



***The immigration of Romanian Roma to Western Europe:
Causes, effects, and future engagement strategies
(MigRom)***

**REPORT ON
THE PILOT SURVEY**



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Research on National Minorities
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Introduction

The MIGROM project aims at investigating the motivations, experiences and future plans of Romanian Roma migrants and the effect of migration on their own lives and on the lives of those who are left behind in the home communities in Romania. The main aim of the research in Romania is to provide an overall description of the local communities in Romania and to offer a comparative perspective on different dimensions and forms of migration. It will do so by identifying the background factors of migration – as much as possible (on individual level) – and by providing policy-relevant data concerning the Romanian Roma communities with a focus on their socio-economic situation in the home localities.

The ‘sending communities’

According to initial research design the Romanian team has the task to look at the local communities and the conditions for the migration of the Roma to Western Europe. It is indispensable to understand the local context of the Roma communities as this is the other side of the coin not only as a complementary image and explanation for the migration, but migration is also a potential source and resource for the future development of the local communities which include Roma and non-Roma alike in these localities.

In the pilot phase of the study¹ we decided to combine the quantitative and qualitative methods in order to explore the most useful avenues for the more in-depth research which is ahead of us. The main sources for our data are: 1) the statistical data from the Romanian National Institute of Statistics ([INS](#)); both data from the National Census (2011) and the time series data (covering the recent period); 2) administrative data and interviews with the local officials and Roma representatives; 3) ethnographical fieldwork.

Based on the general overview of the statistical data we identified different patterns and socio-economic profiles of the counties and communities (also with reference to earlier models of human development and poverty-risk indexes) and we ranked these counties based on these indicators. Seven counties (BH, BV, CJ, CV, DJ, IL,

¹ Field visits have been started during the winter 2013/2014 and continued during the spring 2014.

SJ)² have been selected which cover most of the geographical areas containing the communities of origin and also display a range of diverse characteristics in terms of socio-economic conditions and ethnic relations.

The structure of this report is the following: first we describe the procedure for the selection of the field sites, and how the statistical data has been processed in order to develop aggregated indicators for each of the counties. Then some of the field sites will be discussed in some detail according to the proposed characteristics in order to describe the local contexts and also to have the basic background indicators prepared for a future in depth comparative analysis. Observations and details elicited through the interviews are included in these sections. This report contains also the first results of the ethnographical work which has begun with some particular Roma groups (in Southern Romania). More extended ethnographic accounts will be offered in the future. The report concludes with a short summary of differences/similarities between the sites as an outline for the main features of the sending communities and an outline for the policy recommendations for local authorities.

² Romania administratively is divided into 41 counties and 8 Development Regions each of them comprising up to 6 counties. See details: <http://www.mdrap.ro/en/dezvoltare-regionala/programul-operational-regional-2007-2013/-2975>

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Selection of fieldwork sites in Romania

In the process of selecting the fieldsites we tried to use the method of triangulation of different data in order to better fit into the scope and aims of the overall project. Moreover we tried to offer descriptions and data which are comparable and can be used as baseline data for further research and policymaking on a more general level.

As a starting point, we used the list of counties of origin for the Roma migrant communities identified by project partners – in line with the project proposal. The list we received contained the counties and localities of origin, and in some cases approximation of the number of Roma persons or families migrating and encountered some of the partners abroad. The table below (Figure 1.) summarises the counties of origin identified by project partners. Colours indicate the rate of poverty risk in the specific counties: the darker the colour, the higher the poverty risk is. For example, Bihor, Cluj, Dolj and Ialomița counties do not have a high rate of poverty risk, compared to Călărași and Vrancea counties. The source is the latest report by the World Bank based on data of the 2011 National Census and EU-SILC 2011 survey.

County	Target countries	Aprox. size of the community in the host country (persons)	Development Region
ARAD	Great Britain, France	2 families	West
BIHOR	France	350 persons	North-West
BRĂILA	Great Britain	1 family	South-East
BUCUREȘTI	Spain	30	Bucharest
CĂLĂRAȘI	Spain	60	South-Muntenia
CONSTANȚA	Great Britain	1 family	South-East
CLUJ	Great Britain, Spain	250	North-West
DOLJ	Italy, France, Spain	150	South-West Oltenia
GALAȚI	Great Britain	1 family	South-East
GORJ	Italy, Spain	?	South-West Oltenia
IALOMIȚA	Great Britain, Spain	375	South-Muntenia
OLT	Italy	?	South-West Oltenia
SIBIU	France	1 family	Center
TIMIȘOARA	Great Britain	1 family	West
TULCEA	France	1 family	South-East
VRANCEA	Great Britain	3 families	South-East

Figure 1. The list of communities of origin according to the county and development regions

In the first step we selected fieldsites in those counties from which there were the highest number of migrants identified. Most migrant Roma originate from: Bihor, Cluj, Dolj and Ialomița counties.

In the second step, in order to contextualise these counties within Romania regarding the characteristic migration pattern, we generated a national level database using the recent 2011 National Census. The Census used two categories for describing the migration: temporary and long term migrants. Additionally, we also included into the analysis the percentage of the Roma population in the respective county. The following table (Figure 2.) shows the ranking of the counties based on these two indicators (percentage of temporary migrants, percentage of long term migrants).³

This ranking reveals that that all four counties (in red) we have previously chosen are situated in the lower third of the list – meaning that the percentage of the identified migrants by the National Census is relatively low as compared to other counties.

We also considered the risk of poverty as a criterion for selection. The colours of the table show the rate of poverty risk in specific counties; the darker the colour, the higher the risk of poverty is. For example, Bihor, Cluj, Dolj and Ialomița counties do not have a high rate of poverty risk, compared to Călărași and Vrancea counties.

As the research project has a main focus on the **migration** of the Romanian **Roma**, we considered to select counties with larger percentage of migrants, but after some further consideration we included both to percentage of the Roma population in each county and the level of **social development** index (an aggregated indicator developed by Dumitru Sandu (Sandu 2008)) using a set of county level social and economic indicators, and a more recent categorisation of counties depending on the **risk of poverty** (World Bank 2013). According to this ranking the initially selected counties can be characterised as follows: Cluj county can be considered one of the most developed counties in Romania with the lowest risk of poverty, Dolj and Bihor counties are ranked as medium developed, and finally Ialomița county is ranked as a relatively poor county based on the social development index, but it has a medium level of risk of poverty.

³ Unfortunately, we do not have access for the moment to more detailed Census data, ie. data on the number of migrants disaggregated by ethnicity.

COUNTY	Total Population	Temporary migrants	% temporary migrants	Long term migrants	% long term migrants	% Roma population
SUCEAVA	634810	25067	3,95	49160	7,74	1,92
NEAMT	470766	14290	3,04	52919	11,24	1,36
VRANCEA	340310	12819	3,77	23657	6,95	3,52
BACAU	616168	18682	3,03	57340	9,31	2,48
BISTRITA-NASAUD	286225	7640	2,67	22087	7,72	4,17
SATU MARE	344360	17276	5,02	12746	3,70	5,05
TULCEA	213083	5055	2,37	14081	6,61	1,61
IASI	772348	21435	2,78	34938	4,52	1,46
GALATI	536167	11630	2,17	32586	6,08	3,17
MARAMURES	478659	29841	6,23	13551	2,83	2,55
BOTOSANI	412626	14082	3,41	13095	3,17	1,01
SALAJ	224384	5005	2,23	8344	3,72	6,69
BRASOV	549217	9179	1,67	26472	4,82	3,37
VASLUI	395499	5724	1,45	20195	5,11	1,50
SIBIU	397322	5951	1,50	15093	3,80	4,52
ALBA	342376	4408	1,29	16989	4,96	4,17
COVASNA	210177	5448	2,59	5377	2,56	3,93
CARAS-SEVERIN	295579	7607	2,57	7390	2,50	2,46
DAMBOVITA	518745	22954	4,42	6328	1,22	5,27
VALCEA	371714	4747	1,28	17914	4,82	1,87
HUNEDOARA	418565	5510	1,32	15215	3,64	1,79
ARAD	430629	6854	1,59	11549	2,68	3,83
MEHEDINTI	265390	4091	1,54	7352	2,77	4,11
BRAILA	321212	3080	0,96	15561	4,84	2,66
TIMIS	683540	9337	1,37	19441	2,84	2,12
DOLJ	660544	11811	1,79	15175	2,30	4,52
CONSTANTA	684082	9765	1,43	19042	2,78	1,25
MURES	550846	12120	2,20	11764	2,14	8,52
BIHOR	575398	8903	1,55	13292	2,31	6,02
CLUJ	691106	8267	1,20	23808	3,44	3,26
GORJ	341594	4152	1,22	11284	3,30	1,96
HARGHITA	310867	7171	2,31	3445	1,11	1,71
PRAHOVA	762886	7079	0,93	23112	3,03	2,33
OLT	436400	6461	1,48	8268	1,89	2,18
TELEORMAN	380123	4755	1,25	8876	2,34	2,16
BUZAU	451069	5787	1,28	10034	2,22	4,52
ARGES	612431	5794	0,95	16172	2,64	2,69
IALOMITA	274148	2813	1,03	6158	2,25	5,21
CALARASI	306691	3178	1,04	5068	1,65	7,48
GIURGIU	281422	1252	0,44	4192	1,49	5,41

Source: Romanian National Census 2011, own calculations.

Figure 2. Ranking of counties according to temporary /long-term migrants

Using these categories – and taking into consideration our **previous research experiences**, as well as our **contacts** with different representatives of the Roma communities or/and local authorities we completed the initial list with three additional

counties: Sălaj, Braşov, and Covasna. Choosing these counties will balance and diversify the picture we can obtain by this research: Braşov county is the most developed county with low level of poverty risk. Covasna county is developed at the medium level with a medium level of poverty risk, and Sălaj county is the least developed with high poverty risk.

Another dimension by which these counties represent differences is the level of trust in institutions and ethnic tolerance (Dumitru Sandu 2002, 77-92). Thus, Ialomita and Dolj counties are characterized by institutional conformism which can be described with a very high level of trust in all types of institutions and ethnic intolerance above the average. Brasov is characterized by institutional criticism, lack of trust in institutions and police forces. Bihor and Cluj is in the area of generalized opening, based on tolerance, trust and rich social capital. Salaj and Covasna have high values of specificity, meaning that they do not enter any above mentioned categories, their behavior is different.

We checked the available data from the National Census regarding destination countries for migrants. Table 3. summarises the tendencies showing the destination for all Romanian migrants coming from these counties. We can conclude that there is a significant overlap between the general tendency identified by statistical methods and the identified migrant communities by direct observation of the MigRom partners.

It should be noted that the presence and the proportion of Hungarian ethnic population living in a county influences (indirectly) the direction of migration. For example, we can see that in Covasna county most of the migrants choose Hungary as destination. Here the percentage of Hungarians is 71,59%. In Bihor and Sălaj county live between 22 and 24% Hungarians and here the geographical proximity of Hungary also influences the choice of the destination. Cluj also have a significant (14,99%) Hungarian population. Unfortunately at this point we do not have access to more detailed data on target countries by locality level or by ethnicity.

County of origin in Romania	1 st highest number of migrants	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th
BIHOR	ITALY	SPAIN	FRANCE	HUNGARY	GERMANY
BRAȘOV	ITALY	GERMANY	SPAIN	GREAT BRITAIN	USA
CLUJ	SPAIN	ITALY	GERMANY	GREAT BRITAIN	HUNGARY
COVASNA	HUNGARY	ITALY	GERMANY	GREAT BRITAIN	SPAIN
DOLJ	ITALY	SPAIN	GREECE	FRANCE	GREAT BRITAIN
IALOMIȚA	ITALY	SPAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	GREAT BRITAIN
SĂLAJ	ITALY	SPAIN	HUNGARY	GERMANY	FRANCE

Source: Romanian National Census 2011.

