Why do Dreams Migrate to South?

REPORT

I Have a Dream project (Activity 3: Reserach)

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FOR THE PROJECT

I Have a Dream project is implemented by LARGO Association – Kyustendil, Bulgaria in partnership with KUN Association - Norway. The project has been funded by financial support from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway under the EEA Financial Mechanism. The main goal of the project is to test, implement and disseminate new innovative methods for empowerment of Roma women and girls through trainings for personal skills development and direct advocacy. The objectives of the project are: a) to contribute to the launching of a favorable environment that acknowledges and respects Roma woman as a person and b) to develop the resources of Roma women to stand up for themselves as persons who can fight for their rights, interests and dreams.

The project is funded by the Active Citizens Fund, under thematic priority № 3: Empowerment of vulnerable groups with a total duration of 30 months. The Norwegian partner - KUN - has extensive experience in training, organizing and conducting advocacy campaigns for vulnerable social groups (including women, minorities, people with disabilities) and is highly motivated to apply its expertise to empower Roma women in Bulgaria through innovative methods. for advocacy

This report is part of project's Activity 3 Research. Within the framework of the activity a common methodology for conducting the research through qualitative research methods was prepared in parallel in Bulgaria and Norway. In the spring of 2022 24 in-depth interviews and 6 focus group discussions were organized and conducted in Bulgaria in the cities of Kyustendil, Dupnitsa, Sofia, Radomir, etc. 8-12 young people, women and men 14+ age took part in each of the discussions. The project crew expresses its gratitude to all participants and partners for their support and support for the cause of the project!

THE ISSUE

In her book, Freedom is a Continuous Struggle, renowned human rights activist and activist Angela Davis[1] analyzes Martin Luther King's famous 1963 speech I Have a Dream. Davis insists that many people do not understand this speech correctly because they believe that King's main message is that people should not give up on their dreams and fight for their realization. Such an interpretation of Martin Luther King's words is foolish, according to Davis[2] because everyone cherishes dreams and wants them to come true.

But the current empirical research refutes Angela Davis' beliefs. Not everyone has dreams. Focus groups and in-depth interviews with dozens of Roma women in Bulgaria failed to highlight even a single dream. On the contrary - this target group's research repeatedly registered a state of reconciliation with the world and the destiny, withdrawal from life, social apathy, nostalgia and sadness for unfulfilled youth and childhood dreams. This resignation is not necessarily imbued with negative emotions, or with kind of depressive states, depression or despair, although there were similar cases. Many of the frmale participants in the research were happy with their lives, cherished their families, children or grandchildren, and did not complain excessively about their work, payment, bills or living conditions. Nevertheless they failed to formulate a dream, a goal, a vision for a better future, given that the the interviewers repeatedly encouraged them and even insisted.

Of course the spring of 2022 was earmarked by the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, the economic and political crises following the multiple elections in Bulgaria and the difficulty of forming a fragile coalition majority. This environment undoubtedly influences attitudes, but LARGO's research of the last ten years in areas such as education, employment, health, social policy, community life, etc. also register this lack of ambition and resignation of many Roma women. "Dreams" as a general rule do not go further than wishes for health and family weelbeing, roof over your head, a tidy house, a minimum wage (preferably a legal one, under a contract and insurance) and a quiet mundane life. There are no dreams, no matter how much Angela Davis claims otherwise.

This gloomy mood, predominating among middle-aged and older Roma women who are married, live in Roma neighborhoods and settlements, have children, homes and husbands, is in stark contrast to the attitudes of young Roma girls and boys who have plenty of various and many many dreams. Like many children and young people around the world Roma children and youth

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[1] https://www.amazon.com/Freedom-Constant-Struggle-Palestine-Foundations/dp/1608465640

[2] King's main message is not to pursue our individual dreams, but our collective goals, Davis insists.

who took part in the research dream of becoming doctors, astronauts, teachers, writers, artists and lawyers, want to travel aroind the world and in space, plan to find humanity saving medicines, to invent new machines, to reveal secrets from the past, to construct buildings, engines, spaceships and robots. Most of the research participants are taking specific steps to realize their dreams like this fifteen-year-old girl from Kyustendil:

> *"I want to become a designer. I have chosen two universities - one in Italy and one in the Netherlands. Still two more years to prepare. I take drawing and mathematics courses. I hope I will be admitted...."*

All the young people respondents insist that everyone should have a dream. Most of them are absolutely convinced that their dreams will come true sooner or later, more likely sooner. Respondents themselves distinguish between whims of fantasies for entertainment and fun and dreams of life, which require planning, effort and striving. That is why during discussions youngsters often insist that dreaming is good, but dreaming alone is not enough - one must carefully analyze his/her own strengths in order to arrange his/her dreams and plan his/her life:

> *"I will become a nurse. I have decided it already. I'm not afraid of blood and needles at all. I am sure I will be a very good nurse."[3]*

Although the research focused on dreams of personal fulfillment, plans and ideas for discoveries in medicine and technology, for changing educational practices in neighborhoods and at national level, for improving infrastructure, buildings, sidewalks and gardens spontaneously emerged during the discussions – and also to change the political system so as to provide more freedom and better representation. But as a general rule when argumenting dreams it was dominated not so much by rational as aesthetic arguments - the desire to make the world a little more beautiful, not more orderly and reasonable:

> *"I will become a hairdresser and will posess my own shop. I am currently practicing. I enrolled in several courses. I'm just very passionate about it, I have a talent for it, everyone says that things around me are getting more beautiful. "*

To make things even more beautiful, I Have a Dream project focused mainly on Roma women and girls but the research respondents were also men and boys. This makes room for

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[3] A 14-year-old girl from Radomir

opinions and attitudes to be compared not only in different settlements but also by gender. The outreach work refutes previous aroused suspicions that boys will express dreams dominated by glossy jet set cars, easy money and a carefree life. The boys who took part in the discussion dream of a political career, scientific discoveries, becoming journalists, actors, musicians or power engineers:

> *"After school I will continue to study economics at the university. I want to do business, to be entrepreneur. I am interested in energy, especially green energy, renewable energy sources. This is a whole new world…"[4]*

We cannot present here the great diversity in the whole new world of dreams and plans that were shared during the discussions and interviews of the young respondents. There were almost no recurring ideas. The important thing is that all young participants agree on one thing:

> *"You have to have dreams and you have to stand up to make them come true! If you covet something very much, if you work hard to achieve it, it will come true! "*

And at this point we cannot help but wonder why there is such a huge gap between the optimism and cheerful emotions of youngsters and the reconciliation and apathy of older Roma, especially Roma women? Why do the childhood and youth's dreams and ambitions diassapear only to be replaced by passivity and indifference? Are all dreams a result of naivety and immaturity? Are there dreams that come true? Is it possible for dreams to come true here in Roma neighborhoods and settlements or should they migrate to south, according to one of our respondents:

