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THE INFLUENCE OF GROUP BELONGINGNESS ON THE LIFE PERSPECTIVES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE OF BULGARIAN AND ROMA ORIGIN

ABSTRACT

of a dissertation for the award of an educational and scientific degree "PhD."
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The dissertation consists of an introduction, a six-part presentation, a conclusion, a bibliography and three appendices. Its total volume is 426 standard pages.

The bibliography contains 179 titles, of which 68 are in Bulgarian and 111 are in English, German, Russian and Hungarian language.

There are 3 publications on the topic in the Bulgarian language.

CONTENT OF THE ABSTRACT

<h1>DISSERTATION CONTENT</h1>

<u>Relevance of the problem, features of the dissertation research, hypotheses and goals of the research</u>

What is the problem considered in the dissertation?

The present dissertation examines how belonging to a minority or majority group influences the way in which young people in the age period of adolescence and emerging adulthood, or in other words aged 14-25, build their individual life projects.

The research object is young people from two different groups living on the territory of the Republic of Bulgaria - Bulgarian and Roma, majority and minority. A group whose language and culture are considered official in the country and a group that is perceived as the most isolated, excluded from the society and burdened with the most negative stereotypes on the part of other ethnic groups in Bulgaria. The majority belongingness brings mostly positive experiences and social dividends, while the minority membership leads to mostly traumatizing experiences which have their impact on the construction of individual identity whose inevitable component is the life perspectives. In other words, the question raised in the present thesis is how belonging to a power group and belonging to a socially isolated/rejected group affect the individual life plans of young people.

The participants in the field research identify themselves as Roma or Bulgarians. And while the Roma self-identification unambiguously refers to an ethnic group, the Bulgarian self-identification can be interpreted as identification with an ethnic and/or national group. The identity of the "Bulgarians" is formed through official (scientific) and produced in the media narratives and images, and family stories. How the participants in the study understand their belonging to the "Bulgarians", whether it is ethnic or national affiliation, is not the subject of this study. The dissertation focus is the belongingness to a minority and majority group, as the studied parameters (attitude to fatalism, experience of stigmatization, traditional values and norms) and their impact on the life perspectives of young people are interpreted in the context of minority-majority relations.

A parallel analyzed perspective is how the changes within 15 years (in 2002 and 2017) of the post-communist period - a period of rapid changes and radical socio-economic, political and ideological transformations - affect the positive and negative experiences of the relationship between the two groups and within the groups themselves; how these transformations affect the life perspectives of young people on an individual level and how the change in the Roma and Bulgarian groups, viewed through the participants' experiences of inter- and intra-group relations and life plans, can be described.

The present dissertation research has its specificity. It began in 2000 within the framework of another scientific field - social psychology - and is based on observations and curiosities generated by active communication with the Roma youth as part of health interventions among the Roma community. Working in the "Fakulteta" neighbourhood with boys and girls aged 12-18 and their families, I was impressed by the differences between children and families from different parts of the neighbourhood. Very often they did not want to gather in one (training) group due to the internal hierarchy and stereotyping in the neighbourhood. Every family, each small inner community had its own idea, requirements and expectations for the future of the

children, as well as for themselves. Sometimes these two ideas coincided (especially among children and families from the poorer and ostracized by the rest of the Roma community parts), sometimes they did not. There were especially big differences between the girls (who went to school) and their families from the neighbourhood's oldest parts. Despite the family support, the most difficult and seemingly unsolvable was the compromise between graduating from high school, the desire for achieving a certain profession, and the need to maintain a good "image" in the community through early marriage (for both girls and boys). It is as if the Bulgarians and the Roma on the one hand, and the Roma from the different parts of the neighbourhood on the other, lived in the same territory (Sofia) but with the requirements and social norms of different times. This is how the topic arose - how growing up in and belonging to a different ethnic group affects dreams, specific plans, long-term planning, the vision of the possibilities for achieving these dreams and goals.

The dissertation research is based on quantitative data collected through a structured questionnaire designed specifically for this research, consisting of several separate questionnaires (the questionnaires are described in detail in Chapter IV of the dissertation). Part of the selected dissertation research instruments is based on questionnaires for quantitative data already constructed within the framework of social psychology (some of them adapted for Bulgarian conditions). Another part is based on qualitative research described in the second part of the dissertation (Антонова, 2002, 2011). Some of these qualitative studies were conducted among young people from the "Fakulteta" district, which makes the questions culturally sensitive, understandable, close to and reflecting the characteristics of these participants. It also provides an opportunity to compare the Bulgarian and Roma participants according to criteria set by both.

A serious challenge for the present dissertation was the reading through the prism of sociological theoretical frameworks of the results obtained from the processing of the data collected in 2002 and 2017 with the created questionnaire. In other words, a part of the theoretical overview does not precede but is selected so as to read and explain the results already obtained.

The two main directions of the theoretical review (summarized in the first two parts of the dissertation) are consistent with the two distinctive characteristics of the object of study - young people aged 14-25 years and the research participants' belongingness to two different social groups - minority (Roma community) and majority (Bulgarians). The first part of the dissertation focuses on the gradual separation of the age (14-25 years) as a transitional period in human development (from childhood to adulthood) and the emancipation of young people at this age as a separate socio-biological group. This review contributes to a better understanding of the results of the dissertation research, as on the one hand, adolescence has its own features and emphases in human development such as expanding the circle of communication mainly among peers, the opportunity to experiment with roles and behaviours; suggests that the values and norms of behaviour accepted in society will be challenged or at least tested; thanks to the development of certain cognitive functions (e.g. abstract thinking, for the development of which education is also important) it becomes possible to plan future dreams, goals, strategies for achieving them. On the other hand, the socio-biological group of young people (in adolescence

and emerging adulthood, 14-25 years) is an achievement of the modern, industrialized, urban society. The upper limit of this age is flexible and depends on many factors of the context such as social class, culture, economic development of the country, community norms, the level of (desired and necessary) education. Examining the interaction between the norms of traditional society and the life plans of young Roma and Bulgarians participating in the study will answer the questions: how the child and adolescent are presented in the thinking of both ethnic groups, how this determines the attitude to education.

Since the field research was conducted in 2002 and 2017, the first part of the dissertation text describes the research and theoretical frameworks that describe some of the features of the political and social context in these decades. Information for the 1990s is also included as the participants in the first phase of the study grow up during this eventful decade. The description in no way claims to cover the full possible range of authors and research in the field. Here are emphasized (each with its limitations) research in the field of sociology, including Roma and Bulgarian participants, having results on the phenomena studied in the dissertation. Special attention is paid to the reviving nationalism in the second decade of the 21st century both in Bulgaria and in the Central and Western Europe countries, as some of the results of the dissertation research (see also Appendix 1) show a significant increase in 2017 of the Bulgarian participants experiencing positive emotions regarding their nationality.