Figure 3. Destination countries for the Romanian migrants from specific counties

I.1. CLUJ COUNTY – BANIOD⁴

General profile of the community

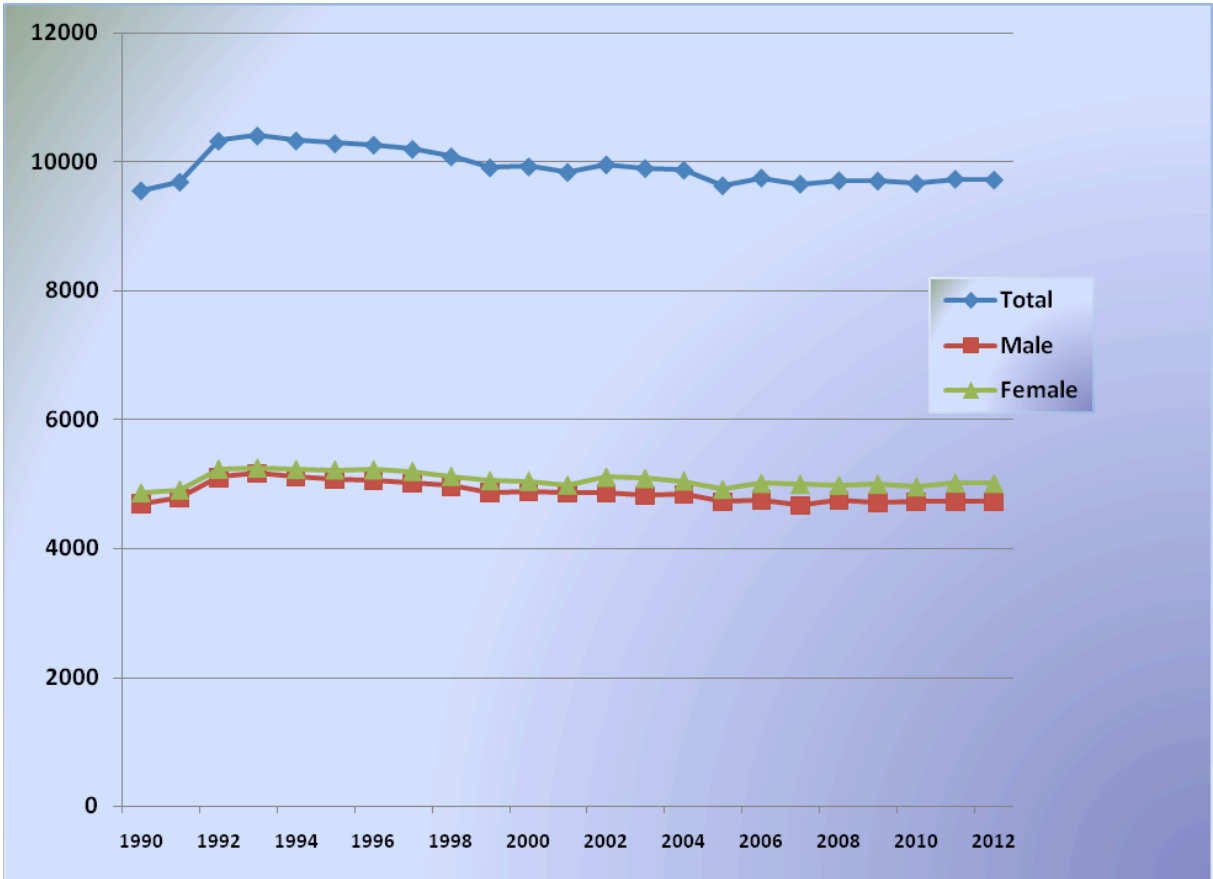
Baniod is a medium sized city in Cluj county, close to the border with Sălaj county, situated on the main European road E60, being a transit town for the heavy international traffic and person transport. It is situated on the major railway line, which both facilitates easy access towards the western parts and central parts of Romania.

According to the latest National Census in 2011 the total population is 9346, out of which 56,52% is Romanian, 27,80% is Hungarian and 11,31% of the total population is Roma based on the auto-identification used in the census questionnaire. If we take a closer look, we might see that these percentages might change, a considerable high number of Roma declare themselves as Hungarians (or Romanians) during the Census or in other formal or semi-formal social situations. Even if it might be the case, the percentage of the auto-identified Roma is relatively high compared to other similar towns in Romania.

Although after the first superficial discussions it seems that inhabitants generally consider the ethnic relations peaceful, and never mention an old conflict recorded by human rights organisations. In the early '90s aprox. 100 persons attacked a

⁴ All the names of the localities are pseudonyms at this point. The names have been changed in order to ensure anonymity and protect the participants in the research.

group of Roma in the centre of the town (after 5 Roma men entered a restaurant where they were not served but chased out). Several Roma needed medical treatment as a consequence of the conflict. The 4 police officers present at this event did not intervene. The cases were not filed as the participants reconciled.⁵ Another Helsinki Watch Report describes how police often organized unannounced visits at Roma families. They were not allowed to enter restaurants in the town.⁶ In October same year another incident took place - houses of the Roma living on the outskirts of the town were burnt down by an angry mob. Many of the families decided to migrate to Ireland and asked for asylum.

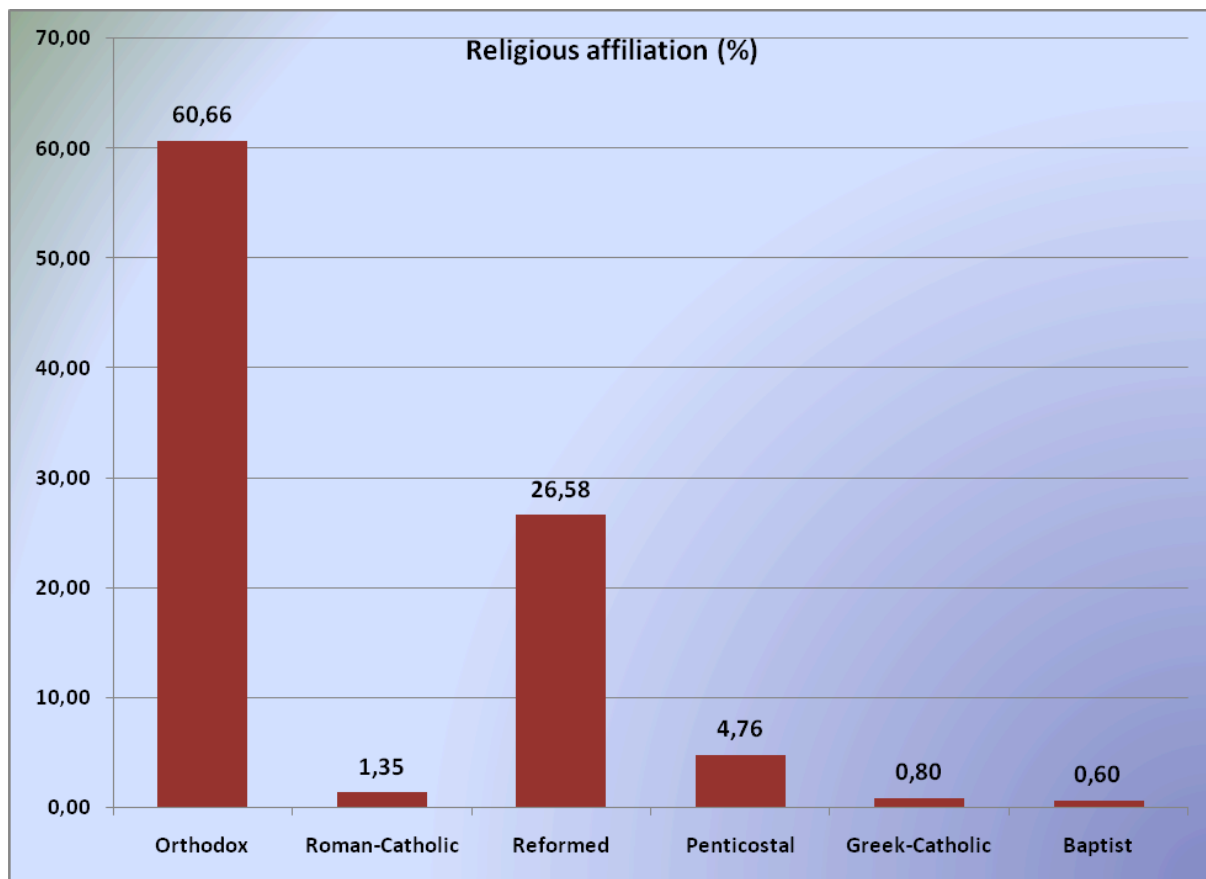


Source: National Institute of Statistics

Figure 4. Baniod – The evolution of total population in time

⁵ Romania, Lynch Law – Violence against Roma In Romania, Human Rights Watch, Helsinki, pg. 13, November 1994, vol. 6, no. 17

⁶ Destroying Ethnic Identity. The Persecution of the Gypsies in Romania, August 1991, A Helsinki Watch Report, pg. 30



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 5. Baniod – Religious affiliation

The 2011 National Census was the first that aimed to register the number of persons who lives or work temporarily abroad. Two questions were introduced in order to register these persons. The first one was for the persons from the household who live in a foreign country for more than a year. The second one focused on the persons who are temporarily absent, but no longer than 12 months. Thus, according to the Census approx. 6,08% of the population is engaged in mostly temporary (short-term or long-term) migration (533 persons).