> *„In autumn the weather was turning bad, it started raining, it was getting very, very wet and I got sick every time. I remember being put on the bed with the pillow raised and my breathing was apparatus - assisted. Mom and Dad took turns taking care of me at night, they didn't sleep because they were afraid to leave me alone. I could see in their eyes the fear of dying. As a child I wondered why the good weather was gone and I'm still again… My mother used to tell me that in the autumn storks, swallows, songbirds fly south /in Bulgarian Na Yug/. I thought that "Nayug" was sort of country where everyone is healthy and happy. Then I realized that if I want to be healthy, if I want to make my dreams come true, I have to get out of here, I have to migrate south/ /Nayug … "*

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[4] A 14-year-old boy from Radomir

Fortunately this female respondent is already healthy and has fulfilled many of her dreams, has a successful career, often travels south, supports important Roma causes and talented youngsters. But many Roma girls and women are not so lucky. Many of them have difficulty accessing education, health care and social services; they are at risk of poverty, social exclusion and marginalization; are more susceptible to early school leaving hazards, premature marriage, pregnancy and childbirth; they are more likely to be victims of trafficking, sexual violence and exploitation; their life expectancy and life quality are lower.

Many Roma girls and women do not have access to health and sexual education; they cannot decide on their own whether, when and for whom to marry; they cannot decide for themselves whether, when and how many children to have; whether, when and what to work; whether, when and how to make their dreams come true.

Of course such issues and some other similar to them have been registered and investigated in detail over the years and have been a subject of various policies initiated by government agencies, international and domestic organizations.

The scope of the present research does not allow excessive generalizations and definite conclusions, but gives grounds to formulate a hypothesis for hidden obstacles that sabotage this type of policy: attempts to master pre-modern and / or postmodern social relations through classical modern social regulators not only do not contribute to overcoming problems, but even aggravating them. This this discrepancy between problems and tools could be clearly spotted in the two dominant ways of escaping responsibility, which the guilty conscience of our society follows in a vicious circle:

> 1) calls for a "strong hand", "stricktest sanctions", "decisive action" by schools, social services, police, prosecutors and the courts regarding problems in Roma communities and 2) justification with "traditions" , "cultural norms" even if they do not culminate in racist explanations of the "genetic material" of the Roma. Social integration public policies that have been stitched to the gravity of either of these two value black holes of "repression" and "tradition" cannot be successful. This report argues that the failure of our social integration policies reproduces a downward spiral of negative selection in Roma communities - inadequate public policies provoke degradation of the social environment in communities, requiring parents to protect their children from this. environment and the more they

succed in this the more likely children are to become estranged from the community and leave it forever.

Conversely - children who got entangled by the avalanche of community values, social and economic crises remain trapped in networks of traditional personal and blood addictions and are much more at risk of early school leaving, early marriages and births, poverty, marginalization, labor and sexual exploitation and abuse. Unfortunately the present project cannot focus in detail on the problem of destructive influence of classical modern social regulators which unreformed institutions and systems such as school, social assistance and health care systems, law enforcement agencies, etc. affect pre-modern and post-modern social relations which tear apart closed Roma communities. However this research arguments the need for a systematic, conscious and sustainable public effort to develop institutions of organic solidarity in Roma communities to overcome the eroding impact of mechanical solidarity[5]. Only to the extent that this effort succeeds the south /nayug/ cound be here and now.

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[5] Emil Durkheim introduces the distinction between mechanical solidarity - characteristic of traditional communities with collectivist values and cultural homogeneity, and organic solidarity of modern societies, where individuals consciously interact and unite to achieve socially significant goals.

ABOUT WHITE CROWS AND WHITE GOODS

All research's respondents are unanimous that the most important condition for the realization of dreams for Nayug to become here is education, and the most important factor for education is the family. Although isolated cases of extremely talented and motivated Roma children are mentioned, who have achieved high educational achievements regardless of their families, or even in spite of their families, the predominant examples of success, crisis management and educational achievements are mainly due to support provided by families. Respondents share the belief that it is not so important whether the parents themselves are educated but what matters is that the parents are motivated to teach, encourage and support their children. During discussions many examples were listed of half illiterate or even completely illiterate parents who have never been to school but who manage to educate their children hoping for a better life, different from their parental fate:

> *"I even have classmates in my class whose parents are completely illiterate, they can't even produce one single signature. If they have to fill in a declaration, they come to LARGO's Association to ask for help and put a cross to sign it. But they really want their children not to become like them, so they do everything possible and enroll them in kindergarten, preschool classes, school. The children are doing allright although there is no one to help them at home ..."[6]*

These Roma women who have been supported and helped at home, tend to underestimate their own achievements, efforts and talents because they believe that family is the main factor in their success: "I am not a typical example, because I am was taught to read at the age of 4","I am fortunate as my mother taught with me since I was a child, I never had problems at school, unlike many other Roma children","From my early age my mother read us books every night - we didn't know how to read yet, but we knew the letters of the animals, our letters, the letters of mom and dad - for me my education went quite naturally, I can't say that I had any problems because mom and dad were always by my side ". That is why it is important to begin the analysis of empirical data with family, family upbringing and the impact of parental support.

Families

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[6] A 13-year-old girl from Kyustendil

First of all we must emphasize right from the beginning that the research records very clearly defined social male and female roles in Roma families. Although the respondents identify some change between the different generations this change is quite moderate and not one-way. The roles, expectations and, respectively the socialization of boys and girls are very different. There is a strong dominance of a patriarchal model of Bulgarian Roma communities' traditional family in which men play a central role and their preparation for this role begins in childhood. Although there were some reservations, most girls are convinced that:

> "In Roma communities boys RULE! They always get whst they want, everyone is spoiling them, they're pleased by everyone... There is a saying – Don't deny anyting to a boy – otherwise something could happen to him… Princes! With girls it is very different. We are embarrased to ask. Everyone is claiming that we should be modest, quiet and obedient... "

Not all boys – respondents think they are getting kings or prince like attitude but they admit that they have much more freedom deciding where to go, what to do, whom to meet, when to go home, what to study, etc. compared to girls. Boys experience these freedoms as something completely natural but girls often resist and demonstrate a clear awareness that they have been unjustly and undeservedly cheated and oppressed. Some girls readily accept these restrictions imposed by family and community because they believe that their parents care for them, love them, and try to provide them with a better future.

But other girls perceive these traditional family characteristics' as an injustice that harms them and cuts off their chances of living a full blooded and happy life. According to a female research participant the woman in Roma community is expected to play the role of white goods - to look neat and in place, to clean, cook, wash, arrange, if possible without making much noise. That is why from the earliest childhood:

> "I had to be very diligent, to write netaly, arrange my notebooks and textbooks. In the evening we sat at the kitchen table and studied with my father or mother. My brother was not made to study, he played outside with the children."