The common for both groups of participants in both years of data collection are their age (14-25 years), as well as growth, formation and living in the same territory - the city of Sofia. It is the city as a special place of coexistence and formation of young people (both as a group and as individuals) that gives its imprint on the development and dynamics between its constituent groups (differing in ethnicity, culture, socio-economic status, access to power and resources, degree of marginalization, etc.). This last feature of the context led to the search for concepts that give an understanding of the origin and nature of minorities, how the belongingness to a minority affects the development of personality and the perception of the opportunities for self-realization. And also of the specifics of the minorities living in an urban context. The neighbourhoods with a compact Roma population in the big cities in Bulgaria (such as the Stolipinovo district in Plovdiv, the Maksuda district in Varna, the Republika district in the city of Haskovo, the Pobeda district in Burgas, of course, the "Fakulteta" district in Sofia, etc.) are often characterized as ghettos, and this concept is understood more as an urban part, which is inhabited by extremely poor, uneducated people living in conditions dangerous for their life and health; an area which is closed, dangerous and aggressive towards people not living in it. Referred research (Грекова, 2019; Митев, П-Е., Попиванов, Б., Ковачева, С., Симеонов, П., 2019; Селени, 2013; Томова, 1995; Томова, И., Пампоров, А., & Миленкова, В., 2008; Ladányi, J., & Szelényi, I., 2002 etc.) show that the Roma community in Bulgaria has the highest levels of poverty, marginalization, illiteracy and lead to questions such as: Do these deepening poverty and exclusion from public life lead to a change in the lifestyle of the community itself, concentrated in certain urban areas? Can these community-wide generalized results, which in most cases are based on limited data from specific parts of the Roma community, really describe what is happening in that community as a whole? The first question directed the search for research and theoretical concepts that describe the processes of ghettoization, as well as the development of urban marginality in recent times (Wacquant, 1996,

2004, 2006, 2008a & b, 2016, etc.). Loic Wacquant compares new forms of urban marginality in the US and Western European cities and bases his theoretical framework not only on the tradition of the Chicago School and the French School of Sociology but also builds it on the basis of field research. The framework used to compare these different neighbourhoods, which differ in origin, composition and development, is being applied to research in other parts of the world. Some of the criteria he sets to distinguish the communal ghetto from the new forms of urban marginality (Wacquant, 2008b) and to describe its features and variations, I use in the second part of the dissertation to describe the observation-based development of the "Fakulteta" neighbourhood in 2002 and 2017, as well as in the interpretation of the results obtained from the dissertation research, implicitly looking for an answer, whether the Roma community in the "Fakulteta" district can be described as a ghetto (in terms of a scientific, not everyday media understanding), or how it fits into the characteristics of the forms of the new urban marginality.

Another major phenomenon studied in the dissertation is the life perspective. The life perspective is part of each person's identity. It is formed mainly during adolescence and emerging adulthood, as during this period the needed combination of reaching the required level of development of cognitive and socio-emotional functions with the capabilities and requirements of the social environment is achieved.

This combination makes future planning possible, a distinction begins to be made between concrete reality and different unreal levels of fantasies and dreams, between inner and outer world, between one's own needs and those of others, as well as to be aware of the time limitation of one's own life (human mortality) and dependence on human nature (the processes of ageing, but also of the experience accumulation). And last but not least, the mental maturity and the accumulated experience give the opportunity for anticipatory thinking, for anticipating and assessing risks, for planning one's own behaviour in different situations, i.e. for planning strategies.

The life perspective depends on many factors: both on individual characteristics (family in which a person is born and grows up; individual life path and events that have happened to a person; losses experienced and the ability to recover after these losses; physical health or physical disabilities, mental dispositions and adaptability, etc.) and the context (understood as a set of historical time, the peculiarities of the national and cultural environment, socio-economic status, ethnic / minority affiliation, the specific environment (city, village, a neighbourhood in the city, peer group, etc.) and its social norms.

In the present dissertation research, two aspects of the life perspective are explored: 1/ the interaction between the norms and values of the traditional society and the personal choice of the participants; 2/ the vision for the next 5 years - priority goals, assessment of main risks (unemployment) and opportunities for implementation of the plans. The group of questions "Life Perspectives" is developed for the needs of the dissertation research and is based on the results of conducted qualitative research among Roma youth (Антонова, 2002, 2011), including this topic as well.

Thus, the main objectives of the dissertation research are to follow how young Roma people from the "Fakulteta" neighbourhood and Bulgarian youth from the city of Sofia build their life

plans; how the different cultural and socio-economic contexts in which young members of two different ethnic groups grow up and socialize, of majority and minority, of living in a European capital and in a stigmatized territorial part of it, affect their life perspectives. The study was conducted at the beginning of the first (2002) and the end of the second (2017) decade of the 21st century - a period of rapid social and political transformations in Bulgaria and in the world. The study aims to explore and describe how the differences and similarities between the life goals of respondents' groups change in this 15-year period.

The study of the changes during the first two decades of the 21st century among Roma and Bulgarian youth in terms of their intergroup and intragroup experience (positive and negative) could on a more general scale provide a basis for tracking the transformations in the urban context of the capital. Based on the changes in the territorial materializations of poverty presented in the theoretical part, the study results could describe the similarities and features of the "Fakulteta" neighbourhood in terms of new forms of urban marginality, typical of major cities in the US and Western Europe.

The main hypotheses of the study are:

Hypothesis 1:

The belongingness to the Bulgarian or Roma ethnic group of the study participants (i.e. to the minority and the majority) presupposes in both years of the study differences both in the specific goals they set for their lives and in the phenomena that affect the formation of these life perspectives (namely experience of stigmatization, ethnic values, fatalism, positive and negative intra- and intergroup experiences).

Hypothesis 2:

Education (understood as different from the community and family environment, which presupposes the emancipation of young people as a separate socio-biological group, and as a mechanism of the nation-state for homogenization and for non-community socialization by providing different opportunities for future planning) will bring a difference in the planning of the future among the participants from the "Fakulteta" neighbourhood.

How is the problem of the dissertation research relevant?

Working for over 15 years among the Roma community (mostly in an urban context) with young people in this age range, I observed how slowly and gradually the relations between the generations and between the genders have been changed; how several generations of young people have gradually changed and expanded their ideas of what they can and want to become; how these visions depend on the family economic status, on the educational level of the young people themselves, on the quality of their relations with representatives of both their own community and the majority, on their idea of "how far a gipsy / Bulgarian can go", on their intentions to remain or not in their own community or state, on the time given by the family, community (with their unwritten and unquestionable social norms) and society (with positive or negative discrimination) so that young people can build and experiment even in their imagination with different social roles, professions, life plans.

