THE ENCLAVE-EFFECT IN SOCIAL CARE
FROM SOCIAL ENCLAVES TO SOCIAL EXCLAVES
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Abstract: The paper proposes a new concept referring to social integration (social inclusion): social enclaves. It also analyses the so-called enclave-effect.

The social enclave defines a situation of pseudo-integration of groups (populations), living in a certain „social space" (social areal or territory).

The social enclaves and the enclave-effect are to be found in different cultures, different countries and periods of time. The phenomenon is not recent, but was less identified and analysed as a particular case of social integration. The usual approaches are mostly focused on terms like integration, inclusion, marginalization and exclusion. The in-between social dynamic was less considered as a distinct item with distinct characteristics and specific evolution in different circumstances, but simply as an intermediate status of an integration process.

The enclave-effect is, in our opinion, not only a transitional status: in most cases we can consider it as a permanent live condition, strongly influenced by different social and political determinations, cultural and conjectural factors, like the formal and ideological rejection of some categories of people, social incomprehensibility, prejudges, political orientations.

The enclave effect is not only a temporary one. Sometimes it could be seen as a fiasco of some governmental social programmes and strategies, as a failure of the traditional social policies.

Key words: enclave-effect, social enclaves, enclavisation and exclavisation, social permeability,

Social enclaves are not a new phenomenon. They are to be found more frequently than currently accepted in different cultures, regions (countries) and different periods of time. Usually they have not been considered as structures having an autonomous dynamic, or as a separate social structure but as an intermediate stage of an on-going integration process.

Our data confirm the fact that the social enclaves can develop as long time structures, stable and having their own development and internal rules system.

The conclusion of our observation and research data is that the social enclaves should be analysed and not only as an intermediate stage of an inclusion process in progress but as a distinct reality. The social enclaves are separate entities, defined by and influenced by certain social and local surroundings and circumstances and by certain social environments. They develop themselves as distinct social spaces (Dragoi, 2015, p.3-10).

The increasing of the labour force migration from rural to urban and from country to country and the flexibility of the labour market has accelerated the process of setting of new structures, respectively new kinds of standards, new dimensions of living spaces.

The enclaves represent one of the most prevalent and widespread categories of the contemporary social milieus, not only in the large urban areas but in the last decades also in the rural areas.

The most common social enclaves are:

Ethnic enclaves.

Some of the very well known ethnic enclaves: Indian reservations in the XIX-the century in America, the ghettos in the big urban agglomerations, Little Italy, Chinatown (like for instance the one that had emerged and increased in Bucharest in the last decades).

Institutional enclaves.

The residential care centres in Romania in the communist period – the so-called "mammoth homes for children" (Dragoi, 1981, pp. 118-121) are one of the most illustrative examples. The residential child care institutions were formally isolated (having their own school, their own rules prohibiting leaving the institution without a permission note from the educator, rules concerning the visits of friends or relatives, etc..). They were "closed institutions", having few and sporadic contacts with the outside world.

The local population silently rejected them. *In some cases for instance mothers scared their children telling them that, if they do not behave and*

keep quiet, they will be given away to a "home for children". And that kept the children quiet….

Lifestyle enclaves.

Makarenko´s colonies. Makarenko's pedagogical theories are well known and have had a tremendous impact in the development of social pedagogy in the post-war period. His successes are largely due to the positive results obtained in the social integration of children and youth in the so-called "youth colonies" in the early 20th century.

We consider Makarenko's colonies as a typical example for the social lifestyle enclaves.

- They functioned as ""closed spaces and aimed to "rehabilitate" young people by creating some kind of a "new human being", that personifies the values and ideals of communism.
- In this process the influence of peer group (called "collective" – Hilling, 1999, p. 291-292) was regarded as decisive and always positive. The individual was considered as subordinate to the group.
- Colonies functioned according to their own rules of conduct and according to their own ideals. Work occupied a central role, both pedagogically and morally.
- The colonies evolved as independent bodies, as institutions that have relatively few links with the outside world.