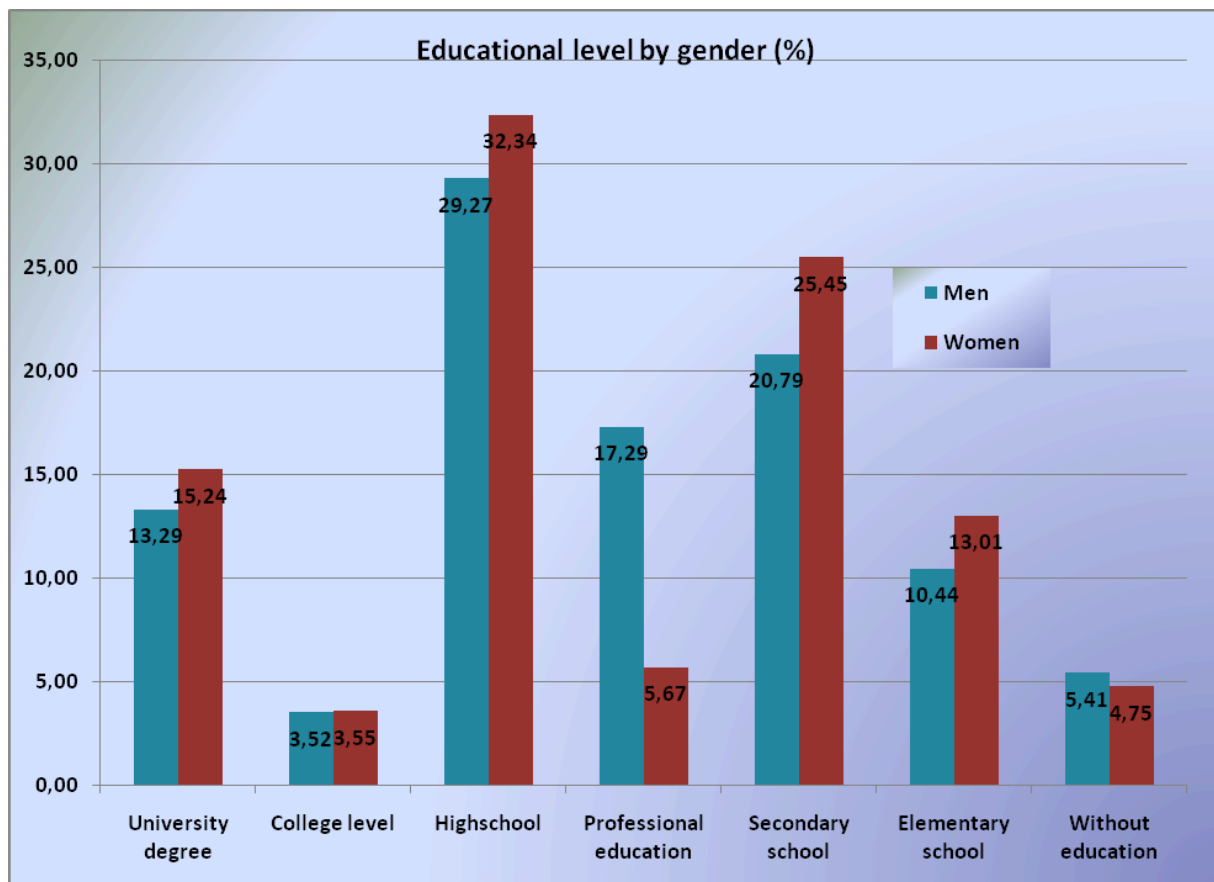
Access to housing

The local Roma expert's estimate is that there are approx. 1200 Roma in Baniod and another 3-400 "Hungarian Roma" who rarely declare themselves as Roma, and live in the mixed residential area of the city. There are aprox. 300 persons who regularly travel abroad those are identified as the owners of the "palaces". The rest of the Roma

population lives in two areas of the outskirts of Baniod: the “Old Hill” (near the garbage dump, with few “palaces”) and the “Railway”. This area is a mixed neighbourhood and recently has been constructed a new state block with social flats for poor Roma families. The Railway area has the basic infrastructure (running water, electricity). There is no centralized heating system in Baniod (only for the social block of flats), thus the old block of flats display the signs of the interrupted and reversed urbanization programme of the communist period. In the city centre inhabitants use wood for heating, keeping piles of wood next to the staircases and conferring the space a mixture of urban and rural appearance.

Access to education

There are all levels of educational institutions in Baniod (less university level, but Cluj is very close to the locality offering easy access for students). The educational level of the total population does not differ much of the national average.



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 6. Baniod – educational level by gender

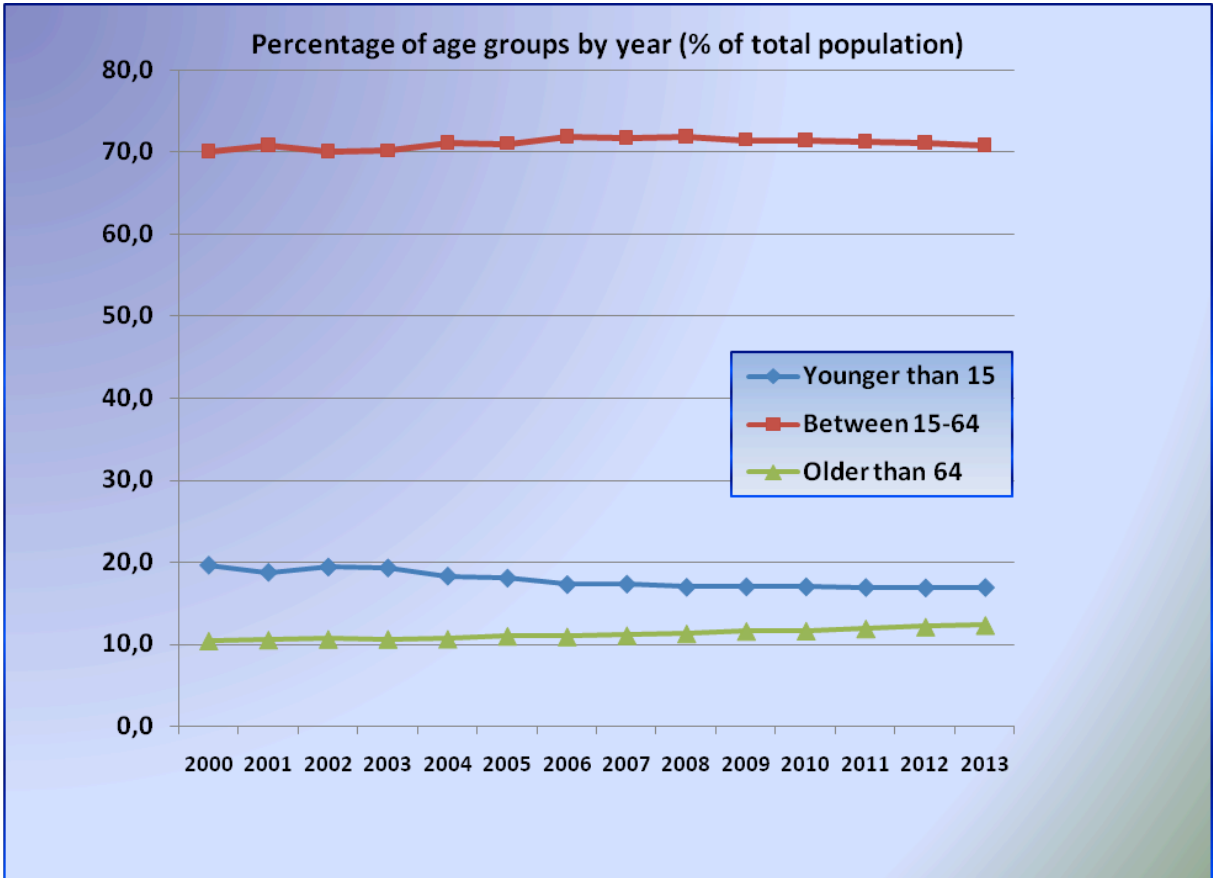
There is an elementary school in the neighbourhood of Old Hill, which recently was at the risk of being shut down because of the poor hygienic conditions (without running water and toilets), but with the help of a German organization finally it was made functional. According to the expert at this moment there are approx. 35 children enrolled in this school. Older children are taken by a school bus to the general school (5-8 grades) in the city centre. There is a Roma school mediator, who is also involved at this moment in a project run by a Christian Organisation, the Diakonia Foundation in partnership with the local Mayor's Office and schools. This programme aims at decreasing the drop-out rate of the Roma children by organizing after-school programs for them.

Generally the Roma children graduate the 8th grade and then the drop-out rate grows suddenly (after age of 14). The school tries different techniques to diminish as much as possible the problem of absenteeism and the drop-out rates. They organise for

example: weekly contact with Roma parents, if it is possible, collaboration with the mayor's office (the Roma expert) and even ask the help of the local Police.

Employment

The population of Baniod is slowly decreasing (similarly to the whole region), but not because of the changing migratory balance, only a limited number of people leave this area, but there is an accentuated ageing process and negative natural growth index.



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

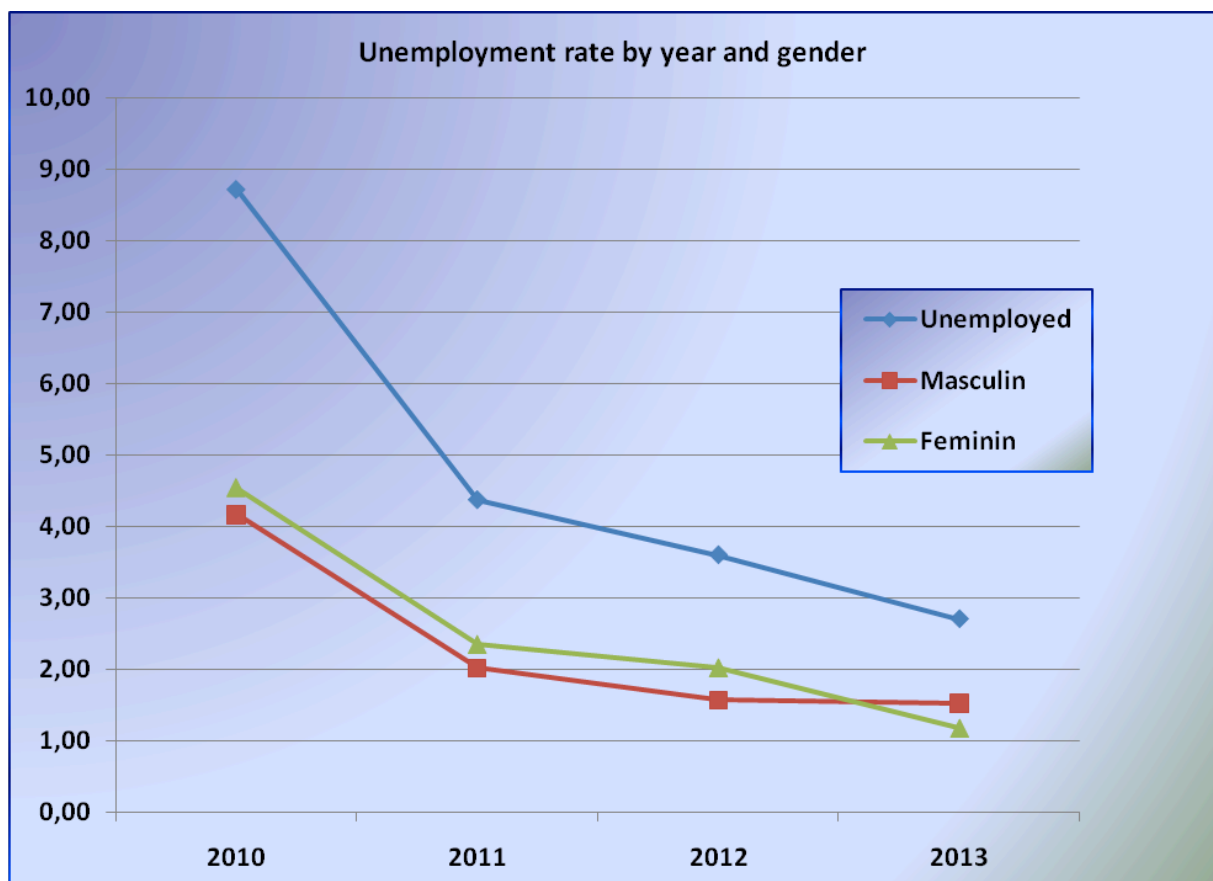
Figure 7. Baniod – Percentage of age groups by year

In Baniod the percentage of population in economically active age seems to be a stable (though with a weak tendency to decrease), while there is also a slight decrease in the share of children (under age 14) and a slight increase of the old (pension-aged) persons during the last 13 years.

The region is not an economically developed area – in fact it is the least developed part of Cluj county at the feet of the mountains. The main productive activities consist of subsistence agricultural work, and the economic sector best

represented is the processing industrial, and the handicrafts. There are also a rather high number of touristic and wood processing enterprises in this sector. The relative closeness to the municipality offers resources and other advantages for the inhabitants.

In Baniod the rate of enterprises per 1000 inhabitants is among the highest in Cluj county - is 40 enterprises per 1000 inhabitants, as compared to Cluj (61), A town (105) and B town (41).

