceedings of the 24th International RAIS Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities*, August 15-16, 2021, Princeton, NJ, United States of America, pp. 190-196.

„Most ethnic representatives, NGOs, the media or the legislature have not succeeded, in the 30 years since the fall of communism, in addressing these situations, although there have been many attempts. All these years have not seen an improvement in the moral life of the Roma produced by the relevant bodies. Are they unchangeable?”¹²

Aspects of integrating a Roma community into society

The integration of Roma is a desire of both society in general and the Roma community. It cannot be achieved by looking at the problem unilaterally, just as it cannot be achieved by taking a single view of the problem, be it social, economic, educational or moral. The combination of these factors can be a solution to the problem of the Roma community. Unfortunately, some institutions have made their involvement felt, such as social, governmental, civic and legislative organisations, while others have a timid or expected involvement. The Church can be included in this category.¹³ Changing the spiritual outlook of a community, adopting norms that are above the everyday horizon means a vertical integration and resolution of their needs and problems. As we have already shown, what bothers the Roma is a result of the lack of moral involvement within the community. By moral and spiritual involvement we do not mean indoctrination or the adoption of norms that have no relevance to the subjects. The forced enrolment of Roma in the National Church was a form without content. The effect carried no weight beyond some minor advantages for the Roma and economic advantages for the Church.

Alongside the moral and spiritual paradigm of the community, other factors must necessarily work together: 1) The educational factor, by attracting children to school and participation in formal and informal forms of education; 2) The social factor, by supporting day centres where participants benefit from material resources, but also from emotional resources, such as appreciation, recognition of value, appreciation of their work, etc.; 3) The economic factor, by taking sustainable economic measures based on the principles of sustainable community development. Unfortunately, the technique used in recent decades has been to keep this community at

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 89.

¹³ Ioan-Gheorghe Rotaru, “Biserica lui Dumnezeu, sursa unui Râu al Vieții și al Vindecării” (“The Church of God, Source of a River of Life and Healing”), *Argeșul orthodox*, 2012, XI, nr.564, p.5.

the level of subsistence and dependence on social aid; 4) The health factor, by facilitating an effective medical infrastructure for prevention and treatment; 5) The cultural factor, by making the most of the Roma's cultural heritage (traditions, music, theatre, choreography, crafts); 6) The media factor, by projecting an objective but favourable image of the Roma community and by promoting sustainable development projects within their community; 7) The political factor, through coherent legislative measures and disinterestedness from political partisanship, as well as by involving Roma representatives in local and central administration.

Toflea - the successful model

The Toflea community was, until recently, a large but anonymous Roma community in Galati county.¹⁴ Its fame has far exceeded expectations, becoming a model of social integration of the Roma community. The Toflenii are no longer noted today for the criminality of the past, nor for the large number of smugglers, as was the case in the early 1990s. The ethnic breakdown is exclusively Roma, which is why we have chosen this case as representative for the present study.

The religious dimension of the Toflenis was almost non-existent until the early 1990s.¹⁵ An unfortunate event turns into a happy one: the wife of one of the Toflenis is seriously ill, with no chance of a cure from the doctors. Her husband, Călin Gheorghe Tudorache, prays for her recovery, as he had heard was the practice in Pentecostal communities. The result is his wife's healing, which is why Gheorghe decides to hold prayer meetings in his garage. The villagers are reluctant at first, but the sensational element of healing attracts some. The meetings had no religious organisation. There was a lot of religious music, a miraculous narrative element (participants would confess the miraculous experiences they began to have, following prayers for personal problems) and socialising. No one was excluded on the basis of clan or financial status. This was a polarising factor, as the

14 Nicolae Geantă, *Rromii evanghelici din Romania (Evangelical Roma from Romania)*, Oradea, Casa Cărții, 2022, pp. 117-135.

15 Istvan Horvath (ed.), *Raport de cercetare Socioromap. O cartografiere a Comunităților de rromi din Români (Socioromap Research Report. A Mapping of Roma Communities in Romania)*, Cluj-Napoca, Institutul pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2017, pp. 227-232.

