Fieldwork after Fieldwork in Bucharest.
Ethnographic and Applied Roles in Anthropological Practice*

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The paper deals with a research of applied anthropology within a neigborhood in southern Bucharest, in 2000-2002. A succession of roles – ethnographic, then applied – are discussed upon, as a contribution to the anthropological methodology of fieldwork, with the argument that ethnographers need to alternate their enrolment in the field in order (1) to identify social problems specific to a given community, and (2) to implement the solutions they consider to such problems. Through a network analysis, a case study is outlined at the level
of a marketplace, a factory, and a school, with a particular emphasis on the relationships that the anthropologist engage between the local social groups and the authorities concened in each of the three sites.

When oriented to practice, anthropologists inevitably come into contact with the state or private power structures. The central issue (equally ethical and technical) is how to collaborate with authorities when anthropological research is holistic and may bring into question what the authorities do, their role and competence in the social structure? According to Wolf (1999, 132),

> [Anthropology] remained peripheral to the play of powers [because of the] anthropological insistence on observation. Observation has allowed us to separate norms from behavior and to see the relation between the two as problematic. [...] This often assigns to us the unwelcome yet vitally needed role of questioning the certainties of others, both social scientists and policy makers.

Concern with power leads to discussion of the social role of anthropological fieldwork, since the "entry permission" asked by any ethnographer among his informants is expected to be followed by specific reports and "recommendations" on the part of the applied anthropologist. Could such field reports – meant to provide practical solutions to local management – remain scientifically accurate while describing all the levels of a community or organization? Anthropological literature still vacillates between ascribing an employee role for the applied anthropologist, and asking for more autonomy of his or her research in relation to the "client". As Butcher argues (1987, 41-2),

> [...] the applied anthropology, almost by definition, works for a client. Work interests are, to a major extent, dictated by the client through often in consultation with the applied anthropologist. [...] The applied anthropologist cannot implement anything on his own, as he has neither authority, nor the resources. Therefore much thought has to be put into identifying not only what should be done, but how to present it to the client si it will be accepted.

But, as Feldman observes (1981: 227, 234), "contract anthropology" is also interested in studying the client:

> In doing contract work for any local branch of a federal agency, the anthropologist is inevitably affected in this work by decision, modus operandi, and pressures present not always seen from the national headquarters of that agency. [...] The researcher has another option: to point out to the agency that a problem can only be fully explored if the agency itself is allowed to be part of the research problem investigated.

Two kinds of fieldwork are to be considered here, one ethnographic, and the other, applied. As will be seen, ethnographic and applied fieldwork are not exclusive, but successive. They both aim to promote and deliver a somewhat technical product: "anthropological advice".

Urban fieldwork and applied anthropology

With regard to the new context of anthropological fieldwork, Gupta discusses (2000, 2400 the "multi-situated ethnography", as conducted in "temporary sites" according to the living patterns of the people studied. Similarly, Mintz remarks (2000, 1760 the following:

> Because more people move greater distances and with greater speed and frequency, we ethnographers need to develop new techniques to study them, particularly if they spend most of their time moving or they reside alternately in to or more different cultural locales.

Such a social mobility is particularly important to consider in applying anthropology. When taking place in urban societies, for example, fieldwork is expected to adapt lo local working schedules, but also to the changing interests of various social groups which coexist in a given city area. It is not fortuitous that urban ethnography has sometimes carried the "connotation of spy" (Messerschmidt, 1981, 193), and been required "to play many roles and to present many faces" (Sieber, 1981, 220). All these field circumstances would probably occur to a lesser extent during a traditional study of a village community, when the ethnographer faces more social stability and obviously more ascribed social statuses and relationships. Perhaps as a methodological bridge between studying village or tribal communities and approaching the urban way of life, anthropology in the city focuses on micro-communities of ethnic minorities or former peasant groups, in an attempt to identify their social networks and cultural practices:

> Because the first people we knew well [...] were peasants and tribesmen, who today are moving to the cities in increasing numbers, we have been curious about what happens to them in urban environments. As a result, anthropological urban studies have dealt largely with urbanization, the process by which rural emigrants settle in and adjust to urban life in cities, which is commonly referred to as urbanism. (Foster and van Kemper, 1980, 320)

Applied anthropology is also required to adjust its methodology to the complexity of urban life. As a matter of fact, ethnographic fieldwork remains a source of authority for any applied project. Practicing anthropologists need first hand information in order to demonstrate their expertise, and have to undertake local roles to understand the social problems they are called upon to tackle. As a consequence of the diversified ethnographic work, specialized roles have been developed in applied anthropology in relation to the nature of the social group or problem approached. John van Willigen enumerates (1993, 3-5) fourteen such roles, as follows: policy researcher, evaluator, impact assessor, needs assessor, planner, research analyst, advocate, trainer, culture broker, expert witness, public participation specialist, administrator / manager, change agent, and therapist. No doubt, the above roles are not exclusive to anthropologists, but they are open to other social scientists as well. However, these roles are consistent with some ethnographic techniques, such as participant observation and the emic/etic distinction. That is, the applied roles in anthropology are not so much borrowed from other policy sciences, as they stem from ethnographic situation and are meant

to approach local communities in their relationships with authorities. In other words, the ethnographic and applied roles configure and clarify a "domain of application", namely