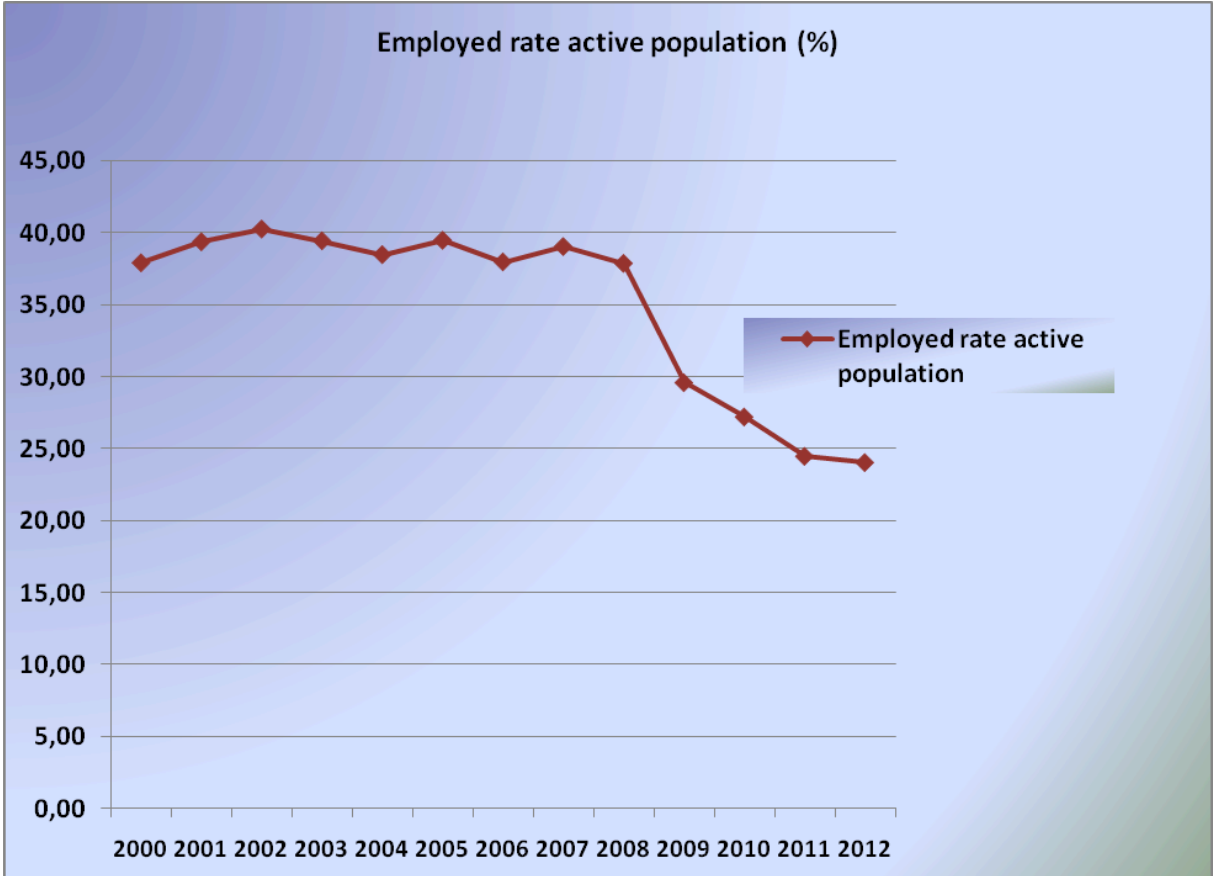


Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 8. Baniod – Unemployment rate by year and gender

According to the data of NSI, while the number of inhabitants did not change significantly over the last few years, there was a huge decrease in the rate of registered unemployed persons. While in 2010 the rate of unemployment was over 8% among the active age population, this decreased by 2011 to 4% and the decreasing tendency is still maintained, though on a slower paste. We do not have evidence which could explain the causes of this sudden decrease of the unemployment. There might be several explanations – among which growing temporary migration can be one or the growing

presence in the informal employment – but we need to confirm our hypotheses during the future discussions with locals. The following figure might confirm our hypothesis, because we can see that beginning with 2008 the percentage of employed (thus registered) active persons decreased and still decreasing since then (while the number of total population and active age population is a stable one).



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 9. Baniod – Employed rate active population

Baniod used to be a smaller industrial centre, but after 89 almost all factories were shut down. At this moment only one furniture factory functions, and recently a dairy-factory has been moved to the city of Cluj. Most of the Roma are not employed, majority of them (from the Railway area) rely on social benefits and child-allowances, plus on other types of irregular incomes (scrap metal, constructions, daily labourers).

Public debates

Even if, based on the statistical evidence Baniod and the region is not a centre for emigration, but it certainly received the most mass-media attention from Cluj county. Since 2011, both Romanian and British newspapers presented cases of Roma migrants from Baniod. According the local Roma expert, local Roma choose a wide range of countries to migrate – France, Italy, Spain, Poland, Great Britain, Ireland, where they are involved mostly in collecting scrap metal, and working in agriculture (orange picking). He said also that he saw on the TV news that begging was also an option for local Roma, but he is not in the position to confirm it.

Policy and outreach – Local authority and voluntary sector engagement

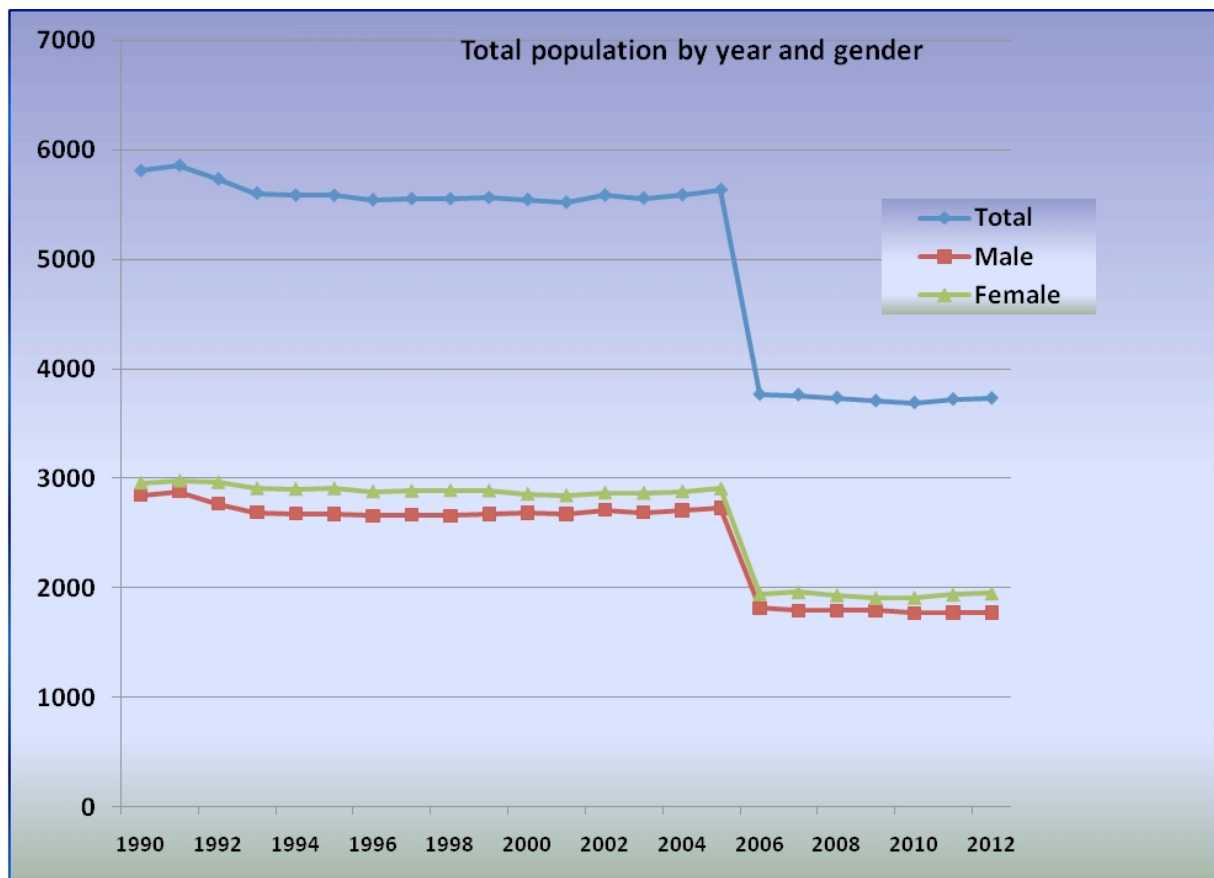
As we mentioned earlier, the school in the Old Hill community was supposed to be closed as it did not meet even the minimal conditions to function and to provide conditions for the Roma children. A German organization contributed financially to make it functional again. According to the Roma expert at the Mayor's office at this moment there are aprox. 35 children enrolled in this school. The local Reformed Church does not have any specific program for the inclusion of Roma and it seems that its representative considers that the cultural differences between Hungarians and the Roma are too big to offer the Roma a more significant role in the activities of the Church, thus they limit their collaboration to the basic services (baptisms, weddings, funerals).

II. 1. SĂLAJ COUNTY – Bighal

General profile of the community

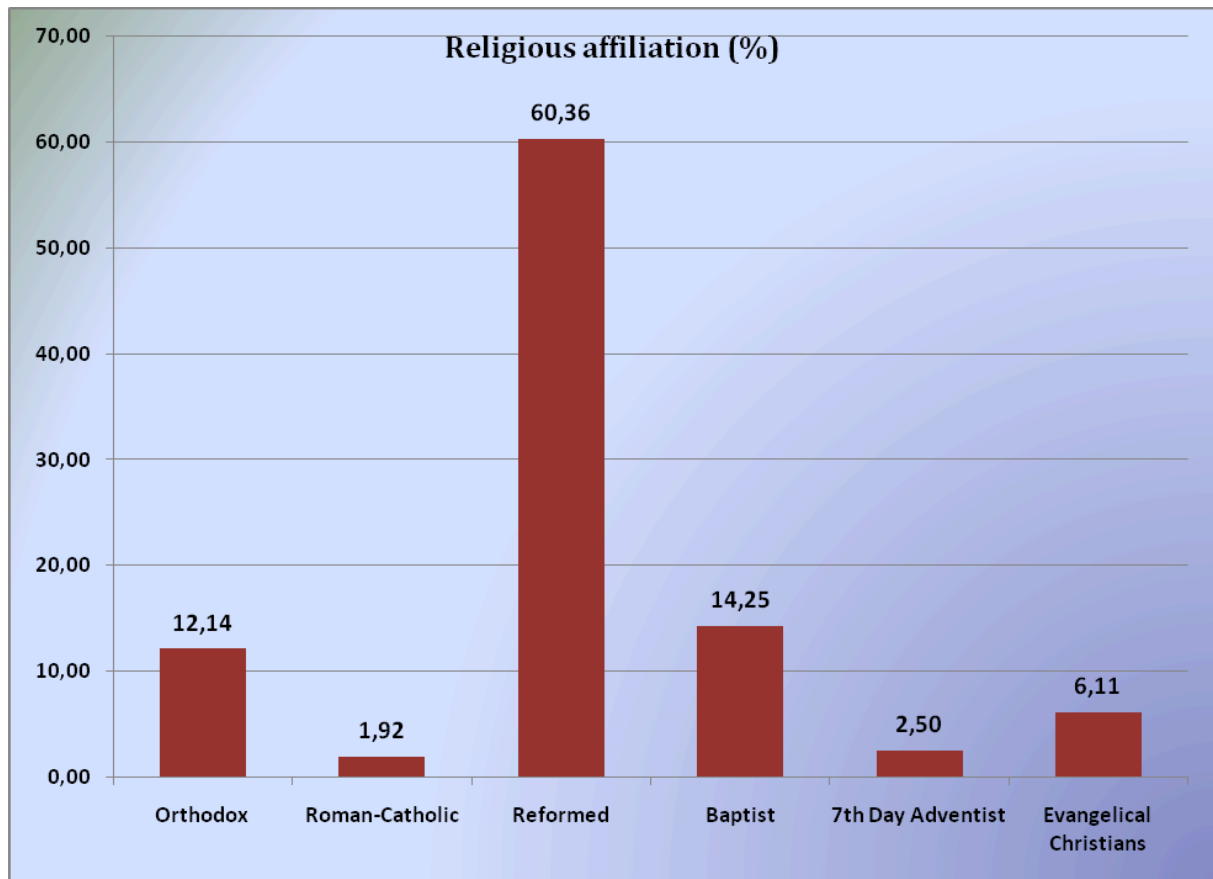
Bighal is a relatively big commune situated in Sălaj County in the North-Western region of Romania. According to the latest National Census in 2011 the total population is 3600, out of which 442 (12, 28%) is Romanian, 2494 (69,28%) is Hungarian and 596, representing 16,56% of the total population, is Roma based on the auto-identification of the persons. Our previous fieldwork experiences though shows that the number of Roma persons is more than 1000, so almost 500 persons were registered during the National Census as Romanians or Hungarians.