If a girl is left to run outside, kick a ball, play with boys, or take an interest in sports and cars, she is in danger of becoming a "tomboy" and no one likes such girls. Therefore concerned parents

take all precautions to prevent their girls in avoiding this unhappy fate by keeping them away from dangerous thoughts, actions and objects:

> *"From an early age my brother was allowed to get in the car, sit in the driver's seat and fiddle with the steering wheel, turn on the headlights, press the horn. I was never allowed because I am a girl. I looked from aside and envied him. Now I have a driving license but I hardly drive. I try once in a while but only on the weekends and when there isn't much traffic."*

The traditional model of a happy family in which father works hard from dawn to dusk to earn a living for the whole household, mother takes care of the home, for the cooking and the upbringing of the kids, and the mothers –in-law vigilantly watch the young not to stray form the model still is perceived as an feasible ideal by many representatives of Bulgarian Roma communities. This ideal is provoked by reality because more and more married women have to work or want to work even before they have raised their children. Here is a typical memory from Radomir city about the role of women in the family over the years:

> *"Grandpa came home late from work, even after sunset as far as I remember. Everyone in the house was falling silent when they heard the front door creak because they knew Grandpa was coming home. When Grandpa came in the children were getting out so as not to disturb him because we knew he was very tired. Grandma and Mom met him at the door, helped him take off his coat and shoes, handed him his slippers. Grandpa washed his hands and sat at the table, and they served him. We had to keep quiet while he watched the news."*

In general the research contains memories and stories about men absent from the family. Whether they work in construction, in the woods, as drivers, tinsmiths, tradesmen, fitters, musicians or otherwise, men are at work all day and sometimes absent for weeks and months engaged in providing family's livelihoods. Over time and generations change the social roles in the family change, although not to such an extent:

> *„My mother got married very young and never worked. She always took care of the house and us. Then she helped me and my sister for our children. That's why my father didn't meddle in the housework at all. If there was something to be done in the yard, repairs - yes, but she was chasing him from the kitchen. But I've*

always worked. I worked before I got married, took a break by having children, and then went back to work. If my mother doesn't help with the housework and the children, we won't be able to cope at all. She takes them to and from school, she cooks for us sometimes, she helps with the laundry. If he has to cook my husband will not starve to death but he will make sandwiches or at most fry some eggs… Well, the difference is that women are still expected to do the housework but after you get home from the other job it is just too much to cope with. Housework is perceived as a woman's responsibility…..."

Only some boys from Muslim communities insisted that housework was a woman's responsibility, and a man's responsibility was to take care of and provide family's livelihoods for him and his wife. Although they were 15-16 years old such boys claim that a woman should not work and that a man should take care of her, dress her, feed her and support her. It would be a shame for them if their wives go to work, because it would mean that they did not do their job properly as heads of household: "if I have to I will take two, even three shifts but it would be a shame if I can't support my wife financially and she has to work. " None of the young girls respondents even from Muslim communities accepted this role model. On the contrary, such a distribution of roles in the family becomes the object of open ridicule:

„These talkings are really old fashioned and obsolete, from ancients times! Just imagine that a woman is meant to stay at home, take care of the children and the elderly and if she has no children, watch Indian and Turkish series all day long! And she has to beg her husband just for some cash if she wants to go out for having a coffee with friends. I will work, I will earn money to be independent of my husband!"

While girls are more likely to believe that women need to work in order to be independent, have a career, develop and diversify their own lives those boys who still respect women's legal right to work believe that women could work just to support their families:

„Woman must also contribute to the family budget."

But the message lurking behind these male declarations is "if she wants let her work, it doesn't bother me, as long as she has done her housework", rather than a sincere belief in women's

equality. No boy or girl has suggested that it is possible within a family that the woman makes more money than the man. This explains why boys often say that:

"The earnings of woman is only for her - to freely spend it. The money the man earns is common - it's for the whole family."

Of course earning money is not equal to financial management. The research is dominated by the understanding that a man's responsibilities in the family include earning, but not spending the family budget wisely. Men can't handle household bills, fees for kindergardens and private classes, loans installments, stores discounts. It is good that there are some pragmatic and responsible women to relieve men of the heavy burden of spending family earnings:

"This thing doesn't just happen! Because I manage the household's expenses when he takes his salary my husband gives it all to me. In the morning when he leaves for work he asks me for money for coffee and cigarettes. I allocate him some cash - as much as he needs because things need to be kept under command".

Things also need to be kept under control with regard to housework. The research strongly testifies that the man is the head of the family and responsible for the living and the woman takes care of the household but the children of two working parents say that it is no exception that their dads give a hand at home with almost everything:

"Daddy can cope with anything. He doesn't do it often but when it is needed he does the vacuum cleaning, washes dishes, sometimes he cooks. Daddy just doesn't hang the washing on the line... So that the neighbors don't witness it."

But resourceful Roma women have also found a solution to this problem provoked by envious neighbors:

"Dad runs the washing machine and hang the washing at home at the dryer, but Mom just takes the dryer out into the yard in the sun"

Most of the children and youngsters who took part in the reserach said that they had their own share of responsibilities and participated in housework - mostly responsible for tidying up

their own rooms, making beds, throwing away rubbish and shopping. However their main duty is related to school, private lessons in schools and with teachers, and to do their homeworks.

But if these are the relationships in typical Roma families we have registered at least three other significant forms of organization of family life. First these are the families where the parents work abroad but the children are mostly in Bulgaria - here they go to school and their grandparents take care of them. Many respondents say that grandparents often "neglect" such children, they are pampered by the money their parents send them, their school archievemnts and general scores got worse in general.

Second -   these families are the poorest – there very often the children are from several fathers, mothers have a hard time successding in making both end meet, the older children have to look after the younger ones, and often they have to look after their own living. If they do not get special support children from such families are more likely to miss school and drop out.

Third - these are families where both parents and children are abroad. These families come back home for a few days during the holidays for a family gathering. meet friends but as a rule they have settled somewhere outside, the children attend there to kindergarten or school, usually both parents work, often in several places. Reserach participants have repeatedly cited examples of such families trying to return to the community, enroll their children in school, work in their vocations and professions but these endeavours generally fail - as a general rule only after a few weeks or several months these families gave up, packed their suitcases and go abroad again. During focus group discussions and interviews children and youngsters insisted that children living abroad are to be recognized at a glance - for their clothing, hairstyles and behavior. Several girls who have recently returned from Germany, Spain and the Czech Republic said that they missed Bulgaria, but can no longer stand here because they feel like white crows. Here is the story of a 15-year-old girl from Dupnitsa:

> *"We lived in Germany and because of COVID19 my parents decided to come back to Bulgaria. Now we want to go back there. Only mom is more or less fine here because she meets her mother, sister, friends. But my sister and I we can't take it anymore. At first we liked it, we were more curious and had fun but somehow we began to feel that we did not belong here. It's weird but I have more friends there, and I feel more accepted, I feel it like home more there than here. It makes me crazy that everyone is scrutinizing you, gossiping about you, somehow you*

feel like everyone is slandering behind you. I feel like a white crow… I'm both happy and I know I'm out of place and I can't wait to leave again…"

This gossip and slandering which of course is common to all traditional communities is getting not only children and young people living abroad crazy. At the same time many respondents said that they felt protected, understood and accepted in the community. So let us now turn to the question of to what extent the community helps and to what extent it hinders the achievement of the dreams of Roma girls and boys from different families, different economic and social status?