Roma felt a strong sense of exclusion, or unconditional inclusion attracted them to attend these meetings.

Soon the first conversions take place and are marked by the act of baptism, and the number of participants makes the place made available by Gheorghe Tudorache to be overcrowded. Moving to a more generous space also required the more articulate involvement of religious workers from other areas. In the space of 20 years, the Toflea community has more than 4000 Pentecostal members.

What is of interest here is the way in which the spiritual involvement and moral transformation of individuals has brought benefits on all levels: social, economic, demographic, cultural, psychological, etc. (see A monograph of projects ..., 2006). Without presenting a hierarchy of effects of spiritual change, we will present a summary of them. Like any social phenomenon, summarising cannot fully encompass the scale of the events.

Firstly, there has been a repositioning of family values and a repositioning of women's status within the community. The Roma are known for their emphasis on the family, but in most cases the family is not legally recognised. The implications are multiple, most of which are negative.¹⁶ Extramarital relationships, promiscuity, the appearance of children unrecognised by their fathers are just some of the consequences. With the adoption of moral values, Toflans have seen an unprecedented influx of marriage ceremonies at the Civil Registry Office, implicitly acquiring the necessary identity documents. The status of women followed a path of emancipation, within the limits set by biblical standards. The role of women is recognised and appreciated, women's qualities are valued and valued. Respect for women and the absence of domestic violence are values that have been noted since the beginning of the movement. Moreover, since 2007, the community of Toflea has been organising one of the largest conferences on the family. The location differs every year also because the number of participants is constantly increasing, which requires more generous venues.

The widespread popularization of the cultural element has also had a remarkable impact.¹⁷ Toflea generated a style of religious music on which

16 Gheorghe Sarău, *Ghidul mediatorului școlar (pentru comunități cu rromi) (The school mediator's guide (for Roma communities))*, București, UNICEF, 2011.

17 Nicolae Geantă, *Rromii evanghelici din România (Evangelical Roma from Romania)*, Oradea, Casa Cărții, 2022, pp. 87-96.

he left his definitive mark. Their musical and interpretative skills made Toflea religious music a landmark of Pentecostal religious music.

The moral and spiritual changes have resulted in perhaps the most visible progress: a significant reduction in crime. All those who embrace Pentecostal moral values (and not only, within the community there are also converts to the Adventist Church) renounce all illegal, illicit activity and value honest work. Some of them become successful entrepreneurs, create jobs for other members of the community, others go abroad to work, where they support the social and spiritual projects of the community. It has already become notorious when some of the community's most dangerous offenders experience a radical change and become moral role models for the community's young people. Many of them face resistance from their families, which is somewhat predictable given the unexpected change in their lives, which has sparked outrage and controversy (such as: „It's too good to be true!”

Another coordinate of change for the better is sustainable development, i.e. the impact on the more than 4000 members of the community is to be maintained by passing on values to the younger generation. In this respect, school attendance (Participation in Education of Roma Children, 2002) and the encouragement of school performance is at an increasing level. Summer or weekend camps, where teenagers are confronted with moral values and encouraged to be a change for the better for society, are held regularly.

By many of them migrating abroad, the successful model applied in Toflea and in diaspora communities has been replicated. Thus, a large number of young people and others from the Roma community, who were a source of numerous problems for the authorities, gave up their illegal activities and began to live a socially, economically and culturally integrated life.

In conclusion, the Roma community needs involvement on all fronts.¹⁸ None of the areas mentioned should be neglected, but none of them applied separately has the effectiveness of its enhancement alongside all the others. Integration should be done vertically and cover all

18 Olga Chiş, *Structuri de formare pentru educația grupurilor dezavantajate (Training structures for the education of disadvantaged groups)*, Cluj-Napoca, Eikon, 2013, pp. 89-112.

areas: social, economic, cultural, psychological, educational¹⁹, moral and spiritual.²⁰

The Roma community needs change, but at the same time society as a whole needs an upgrade to integrate them. Society needs the Roma community because the values it brings are fundamental, which is why it is worth every effort made in this regard. Alongside the economic, social and educational measures that are needed, the combination of the moral and spiritual factors will increase their synergistic effect.