These enclaves have functioned in that period quite successfully. This was due on the one hand to some specific circumstances (i.e. they worked with street children, who had no better life alternative) and on the other hand to the fact that the system remained flexible (ins and outs that were not blocked; leaving the colony was always possible). "The collective" could however decide to exclude someone. Likewise, the newcomers' situation and the "returns" were also discussed in the formal group.

The colonies imposed a specific lifestyle for the period of enthusiasm that characterized the evolution of the communism in the mentioned period, respectively behavioural patterns and scales of values. These models were surprisingly enduring. They influenced the social pedagogy for more than four decades.

Ad-hoc social enclaves.

The refugees' intake centres in west Europe or the residential care institutions for minor refugees. These kind of institutions have become very numerous in most of the European countries in the last years and have a strong impact on the established social protection systems. The massive immigration has also generated a new integration culture and some new pedagogical approaches concerning for instance the cultural dissonances and behavioural patterns.

Some of the main characteristics:
- despite of the fact that a chain of formal integration structures is present and accessible, most of the social enclaves remain de facto "outside" those structures
- the enclaves do not have as an explicit functionality and as a high priority the achievement of an equitable social inclusion and are not focused on integration, even if this aim is "officially" in many projects declared as main target
- they operate more or less as self-governing structures, functioning according to their own rules of coexistence and value systems
- they function "in parallel" with the officially accepted systems of values and behavioural models. Sometimes they are even in contradiction with the commonly accepted patterns.
- they have a particular group dynamics and a well defined group hierarchy, usually focused "inward" and acting "for themselves"
- the population is usually defined in a restrictive way. In relatively many cases it consists of "risk groups" (certain social groups – like the institutionalised children for example, or certain ethnic groups)

Informal enclaves.

The development of enclaves can be a process that occurs "by itself", determined by socio-historical factors. In this case the enclaves are set up in time, under the pressure of socio-political factors related to the general social dynamics of the respective society and culture.

Formal enclaves

Enclaves are also the expression of peculiar economic conditions, such as difficulties of the real estate market (lack of housing, too high prices and rents, unemployment - all factors finally leading for example to the appearance of slums) or political (decisions of grouping without any questioning or agreement certain categories of population in clearly defined areas, usually with incontestable rules of access - income and outcomes controlling).

Unspecific enclaves

Another category, actually more difficult to define and to identify, is represented by the "unspecific enclaves". They occur in situations where a particular group is de facto isolated inside a community, despite of all existing opportunities. This isolation appears because it is simply imposed to the group by some of its members.

A relevant example in this respect: some students are "rejected" by other students and are in the classroom in an in-between situation. They are

"tolerated" (e.g. due to formal interventions of some teachers), but do not actually have any real chance to overcome this social status.
For the time being there exists no relevant typology for such situations of active "enclavisation", but they are witnessed in schools more frequently than generally accepted.

New forms of social enclaves
Intake centers for migrants
Is the most recent exemple of "social enclaves". The large number of immigrants who came to Europe last year have overloaded the welfare system in some European countries, which have been constrained to adopt a policy of "emergency".

Among other measures there were created in record time the so-called "intake centers" having different accomodation facilities and capacities. Almost all of them have "hosted" ad hoc hundreds of people, of different nationalities, speaking different languages, having heterogeneous traditions, lifestyles and behaviours. That was extremely difficult and conducted to almost unavoidably conflicts, stress, aggression, frustration and tension, to name only a few of the phenomena beeing specific for such enclaves.