> [...] the knowledge and techniques that are relevant to a particular work setting. The domain of application includes the methodology that maps the relationships between information, policy, and action, and the context of application, which includes the knowledge relevant to a particular problem area and work setting. (van Willigen, 1993, 8)

A neighborhood in Bucharest as a "domain of application"

During the period July 2000 – June 2002, I conducted an applied research in Bucharest, with the aim to prove the practical potential of anthropological knowledge at the level of a neighborhood in southern Bucharest.

Southern Bucharest (including the fourth and fifth administrative sectors of the Romanian capital) shelters a still impoverished community. Historical evidences indicate the origins of this area in the 16th century, when the label of *Mahalaua Calicilor* (= "The Slum of the Paupers] was attributed to the area marked by the Dâmbovița River and the Orthodox Metropolitan Hill (see Majuru, 2003, 66-95). Towards the end of the 19th century, Mahalaua Calicilor was to join another slum, that of "Țigănia Mitropoliei" (= "The Orthodox Metropolitan Slum of the Roms), that is the nowadays urban quarters of Rahova and Ferentari, along of the Viilor and Giurgiului Highways. Among the "calici", one could encounter the beggars, the tramps, the cripples, and the victims of the wars (like the widows). As concerns the Roma families, they originated from among the previous land serfs (till 1847) of the local princes, lords, and monasteries. The process of integrating the above neighborhood in the urban space of Bucharest started in the 19th century, when several private schools and pensions were founded in the area. In the beginning of the 20th century, two metallurgic factories were also built, while the local population increased and diversified thanks to rural demographic influxes. However, as Majuru points out (2003, 85)

> Although the modernizing process and urbanization continued in the area of Rahova-Ferentari between 1940-1990, the mark of periphery lasted in the specificity of local inhabitants.

Indeed, as a recent sociological study (Preda, Rughiniș, 1998) remarks of a Roma community from the Ferentari quarter, the material poverty (the lack of electricity and water-supply) and social marginalization (implying the stigmatization and lack of public assistance) still define the collective identity of most of the inhabitants in Southern Bucharest. Nowadays, social and economic problems (like the unemployment, the lack of education, and the rising costs of the urban services) are common among both the Romanian and Roma communities from the quarters of Rahova and Ferentari. Unlike other Bucharest areas, these communities have to cope with the legacy of their marginal and somehow polluted status (as an example, the blockhouse apartments in the area are the cheapest in Bucharest).

According to sociologist Cătălin Zamfir (2001, 57), the endemic poverty in post-socialist Romania is followed by a political tendency to ignore its seriousness. In 1996, for instance, Romania spent only 12,1% of its GDP on the social welfare, compared to the European Union average of 28,7%. Similarly, the public allowances in Romania increased between 1990-1993 by only 1%, compared to 6,6% amongst other European countries in transition. The social aid for the impoverished families in Romania was reduced from 144,2% in 1996 to 14% in 1999. Zamfir also underlines that the governmental allowances for the passive welfare of the unemployed workers in 1991-1997 was between 60% and 90%, while

the allowances for the active welfare programs (such as training, supporting employment, and credits for the business enterprises) did not exceed 3% (cf. Zamfir, 2001, 63-65).

The first goal of my study was (on such a social ground) to answer the following question: is the poverty in southern Bucharest a consequence of the inefficiency, or insufficiency, or governmental social politics, or does it depend rather on a community "complex of poverty", historically inherited and socially embedded? Anthropologist Oscar Lewis conceptualized (1980, 265-7) the "culture of poverty" concerning a way of life defined by "passing down from generation to generation", depending on "informal credit devices (and not on existing institutions or agencies)", "the lack of effective participation and integration in the institutions of the larger society", "illiteracy", and "maternal kinship structures". The critics of Lewis observe that "his concept does not take into account the interaction occurring between the 'way of life of the poor' and the external system (e.g., the unemployment, which generates poverty)", as "it ignores the cultural change and generally infers the 'scientific' assumption the that poor are responsible for their condition" (cf. Eames and Goode, 1980, 275, 284). Eames and Goode enumerate what they prefer to call "strategies of the poor", in terms of "response" or "need" to adapt to the asperities of life (like the common preparation of food, high-density house occupation, second hand clothing, kinship and mutual support. The conclusion portrays such strategies as "basic tools for surviving", and not "a cognitive or value-based cultural framework" (Eames, Goode, 1980, 289-90, 297).

The poverty context of southern Bucharest makes it useful to study the adaptive patterns of the local people, as defined by the occupation status. According to Eames and Goode (1980, 281),

> Probably the very best unit to usew in the ethnographic study of poverty and its consequences would be an occupational status community.