The population of Bighal - like in Baniod - is also stabile (the sudden decrease observed in 2005 is due to the fact that one of the villages of the administrative unit stepped out and now it is a separate administrative unit).



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 10. Bighal- Total population by year and gender



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 11. Bighal – Religious affiliation

There were no major inter-group conflicts in the locality.

In Sălaj county the percentage of population abroad - both short-term and long-term - is 5,97% (there is not a significant difference between urban and rural, in urban areas is 6,69%, rural is 5,50%). In Bighal the percentage of migrants is 3,25%. This percentage might be considered high, as the population only in the last 3-4 years started to consider temporary migration as an option for economic survival. There was a short period after the regime change in 89 when mostly Hungarians chose to move to Hungary or the USA, but only a few families. Local Roma – with few exceptions – used to work as daily workers on the farms and agricultural lands of the local Hungarians. Lately – parallel with the decrease of active age population in the locality – the local (and more and more old) population does not work anymore in agriculture (those who had only small plots of agricultural land, after the privatization), thus more and more Roma started to lose their income generating activity possibilities, without finding alternative

ways to find a regular job. While the Hungarian population of Bighal (and generally of the region – as documented in other community studies) was not involved in any kind of migration, the Romanians from neighbouring localities, smaller villages started to engage in temporary migration in Italy and Spain (mostly Italy). When coming back, they invested in houses and buildings in Bighal (which is a regional centre at the cross-roads of national roads). This way, new social connections emerged among the local population, and the last few years we can observe more and more Hungarian and Roma families who - through these new Romanian connections – find their way to jobs abroad (Italy, Spain, Germany). Another possible channel might be a presence of Italian construction workers on the construction of the highway close to Bighal (for a two years periodically Italian workers were present in the region).

Access to housing

The Roma of Bighal live at the margins of the locality in three more or less compact neighbourhoods. 'Brazilia' neighborhood is the largest, comprising about 80 buildings (almost all of them made of traditional clay brick). Brazilia was established in the '30s. It was initially separated from the rest of the village by the river Barcău. The interviews revealed that local authorities had decided to move the Roma neighbourhood to a certain distance from the village. Gradually, the neighbourhood was surrounded by the houses of the newcomer Hungarians and Romanians, but there is still a clear delimitation between the Roma's community and the others'.

The other neighbourhood is called Bakos. Bakos is a mixed neighbourhood from an ethnic point of view. Hungarian and Romanian poor as well live there. The last and smallest community includes apx. 30 persons. They live on the "Tóni telep" near the locality's railway station, but very far from the center of the village and from the other Roma communities. Last year, on the occasion of Bighal's 300 years of existence a public bath was opened in Brazilia neighbourhood.

The houses of the Roma in Bighal are built from unburned bricks, without foundation. They are plastered with clay and covered with tiles or chipboards. The main room of the house is the kitchen which frequently serves as hall as well. On the sides of the kitchen there is one room or – rarely two. The source of heating is the kitchen's stove. The centre of the house is clearly the kitchen, where the only table is situated.

This is the “public” part of the house where people from the community have unrestricted entrance. Nevertheless, in the less overcrowded families, and among those with a better status, one of the side rooms serves as “guest’ room. Usually this is the room where the most valuable furniture and objects are exposed. This is called the ‘clean room”.

During the last few years most of the Roma homes were connected to electricity, sewerage. Running water is still a problem, but for the whole locality.

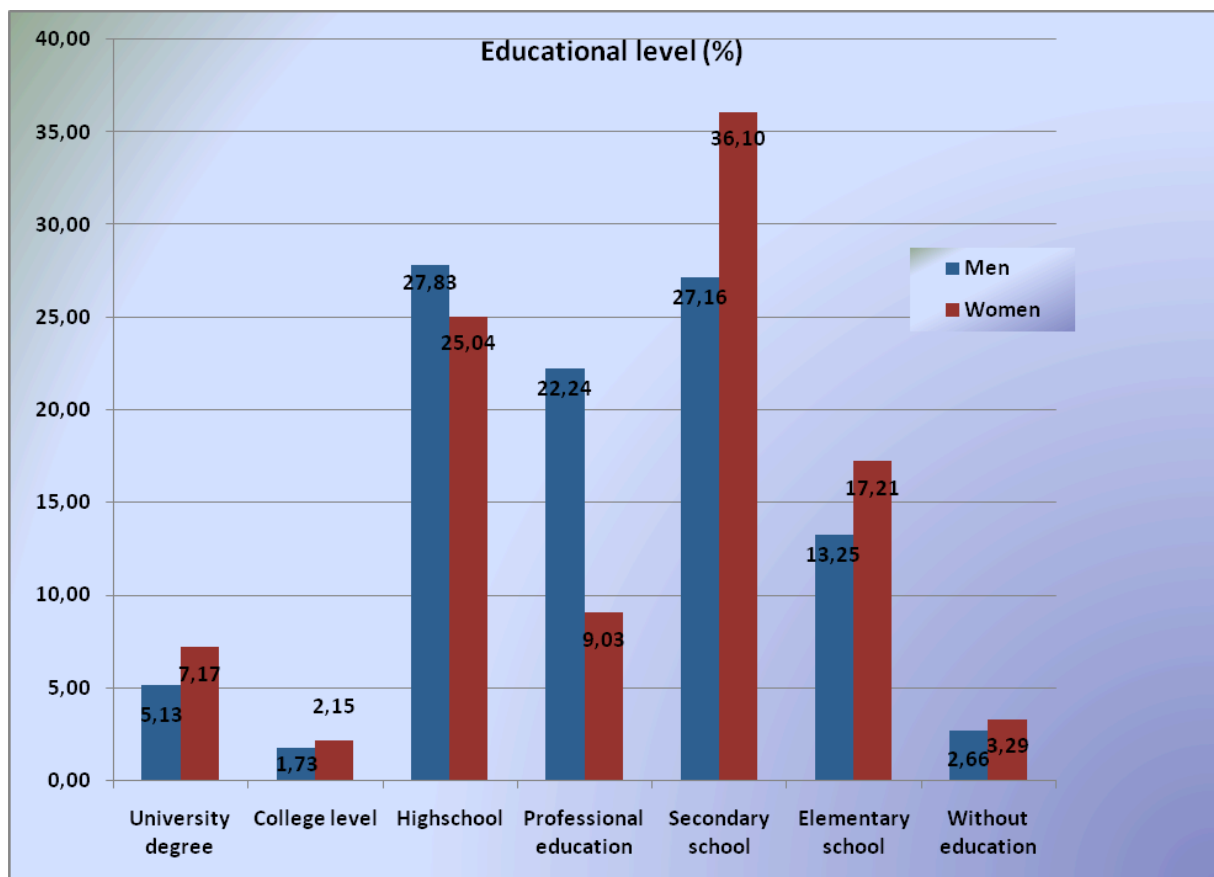
Access to healthcare

Most of the Roma persons have access to healthcare in Bighal. There are 5 family doctors in the locality, out of which only one seemed to avoid contact with the local Roma, but all the others have Roma patients. Health programs in the locality have a long history.

Between 1992 and 1995 the health situation of the Brazilia community was relieved to a certain extent with the help of the Médecins Sans Frontieres. After they left the village the poverty related diseases (tuberculosis) increased dramatically and became a concern for the entire village. The Reformed Church in alliance with a Dutch Foundation started a program in April 2000 which aimed at hospitalizing 11 children and persons over fifty paying for the drugs as well. Another health program was launched which proved to be the most longevive. The core issue of this program is reproduction and prenatal education for women. A high-school educated Roma woman from Bakos community with the help of a specialized nurse was doing this work in the community, but her activity has diversified over the time. The doctors in Bighal usually asked for her help to convince the Roma of Brazilia to regularly go for consultations. At this moment she is the health mediator in the locality. Among the most frequent diseases those related to poverty tend to predominate. Many people are registered with chronic diseases (hart disorders, asthma, chronic hepatitis, chronic bronchitis, rheumatism, and ulcer). Alcoholism seems to be one of the important causes for the increased rates of these diseases. Children suffer mainly of dystrophy, chronic anemia, digestion illness, chronic bronchitis.

Access to education

Bighal has one unit state pre-school, one elementary school, one secondary school and one professional high-school. All buildings are situated in the centre of the locality, practically it is close from every point of the village, less the professional high-school which is 3 km far from the locality. The closest theoretical high school is in a small town which is about 10 km far from Bighal. All four institutions are mixed from ethnic point of view. In every institution there are separate classes for the ethnic Hungarians and Romanians. Roma children are enrolled either in the Hungarian classes either in the Romanian. Few years ago in one of the social houses built in Brazilia neighborhood a pre-school programme was started for the local Roma children (by an NGO) parallel with the state programme (for three years).