For some local communities such centres still represent enclaves, which are difficult to manage, despite of all the integration structures created ad hoc and of the already existing well developed social infra-structures.
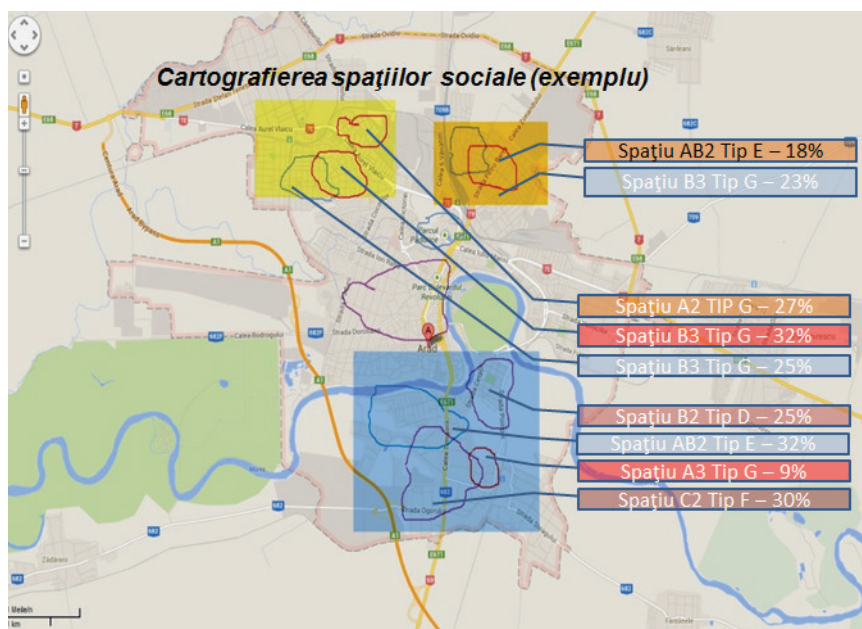
Multi-ethnic social spaces
One of the most acute problems in Romania and in some other countries in Eastern Europe is the spreading of multi-ethnic social spaces. A lot of them have appeared in the last decades mostly because of the migration of certain ethnic groups in areas originally inhabited by another local community (usually a different ethnic group).

The phenomenon has inevitably lead to social enclaves, to social spaces promoting different rules of social behaviour and different ways of networking and communication.

A research carried out in the county of Arad in the years 2011 - 2012 pointed out that the classical "neighbourhoods" (vicinities), created according to different social and ethnic criteria is actually an obsolete model. In urban areas appeared increasingly a new kind of social spaces, which are frequently reduced to a handful of streets, which are usually inhabited by a certain ethnic population (Diagram 1- Dragoi, 2013, p.59).

Diagram 1 - Identifying social enclaves ("problem areas") of a municipality by sinuses method (social milieus having specific social behavioural patterns).

Cartografierea spaţiilor sociale (exemplu)

Spaţiu AB2 Tip E – 18%
Spaţiu B3 Tip G – 23%
Spaţiu A2 TIP G – 27%
Spaţiu B3 Tip G – 32%
Spaţiu B3 Tip G – 25%
Spaţiu B2 Tip D – 25%
Spaţiu AB2 Tip E – 32%
Spaţiu A3 Tip G – 9%
Spaţiu C2 Tip F – 30%

The social cartography of some rural localities in west Romania pointed out that the social enclaves are also numerous in some villages and cannot always be associated to a delimited geographical area.

The typical phenomenon observed was the gradual setting of a social group in a certain territory by occupying a particular social space, usually consisting of houses abandoned by owners. The degree of acceptance of these newcomers varies from locality to locality. The beginning of social enclaves, however, is usually unavoidable.

Our study also revealed that the social enclaves have the tendency to reproduce themselves. The reproducing process remains self-regulating and independent from economic and cultural contexts. We observed for instance, that the dynamics of the informal peer-groups in rural schools reproduces the power structures and inter-dynamic group-relations existing in the community (Diagram 2 - Dragoi, 2013, p.59)

Diagram 2 - Social enclaves. Populations at risk.
The map represents the partial results of the investigation (social cartography) of the school population of two villages with predominantly Roma population in the county of Arad. The red areas show the "peer-