An open-air marketplace, a factory, and a secondary school were delimited in the area as a kind of "cultural niche" for my study. I understand by a "cultural niche" a complex social whole including economic and cultural settings and interdependence, housing quarters, as well as a common conscience of membership (even though not also a common ethnic identity). As specified by Anderson (1973, 189, 207),

> Niche [...] as an organism's or (by extension) a culture's immediate 'occupation' leaves aside its functional relationship in a wider system. [...] 'Niche' refers to the role that the organism plays in a wider network of mutual dependencies, thus implying interrelationships in a community or ecosystems.

I concern here the Progresul marketplace (a mostly agricultural open-air market), the Rocar factory (the only Romanian producer of buses), and the "Grigore Cerchez" high school (a school which trains students in professions for the automobile industry).

Ethnographic roles in the urban fieldwork

During nine months (July 2000-March 2001), I did fieldwork in the above locations from southern Bucharest. While I made use of several field techniques (open interviews, a biographic questionnaire, statistical survey, and a video recording), participant observation was the main method I resorted to.

First of all, this method helped me to understand how important is to renounce to any ready-made opinion on social groups like the traders, workers, and students, in favor of their own perspective on themselves. As Spradley points out (1980, 3),

> Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people.

It was in this way that I was able to seize certain cultural aspects that would probably remain opaque to me. Among such aspects, there were the market (informal) division of labor between growers and merchants, the ability of the factory's "human resources" to find out (through debate) solutions for the social organization of their work, and the students' aptitude to enhance through study groups their own participation to the education process.

Secondly, on such a methodological basis, I succeeded to make the scopes of research reliable before my field interlocutors. According to Geană (2005, 117)

> [An effect] of particpant observation is [...] *the attenuation as much as possible of the aggressive potential of scientific knowledge* when this occurs in the human area. The argument is that the fact of living together with the people studied, of working, of eating, of having a good time with them, of speaking their language, of enrolling (that is, of assuming certain roles) into their social system – gives the researcher the possibility of studying them without disturbing the natural order in which they live.

By having attended diverse working activities specific to the above socio-professional groups, my ethnography became intelligible in the area, to the extent in which doing an open documentation ceased soon to be seen as an intrusion.

Beyond the technical demands of participant observation, playing local roles was intended as a voluntary challenge of my research, namely the (theoretical) supposition that the insider position would allow for a better identification of the existing social problems, than in the case of a "neutral", but external, point of view. I consequently constricted an ethnographic typology related to the profile of activity of each site. At the marketplace, I was to undertake the roles of "customer", "grower", and "seller", while in the factory I was successively "mechanic", "tinsmith", "welder assistant", and "forger". At the school, I enacted a "teacher of history" role. Such professional positions were not only some ethnographic (and perhaps anecdotal) avatars, but they were thought to correspond from case to case to local social groups and – as much as possible - to their areas of interest (cf. Constantin, 2002).

A network analysis of the three field sites

Having identified a "cultural niche" within the Progresul-Rocar-Cerchez neighborhood, the question is "are there effective relations between the three field sites?", so that a network analysis can point out some of the socio-economic problems common to the social categories described above.

As a matter of fact, the roles associated with statuses such as trader, worker, and student are different by their very specialization. But specialization as such predicates social interaction, since roles and specialization are rendered effective through social interdependence. Above all, as achieved statuses, "trader", "worker", and "student" account for the socio-economic and cultural profile specific, or dominant, in the neighborhood. Four types of relationships usually occur between the social groups considered here. They can be represented as follows:

1. Progresul > Rocar (workers, foremen, and engineers as customers; workers and foremen as traders);
2. Rocar > Cerchez (students as apprentices) ;
3. Cerchez > Rocar (workers as students in the past, and parents of students now);
4. Progresul > Cerchez (students and teachers as customers).

The above relationships are not symmetrical. They rather circumscribe the marketplace – as it is an institution equally open to the factory's employees and the school's personnel. The links between factory and school are obviously decreasing for reasons of economic restructuring. Students doing training in the factory's section, as well as workers whose children learn at the high school, still can be met. But equally the workers-as-parents and the students-as-apprentices recognize that factory as hardly a worthy career opportunity nowadays. As will be seen, the students' job choices are currently directed outside the factory framework, despite their specialization as mechanic or electrician.