The dissertation research seeks answers to questions such as how the different importance of group belongingness affects individual life plans, how this self-perception changes in the morphing context of post-communist Bulgaria and how the plans of young people (grown up in a ghetto or in other urban areas, without education or with a university degree) reflect these differences in the personal path of development. The research methods and instruments applied to measure the subjective experience of stigmatization due to belonging to a minority group and how this experience of stigmatization (to feel alienated from society, to be evaluated on the basis of qualities that do not meet your own qualities and on the basis of this unrealistic perception to hinder the achievement of goals important to you) affect the way in which the young participants from the "Fakulteta" district set their life perspectives. The research results show in which "social space" young Roma live - whether in the community social space, in which the relationships (and respectively the social status and role) are organic, pre-given and unquestionable, or in the social space of society, where relationships between people are created by themselves, as a consequence of pragmatic, mind-driven goals and interests (in this case, I use the terms "community" and "society" in the sense set in the theoretical framework of Tönnies); whether in the space of the ghetto, which protects its inhabitants and gives them a sense of trust, mutual acceptance and protection, or in the spaces of the new urban marginality (hyperghetto in Loic Wacquant's terms), which spaces bring experiences of rejection, a constant threat and mutual hostility from "own" and "foreign", leading to constant economic, emotional, social and value deprivation.

In the present dissertation, the role of education on the life perspectives priorities is explored. On the one hand, education is an instrument of the nation-state for homogenization through the acceptance of an objective reality based on non-everyday (i.e. accumulated by humanity over the centuries and not necessarily used in everyday life) knowledge of the world and man. On the other hand, the time spent mainly and only on the accumulation of this knowledge (i.e. the time required to complete a certain level of education), forms a new stage in individual development, that stands between childhood and adulthood and prioritizes learning, experimenting with the roles and tasks of adulthood and developing relationships with peers. The problem of the importance of education among Bulgarian and especially among Roma youth is particularly acute. With the deepening of poverty, isolation and marginalization of the Roma community, many children drop out of the education system despite investments and programs for the inclusion of children from minority groups in education. The problem of the present dissertation is relevant because it raises questions and gives data-based results that would be useful for understanding the issues of inclusion of young Roma in the educational system and in society.

Brief presentation of the dissertation

The processes of urbanization, industrialization and development of the nation-state, creating modern times, significantly change intergenerational and socio-economic relations and lead to the emergence of two new phenomena: youth as a socio-biological group and minorities (understood as communities deprived of equal access to power and resources, subject to discrimination and stigmatization within the nation-state).

During the socialist period, young people were the subject of social science research in Bulgaria. They are seen as an emancipating socio-biological group (with characteristic sub-cultures) mainly in larger cities. The dissertation research refers to research on young people in Bulgaria, as the study participants are young people living in the environment of the Bulgarian state and capital, and half of the participants are young people of Bulgarian origin. Studies of youth from the time of socialism, although mostly quantitative, methodologically questionable and burdened with the ideological limitations of the period in which they were conducted, give a limited picture of the development of young people in a period of the last 4-5 decades. Studies are referred (without any completeness claim), which describes some of the features of the time period 1990 - 2018, a period saturated with intense political and socio-economic changes, as the features of this context would explain some of the dissertation results and also directly affect young people's life plans and choices. Some of the features that form the context for the young people, participating in 2002 data collection, are:

1/ The development of neo-paternalistic relations in the 1990s, combined with the imposition of a nationalist ideology (which replaced the communist one in order to preserve economic power by the ruling political elite) and the restriction of foreign capital in the national economy. The consequences of this combination are the dependence of employees on the employers (due to the lack of a modern social system), the lack of real market relations based on entrepreneurship, competition and innovation, and last but not least, the problem of impoverishment and marginalization of the Roma community. a political rather than an economic issue (Селени, 2013, 2019). The first two consequences force a large number of young Bulgarians to emigrate, as the patron-client relationship is based on loyalty rather than expertise and entrepreneurship.

2/ The slow pace of reindustrialization leaves many Roma in Bulgaria permanently without income, and they are also looking for a livelihood in emigration, in the grey economy and in illegal activities. However, the racism of poverty is not a result of the transition, but rather a "hereditary source" of social inequality. Although the Roma are among the poorest during the socialism years, the changes in the transition period affect the Roma population more than any other ethnic group, as they are the first to lose their jobs and the last to expect to find another type of work quickly (Томова, 1995; Селени, 2013). Belonging to the Roma ethnic group explains better who falls below the poverty line than education: with the same level of education, Roma are much more likely to fall below the poverty line than non-Roma, and higher education contributes more to get out of poverty for non-Roma than for Roma (Ladányi and Szelényi, 2002).

3/ Dropping of the organizing and caring function of the state towards young people and the so-called "generational inversion" (Митев, 2016) - the older generation finds itself in a situation where it is difficult to pass on their experience to the younger generation, and youth must adapt quickly to changing conditions.

These features will have an impact on the life planning of young people of the 2002 sample with an emphasis on emigration in order to find income, but also in order to obtain competitive education, career development and opportunities for entrepreneurship. It can be assumed that in 2002 challenging the values and norms of traditional society will be more common among Bulgarian youth, as the marginalization, discrimination and stigmatization of the Roma community will be compensated by the protection and security within the community.

Important features that shape the context for young people participating in 2017 are:

Young people from the end of the second decade of the 21st century were born in the decades of transition and for them, the market economy, the European Union, globalization and democracy are givens, not goals. This is a generation that makes its life plans as a full citizen of the European Union, not as an aspirant to become one. This is a prerequisite that in the future plans of young people in 2017 (especially for the Bulgarian participants) emigration should not be a priority goal. Stagnation and hopelessness in Bulgaria become features of the social environment of the lowest qualified groups, which force them to seek a way out abroad (Митев et al., 2019). However, the so-called "Youth ostracism" (i.e. there is no clear and purposeful state policy to support the development of young people) still exists; the education system is in a state of constant change and of lack of uniform standards; young people in a vulnerable position (e.g. without parental care, with disabilities, living in poverty and social exclusion, etc.), when they reach the age of 18, are falling into the social assistance system and/or the grey sector. The generational poverty in the Roma community is deepening and the inequality between the Roma community on the one hand and the Bulgarian and Turkish communities on the other is increasing (Митев, 2016, p. 304).