The traditional community

The results of the reserach show that the community is present through three main typological narratives related to: 1) supervision, 2) celebrations and 3) polarization.

Participants nurture a dual attitude to supervision in Roma communities, to the fact that everyone knows everyone and vigilant neighbors, passers-by, cafe visitors and on-duty hang-arounds will immediately spread through their invisible low-tech but high-performance communication channels all deviations from normal everyday events. On the one hand, this is a source of a sense of security because just as children feel at ease and protected inside Roma neighborhoods and settlements so parents do not worry that their children play on the street, in the stadium or in the neighborhood school's yard. On the other hand many youngsters complain that they need some personal space, a degree of anonymity and freedom from public opinion's burden. The echo of parental councelling was spontaneously present in each of the focus group discussions:

"Don't do that, it's a shame! What would people say? "

In order for the community to effectively regulate the behavior and socialization of children and youngsters feeling of guilt have been constantly reproduced by public opinion. Many participants claimed that they often feel anxious, resentful and guilty within the community not because they have done something wrong but because they feel they have all eyes on them expecting to do something wrong so that they could then be scolded and criticized. The community cannot be pleased according to the respondents especially the younger ones. The community scolds you if you don't get married because "you're going to be an old maid" but it also disapproves of too early age marriages; does not like those who study too much because "there is no need for more

teachers" but also sanctions school dropouts; does not approve of active athletes because they will get injured but it also punishes the lazy, etc.

In general respondents believe that the more mediocre you are the less noticeable and ordinary you aret he less likely you are to come under fire by public opinion. Anyway hard to please everyone but the feeling of guilt remains:

> *"It's like that all the time – you're told: this or that child is so doing so well, he/she is so humble, so educated and smart, and you have to be like him/her. However when you inform what this or that child has done you're told: forget the others, look at yourself and do the right thing. In general, hard to please everyone… "*

Predominantly grandmothers not so much mothers are constantly "guiding" girls from an early age:

> *"You have to be obedient, you have to be diligent, to be clean in order to find a good match, to love you, to take care of you. And for as long as I can remember my grandmother kept telling me, "What would people say if you don't act like that?"*

Of course such modesty's encouragement on the part of public opinion stimulates neither the emergence nor the will to pursue more ambitious and eccentric dreams. Fortunately, not all forms of community life hold on to modesty and obedience. Community celebrations, especially proms and weddings, festivals, concerts and fairs are a venue that allows you to shine the best hairstyles and makeup, the most beautiful dresses and shoes, the most elegant costumes, the most glossy cars, the most talented performers.

The wedding is certainly the most focal community event which earmarks the life of the newlyweds. Prom and participation in festivals, carnivals and beauty shows are forms of preparation, something like an introductory part or general rehearsal for the wedding and the discharge of babies from maternity wards is a natural epilogue to this cycle of community celebrations focused on family and human reproduction. The best hairdressers and stylists, tailors and musicians, directors of photography and chefs are being nbook long in advance before the events - balls, weddings and festivals so it is no wonder that many children's dreams revolve around celebrations as the most important emanation of community life.

However this brings us to the third key narrative through which the community reveals itself during the interviews and discussions - polarization, strong internal stratification, widening the gap between people who generally cope and those living in extreme poverty and misery.

> *"Grandma used to say that if I didn't study, a black gypsy would marry me to cook for him, wash his clothes and look after his children."*

The research is imbued by a strong attitude that studying is not so much about life, profession and career but rather a prerequisite for a successful marriage. Since the wedding is the key event of community reproduction and the pressure of public opinion is an effective traditional social regulator that is called to ensure this reproduction and survival community opinion prevails over personal ambitions. A 16-year-old respondent from Kyustendil shares that:

> *"Bulgarians are wuite self confident and do not care what others say, they trust to each other. We are very influenced by public opinion so we give up easily so we do not believe in our own strength and we easily give up our vows and drop out of school… "*

But education is the most important resource for making dreams come true, for a better, higher quality and more fulfilling life. So let's move on to the topic of school.

The school

LARGO Asscoaition's research, analysis and reports for the last ten years focus on the problems of early school drop outs, access to kindergartens and quality education, difficulties in Bulgarian language's learning, obstacles such as transport, providing textbooks and notebooks, shoes and appropriate clothing, the economic pressure on many Roma children to work or help their parents to earn a living and take care of smaller siblings, the spread of racist attitudes in society, in hate speech and xenophobia which also affect the school environment causing tensions among both students and parents. Covid19 pandemic has exacerbated many of the old problems and provoked new ones due to lack of access to digital devices and Internet, difficulties for teachers and students to interact and work in electronic environment, difficulties in organizing an effective learning process without the physical attendance of children in school, lack of adequate psychological support for students and their families. For the purposes of this analysis it is not

necessary to restate all these issues but it is important to focus on three topics that affect dreams and the resources to achieve them.

First one of the findings is a gap between schools in Roma neighborhoods and so called urban schools. The respondents have a clear awareness that the neighborhood based schools do not teach hard that there the grades have been artificially increased and that there are students in ninth and tenth grade who do not know how to write and read fluently. Most participants believe that the low quality of education in neighborhood based schools is due to the system of delegated budgets which forces principals to maintain numbers of students at the expense of teaching. Students share in the fourth and seventh grade external assessment that teachers write the answers on the board; that many students are just registered in the school but actually attend once in a blue moon or are abroad; that older students gather in the school yard to drink coffee and smoke, and do not attend classes at all; that cards and dice are played in class, music is listened to, students enter and leave when they please.