The importance of the marketplace consists in its capacity to attract and keep a clientele. Such a clientele stems from three factors: (1) the agricultural content of the trade, (2) the urban residence of both the merchants and customers, and (3) the interethnic dimension of the trading relationships. The agricultural specialization of most of the growers meets the rural origin of majority of the workers, as well as the child-rearing pattern that links many of the students to their peasant grandparents. Similarly, the urban identity of most of the merchants is consistent with the city residence of the factory's employees and school personnel. The narratives of both the workers and students emphasize a dual pattern of residence, which alternates the urban blockhouse apartment (of the nuclear family) with the rural household (as usual, residence of the grand-parents, but reinvested with farming functions after the fall of communism). A recent study on a blockhouse community in Bucharest points out the following:

> Le village est une présence vivante dans l'espace du bloc [...]. Au premier niveau, il y a le 'rapprochement du village', l'investissement matériel et surtout symbolique dans le monde rural. [...] La famille M., par exemple, fait construire une maison à la campagne. Ils veulent une résidence secondaire. [...] Les procès d'urbanisation et d'industrialisation d'une part, et le départ des jeunes du milieu rural d'autre part, ont brisé structuralement la maisnie [the rural household]. Mais celle-ci s'est reproduite fonctionnellement sous une forme que l'on qualifierait de 'mixte diffuse'. Elle englobe, dans ce cas, deux termes: le terme local-rural et celui, urbain, qui se constitue d'une manière diffuse dans le cadre de la lignée tout en se répartissant dans le territoire. Entre ces deux termes, il y a des relations de coopération et d'échange pour optimiser l'accès aux ressources par leur redistribution dans le circuit relativement fermé de la maisnie. (cf. Mihăilescu et al., 1995, 492)

The interethnic relationships are current in the marketplace (but not also in the factory and school) as if the factory employment and the school technical profile were ascribed only to Romanians, not to the Roma too. As a matter of fact, the business potential of the merchants' work, along with the generalized lack of qualification in modern professions help to explain the Roma presence in the marketplace. According to a sociological survey of the Roma communities in Romania,

> A few percents over half of the Roma have no profession, or practice activities that do not request any former qualifications through the formalized system of professional training. Thus, 33.5% of the Roma have no qualification, 14.3% are farmers, and 4.6% are day workers. Modern qualifications occur in 37.3% of the cases, and the traditional ones in 10.3% of them. (cf. Berevoescu at al., 2002, 12)

In retrospect, it is agriculture, not industry, which predominantly provides the economic resources in the Progresul-Rocar-Cerchez neighborhood. Both the workers and students seek to keep of find a workplace in industry, as it could theoretically assure a further income along with the rural basis of subsistence. This is not the case with the Roma

merchants who rarely own rural lands and have no other economic opportunities in the area but the commerce.

Several strikes that occurred in the neighborhood add new perspectives on the status differences and economic proficiency among the above social groups. The Roma merchants from the Progresul marketplace protested against the city mayoralty (in July 2000 and March 2001) since their little shops had been labeled "illegal" and were to be demolished by the public authorities. From November 2001 to February 2002, the workers of Rocar marched in the street in front of the Romanian government because their salaries had not been paid. Similar salary claims were advanced by four national education unions (in February-March 2002), to which the teaching staff of "Grigore Cerchez" school rallied too. These social movements reflect a local determination in coping with poverty. However, a distinction must be made between the wage negotiations of the workers and teachers, and what could be called the "functional" demands of the traders. No doubt, all of the above groups face macroeconomic problems such as inflation and unemployment. But while the workers and teachers (mostly, Romanian) ask for governmental assistance for their precarious budgetary condition, the merchants (the majority, Roma) are interested in their position on the market. Commerce particularly proves to be a profitable business when assumed on one's own, while agriculture, industry, and education offer only a subsistence wage, or generate unemployment, to the degree in which these last activities depend on governmental subvention.

The social problems identified at the ethnographic level take on a new dimension when related to the local community context. Either as growers, or workers, or equally parents of students, the Romanian inhabitants of the Progresul-Rocar-Cerchez neighborhood cope with a general problem of the weak convertibility of their work. So the lack of a wholesale sector (in the marketplace) is critical for both the traders and factory employees, as many of the workers plan their leave so that they be able to work their lands in the countryside. The local traders explicitly ask for the development of a wholesale space in the market. They similarly need warehouses and hygienic conditions for the trade. As time is a seasonal cost for the farmers, they will hardly understand remaining all the day in the market for retail selling. They will calculate in terms of labor inputs in the field, and not of storage and long term hiring of stalls. Likewise, the specialized merchants need a continuous commodity flow. They cannot work the lands, as they reside in Bucharest and are not farmers. They calculate in terms of buying commodities through the wholesale and hiring the stalls. They are better qualified for retail selling. Since the public authorities do not recognize the labor division from between the growers and merchants, these resort to informal (and officially disapproved) transactions.

It is also difficult for the customers to understand a priori how they would benefit of a wholesale sector. What they want is quality ware at small price, and this is seen depending on direct (non-intermediate) transactions with the growers. The customers resort sometimes to buying in bulk as a strategy for coping with inflation. Wholesale is alternative to retail sale, and their simultaneity seems better expected to control the ware quality and prices, than excluding one of them.