As can be seen from the description of the context, in both years of the study there are significant differences between the environment in which Bulgarian and Roma youth form their identity and life perspectives. Belongingness to a minority gives its imprint on these processes and, therefore, in the second part of the dissertation the peculiarities of a minority, the transformation of minority communities into ghettoized ones and their transformation in recent decades into new forms of urban marginality are examined in detail; the impact on the formation of the identity and life perspectives of the minority members, which gives belonging to a minority community, deprived of equal access to power, opportunities and resources, and is subjected to discriminatory and stigmatizing practices.

With the birth of the nation-state, the separate communities that build it are gradually transformed from equal and relatively autonomous units into one unity. This process requires homogenization and hierarchisation. In some of these countries, a community that is more rigid to this transformation or has different relations with other communities historically remains peripheral and relatively closed, giving it the status of a minority. According to Ernest Gellner (1999), nationalism is first and foremost a "political principle that political and national unity

must coincide" and "political legitimacy that requires ethnic boundaries not to conflict with political ones," the territorial political unit must be ethnically homogeneous (Гелнър, 1999, p. 7). If the state is "an actor in society with a monopoly on legitimate violence" according to Max Weber (2004), then nationalism justifies as legitimate the against different ethnic groups in a nation-state in order to ethnically homogenize them by assimilation by the dominant ethnic group or physical removal from the territory of the political unit. Industrialization requires a high level of labour specialization and therefore creates the need to create a common universal language through which professionals can exchange experiences and exercise the ability to be mobile without compromising the coordination of the production process. Work no longer means physical action and handling of things, but the handling of meanings. This leads to the need for mass education - "universal, standardised and general" (Гелнър, 1999, p. 43). Education can no longer be provided by the family or the community. It becomes a task of the state and must be carried out by a specialized education system, topped by people with an ever-increasing level of education. Socialization now needs to take place outside the closed community or family. Exosocialization imposes the connection between state and culture, which, according to Gellner, is the basis of nationalism.

The nationalism is a process of imposing a universal culture through "the dissemination of a language that is transmitted through school, controlled by higher education institutions and codified according to the requirements of sufficient bureaucratic and technological communication" (Гелнър, 1999, p. 79). In a depersonalized, anonymous society of interchangeable individuals, it is culture that is the bond between individual autonomous groups and individuals. But the widespread practice and notion of nationalism is a return to, the reference to one of the many community cultures that have become part of the general high state/national culture. This can also be seen as a struggle for supremacy of different community cultures, which should be recognized and legitimized as national. Within this understanding, the expression of nationalism is a centrifugal movement that opposes the centripetal forces of the common high culture of the uniting communities in an industrial society. But it is also a natural process of struggle for access to resources, as the degree of language proficiency and, consequently, the codes of culture determine the access to resources and power. Ethnic groups that retain their boundaries, language, culture, and are relatively closed and self-sufficient are more likely to be on the periphery of the social hierarchy. But also, according to Gellner, they will be perceived as threatening to industrial society, because with their staticity and closedness they hinder the entropy (mobility and communication) on which this society is built (Гелнър, 1999, p. 95). A distinctive ethnic group violates the key characteristics of the nation-state - homogeneity, literacy and anonymity. Furthermore, it appears as competition to the political unit - the state - (community is a state within the state, ghettos are a city within the city), which is already a threat to a culture whose borders coincide with the borders of the state. Minorities will therefore be subjected to practices of discipline, discrimination and stigmatization.

Belonging to a minority, to a group that is on the one hand deprived of equal access to power, opportunities and resources, and on the other is subject to discrimination and stigmatization, has a strong impact on the development and formation of individuals who are part of this group and accordingly on the way they build their life perspectives. Some of the most important

effects on the formation of the identity and life plans of young people, which gives the minority membership, are:

1/ The minority members never have and cannot give themselves the freedom to determine themselves (Guillaumin, 2002). Therefore, members of a non-dominant group that does not define their own identity would be largely deprived of the opportunity to choose their own life plan, as it will depend on both the norms of the affiliation group and the place and roles allotted to them by the majority.

2/ Self-stigmatization - research shows that young people of Roma origin are beginning to believe that it is normal for their achievements not to be higher than those of Bulgarian classmates. This belief is based solely on their ethnic origin (Филипова et al., 2014). In other words, the acceptance as legitimate of the negative image imposed by the majority emphasizes the subordinate position of the minority group and deprives it of the opportunity to self-determine with what identity it will be present in the social space. This leads to the adoption of constraints on development opportunities in a large society, and often future goal-setting is formed on the basis of what is considered possible because of minority background rather than personal talents, interests and desires.

3/ Minority members experience an internal conflict between the desired satisfying self-realization and the limitations arising from the reality of their membership in a minority group. In a certain aspect, they are considered as an exception to one norm, as different and inferior. On the one hand, the members of the minority have the restrictions of the internal community norms, and on the other hand - restrictions as a consequence of the status of minority members. This double frustration often leads to the experience of lack of control over life events, apathy or aggressive (destructive, antisocial, criminal) behaviour; lack of initiative and refusal to set life goals related to personal growth and success; acceptance that there are areas in society to which the individual cannot aspire. In other words, to different types of problematic behaviour and social withdrawal.

4/ The members of a dominant group are determined more by personal characteristics. They see themselves as making their lives, in control of what is happening to them and are relatively more autonomous. Another experimentally tested hypothesis is: people will attribute the reasons for an individual's behaviour as internal (he acts more autonomously and independently) if he has a higher status or more power. Members of a dominated group (or those who do not have the freedom to self-determine) are perceived more as dependent on external factors. They are perceived more as objects of someone's action or as a mass of people (Sarbin and Allen, 1968). The non-dominant ones more often attribute their success to luck and other external factors, while the dominant ones - to their personal competence.

5/ The negative events and frustration experienced also influence the construction of life perspectives. Stigmatization is perceived as constant violence and therefore affects the way young people from minority backgrounds make their plans for life.

The dissertation research seeks to discover the influence of the experience of stigmatization and the attitude towards fatalism on the life plans of the young Roma living in Sofia during both years of the data collection.

The experience of stigmatization is considered through two aspects: 1/ feeling of rejection and alienation from society and 2/ obstruction in achieving goals. The results of the analysis of the dissertation research data show that:

- In 2017 compared to 2002 the percentage of participants who agree with the statements that reflect the second aspect is reduced to a greater extent. A decrease compared to the first aspect of the stigmatization experience is also registered, but is expressed by a smaller percentage of participants.
- The change by the first aspect is greatest among Roma women, where a much lower percentage in 2017 feel rejected and alienated from society. The change by the second aspect is more pronounced in men. This gender differentiation related to the change can be explained by differences in role models and priorities for both genders - communication, maintaining the emotional connection between family members in women and achieving goals, maintaining social status in men. In other words, there is a reduction in the experience of stigmatization and it is realized through gender roles and priorities arising from them.
- The high school environment turned out to be the most serious source of experienced stigmatization for Roma participants in 2017 as the work environment is a far smaller source of this, and it can even be said that it is a source of reducing this experience for Roma participants.