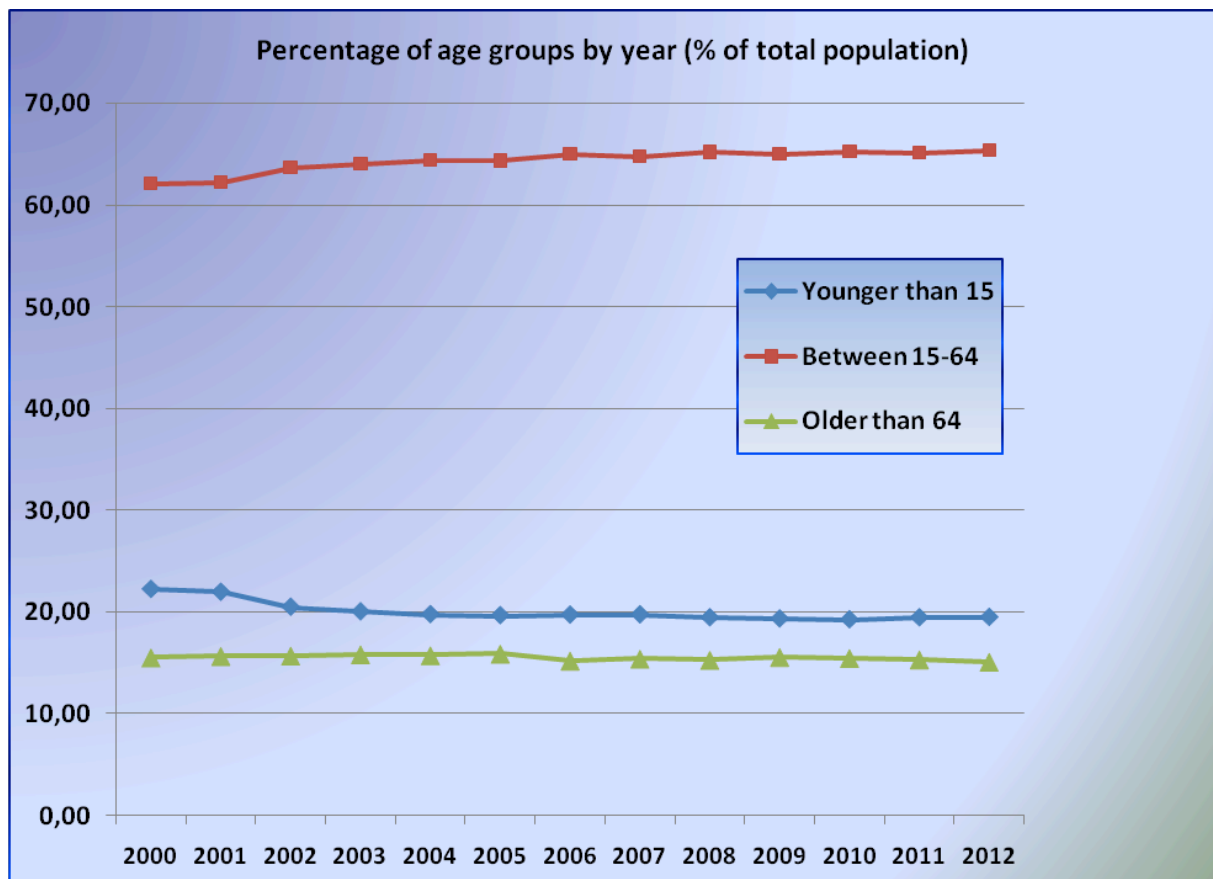


Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 12. Bighal – Educational level

Employment

The Roma of Bighal used to be, as in many other places in Transylvania, serfs of the local aristocrat. Here they were employed by baron Bánffy as brick-makers and as stable men at his horses. Some of them were employed as land-workers on his domain as well. During socialism they used to work in agriculture, and after the privatization of the farms the majority of the Roma remained as daily-workers on the properties of the local Hungarians. Only a few of them have some kind of more or less regular job in the surrounding factories.



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 13. Bighal – Percentage of age groups by year

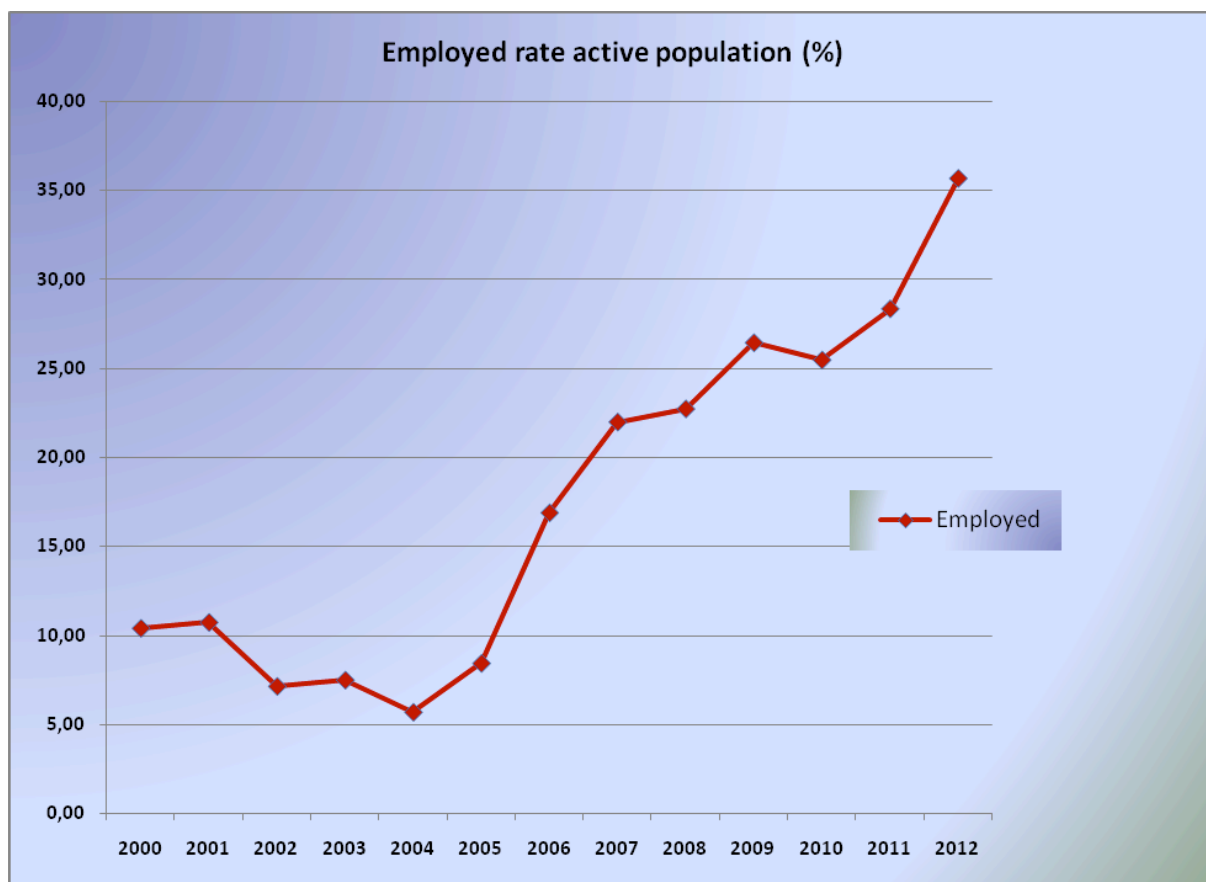
The percentage of active age population is about 65% (less than in Baniod), but hardly a third of them is registered as employed. Even in this case this percentatge can be considered as a significant improvement during the last few years.



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 14. Bighal – Unemployment rate by year and gender

The unemployment rate among women did not change during the last few years, compared to the men’s unemployment, where after a decrease between 2011 and 2012 we can observe again an increasing. This period overlaps with the presence of several construction entrepreneurs in the region during the construction of a highway (since then the construction site was closed and work suspended because of the lack of financing the construction of the Northern highway).



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 15. Bighal – Employed rate active population

In Bighal the rate of enterprises per 1000 inhabitants is 22, among the highest in the rural areas of Salaj county, thus Bighal is situated on the third place among the rural localities. A total of 119 small and medium size enterprises were registered in 2011 (CCRIT-POSDRU – this number does not contain the individual registered entrepreneurs). Although the number of enterprises might seem high – as it is in fact – the job opportunities are low, as out of the 869 registered employed persons (INS – 2012) only 303 are employed at local enterprises (a high number of them though are individual entrepreneurs – 96 – with 0 or 1 employed persons). Even if we add to this number the employees of the local administration, health units and educational units, and all other state institutions, there is a relatively high number of persons who are engaged in „naveta” (internal migration) towards the nearest small and bigger towns.

Public debates

The Roma of Bighal are rarely mentioned in the mass-media articles or on-line media. If yes, than some projects implemented and results are mentioned, which are not necessarily directed towards the local Roma population.

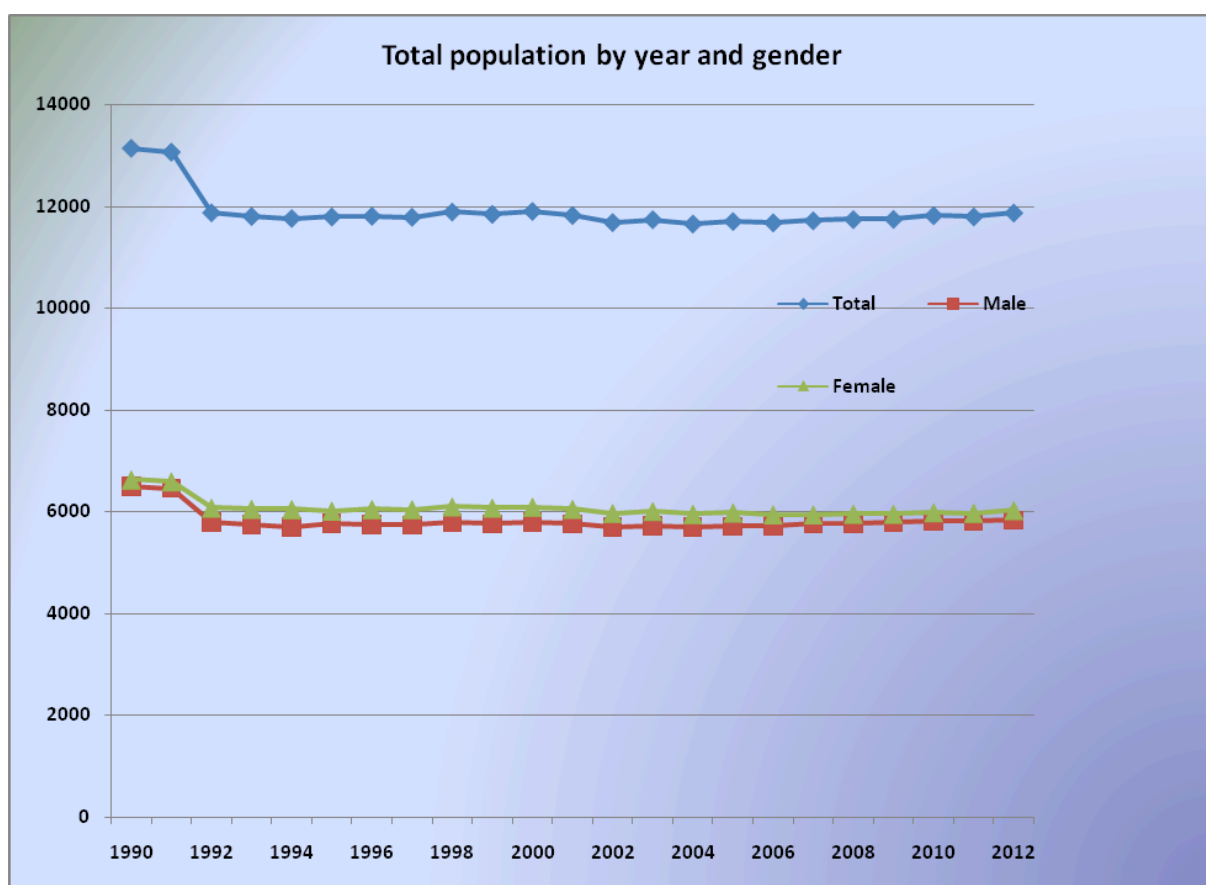
Policy and outreach – Local authority and voluntary sector engagement

There is a Roma councilor at the Mayor's Office, and they also employed a Roma woman as health mediator, who also serves as school mediator in the same time. Collaboration between the local Roma and the local authorities has a long history (compared to other localities). In 1996 a Roma NGO was set up and for several years a number of projects were implemented through this organization in collaboration with different Churches, the local authorities, national level organizations, schools, and so on. In the last several years the local administration was actively involved in the improvement of the infrastructure of the Roma neighborhoods, social houses were constructed, one of the social houses was used for educational activities, a public bath was built and opened last year.