As concerns the Rocar factory, it faces the lack of a department for analyzing the social organization of the work and enabling focus groups through which the engineers, foremen, and workers can find solutions to common problems. The workers denounce the small involvement of the engineers into the work problems of the factory. As the workers ask to be provided with raw material and paid with equitable salaries for their effort, they expect the engineers to approach issues like the material supply and further demands from the clients. The workers would also expect more interest from the part of engineers in verifying the efficiency of their technical devices, as well as in modernizing the manufacturing line and in

improving the conditions of work. As for them, the engineers of Rocar do not agree with they call "the slow working rhythm", as well as "the lack of professionalism" of the workers. Similarly criticized are the "indiscipline" of the workers, their socio-familial (and not professional) arguments during the salary negotiations, and their demand for undifferentiated payment. The engineers would expect the workers to become more interested in technical self-improvement, and to understand the current marketing problems of the factory.

The students of the "Grigore Cerchez" school usually appear indifferent in the educational curriculum as it seems focusing neither on their on their own occupational expectancies, nor on the adolescent evolution of personality. Equally the teachers and students would not accept the official policy to further "overload" the educational programs, which since imposed are paid little or no creative effort of adapting to. As teachers mostly deal with unloading the content of their disciplines, and the students seek to absorb this content, automatism and routine inevitably occur amongst both groups. As a matter of fact, the relationship between the teacher and the class is asymmetrical because acted upon between a person appointed to deliver and other 25 persons claimed to "learn". The teachers often appear simply unable to control the class rumor, while the students are given little timing for individual approach of lessons, and competition with their peers. By the other way, the lesson delivery and getting the school marks separate again the teachers and students, since these activities do not really lead to negotiation and share of tasks, but to somehow parallel processes in which each of the two sides follow its ascribed purposes. Some analogy could be made between asymmetry of the relation between the private and public administration of the market and the traders, and asymmetry between teachers and the class of pupils. On the other hand, the school asymmetry leads to indiscipline and passivity of the pupils. According to Lewis (1980, 265-6),

The lack of effective participation and integration of the poor in the major institutions of the larger society is one of the crucial characteristics of the culture of poverty.

Without doubt, the neighborhood of Progresul-Rocar-Cechez faces a generalized poverty that affects both Romanians and Roma and equally various social groups such as the traders, workers, and pupils. However, the field data show that poverty in southern Bucharest is not so much "historically inherited", nor is it "socially embedded", as it is concerned with the way in which the local authorities understand how to manage the "human resources" subordinated to them. A "power distance" can be here identified between the administrative and subaltern layers. Not so much the content of policies is to be questioned here, but the top-down manner in which they occur as a rule. As will be seen, community interest for changing some policies (or at least for debating them) may be easily assessed – it is, in any case, ethnographically documented as such. The strikes obviously make not the only local reaction to socio-economic problems. Even though related to macroeconomic phenomena (as described above), such social conflicts also appear as a consequence of the fact that the needs of the local community have been continuously ignored. Once again, the point is not so much to adjust the national legislation in one domain or another, but to create a local framework for flexible and participatory practices in trading, industry, and education. Enhancing the social responsibility is seen as a result of such practices, as they depend on local initiatives and involvement.

Applied roles in the implementation process

This research has been conceived as a summative evaluation of the implications that the anthropological inquiry can produce within a neighborhood in Bucharest. Evaluation in this case concerns the anthropological conceptualization and methodology when applied in relation to needs and problems defining three distinct social groups in the area. Although being done "at home", my approach was conducted from outside the community institutions concerned. In doing so, I wanted to keep myself as impartial as possible, with the risk (which I undertook) of having to face local reticence and lack of assistance for some presumably critical discoveries in the field.

Since my fieldwork would have not been feasible otherwise, the authorities' entry permission was asked; accordingly, research reports were presented to the market administration and municipality, as well as to the factory management and the school directorship. Besides, I sought to involve myself in the work of implementing the project, even though my involvement was sometimes seen as an intrusion.

The research in this case was not so much an intrinsic evaluation (although phenomena like the management of market, the factory production, and the school curriculum were concerned in their processes), as a pay-off one, where evaluation regarded the practical effects of anthropological findings and proposals.

The summative and pay-off evaluation (cf. Michael Scriven, 1973) is considered here as consistent with the anthropological perspective of holism, as it takes into account various social categories at a community level. That is, the field discoveries and conclusions were evaluated through a network analysis, in order to identify those social problems common to the neighborhood as a whole, and to reflect the socioeconomic perspectives in the area.

Defined as such, the research was a contextual one. It addressed the planning policy makers in the city, namely the municipality and the market administration, the factory management, and the Bucharest Department for Education. The scope of research was to promote the community needs as identified and assessed by the ethnographic methodology, and doing so, to argue the practical dimension of anthropology. Beside ethnography, the applied work consisted of social experiments and mediation between the community and authorities. The community development is here taken for a methodological and ethical principle. According to a definition provided by the International Cooperation Administration (from the USA), and cited by John van Willigen (1993, 91),

> Community development is a process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action; define their common and individual needs and problems; execute the plans with a maximum of reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with services and materials from government and non-governmental agencies outside the community.