Regarding the attitudes towards fatalism, the most important results are: in 2017 the percentage of Roma participants with fatalistic attitudes increased. The biggest changes in this direction are among Roma men, among Roma participants with a low level of education (including without education) and among those who have no previous work experience. Comparing these results with those of the group of questions for experiencing stigmatization, it can be seen that in the sub-group of Roma participants with primary education in 2017 some of the highest percentages of participants who believe that they are negatively perceived and treated by members of the majority are detected and, accordingly, their confidence in their own ability to influence events in their lives decreases. The secondary education and previous work experience are characteristics that describe those participants from the Roma sample in 2017, who share high confidence in their own strengths and opportunities to achieve their goals; who declare that they know what to do to carry out their plans, that they have the freedom to change their plans for life and can stand up for their interests. In 2017 greater self-confidence and independence from external factors such as luck and destiny are demonstrated by women among Roma participants and those with secondary education. It is among women, if we draw a parallel with the results of the group of questions about experiencing stigmatization, that a lower percentage of participants registered who feel that they are viewed in a negative way in society and that their ethnic origin is a reason to prevent achieving their goals.

Among the Bulgarian participants, it is impressive that in both years of the survey, almost half of the participants believe that the future is a matter of fate and luck. In both years, most participants without work experience support this attitude in a higher percentage. In 2017 the percentage of men decreased by about 24% and by 40% for those without work experience who believe that goal achieving depends on their strengths. In addition, another change attracts the attention of Bulgarian participants, namely: for those who have no previous work experience, the percentage of those who show more confidence that they know what to do to fulfil their life

plans is increasing. Among the Bulgarian participants without work experience in 2017, as well as to some extent in the subgroup of Bulgarian men, there is an increase in fatalistic attitudes, increased importance and experience of positive emotions of belonging to Bulgarians as a group, as well as an "enclosure" within the family circle as a source of support and increasing the importance of parents as an authority in making decisions about personal life.

The results of the dissertation research are described in detail in the fifth and sixth parts of the dissertation text.

The concepts used to describe the Roma community have varied over the years, reflecting mainly the political context. Terms such as community, ghetto, minority are found in research and descriptions. What does the use of the concept ghetto mean and what will be understood by "ghetto" in the present dissertation?

In the social sciences, the concept "ghetto" is traditionally used in three areas: in the historiography of the Jewish diaspora (from the early modern period in Europe and in the period of fascism), in sociological studies of the history of African Americans in 20th-century megacities, and in the anthropology of those groups in Africa and East Asia which are excluded from a society on the basis of their ethnicity. "Ghetto" in these cases describes a separate urban neighbourhood, or a network of group-specific institutions, or a specific cultural and cognitive constellation (certain values, ways of thinking, mentality) related to the social isolation of a stigmatized group and the systematic restriction of its living space and life chances of its members (Wacquant, 2006, p. 128). The four basic characteristics of the ghetto are stigma, coercion, spatial limitation and established internal institutions (Wacquant, 2004). "A ghetto is a social organization that uses space for two conflicting purposes: on the one hand, to maximize the material gain from a group of people isolated and labelled as "unclean", and on the other hand to minimize close contact with members of that group to avoid the threat of decomposition and pollution attributed to them" (Wacquant, 2004, p. 137). These two principles - exploitation and ostracism - are observed in all forms of ghettoization of different groups of people, regardless of historical time, geographical space and culture of a given society. These two principles, as well as the strictly guarded borders of the ghetto, are the reason for building a parallel world inside the ghetto. The ghetto is a "machine for producing a collective identity" (Wacquant, 2004, p. 143). On the one hand, the ghetto sharpens the differences between the dominant and the non-dominant group, so that the patterns of behaviour and thinking of those living in the ghetto begin to appear to non-residents as special, exotic, even abnormal, which in turn feeds existing prejudices (Sennett, 1994, pp. 244; Wilson, 1987, pp. 7-8 in Wacquant, 2004). On the other hand, the ghetto melts the differences of its members, thus supporting group and individual pride even in conditions of strong stigmatization. No matter how the concept of "ghetto" is defined, it always describes mechanisms of control and closure, of isolation and violence

What distinguishes the community, the ghetto and the forms of new urban marginality?

The communities share some common characteristics with the ghetto and also have their differences. The community, according to Wacquant, has three basic characteristics, namely shared territory and identity, horizontal social ties and common interests (Wacquant, 2016). But the communities lack the necessary condition for a ghetto, which is external coercion and isolation. In order to define one group as a community, power relations with other groups are not a leading characteristic. They are leading when the community is defined as a minority. When a minority is subjected to exploitation and ostracisation through forcible confinement and isolation in a territory whose rigid boundaries are maintained by both sides, the minority is ghettoized, it becomes a (communal) ghetto.

According to Wacquant, advanced marginality is the spatial concentration of marginality in leprous badlands (Wacquant, 2008b, p. 237), which are places of increasing violence, self-destruction, and class stratification. The communal ghetto in the United States is transformed into a hyperghetto: a space from which jobs, the middle class, and state support withdraw, leaving behind a ruined and isolated community (if at all recognizable as a community) dominated by a "culture of terror", fueled by drugs and exacerbated by a policy of "state abandonment and criminal restraint" (Wacquant, 2008b, p. 91), reducing the experience of protection and support, the environment is unsafe and devoid of collective meaning (Вакан, 2010). Another form of advanced marginality is the so-called "anti-ghetto" of the Parisian working-class suburbs: they occupy much less space and have significantly fewer inhabitants; territorial units are not fenced and closed, they always remain in connection with the rest of the city - in terms of infrastructure and relations (Wacquant, 2008b).

Based on the structure in which Wacquant makes a comparative analysis between these forms of urban marginality, in the second part of the dissertation, I describe the state of the "Fakulteta" district in Sofia in 2002 and 2017. Although the emergence of this neighbourhood is different from the creation of the African-American ghettos, it has been recognized as a territory of poverty since its inception (Пашова, 2008). Over the years, it bears the marks of both a working-class neighbourhood and a communal ghetto - it concentrates representatives of various sub-groups of the Roma community, who prefer to live compactly rather than be forcibly settled there by the state. This forced relocation has been happening for the last 20 years when poor families from other Sofia areas inhabited by Roma (e.g. Tatarli and Batalova Vodenitsa) have settled in a part of the neighbourhood (Vietnam dormitories). For the past 30 years, the state has left the neighbourhood as well and is currently present through a police station and a primary school. The main social, health and sometimes educational care is provided by non-governmental organizations - Roma, Bulgarian and international. Some of the young Roma from wealthy families, due to the overcrowding of the neighbourhood, poor living and infrastructural conditions and increasing internal crime, prefer to leave the neighbourhood and live outside (albeit close to) it. The comparison made between 2002 and 2017 on the basis of included observation shows that some processes in this period can be interpreted through the processes of hyperghettoization, while others speak of the development of neighbourhood parts through local entrepreneurial activity. These processes of internal transformation of the community need further research.