III. BIHOR COUNTY – HIDENI

General profile of the community

According to the 2011 National Census out of the 11.526 inhabitants of Hideni, 74,54% is Hungarian, 15,20% is Roma and only 734 is Romanian. The social assistance office last year made a kind of census of the local population, and according to their registers aprox. 27% of the local population is Roma (out of 9-10% is identified as „Romanian Roma”).



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

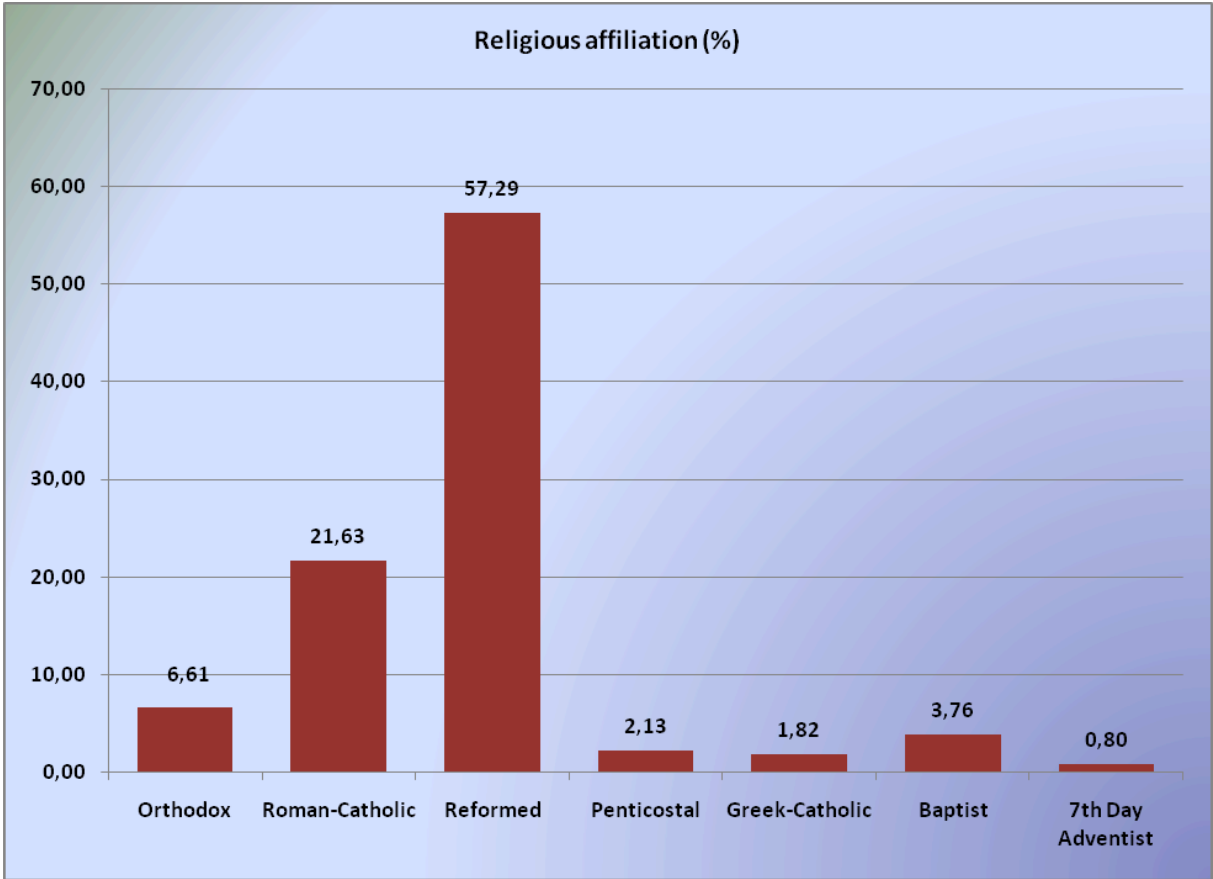
Figure 16. Hideni – Total population by year and gender

The size of the population had no significant changes during the last decades. At the beginning of the 90s we can observe a sudden decrease, but we still need to discover the causes of it (in other localities with significant Hungarian population, this was the

period when many families moved to Hungary, and this might be the case in Hideni as well).

Bihar county is not considered an area where the rate of migration abroad is high, though its proximity to Hungary might hide the real volume of temporary migrants. According to the Census aprox. 3,83% of the county's population is engaged in short- or long-term migration, in rural areas it is higher (4,03%). According to the official data in Hideni only 1,81% of the inhabitants in involved in migration, but it can easily happen, that the number is much higher. During our conversation with a local Roma expert, we had the feeling that seasonal work abroad is a common opportunity and an alternative way to generate plus income for the family.

There were no signs of conflicts between the Roma and other ethnic groups.



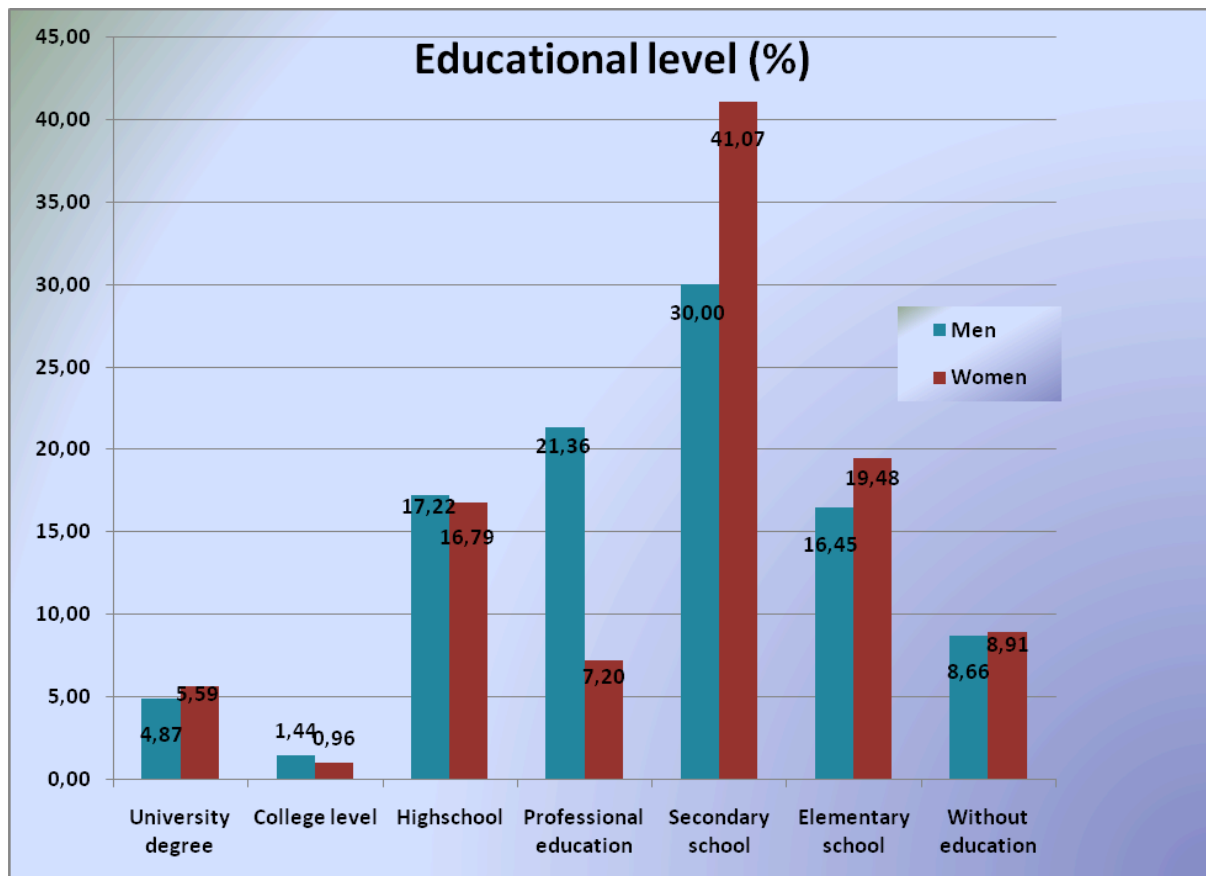
Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 17. Hideni – Religious affiliation

Access to health care

Almost every Roma family is ascribed to a family doctor (there are 4 or 5 in Hideni). There is no hospital in the town, though they try to re-open a center.

Access to education



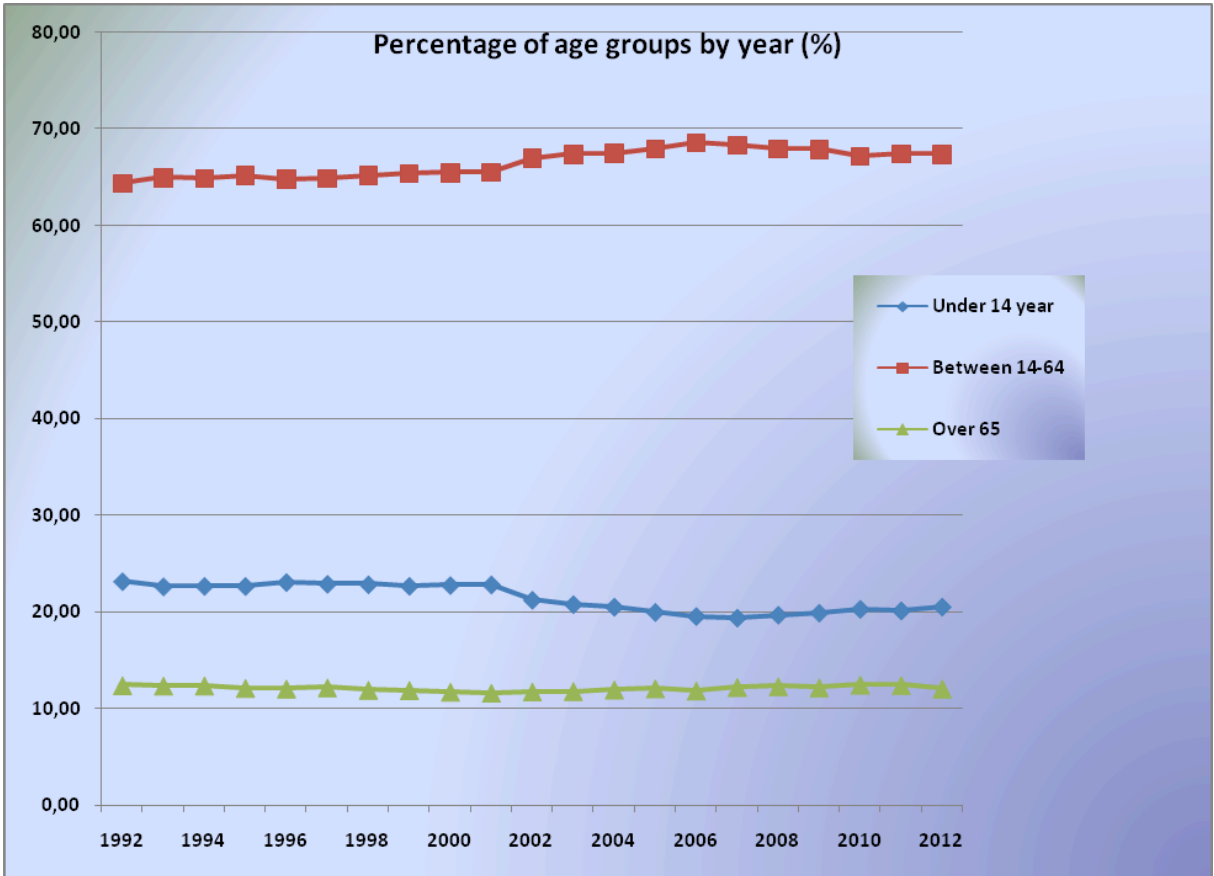
Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 18. Hideni – Educational level

According to the local Roma expert 85% of the local Roma has no education. But this year almost 300 Roma children were enrolled in the educational system, and slowly but they started to have even high school students as well (last school year 5 Roma children graduated the highschool), this year they have only three, but compared with the situation of education just a few years ago this is clearly considered as a better one.