In the neighborhood of Progresul-Rocar-Cerchez, the implementation process concerned the local community's needs, organization, and initiatives, as well as those governmental and non-governmental authorities directly implied. The mediation work was intended to put together (as much as possible) the community and its formal leaders. For each of the three field objectives, approvals were obtained so that the duration and goals of research be foreseen and mutually accepted.

A recommendation (dated on June 7, 2001) from the municipality to the market private administration mentions that several "tasks" should be accomplished in the marketplace through an "anthropological laboratory", during the period between July 2001-June 2002. The document explicitly refers to the "economic statistics about merchants,

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growers, and customers" and to the making of an experimental sector for "direct transactions between merchants and growers". The recommendation was issued in response to the ethnographic report I had written for the period July 2000-March 2001. Important in the recommendation text is the recognition by mayoralty of the division of labor between merchants and growers, as well as the interest for a framework of direct negotiation between the main trading groups. Implicitly, the trading specialization of the Roma sellers and their effective (but theoretically illegal!) wholesale transactions on the market, were also given recognition.

It what followed, I was interested to assess the needs of the market people. The assessment was done in August 2001, when 120 merchants, growers, and customers (of which 89 Romanians, and 30 Roma) responded to a questionnaire (with their biographic data included). The local needs concerned "(1) the making of a wholesale sector within the marketplace, where the growers, sellers, and buyers can negotiate in accord with their commercial interest and the norms of public order as established by the market administration", "(2) the making of a warehouse for the growers", and "(3) the making of a market store for the sale of cheese in hygienic and sanitary conditions".

In September 2001, I was to present the above expectancies of the traders to the market administration and to the municipality as well. As these institutions showed no interest in such data, I decided to forward my field report to the governmental Agency for Fighting the Poverty. After analyzing the report arguments, a counselor wrote up a notification to the mayoralty. The document (dated on October 25, 2001) outlined the "important function of orientation" that anthropology can play in the "process of social and economic reform in Romania"; it also recommended that municipality supervise the abovementioned series of measures to take in the Progresul marketplace, along with "the need for a legal employment for the merchants by the market administration, with no discrimination against the sellers of Roma ethnic identity". The governmental notification suggested the possible emplacement of the wholesale sector nearby the Progresul railway station (as an investment designated to help the growers coming from the countryside). In its response (on November 16, 2001), the mayoralty expressed its "intention" to set up the wholesale framework in the vicinity of the railway station, in the spring of 2002.

Another action based on research was (in March, 2002) a market questionnaire applied to 75 traders (of which 49 Romanians and 24 Roma), as to their view on the legal employment instead of illegal hiring of stalls and farming produces. The 75 traders were not shy about registering such a need, but they related it to more involvement from the part of the market administration. After I presented my findings and recommendations to the market administration, it notified the municipality (on April 4, 2002) with the following proposals: "(1) the making of a wholesale sector is the task of mayoralty, as it has the power of leasing a public space with this aim", "(2) the making of a warehouse should wait for a wholesale framework become effective", "(3) the making of a store proper for selling the cheese is a matter of investments to which mayoralty should contribute given the taxes it collects in the market", and "(4) the feasibility of legal employment for merchants depends upon a social investigation to be conducted by the Bucharest Agency for Employment".

All the above documents were included in a final report and presented as such to the mayor of the fourth district of Bucharest, on June 4, 2002. The report summarizes the social problems identified and assessed in the Progresul marketplace. The lack of a framework for wholesale and the general management of the market are equally questioned. Once again, the traders' needs are discussed. Moreover, statistical data regarding the advantages of the wholesale trade in comparison to retail are provided at the level of the national economy, and also with respect to the preponderancy of the private ownership in the agriculture of

Bucharest and the Ilfov County. Several recommendations are formulated on a legal basis including the Romanian Law of the Local Public Administration (1991), as particularly concerns the prerogatives of mayoralty in organizing the local commerce. Finally, the report produces some comparative data about the relationships between traders and customers, the trading specialization of the ethnic minorities, the communist mentality of discrediting the little entrepreneurs, and the subsistence orientation of most of rural growers in Romania.

The public authorities responded that the report would be considered in the perspective of reestablishing the control of municipality over the marketplace. The market administration is disavowed as "corrupted", with the hope that the Bucharest Court will soon decide the custody of marketplace by the municipality.

In the case of the Rocar factory, the local management issued (on June 15, 2001) an approval for an applied anthropological work to take place in the period July 2001-June 2002. The approval was a result of the ethnographic fieldwork conducted from August 2000 to March 2001; it concerned the following issues: "(1) the characterization of the socio-cultural profile of the factory workers" and "(2) the encouragement of communication between the local human resources by the agency of experimental focus groups".