Goals

The dissertation research aims to explore how Roma youth from the "Fakulteta" neighbourhood and Bulgarian youth from the city of Sofia build their plans for life; how the different cultural and socio-economic contexts in which young members of two different ethnic groups grow up and socialize, of majority and minority, of living in a European capital and in a stigmatized territorial part of it, affect their life perspectives. The study was conducted at the beginning of the first (2002) and the end of the second (2017) decade of the 21st century - a period of rapid social and political transformations in Bulgaria and the world. The study aims to study and describe how the differences and similarities in life goals in the two groups of respondents change in this 15-year period.

The study of the changes in the first two decades of the 21st century among Roma and Bulgarian youth in terms of their intergroup and intragroup experience (positive and negative) could on a more general scale provide a basis for tracking the transformations in the urban context of the capital. Based on the changes in the territorial materializations of poverty presented in the theoretical part, the results of the study can correlate and describe the similarities and features of the "Fakulteta" neighbourhood in terms of new forms of urban marginality, typical of major cities in the US and Western Europe.

Description of the research

The dissertation research is based on quantitative questionnaires, adapted and/or designed in order to measure the main phenomena, the object of the present dissertation: experience of stigmatization, life perspectives, group affiliation, fatalism, positive and negative experience of inter- and intragroup relationships, categories of stereotyping.

The data collection in the present study is conducted over a period of 15 years - in 2002 and 2017. The same questionnaire was used and the data collection procedures were identical.

The respondents are young people of Roma and Bulgarian origin aged 14-25 from the city of Sofia. In 2002 the participants were a total of 311 people, in 2017 - 202 people. The distribution by ethnicity and gender is approximately equal for both stages of the study.

The samples' formation imposes the following limitations of the analysis of the results:

- The study is based on a small number of representatives of the studied two generations, i.e. the samples are not representative of the Roma and Bulgarian communities. The first sample covers 156 representatives of the Roma community and 153 representatives of the Bulgarian community, and the second - 100 representatives of the Roma community and 100 representatives of the Bulgarian community.
- The participants from the Roma community are young people who live only in the capital's "Fakulteta" neighbourhood. This specific Roma community itself is heterogeneous in composition and differs from the Roma communities in other capital neighbourhoods where there is a compact Roma population (such as the "Hristo Botev" district, Tatarli, Filipovtsi, etc.). In other words, the results could describe a registered

change among young people only in this particular community living in the "Fakulteta" district.

- Third, the study has the limitations of a quantitative study. It shows the picture at the moment about how young people are represented by certain behaviours, attitudes and ways of thinking and perceiving phenomena such as discrimination, the experience of stigmatization, sense of group belonging, important perspectives for personal future, ethnic values and traditions. By analysing the obtained results through the prism of the theoretical frameworks presented in the first part of the dissertation, hypotheses about the reasons for the registered change can be formulated.

The research of the present dissertation is based on methods for collection, processing and analysis of quantitative data. A quantitative questionnaire was used, consisting of the following groups of questions (described in detail in the fourth part of the dissertation and in Appendix 3):

Experience of stigmatization

A Stigmatization Scale developed and validated for American conditions by Richard Harvey (Harvey, 2001) was used to measure the individual experience of stigmatization. For the purposes of the present study, a straight (from English to Bulgarian) and reverse (from Bulgarian to English) translation was made in order to clarify the speech formulations and the semantic interpretation of the statements.

This group of questions is considered only for the participants from the Roma community, as there is no context of ethnic discrimination for the Bulgarian participants.

Life perspectives

The group of questions was developed on the basis of data operationalization from a qualitative study of the life perspectives of representatives of the Roma community. The questions include both the choice of life goals and the degree of their importance for the subject. The group of questions is divided into two sub-groups of questions that reflect:

• Plans for the future (next 5 years) of the participants.

• Community values and their impact on individual life plans.

Fatalism

This group of questions is developed on the basis of the data from the qualitative study of the life perspectives of representatives of the Roma community described in the second part (Антонова, 2011). The content of the statements reflects the extent to which the participants believe that the achievement of their goals depends on themselves or on external forces that are to some extent predetermined.

Experiencing positive / negative emotions related to group affiliation

This group of questions combines statements from two instruments for measuring group affiliation as an aspect of identity. The first tool is a questionnaire for measuring identity management strategies, developed by Mummendey et al. (Mummendey et al., 1999a, 1999b).

The questionnaire consists of 19 scales. In the present study, statements from the scale for the degree of group identification were used. The second tool was developed by Roberts, Feeney et al. (Roberts et al., 1999).

Based on these two questionnaires, the set of questions from the present study was compiled. The group consists of 6 statements, each of which has two options - for Roma and for Bulgarians. The statements are grouped into three sub-groups: cognitive aspect, experienced positive and experienced negative emotions related to group (ethnic/national) affiliation.

To measure the respondents answers to the described four groups of questions (Experience of stigmatization, Experience of positive/negative emotions related to group membership, Life perspectives and Fatalism) a 5-point Likert scale was used, where 1 reflects "Completely characteristic of me" and 5 reflects "It is not typical for me at all". Participants were asked to relate each statement to their own experience, without giving detailed guidance on the purpose of the questionnaire.

Due to the relatively small number of participants, the five options for answering each statement are consolidated to three:
• The answers "Completely typical for me" and "80% typical for me" are combined in "True";
• The answer "60% typical for me" is reflected as "I hesitate";
• The answers "80% is not typical for me" and "Not typical for me at all" are combined in "False".

Questionnaire for research of positive and negative experience in contact with representatives of one's own and the other (Bulgarian and Roma) ethnic group

Dijker and Koomen (1996) create a questionnaire for exploring the inter-ethnic relations and how individuals assess the frequency with which they have experienced different emotions and attitudes to action towards members of another ethnic group. The questionnaire consists of 2 subgroups of questions (derived by the authors of the questionnaire through factor analysis), which describe the accumulated personal experience of the respondents as positive and negative emotional experiences and behavioural manifestations, respectively. In the dissertation research, the questionnaire is used for assessment of the personal positive and negative experience towards the own group and towards the other group included in the research.