Bibliografie:

- DEX, București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 1998.
- BĂCANU, M., *Țigani, minoritate națională sau majoritate infracțională (Gypsies, national minority or criminal majority)*, București, Bravo Press, 1996.
- CHIȘ, Olga, *Structuri de formare pentru educația grupurilor dezavantajate (Training structures for the education of disadvantaged groups)*, Cluj-Napoca, Eikon, 2013.
- COSTACHE, Luminița (coord.), *Promanipen educațional*, București, UNICEF, 2014.
- GEANTĂ, Nicolae, *Rromii evanghelici din Romania (Evangelical Roma from Romania)*, Oradea, Casa Cărții, 2022.
- HARDING, A. Debora (coord.), *Acces la educație de calitate pentru rromi, Raport de monitorizare, România (Access to quality education for Roma, Monitoring Report, Romania)*, Cluj-Napoca, Open Society Institute, 2007.
- HORVATH, Istvan (ed.), *Raport de cercetare Socioromap, O cartografiere a Comunităților de rromi din Români (Socioromap Research Report, A Mapping of Roma Communities in Romania)*, Cluj-Napoca, Institutul pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2017.
- JICĂU, Mihaela (coord.), *Participarea la educație a copiilor rromi, probleme, soluții, actori (Participation in education of Roma children, problems, solutions, actors)*, București, Institutul de Științe ale Educației, 2002.

19 Ioan-Gheorghe Rotaru, "Current Values of Education and Culture", în *Proceedings of the 24th International RAIS Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities*, August 15-16, 2021, Princeton, NJ, United States of America, pp. 87-92.

20 Ioan-Gheorghe Rotaru, *Om-Demnitare-Libertate (Man-Dignity-Freedom)*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Risoprint, 2019, pp. 208-215.

- LĂZURICĂ, G. A., “Când păzeau străjerii” („When they guarded the guards”), *Adevărul literar și artistic*, XII (644), 9 aprilie 1933.
- LUCA, Haralambie, “Apostolul țiganilor” („Apostle of the Gypsies”), *Neamul Țigănesc*, I (3), aprilie 1935.
- MIONEL, Viorel, “Tipologia segregării sociale în mediul urban” („Typology of social segregation in urban areas”), *Revista transilvană de științe administrative*, nr. 1 (25), 2010.
- NAFTANAILĂ, Lazăr, “Către toți țiganii din Ardeal” („To all the Gypsies of Transylvania”), *Neamul țigănesc*, I (1), februarie 1934.
- PETRE, Matei (Ed.), *Mișcarea rromă din România în presa interbelică: 1933-1944 (The Romani movement in Romania in the interwar press: 1933-1944)*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2022.
- ROTARU, Ioan-Gheorghe, “Biserica lui Dumnezeu, sursa unui Râu al Vieții și al Vindecării” (“The Church of God, Source of a River of Life and Healing”), *Argeșul orthodox*, 2012, XI, nr.564, p.5.
- ROTARU, Ioan-Gheorghe, “Current Values of Education and Culture”, în *Proceedings of the 24th International RAIS Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities*, August 15-16, 2021, Princeton, NJ, United States of America, pp. 87-92.
- ROTARU, Ioan-Gheorghe, “Valences of Education”, în *Proceedings of the 24th International RAIS Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities*, August 15-16, 2021, Princeton, NJ, United States of America, pp. 190-196.
- ROTARU, Ioan-Gheorghe, *Om-Demnitare-Libertate (Man-Dignity-Freedom)*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Risoprint, 2019.
- SARĂU, Gheorghe, *Ghidul mediatorului școlar (pentru comunități cu rromi) (The school mediator’s guide (for Roma communities))*, București, UNICEF, 2011.