That is why more motivated parents do not enroll their children in Roma neighborhood schools at all but in the urban ones despite the distance, lack of public transport and the danger of being subjected to insults, ridicule, bullying, verbal abuse because of their ethnic origin. Students who intend to move from neighborhood based schools to urban schools are warned by their teachers that if they are accepted at all their gradings and archievments will degrade abruptly because the criteria are different and this will reduce their chances of applying to different school after seventh grade. The gap between neighborhood and urban schools is most clearly revealed in joint initiatives such as competitions, school mini Olympics, games and others where not only (lack of) knowledge, but clothing, language and behavior reveal the origin and whereabputs of a child:

> *"Our teachers had warned us that we were taking part in this competition only for the attendance and not to hope for any positive result. When we stood next to each other with the rest it was immediately clear who was who. We were dressed in our best clothes but it was obvious that we were gypsies in mud covered worn shoes because in the neighborhood streets are not paved and until we have to walk in the mud - no way… Nobody expected that we could make it but I was stubborn and prepared and I knew by heart the answers to all questions. In the end we lsot of course but I saw how surprised everyone was - parents, teachers, principals, inspectors, absolutely everyone - that a gypsy can know so much… "*

The gap between neighborhood and urban schools also refers to the second important topic - discipline. Students - both from Roma communities neighborhood schools and from city downtown urban schools - complain about poor class discipline, noise, phone talking, music and lack of order. This topic is especially concerning for children who have studied abroad and returned to Bulgaria:

> *"I was shocked when I first attend to classes here. When the teacher came in I got up because that's what we do in the Czech Republic. Everyone started laughing at me. Then I turned off my phone and everyone was making fun of me again. It is simply impossible to study here - everyone is talking, many children are late in the morning and come to school after the teacher has started class but she still allows them come in and doesn't punish them. It's so noisy that you can't hear what the teachers are saying. But many do not even talk - they are instructed to do an ssignment, to read or they're told to open on a page …………and solve a problem on their own until the bell rings and the class is over. During this time everyone does what one wants, they don't study at all… At first it was strange, but over time you get used to it and it doesn't bother me anymore…"*

All students in the reseach insist that they respect those teachers who keep up to discipline, who impse order, teach and are strict. The problem is that these teachers are fewer and fewer. Many students know that teachers do not have the resources to sanction them and make use of it. Even in elite urban schools one may not study and still graduate without any problem as long as one is physically attending school. The difference with neighborhood schools is that motivated students who want to study in the downtown city schools get support by their teachers. The most motivated even attend private lessons in schools or by individual teachers as long as their parents could afford such cash investment.

And here we come to the third important topic - school and parents relationship cutting off. Both students and parents of students shared in discussions and interviews that the pandemic was a good occasion for the school to cut off relationship with parents. Although before the pandemic parents were barred from entering the school building and parents had difficulties or find it even impossible to get an access to teachers after the pandemic this became a widespread trend in all schools. Thers is a lot of various explanations for this - some parents believe that many teachers

actually protect their health because they are anti vaxers and are not immunized but according to other parents teachers do not have answers to many parental questions related to the missed classes, discipline, school leaves, arguments between students and parents because of the pandemic, etc. There is even an opinion that the complex times of pandemics and war, social and political crises provoke expectations for answers and responses by school and teachers while the other side is just missing:

> *"No one discussed with us the pandemic. We asked what was going on but all the teachers somehow getting a little off the topic track, said that there were different opinions, in general, they were just trying to get rid of us. Then we asked about the vaccines - again no one wants to come up with a statement, just beating around the bush. When the war in Ukraine started, only the information technology teacher had a talk with us and told us that she was also very afraid… But you feel very confused because you think that teachers are educated and smart people who prepare you for life and you see how they don't know what's going on and they're also confused… "*

Therefore the easiest and most clear-cut way is to cut off all contact with parents. But this lack of answers to important questions to students immediately leads to a key question that we have repeatedly discussed in LARGO 's other analyzes and reports: many students do not see the point of education. Reactions like "but sir, why should I study when I'm smart", or "I'm beautiful, if I get smart when I go to school, it will be too much" and "textbook – based studying is for the weak, we, the strong, have education in life from streets", etc., although jokingly refer to the adequacy of the question of the meaning of attending school. Many examples of people who did not study long in school, dropped out of sixth, seventh or eighth grade, but have successful businesses such as hairdressers, cosmeticians, musicians, singers, restaurant managers, constructions workers and more are registered.

Mass labor migration in EU countries also reveals that people with low education or no education can, as long as they are in good healt and hardworking, have much higher incomes than highly educated people in Bulgaria including teachers, school principals, municipal and state administration employees. And here we must pay special attention to an important issue which is the key to a better understanding of the issue of dreams migrating south. Many Roma with

university education who participated in the research claim that in Bulgaria there is no high competence market, that it is difficult to find a job because they are overqualified, that appointments in state and municipal structures – by means of temporary programs employment, through hygienists and teachers, to administration experts - require either bribes or ties, and very often both of them. Moreover respondents insist that the entire organization of education, health and social support systems actually reproduces dependent social benefits consumers for the needs of personal networks:

"I have always wondered why we don't allocate scholarships for archievments; why we don't stimulate children who are hardworking, who are pursuant, who study, write homeworks... They say they can't, lack of budget. That there is money only for social scholarships. But what do we do? We have been teaching them from school, from an early age, not to strive, not to work, but to rely on social benefits. We neglect the good and the industrious, and we reward the lazy. Am I not right? What kind of people do we expect to leave this school, how do we want them to become active citizens and society members, if we have already taught them bad!?"[7]

Of course this school socialization is hardly the main reason for early school drouputs but certainly the unreformed school education system does not stimulate the long-term retention of students. If we ask students, teachers and parents themselves many of them will say that the most significant reason for dropping out of school early is early marriage. That is why now is the time to move on to the topic of personal relationships.

Relationships

The Roma boys and girls claim that the best age for a girl to get married is 22-24 years after graduating from school and / or university, has a profession, stable income and knows her life goals. At the same time many girls are still getting married at the age of 12, 13, 14. The research also covered such girls. Not all of them regretted their early marriage or were unhappy. Several girls from early marriages said they had found the love of their lives, had happy families, children and is living good lives.

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[7] Educational mediator in a Roma neighborhood school

There were girls who dropped out of school due to early marriage who after child's birth continued their education and graduated. Others have not returned to school but have taken courses and enjoy successful vocations, continue to invest in their education, develop and earn their own living. The research also included girls who regretted getting married early, although they are not sure they would have done otherwise if they could have turned back time:

"We met on Facebook, chatted for a while and then I went to live with him. He is from Kyustendil, it turned out later that he is big shit... We have no children, thank God. I saw that this relationship is doomed and I returned to Dupnitsa. I don't work, I don't do anything. I go to church, I have left myself in the hands of God... I don't know if I would have done otherwise if I could go back in time. Then the world looked different to me. I just wasn't lucky with this boy, otherwise my feelings were genuine... "

According to another girl, who already has two children at the age of 16:

"We were still very young but our relationship was not spontaneous. We were dating for 3 years before we got married. We dated, talked, met, wrote on Facebook. We had not had sex because we, Roma, have some strict rules before marriage. But my parents got to know him, they didn't like the boy because he was from another neighborhood and they wanted to separate us. Then we got married so that they wouldn't separate us. He is the love of my life. If we had been separated, I would not have been able to survive it. He is now 17, almost 18, he works, I take care of the children. My parents are still mad with me but they have no viable move as they notice that he is a good guy and takes care of his family. It's hard for us but we are happy... I didn't think I would get married so young and that I would leave school. I thought I would get married at 20. But that's the way things happened... "

In order to prevent early marriages many parents in Roma communities hold their daughters the leash. According to the data there are still but few parents who stop their daughters from school because they are afraid that they will get abducted for brides.It is still rather a big

exception if a Roma father lets his daughter go on a school trip with an overnight stay, allow for a later evening curfew or pyjama party with girlfriends. Many parents have recently even banned the use of social networks because they believe that their daughters behave " sluts like" and become the object of lustful intentions.