To assess the individual experience, each participant fills in the questionnaire using a 5-point Likert scale:

1. It's all about me - yes, always
2. It applies to me to a large extent - yes, very often
3. To a very small extent it applies to me - yes, rarely
4. It largely doesn't apply to me - no, very rarely
5. It doesn't apply to me at all - no, never

Questionnaire on ethnic stereotypes (Katz-Brayley method)

In the present dissertation research, a list of 12 characteristics is used (Георгиев, Томова, Грекова, Кънев, 1993) plus 7 additional ones, derived from definitions given by Roma respondents in the qualitative researches described in the theoretical part of the dissertation.

The questionnaires have a variant for Bulgarian and Roma participants, which reflect the ethnic origin according to the requirements of the groups of questions and the peculiarities of the demographic data.

The results of the group of questions "Experiencing positive/negative emotions related to group affiliation" and the questionnaire on ethnic stereotypes are included in part in the analysis of the results and are summarized in Annexes 1 and 2.

Statistical tools

IBM SPSS Statistics 21 and IBM SPSS 23 were used for statistical data processing.

The text summarizes the results of one-dimensional and two-dimensional analysis by cross-tabulation and the custom tables method between each question from the groups of questions "Experience of stigmatization", "Positive/negative intra- and intergroup experience" "Life perspectives" in both parts "Ethnic values" and "Future", and "Fatalism" in relation to the following demographic characteristics: ethnicity, gender, education and work experience. The values in the two years of research are compared. Due to the small number of participants, statistical significance methods were not used.

Summary of the results

The first main hypothesis of the dissertation suggests that the belongingness to the Bulgarian or Roma ethnic group of the research participants (i.e. to minority and majority) leads in both years of the data collection to differences in the specific goals that young people set for their lives, as well as in the phenomena that have an impact on the formation of these life perspectives (namely values, fatalism, positive and negative intra- and intergroup experience).

In 2017, as well as in 2002, Roma and Bulgarian respondents have different short-term priorities. For the young people from the "Fakulteta" district, going abroad and finding a (profitable) job are invariably the most important goals for the next 5 years. Only among high school graduates in 2017, a different priority goal appears - achieving independence and leaving the territory of the neighbourhood. For more than half of the Bulgarian participants in both years of the study, University education is a leading short-term goal, as well as finding a job, and in 2017 achieving independence. Thus, the belongingness to a different ethnic group is associated with different priority life goals, and high-school education makes the plans of Roma and Bulgarian youth more similar.

Regarding the influence of traditional values on the life events and goals planning, although derived on the basis of a relatively small number of participants, the results of the dissertation research showed that in 2017 there is a convergence of the percentages of Bulgarian and Roma young people who are in conformity with and affirm the importance of these values in decision-

making and shaping their life path. However, despite this similarity, a much larger percentage of young people born, raised and living in the "Fakulteta" neighbourhood do not feel that the planning and realization of the desired life goals depend on themselves, but on superhuman powers such as destiny, good luck etc. This difference leads to the assumption that it is not so much ethnicity that influences the construction of life plans as the belongingness to a minority, especially to a ghettoized, forcibly ostracized minority. This affiliation determines the difference between the representatives of the majority and minority group in thinking and perception of the world, which is decisive for how the young person assesses the opportunity to play an active role in achieving their goals in their future life. The forcible imposition of a worldview of subordination, the scarcity of resources (both material and emotional - acceptance and support, and as opportunities for development and future) marginalize and alienate people from themselves, from their future, from the chances of realization. Not the genetic difference, but the social and power inequality determines the different possibilities for success and the attitude, to what extent an individual believes that he has the right to set certain things, to believe that he has the right and control to achieve what he wants and his origin is not an obstacle.

Even the sharing of the same values among Bulgarian and Roma youth fails to increase the intergroup trust and the experience of a positive experience from this interaction. One possible reason for this can be found in the subgroups where a higher percentage of participants from both ethnic groups respect traditional values. In 2017 for the Bulgarian sample these are men and those without work experience, and for Roma - men and those without education. On the one hand, men in traditional culture are given a higher status in power, and challenging these norms challenges them on how to retain or find new grounds for maintaining their status and authority. On the other hand, both those without education and those without previous work experience lack a certain life experience of two especially important environments for socialization and respectively for expanding the opportunities for realization - work or education. And if for the Bulgarian respondents the lack of work experience can be considered as normal for this age range (14-25 years), as obtaining a higher level of education is a priority, then for the Roma, the lack of any degree of education at this age is already a prerequisite for socio-economic marginalization in both large society and the Roma community. The rise of traditional values, the pursuit of clear rules of power can be seen as a response to increased insecurity and hence anxiety in those who are deficient in a certain prerequisite for better socialization - education, work experience. They exchange the freedom to decide for the security of dependence on someone else to determine their present, relationships and future (Ападурай, 2017).

These subgroups - those without work experience among Bulgarian participants and Roma youth who did not go to school - show similarities in other of the studied phenomena: in both subgroups in 2017 the share of believers in the determining influence of destiny and luck in the realization of plans for the future increases. But while among male Bulgarians and Bulgarians who do not have work experience, both those who have strong positive feelings about their own group affiliation (towards Bulgarians) and those who share positive intragroup experience increase, among uneducated participants from the "Fakulteta" district the positive experiences from their group affiliation, from intra- and intergroup experiences decrease.

The second main hypothesis assumes that education (understood as different from the community and family environment, presupposing the emancipation of young people as a separate socio-biological group, and as a mechanism of the nation-state for homogenization and different from community socialization by providing different planning opportunities of the future) is a phenomenon that makes a difference in the future planning by the participants from the "Fakulteta" district. The results of the dissertation research showed that the degrees of completed education form subgroups among the young people from the "Fakulteta" district, who differ in planning their future.

In 2017 the adherence to traditional values as determining the most important life events and making decisions about them, the decrease of those experiencing positive emotions from their group membership, of those who share both positive and negative experiences from their interactions with Roma and Bulgarians are much more common by Roma participants without education. In 2017 some of the highest percentages of participants who believe that they are negatively perceived and treated by members of the majority and who share fatalistic attitudes are registered in the sub-group of Roma participants with primary education.

In these two subgroups, a link was found between poverty, lack of education and anomie. Among the young Roma from the "Fakulteta" district, for whom the most important thing is to find (any kind of) a job in 2017, the share of those who experienced both negative and positive experiences with both Roma and Bulgarians decreases. This is a priority mainly for young people without and with primary education. In other words, among Roma participants with lower education level, anomie, fatalism, the feeling of incoherence and alienation (both towards their own community and among the larger society), the lack of choice and control over what source of income they will have and when deeper in 2017 seem to "go hand in hand."