During the period September-November 2001, five focus groups were set up in five sections of the factory, namely the Mechanic-Energetic, the Forge, the Dye Works, the Final Assemblage, and the Chassis and Car Bodies. A number of 42 persons took part to meetings, including twelve foremen, ten engineers, seven mechanics, two accountants, two brigade chiefs, two welders, two dye workers, one bricklayer, one electrician, one mould worker, one presser, and one syndicate leader. Thus, employees belonging to all the levels of human resources were convened and encouraged to communicate and identify together (through debate) some idea and solutions to the social problems of labor; they were also asked to argue and formulate some recommendation for the management. The reports written for each of the above focus groups indicate a series of more or less general problems like the interruption of employing the young personnel (despite the working needs of the sections), the replacement of the salary system of competence categories with the so-called "hard work groups" (payment according to the degree of work conditions), and the renunciation to the so-called "innovation files" (of the workers). Other aspects in debate were the claim of seniority as a criterion for salary differentiation, and the lack of technical criteria for salary negotiations. The employees also came to identify some solutions to the above problems, such as the personnel rejuvenation with graduates of the "Grigore Cerchez" high school, the periodical testing of the workers' technical knowledge and abilities (as a framework to promote the personnel, and also to stimulate the motivation for one's working improvement), and payment in accordance with the results of one's personal work and expertise. As for the recommendations written for the factory management, they suggested monthly meetings of the three layers of personnel, the establishing of a set of evaluative technical criteria, the employment of a limited number of high-school graduates (in relation to the retirement of old workers). All the reports were signed by employees and I, and then sealed by the factory department for human resources.

As the Rocar personnel came to start a long period of strikes (November 2001 by January 2002), which led to the resignation of the factory general manager, I decided to address the results of my research to the governmental Agency for Fighting the Poverty (Rocar was owned by the state to a share of 67.45%). As a consequence, a government counselor issued (on February 2, 2002) a notification to the new leadership of the Rocar, outlining the capacity of focus groups in "considering all the levels of human resources involved", as well as in "promoting the debate of ideas among workers, with a respect to decentralized solutions given to local problems, which grounds a better collaboration and

communication between the groups of personnel in the factory". The document also pointed out the "current relevance" of research in the context of strikes, which would make it useful for the Romanian Department of Labor in order to be applied in other state-owned or private commercial societies in the country.

Based on the research data, I was to write a final report (accompanied by the above documents) for the factory management. The report speaks of two main problems occurring within the labor organization of Rocar, namely "(1) the insufficiency of communication among the human resources of the factory", and "(2) the lack of technical criteria for labor evaluation (especially the lack of the job description)". In accordance with the model of the focus-group debate, a recommendation was made in favor of periodical convening of workers, foremen, and engineers in order to exchange their ideas and experiences. Another recommendation concerned the payment calculation in accord with the job description, so as the personnel be given motivation and interest in self-improvement. (It must be stressed that it was the employees that produced the second recommendation, through interaction within the focus groups). The report also provides statistical information about the rural economic orientation of most of the workers, as well as about the elevated age average of the personnel. The recommendations explicitly relied upon elements of the Romanian legislation of labor, more exactly the Romanian Law of Labor Conflicts (1999) and the governmental Methodology for Evaluating the Performances of Personnel in the state-owned enterprises (with criteria like the professional competence, labor experience, the difficulty degree of one's workplace, labor responsibility, and the sphere of socio-professional relationships implied). Finally, the report makes comparative references to international case studies in the conflict management (in Turkey) and in the personnel rejuvenation (in Japan). A representative of the factory management was to appreciate (on May 30, 2002) the research I conducted within the Rocar, as particularly concerned the relevance of focus groups in the understanding of enduring or ongoing work problems, and also in providing local or bottom-up solutions to such problems. Focus groups were eventually proposed as a future technique in the factory policy for managing the organization of local human resources. However, the importance of the technical criteria for payment was not understood given the critical financial situation of the factory.

As for the "Grigore Cerchez" high school, in response to my fieldwork report written for the period September 2000 – March 2001, I benefited of a notification issued (on June 8, 2001) by the Bucharest Department for Education. The document considers the activity of an "anthropological laboratory" within the school framework, in the period September 2001 – June 2002. The research I was authorized to conduct was meant to contribute to the "understanding of the family context in the development of pupil personality" and to the "enhancing of the participant sense among pupils during the courses". An optional course of anthropology of education was also proposed to be delivered.

I began my applied work by teaching (November by December 2001) the anthropological course to three graduating classes including pupils aged of 17-18 years. The course dealt with the research on the adolescence, with the following lectures: "(1) The cultural identity of teenagers", "(2) Puberty and initiation", "(3) Status and role among teenagers", "(4) The culture and the development of personality", and "(5) Social frames of culture". The content of course made use of several definitions and approaches in anthropology (such as the definition of culture by Edward B. Tylor, 1871, then the Ralph Linton's distinction between status and role, and the Erik Eriksson's psychological approach of the life cycle). Such themes and notions were adapted to the teenagers' areas of interests, in order to provide them with the theoretical explanations for their very preoccupations, crises, choices, and so on.