The fears of the parents are not unjustly. In the stories of the respondents the image of "sugar daddy with the BMW" is persistently present – the one wh is ramiing around the outskirts of Roma neighborhoods and looking for little girls. Several girls told us how they ran away from such " sugar daddies" and the neighborhood residents rushed to save them with some improvised weapons at hand. One of the girls locked herself in the house while her brothers managed to come and save her from a groom's candidate and his fellows. Frustrated by such incidents, practices and "traditions" many parents impose strict disciplinary measures on their daughters and this often resulted in the opposite effect - of fierce resistance:

> *„My parents worked in Malta. My grandparents were taking care of me. I met a boy, we befriended and started dating. We are from the same school and we did not intend to get married at all. We planned to go to school, to finish when the time came. But someone had told my parents and they had swiftly returned back home, compiled my luggage the same day and wanted to take me with them to Malta to protect me. I, of course, ran away at night and went to the boy's housing. My parents had to put up with what I did so they wouldn't take me away... That's what happened... I don't think I would have done that if mom and dad didn't want to separate us. I did very well at school, I was an excellent student (...) Now I can't go back, I don't have time, I'm taking care of two children. Maybe one day, when the children grow up a little and go to school, I will continue, but I will forget everything I have learned so far..."[8]*

Those girls and women who did not marry young, attend to or have graduated from school or university have different explanations for early marriages, and these explanations do not include "tradition" at all. The most common reasons are: "impatient, want to try everything" (and "usually regret it later"), "they are afraid that someone else will steal the love of their life", "they just haven't agreed on in advance for how long they will wait","they are in a hurry","they are idiots"," they don't

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[8] An 18-year-old girl who got married at the age of 15

know how to protect themselves". The research is strongly dominated by the understanding that unlike Bulgarian women Roma (mostly girls) do not have sex before the wedding. Here is a typical opinion about the differences between Bulgarian and Roma women in this case expressed by a 13-year-old girl from an elite school in Kyustendil:

> *"I have classmates who have been having sex since last year but they take pills and protect themselves. It is normal for Bulgarians to sleep with someone, move to live together, then separate and this is not the end of the world. This is not the case with Roma. If you sleep with someone you have to get married because otherwise the end of the world is coming… It's very stupid… "*

The accusation for the "end of the world" is usually not the boy's fault:

> *"It's always the girl to blame. She is the one who made a mistake. The boys are not accused at all. If they have slept together they must get married right away because otherwise everyone will consider the girl as slut and total failure and she will never be able to get married. "*

Although the community blames the girl for the "mistake", sometimes I tis not exactly like this:

> *"Maybe the boy's parents will be Ok and convince him to get married and take the girl home. There are such parents and their number is growing more and more. They know that their son was also involved and they do not want all the blame to fall on the girl and take it home, especially if she is a good girl, no matter that she made a mistake… "*

It is important to emphasize that the unmarried participants themselves fdoes not express solidarity with the fate of the girl who misbehave, even if she is pregnant and needs support. On the contrary they become critical and scolding for such screwed up fellows:

> *"Roma believe that the girl was not careful and she was wrong not the boy. Being pregnant does not oblige the boy to get married, because she may have slept with five other gyus, she can't marry all of them… "*

The interviewees share that there are already Roma girls who use protective measures and have sex before marriage, but these are big exception. Optional abortions are an even bigger exception as "it is known that if you have an abortion, especially when you are young, then you may not be able to get pregnant at all", so even "if they are not married they bear the babies and then their mothers take care of them. " However, several cases of abortions with the assistance and support of parents were mentioned. Only highly motivated parents can prevent the "end of the world" from happening if their daughter has made a mistake:

"She got pregnant and dropped out of school. The father was well known but they didn't get married. And then her father helped her, he was with her all the time, he took care of her. She gave birth to her child, her parents took care of it. Her father made her go back to school, she graduated. She started working, now she has a profession. In time, she married another boy, had another child, and lived well. He also works in a repairs , insulation & construction company. If it weren't for her father giving her a steady hand, she would have failed. He virtually rescued her. Such fathers exist... "

But all these cases of abducted or runaway brides, too early marriages, divorces and get togethers are still exception according to most respondents. The norm is for the boy and the girl to get acknowledgetd and approved approved by both families, for the wedding not to be urgent and for the relationship to be harmonious:

"It is very important for the boy and the girl to be at the same grade. If one of them belong to a richer family there will be rumors right from the start - oh, he is marrying her because of her money, they do not love each other, this is a mercenary marriage... "

It is easier for the community to accept if a Roma boy brings a Bulgarian woman back home than if a Roma girl marries a Bulgarian. Here, the participants 'explanation is not in the traditional patriarchal communities' conservation practices, but again in the economic imbalances: "people

will say she's doing it for his money, that she has been bought in a way." And if the boy is a foreigner: "then it is certainly for the money, there is no other way", because:

> *"We gypsies are more easy going, we love life, we enjoy it very much. We live for the moment. We live for the sake of the moment. Bulgarians and foreigners are selfish. They are egocentric and stingy, they are thinking about and make up their minds for the smallest details. If he feels like singing the gypsy sings, if he is happy, he will spend all his money for one night. He may starve the next day, but he will give his soul and body some good time. We are like that, we love life..."*

The most important collective manifestation of the love of life is the gypsy wedding which lasts three days and is unique as outfits, music, cars, guests, restaurants so that it will be remembered forever. The participation of the whole community in the wedding is the greatest guarantee for the relationship between the young, and civil marriage is an unnecessary formality. The connection between the young is genuine, deep and forever. But even these strong bonds are being put to the test today, according to the results of this research.

The crises of the traditional family

The research registered a prevailing sense of community crisis, decline in values, family breakdown, abandonment of children, disrespect for adults, alcohol and drug abuse, moral degeneration, inefficiency of the education system, etc. COVID19 pandemic is experienced as a situational cause that has intensified these processes but actually they precede it. Respondents share a number of examples of parents who have gone abroad, supposedly to support financially their families, but there families fall apart, men change wives, but even worse - women exchange husbands. At the same time pampered children stay home in Bulgaria without supervision and guidance and decide to take the wrong path of life - they start drinking from an early age, smoking cigarettes and weed, using strong illegal drugs, dropping out of school and hanging out with inappropriate fellas.