risk group" (group A), characterized by absenteeism, deviant group values and oppositional behaviour.
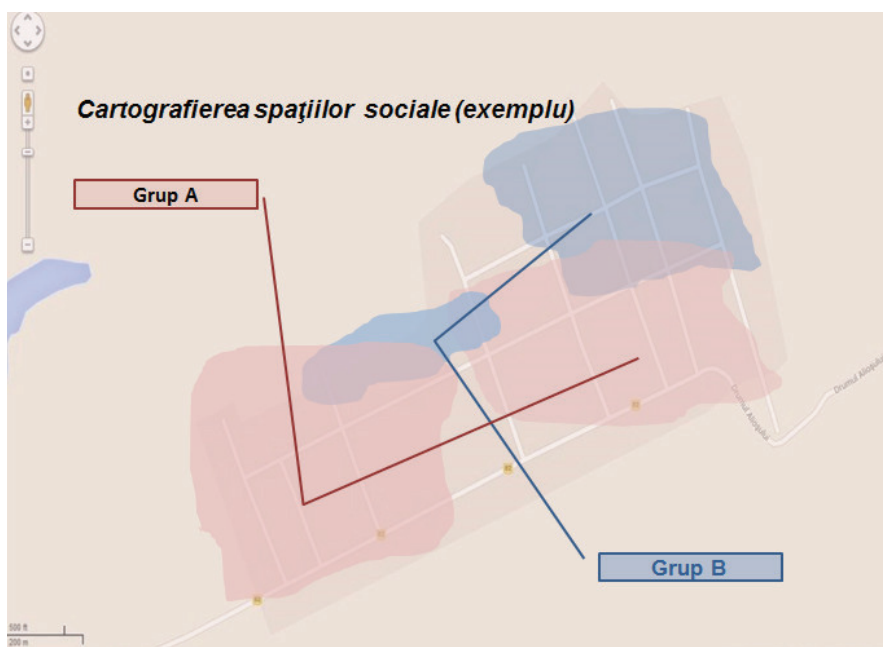
Social enclaves vs. social exclaves.

The "exclavisation" is the opposite of enclavisation and represents in most of the cases a process of desorption (re-absorption) of a social enclave. The success of so-called social inclusion programs depends largely on the behaviour of the "the silent minority" (Candel) respectively on the "social permeability" of the groups of inclusion.

The term "social permeability" is used in this context to describe the actual acceptance of a community living in a certain "social space of inclusion" and its willingness to be challenged with the issues of people coming from "enclaves".

For example, many programs for social inclusion of the Roma population in rural areas (the provision of living space - houses - providing opportunities to work - in agriculture for example - school places for children, medical care, etc .. .) have not had the expected success (also) because residents of those localities have not expressed willingness to accept newcomers.

The local groups have just been "not permeable", even without being hostile.

Overcoming the pseudo - integration is a long and complex process.

Some of the components that may facilitate a better and a faster social inclusion:
- Adequate mapping of the social enclaves
- An objective evaluation of risk factors that have acted and act on the respective social space
- Identifying the factors that cause pressures and determine the cultural "resistance" and resilience of a certain social habitat
- Identifying the "cultural dissonance" and axiological dissonance between different categories of people directly involved (inside the enclave) and indirectly responsible (outside the enclave)
- Identifying available local resources and enabling to act effectively at the level of the social space taken into account
- Coherent action, both at the level of each group living in the enclave and at the level of the community, preferably with political cooperation
- Low-cost proposals for actions (projects) initiated and implemented "on the spot" (like teams of street-workers, youth centres, leisure centres, etc ...)
- The involvement of non-governmental organizations and other institutions in the implementation of short and long term specific and sustainable projects, appropriately financed and suitably logistically supported.

Conclusions

The enclave-effect appears in most unexpected situations and is determined by a complex of social, political, cultural, financial, non-repetitive contexts. Local factors, conjectural political backgrounds and settings play a decisive role, which gives the phenomenon a local specificity and a distinctive internal dynamics.

The most commonly used exclavisation-strategies include three fundamental components:
- Assessment cultural dissonances
- Identifying ways to diminish axiomatic and cultural incompatibilities (dissonances)
- Structuring and implementation of projects anchored in the realities of a certain cultural space.

But the effectiveness of such interventions is largely dependent on the extent to which the local determinations we have mentioned are taken into account, namely the degree to which the interventions are strictly tailored to "local specificities". Developing programs on general level

(macro level) represent in this case not only a difficult and expensive operation but they are sometimes simply superfluous.

The permeability of a system usually decreases in time. The structures are becoming more rigid and they tend to be characterized not only by resistance to changes but also by certain hostility. Early (at the right time) recognition (assessment) of the enclaves (not always easy, especially if the enclaves are unspecific, in which case we might be confronted with resilient "silent minorities") is the precondition for success and reaching exclaves.

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