During the lectures, I attempted to enhance the pupils' involvement to the lessons, through questions related to the course but also through homework. As the pupils used to remain passive, I proceeded to a didactic experiment. The pupils were asked to organize themselves into small groups (of four or five members), on the basis of their fellow-like affinities; next they were invited to choose their leaders, which were to distribute the issues of lessons to their classmates. The leaders were also given responsibility for the efficiency of their teams. The experiment took place on March 6-7, 2002, at the level of the three graduating classes. The pupils' form masters and the school headmasters were also invited to be present. The report written for this experiment does highlight important differences between the groups of the classes and also between the classes. A hierarchy of groups was established according to their involvement. While two of the classes proved a better control of the lesson process (as they shared the lesson tasks), the pupils of the third class preferred to respond in an individual and random manner. The most important conclusion was that "a study group is preoccupied with its efficiency only and not with associating its members to the lack of interest and responsibility of the other 'colleagues'". In May 2002, a local teacher from another class conducted a similar experiment. The four groups of pupils showed dissimilarity in their involvement to the lesson process; they appreciated such a framework as one of collaboration and competition as well.

Another experiment aimed to improve the career orientation of the pupils. I questioned here the graduating pupils with regard to their professional choices. Among the best-scored options were those of PC operator, driver, and auto service mechanic. As a result, the school headmasters sent a notification (dated on May 30, 2002) to the Bucharest Agency for Employment. The notification asked for information concerning available jobs and firms interested in employing school graduates. The Agency put me (as a mediator between the above institutions) in contact with a specialized department for counseling the people searching for a job. Consequently, a jurist and a psychologist were invited to the school, and a meeting with those interested pupils took place (on June 6, 2002) with information for them about such issues as the job market, the relationships with the employers, the occupational profiles, etc. Especially important was for the pupils to know that a Job Market for school graduates was planned by the Agency to occur in September 2002.

On the basis of the above experiments and documentation, I wrote my final report (June 11, 2002) for the Bucharest Department for Education. The report outlines the main problems occurring within the "Grigore Cerchez" high school, namely "(1) the weak participation of the pupils to the lesson", and "(2) the low level of the pupils' motivation in their career options". Statistical data (gathered by means of a questionnaire) were presented upon the pupils' motivation and perspectives in the school curriculum. Arguments of pedagogical studies in the national education were also provided (as particularly regarding the low interest of the pupils for the industry). Two recommendations were made: "(1) the pupils should be stimulated to participate to the lessons within small study groups in the framework of a class. Cooperation and competition between pupils are equally related to the effectiveness of such study groups", and "(2) the form master or other teacher should be involved in a school department for guiding the career choices among pupils. Databases and mediation are seen as tools for such a department, to the benefit of the pupils and school as well (in relation to the new generations of pupils and the employing firms)". Two legal references were made, namely the Romanian Law of Education (2000) on the possibility of experimental and applied units within the schools, and a Governmental Ordinance (2000) on the social partnership between the schools and the research institutions. Comparative information was identified also for the school case study, including a didactic experiment in the Republic of Moldova and the career orientation among the Hungarian graduates.

The officials from the Bucharest Department for Education were especially interested in the differences that occur between the college and vocational pupils, and whether such differences did reflect methods like the study groups and the career-orientation sessions. A similar focus was put on the need to develop community integration within the school, so that activities like the profile planning and the career orientation may be approached in accord with the social expectancies for the schools of today, and also with the major economic trends of the Romanian society. The conclusions of report were generally adopted as a case study referential for future pedagogical planning in Bucharest. However, the teachers' motivation in promoting such methods was considered hard to stimulate because of the budgetary restrictions in the Romanian education. As seen before, the "fieldwork after fieldwork" changed crucially the typology of roles I played in the field. That is, after undertaking the ethnographic roles (with the aim to allow my entrance to the local social groups), I was to rely upon applied specialized roles, such as those of "needs evaluator", "public participation specialist", and "cultural mediator", which served to my attempt to implement the research program.

Conclusions

The ethnographic and applied roles are to be considered as a technical strategy of the anthropologist in the field, in relation to the exigencies of the method of participant observation. As Michael Banton remarks it (1968, 57-60), the social and economic development is associated with the role differentiation to the extent to which the "moral order" that has characterized the traditional societies seem to be at present replaced by a "technical order". Anthropologists have to cope with this role specialization and to adapt it to their scopes, especially when practical. As seen earlier, the local roles and skills may constitute useful tools in accessing field interlocutors and negotiating with public and private authorities. At the same time, the applied anthropologist is expected to critically evaluate his temporary "enrolment": he will differ from his informants or "clients" by methodologically observing as both an insider and outsider among them (see Spradley, 1980, 56-7). Either ethnographic or applied, the anthropological roles are not *dramatis personae* (which does not exclude some possible esthetic connotations of them), but simply evidences of fieldwork and means of actions.

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