Participants shared stories of domestic violence, sexual and physical abuse of young girls and children, human trafficking, cases of husbands, mothers and fathers forcing their wives and daughters into prostitution at home and abroad. There were also stories of children gathering in gangs, robbing shops, organizing fights with children from other neighborhoods and settlements.

Several young respondents shared cases of bringing weapons to school - both cold and firearms. For the first time, so many children of separated parents, children raised by single parents and children living alone because their parents are abroad and do not have grandparents took part in this research. In order to better understand these traditional family's crises, we need to analyze them in the context of the crises of the Roma communities themselves.

Community life

Opportunities to work and study abroad, encountering other/different lifestyles, attitudes and regulations, labor and social integration in systems that encourage initiative, hard work, personal endeavour, responsibility and fairness contribute to the emancipation of many youngsters, women and men from the gravity of community personal and blood bonds. After some experience abroad, the school in Bulgaria now looks like:

> *"Just awful! Some parody of studying here! If in France a teacher dares to accuse students of not arranging the agenda well and of failing to pass on the material to them if she publicly claims at a parent-teacher meeting that the students are to blame for her failure, well, such a teacher will be fired the very next day! And here it is normal, no one is concerned. They make them feel guilty and constantly repeat that they are incapable, that they don't make it, that they can't do it right from the first grade! It's awful – just awful! "*

For a person returning from abroad sees Bulgarian employers in a similar way:

> *"He /the employer/ has gome mad abut this because I said I had rights, I saw that this is not going to work like this and I quitted. However, everyone else is silent! They allow themselves to be crushed, to work overtime, not to be paid on time, to be ridiculed and mocked! This is work harassment – and I am not going for it. But local women have not experienced anything else, they know nothing and they just succumb because they still take some money and there is nothing else to do if they got fired. And money is just some scam! But that's why employer are so authoritarian. As long as we keep silent we will be crushed. That's why people are escaping. You work abroad, but you know that the more you work, the*

more you get paid. Not that there are no fraudsters there either, but by getting the knacks of their sustem, you learn to beware. And when you are spotted and hardworking they try to squeeze you out. Without realizing it you see that they are squeezing you like a lemon - they are happy, but you are happy in the end too…"

That is why people who already secured personal income and are independent believe that

"In the neighborhood men are afraid of strong women. They want to dominate, to command you. If a woman can make her own money and is independent men run away from her. The parents-in-law also do not want such a woman because she is free, she will strive to run her own household, she will not obey parents-in-law and beg for their goodwill. That's why strong women escape from the community, migrate to the city, Sofia or abroad… "

And when they get back to community friends, relatives and friends:

"I love them, they are part of my family and with all my respect and love, I feel like they are simple souls, such peasants. Don't get me wrong - I'm not hiding that I'm a gypsy, I'm all the time confessing it myself frankly that's not it. Just hearing them discussing marginal topics and the way they think and the way they do not give a damn for anything, how limited their worldview is and I get it – I feel sorry and sad for them, and I am left with a heavy feeling. I do not blame them, because they did not have the opportunity to study, to think differently. I feel rather pity for them…"

But not everyone feels sorry, many people feel anger and disgust:

"They are failing, they're going backwards! I used to come back home every year, even few times per year, but lately I don't feel like it. I start feeling sad the moment the plane lands and I enter Bulgaria. And I notice that in the neighborhood from year to year, instead of improving things, they are getting

worse and worse. I had never seen the rubbish in the streets before, the mud, the puddles, the dirt, poverty. And we could tackle with all these. However we fail - we like to live in the mud, we are comfortable here and we only used to complain that we are missing a good life. But you're the one who is shaping a living, aren't you, buddy? Who masters your life, me? I don't like the way young people live - they visit cafes all day long, drinking, smoking, nobody tells them what to do. They will ruin their own lives. When I talk to them I find out that all they want is BMWs and Mercedes, to go to parties and discos, but no one wants to work, just to wait for money to fall from the sky... "

But not everyone accuses youngsters of being lazy and irresponsible. Rather, the prevailing understanding is that in Bulgaria you cannot live normally with honest work and, with some exceptions, criminals who engage in drugs, prostitution, gambling, extortion, racketeering, etc. live well. These are the people who arrange employment, requiring bribery for the community voters at the elections, access to temporary employment programs, social services, etc

"They work together with the police, don't you know?!? The state protects them. Do you remember that girl, a sixteen-year-old prostitute who died of an overdose? Where did they find her? Well, in a house of policeman, the child died in his house...Was he punished or was there a trial? No, they covered him. They are tied like a horse and chariot... "

Therefore parents try to keep their children away from these negative tendencies, to protect them from bad gyus and negative influences by enrolling them in urban schools and courses in the hope of freeing them from the environment of personal addictions, helplessness and exploitation. This reproduces the mechanism of the downward spiral of negative community selection: the most promising leave for the most vulnerable to remain. If you want to pursue your dreams, you have to migrate south, north or west, but not to stay here. To what extent and in what way this tendency affects not only Roma communities, but also the whole society is a matter of another analysis.

MAJOR FINDINGS

The empirical reserach within the project reveals that the value crises associated with globalization, the reduction of power resources of nation states and the establishment of international structures to regulate political relations artificially reanimate the most conservative features of traditional local communities threatened by modernization. Anti-vaccine attitudes, Covid-19 pandemic, Russia's aggression against Ukraine and the ensuing energy crisis are among those global events that add fuel to the fire while debates over the Istanbul Convention, political crises and judicial reform are somehow more inherent to our own social reality which leave a trace on the processes of social and economic integration of Bulgarian society. Under the common general concept of anti-globalization in Bulgaria nationalists, traditionalists, socialists, greens and internationalists have united who if it were possible to build the world they dream of would kill each other.

The problem is that old traditional communities are closed and constantly self-limiting communities. These are communities of bonds of blood and personal addictions. The crises of Bulgarian modernization, even the regression of political democratization and the restoration of systems of personal dependence in politics, administration and state subsidized business among other things did not allow the smooth and full – blooded integration of society, including religious and ethnic minorities.

The still dominant cartel model of party launching in Bulgaria in which networks of dependent and loyal voters are built and reproduced through access to the redistribution of national and European public resources and through appointments in the structures of state administration (including social policies, education, police sectors, etc.) is at the heart of the sustainable imposition of models of abuse that keep local communities encapsulated and dependent. So through the municipal and state administration, through schools and social assistance services, through temporary employment institutions, through forestry and energy companies, etc. practices of personal dependence are reproduced which further and non- genuinely revive the retrograde blood bonds and personal ties in traditional communities especially of the Roma and Turkish ethnic minorities. Civic organizations, churches and mosques, international and domestic charities are blindly becoming brothers in crime in this process because they recognize in traditional communities the specter of syncretism lost in modernity.