In contrast, in 2017 the Roma youth with high-school education in the highest percentage show confidence in their independence from external factors such as luck and destiny and challenge the power of traditional norms over planning their life trajectory and making decisions related to personal well-being. Secondary education seems to "take" Roma youth out of the framework of infantile thinking that impersonal forces determine and hinder their goals and gives rise to thinking that the fulfilment of these goals is a process of learning, adapting and communicating with the larger society. This puts them in a rather new context of self-expression and communication with others; a context in which community role and behavioural patterns do not lead to success and inclusion. This is a context of disciplined achievement of knowledge and based on objective, equal competition with others. A context that opens up a much larger set of opportunities for development. But Roma young people who have dedicated time to complete high-school education are also different in their own community in the "Fakulteta" neighbourhood. This difference even among the closest circles is another possible reason for the increase of those among them who are more sensitive to difference and the difficulty of interaction with others precisely because of the difference

Furthermore, in 2017, the share of high school graduates from the "Fakulteta" district who are experiencing positive feelings about their ethnic affiliation and challenging the dependence on traditional values and norms in making important decisions about their personal lives increases. However, challenging the norms does not lead to more frequent conflicts - in 2017 the percentage of Roma with a high school degree who share that they have a positive experience

from their contact with Bulgarians is higher. The behaviour of those challenging the traditional norms of both Bulgarian and Roma participants in 2017 is rather prosocial and focused on relationships of trust, admiration and concern for "others and one's own".

In 2017 the high school graduates from the Fakulteta district prioritize different goals for both Roma samples (of 2002 and 2017) - achieving independence, leaving the physical territory of the neighbourhood and perhaps the mental one of the community. In 2017 they see the implementation of their plans in Bulgaria to a lesser extent as well. These results describe a process of gradual withdrawal of educated young Roma from the neighbourhood. Drawing a parallel with the processes of hyperghettoization (Wacquant, 2008b), it can be assumed that despite the observations about the 2017 economic boom in certain parts of the "Fakulteta" district, some young people with higher education (and income) will leave this area, and due to stigma and discrimination in Bulgaria will seek realization outside the country. Some areas of the "Fakulteta" district will continue to concentrate poverty (poorer Roma, migrants) bordering on similar areas in the surrounding areas. The hyperghetto is doubly segregated by race and class but without the protective function of the self-organizing community. Therefore, whether these territories would become a hyperghetto depends on how and to what extent the people who fall out of society will find support and shelter there.

These results raise another question: when leaving the ghetto - territorially and mentally - do young people not actually wear it "woven" into the structure of their personality through the internalization of the stigma, through self-isolation, self-discrimination, self-marginalization?

Roma youth who are graduating or have completed high school education have attended school outside the neighbourhood and the community, i.e. they more often interacted with Bulgarians - on the road, at school, in breaks, in other forms of public life and informal contacts. External requirements for institutions in Bulgaria include non-discriminatory treatment of those who differ in ethnicity. External, visible, more "rude" forms of discrimination seem to be overcome (children on school lists are not divided on ethnic grounds; ethnic origin should not be a reason for not enrolling in certain schools; verbal insults are sanctioned, etc.). However, a more invisible but equally painful and traumatic expression of this discrimination persists and defines the tone and nuances of language, disintegrates everyday relationships and interactions - silently or not, Roma youth are marginalized even among their peers at school. The difference is isolated by gathering Roma students in one class, Roma children and young people are avoided and not included in friendly networks. Often the Roma youth themselves conceal their place of residence, their origin, in order to be accepted in the informal circle of their classmates; teachers often place a (not always) non-verbal stigma through lower expectations of Roma youth. Thus, the Roma students themselves internalize this attitude and begin to believe that they can do so only because they are Roma. They self-stigmatize and, accordingly, self-isolate themselves from opportunities for communication here-and-now, and from the future, from opportunities and niches for development and self-realization. This subtle, often non-verbal, but everyday nuance of discrimination is just as destructive for the present and future of Roma youth, as it puts them in a marginal position compared to other young people, imposes the reasons for that in themselves and through a circumstance that is not subject to change and does not depend on them or on those who impose marginalization, who use violence. This frees both parties from

the need to make efforts to get to know the otherness, the difference and to change their personal worldview, gives them the opportunity to project their own shortcomings and fears on others and thus keep norms and power relations unchanged despite the superficial imitation of concern, inclusion and tolerance.

Contributions of the dissertation research

1. The analysis of the field research results outlines the characteristics of subgroups among Bulgarian and Roma youth, who share attitudes towards a return to patriarchal values, instead of an alleged orientation towards cosmopolitanism. The results, although based on a limited number of participants, provide a picture of how young people cope with the conflict of age requirements/expectations (14-25 years) to have a choice, to find their unique identity, to make independent decisions and at the same time this to happen in a culture of neopaternalism, dependence and patriarchy.

2. Through the observation and quantitative research data of the young people from the Roma community in the "Fakulteta" district, the changes of the community in this neighbourhood are explored. The discourse that in its everyday (media, non-scientific) use exerts symbolic violence on the inhabitants by placing a stigma based on both racial and territorial markers is reconsidered.

3. The analysis of the field research results reveals the internal heterogeneity of the so-called Roma community even in only one Roma neighbourhood, as well as the heterogeneity in terms of changes in different parts of this neighbourhood. The analysis outlines guidelines for the use of different approaches in the implementation of Roma integration policies in Bulgaria.

4. For the purposes of the dissertation research, a structured questionnaire (to measure attitudes towards fatalism and traditional values) was developed for the collection of quantitative data, based on operationalized data from interviews with Roma youth. Thus, the tool is consistent with the specifics of thinking and language of Roma youth from the studied community and could be used - after testing - in studies of young people of Roma origin in other neighbourhoods.

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Антонова, Р. (2019) Влиянието на образованието върху преживяването за стигматизираност и жизнените перспективи при младежи от ромска етническа общност. *Социологически проблеми,* 51(2), с. 609-633.

Antonova, R. (2019) The impact of education on the experience of stigmatization and life perspectives of young people from Roma youth. *Sociological problems,* 51(2), p. 609-633.

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[1] All three publications are in scientific journals, entered in the National reference list of contemporary Bulgarian scientific journals with scientific review at the National Centre for Information and Documentation (https://nrs.nacid.bg/register/search) as follows:

- Сп. Психологични изследвания - **ID №** 299/ Journal "Psychology research"
- Сп. Клинична и консултативна психология - **ID №** 1003/ Journal "Clinical and consultancy psychology"
- Сп. Социологически проблеми - **ID №** 1227/ Journal "Sociological problems"