But the politics of the rival faction parties stifle social development, perpetuate unjust inequalities, reproduce poverty and ignorance and corrupt public institutions. The need for (even

unskilled) labor in the EU gives hope for salvation from poverty, detachment from dependence and the option for emancipation.

Not that there are not enough examples of how the newtwork of addictions continues to be created in the EU especially in human trafficking, prostitution, begging and pickpocketing but developed security and social assistance systems, educational and integration institutions allow to control and suppress these problems. But the integration into employment systems that stimulate harworking, endeavours, persistence, diligence, the will to develop, etc. of the employee is a prerequisite for personal growth, for emancipation from the networks of forcibly imposed personal bonds, for requirements for not violating the rights and dignity of the individual. Thus freedom of economic activity, geographical and social mobility, access to different points of view, cultural practices and normative systems enhance sensitivity to personal commitments which are already perceived as a heavy burden, as lack of freedom, community tyranny, ignorance, prejudice, superstition and poverty.

And this is precisely the driving contradiction that feeds the social mechanism of negative selection in modern traditional Roma communities: the higher the sensitivity of Roma or Turkish parents to the negative impact of blood bonds and personal addiction networks, the more motivated these parents are to protect their children from the negative effects of these addictions which are perceived as decline and oppression; the more successful the parents are in this endeavor, the more likely their children are not to socialize in the practices and norms of personal addictions, to achieve educational success, to have granted access to other cultural models; this, in turn, is a prerequisite if not for the personal then certainly for the emancipation from the community, for alienation and identification with other cultural models. The opposite is valid also - the less successful parents are, the more likely children are to fall under the gravity of traditional addictions, early marriages, economic and social marginalization. Thus the most successful Roma community children leave the community and the most dependent ones remain. This further reinforces negative tendencies and further stimulates the remaining parents to build protective barricades around their children, thus encouraging them to leave the community.

That's why dreams migrate to south. If you want to be an independent Roma woman you have to escape the community. If you stay in the community you have to give up your dreams. In your community you're either a white crow or white goods.

How long will these processes last and are they reversible?

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADVOCACY

Popular human rights activist and campaigner Angela Davis is if not one of the world's most famous certainly one of the most eloquent critics of modernity who accuses liberal democracy of promoting individualism and selfishness and suppressing collectivism and communities. But Davis herself still acknowledges the unexpected side effects of the collective struggle for women's and black people's rights in the United States - instead of uniting and stabilizing traditional black communities in the southern United States women's empowerment and won battles to protect their civil rights actually provoke more and more tension, discord and contradictions within the communities themselves. Instead of contributing to harmony, peace, tranquility and understanding the fight against institutionalized discrimination, advocacy campaigns to change legislation to ensure more equality, union activities for fair pay, lawsuits against dishonest employers, etc. trigger new waves of social tensions in traditional communities.

The reason for these frustrations which Davis and her affisionados experience as growth crises is grounded in the false opposition between individualism and collectivism, between individual and community. The modern personality could live only in modern age. The development of social relationships, fueled by the processes of economic, political and social modernization, disintegrate the syncretic world of traditional communities and develop their own ways of reproduction of social spheres and vital worlds. Social roles are thus differentiated, which are often incompatible and strongly contradictory with each other.Efforts to overcome these contradictions are triggered by both social and personal development. The more these processes progress, the more one experiences oneself as an individual to whom society begins to withstand with its externally imposed norms, relations and institutions. These are the roots of the false opposition between collectivism and individualism. This opposition is fake because within the syncretic world of traditional collectivism there is no way to distinguish an opposing individual. Accordingly it is impossible for the modern individual to defend him/herself without participating in the processes of building its vital environment - in public life within neighborhood, friendly, religious and professional communities, at the level of local, regional, national and international policies. value, economic and political debates to define the common interest and current public priorities. Once again the individualism-collectivism opposition is fake because if there is no

individual with civic interests (person), there is no entity to participate in the process of building public relations (a collective in Davis's terminology).

Therefore the question is not how to rescue the community from the individual, but how to constantly update the institutionalized decision-making mechanisms so as to ensure more and more full individuals participation in public (collective) life. The issue with Davis and her supporters is that by siding with traditional communities they are turning against those modernization processes that have made activists like Davis herself what they are - communal modernization makes contemporary abstract, universal law possible and the achievements of modern society in the name of anti-modernization forces is a manifestation of severe abuse both at the community level and at the national and international level. Russia's aggression against Ukraine is an extreme version of such abuse.

If so does it mean that all those community based disadvantaged children, women and youngters people who are deprived of guaranteed access to quality healthcare, education, social care, security and vertical social mobility mechanisms are doomed to marginal existence? In a nutshell - no. To understand why we must give up the false delusion of traditional communities with collectivism and modernity with selfishness. Even Benjamin Constant clearly distinguished the freedom of the ancients from modern freedom and Durkheim later introduced the important distinction between the mechanical solidarity of traditional communities where bond of blood and personal ties stifle in the bud any accidental effort to individualize for the sake of community survival, from organic solidarity of modern communities where participation in collective affairs is a matter of conscious choice of free individuals. This understanding of communities, not anti-liberal totalitarianism, we need if we really want to reduce levels of poverty, illiteracy, incarceration and social injustice.

To this end we must abandon the selfish claim of Davis and her associates that a strong welfare state can, from above, from above, almost forcibly help the oppressed, dejected and underprivileged by traditional communities through a developed system of access to social outputs, even they don't want it. Such a social policy would produce only antisocial public consumers of social privileges, but not free subjects. Conversely investing in the macrostructural roots of social modernization and in the development of institutions for empowerment, representation and

participation will allow citizens to fully participate in building the conditions for improving the quality of their own lives in various situations of vulnerability.

The modernization of communities does not necessarily mean the disintegration of traditions, collectivism and cohesion at the expense of selfishness and alienation. Attempts to forcibly reviving traditional communities will only reproduce the downward spiral of negative selection until it leads to extreme segregation and marginalization. Like far-right nationalist political projects, far-left anti-globalization with bad faith commits a touching betrayal, nurturing structures of personal dependence under the slogan of collectivism and thus, by overreaction they destroy the values they claim to defend. These politicians claim that they want to preserve collectivist culture by "stuffing" it. It is clear that for this purpose they must first take out this culture.

If we do not want cultural diversity to фe preservea cx the museum or the mausoleum solely we must develop the communities of organic solidarity - communities that are voluntary associations of free people who have made a conscious decision to stand up together for a better and fairer world. This project marks the direction for such community development through the network of national women's clubs through trainings for personal skills development and exchange of experience and through direct advocacy campaigns.