Employment

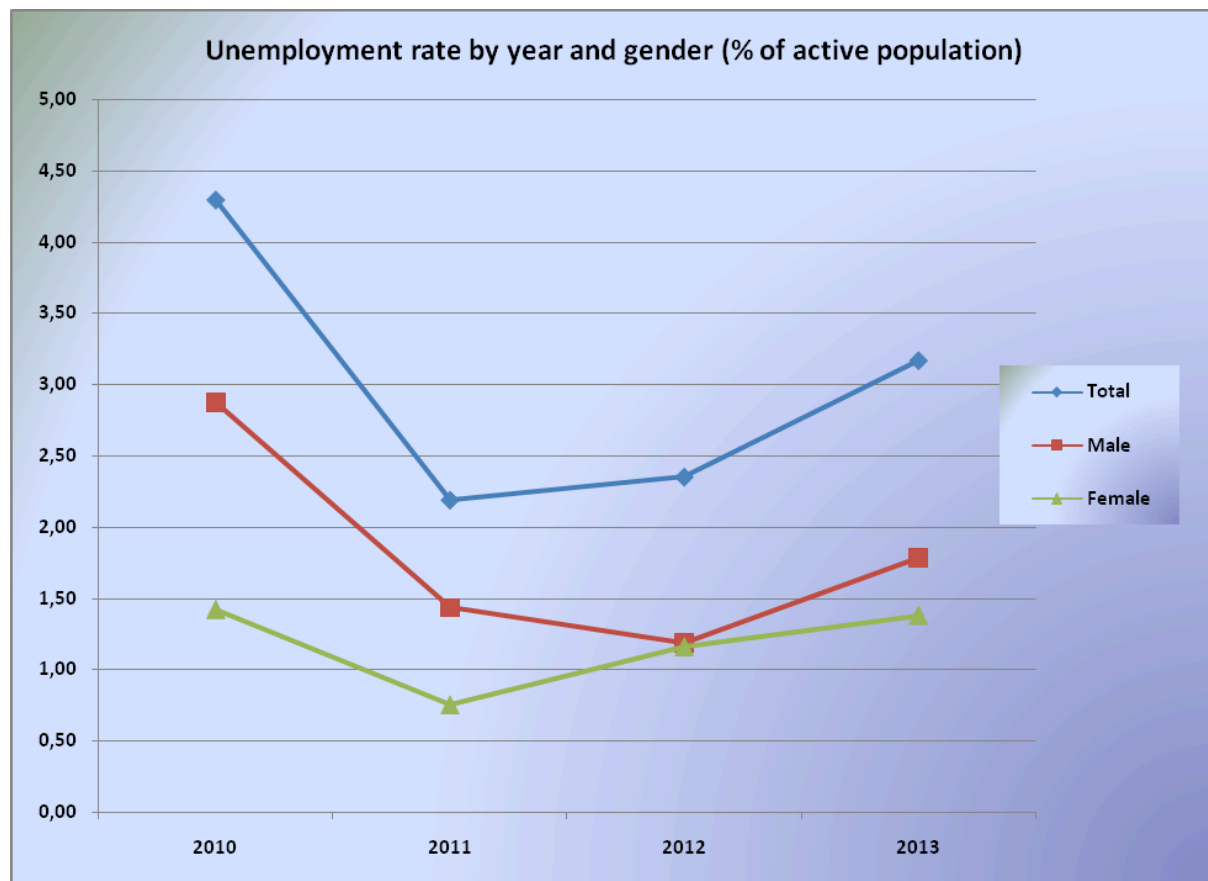
Recently, a shoe factory near Oradea was closed and aprox. 150 Hideni Roma lost their jobs, thus the number of those who applied for social benefits raised suddenly. Most of the Hideni Roma during the summer period works as agricultural workers on farms in Hungary, or Italy and Spain. Others found some opportunities in Austria or Germany in constructions or interior works. Few of them work in Oradea or near Oradea. But most of them rely on the needs of the local Hungarians who employ the Roma as daily workers on regular basis.



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 19. Hideni – Percentage of age groups by year

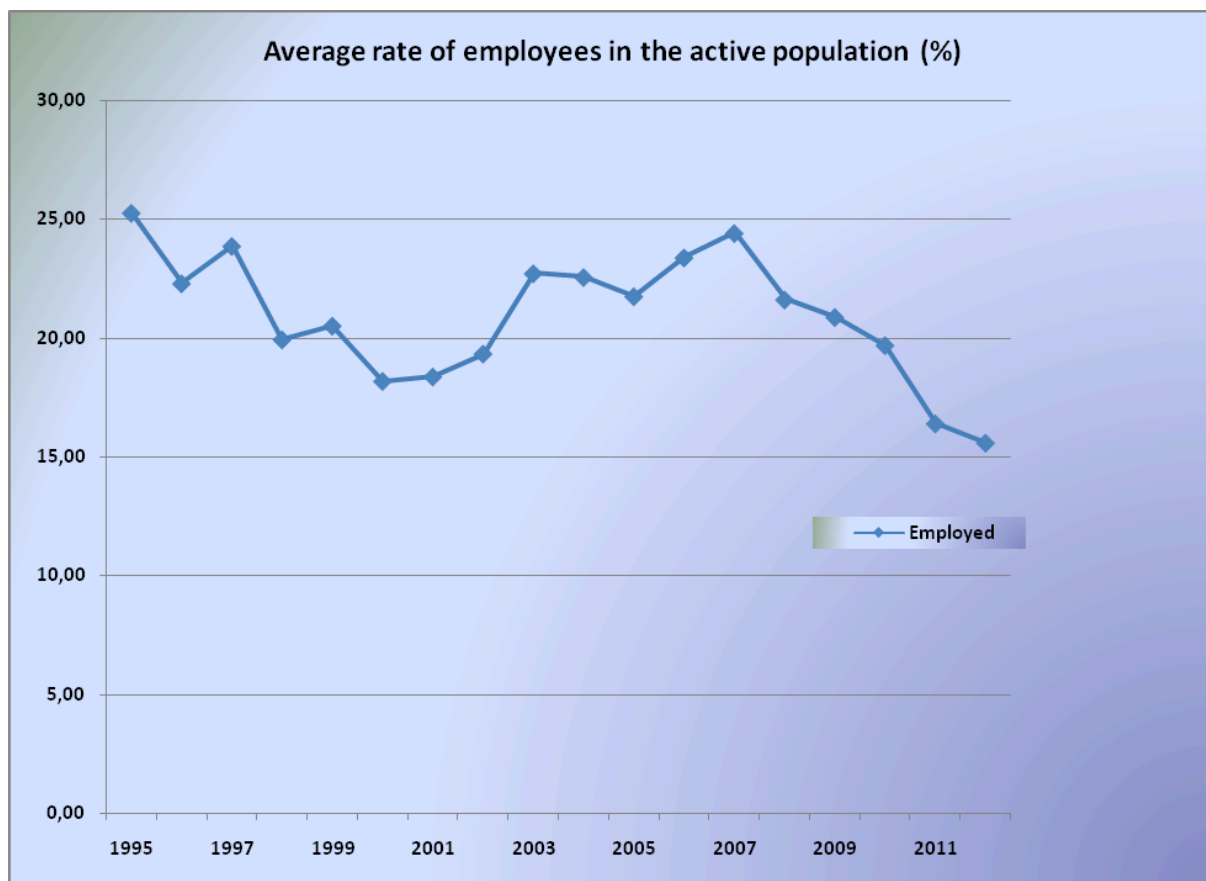
Hideni can be considered a locality with a young population, and there is a slow tendency that the percentage of children (under the age 14) is growing.



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 20. Hideni – Unemployment rate by year and gender

Between 2010 and 2011 the rate of registered unemployed has decreased suddenly, which was followed again by a slower increase. It is interesting to observe the differences between male and female unemployment (taking into consideration the high mobility of companies and enterprises – especially with foreign investment – it might happen that after 2011 one of such companies who relied on cheaper female workforce has moved out from the region, like it was mentioned the shoe factory, where many Roma persons were employed until last year.)



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 21. Hideni – Average rate of employees in the active population

The rate of employees (those who are employed with work contracts) shows a very hectic image of the local (or regional) economic activities or practices. It shows, that most of the population cannot count on a regular work contract and they mostly work on occasional contracts (services, agreements and so on).

Policy and outreach – local authority and voluntary sector engagement

Only in the last few years have been started some systemic programs with the aim to help out the Roma communities in their deep poverty. In collaboration with the local council now the neighborhoods are connected to the electricity (in some cases only the streets, but not the houses – this is a future project), and to the running water. Last year there were organized some „professionalization” programs (a Roma political Party and the local council), through which aprox. 33 Roma men received qualification in construction, and aprox. 53 women in services (as shop-clerks). This year they have an after-school programme.

IV. IALOMIȚA county –Benia and Gurai

General profile of the community

Background and origin

The county is characterized by a big concentration of Roma population, which might be attributed to several combined reasons. Some of the contemporary Roma are descendants of the *robi* owned by the former Monastery of the town. A big part of them were forcibly sedentarized at the outset of the communism in Romania when during the 50s a new administrative organization of the territory of Romania was accompanied by measures banning the movement of people outside the recently designed territorial division units. Last but not least, at the peak of the process of industrialization, there was a state - orchestrated movement of people, both ethnic Romanians and Roma, from less developed areas of the country to localities which, still of a rural nature at the end of the 19th c., were transformed into towns dotted with factories. Quite a several such towns which still bear the air of a rural milieu were erected in the county of Ialomita, among them Gurai, Fetești, Urziceni, Căzănești - all having a high percentage of Roma at present.

According to the 2011 National Census out of a total population of 258669, the county of Ialomita counts 14278 of ethnic Roma out of which 11.130 are Romany speakers. The same census records 1272 Roma out of the general population of 43061 for Benia. For Gurai, the figures show 1435 Roma, and even more Romani speakers, 1627, out of a total population of 10289.

As for the religious affiliation there are big differences between the two localities. First, the population of Benia is 92% Orthodox, the rest of population being distributed between several smaller Churches, among which the biggest in number is the 7th Day Adventist with 104 affiliated persons. On the other hand, in Gurai only 69,1% of the population is Orthodox, while 6,77% is Penticostal (aprox. 895 persons), followed by a number of smaller other Churches like Roman-Catholic, Muslims. But – again – these data can not be considered reliable, especially in Ialomita county, as there are no available data for more than 3000 persons in both localities (the reason for that is

the very strange and disputable new methodology of the National Census. In Gurai for example the first results of the National Census revealed aprox. 9500 inhabitants and this number was supplemented through different methodologies up to aprox. 13.000. Just for comparison, we would mention that in none of the Transylvanian localities selected for fieldwork this differences was as big in Ialomita county.)

Access to housing

In Benia locals associate Roma people with the borough of GARA, which lies at the periphery of the town, on the Southern shore of the river of Ialomita which has on its Northern shore the rest of the town. Popular history has it that there used to dwell exclusively Roma who were *robi* of the Monastery of Benia, in Gara. However, the neighbourhood is ethnically mixed at present, comprising both Roma and non-Roma and this ethnical make up, people attribute to the communist development of the neighbourhood infrastructure.

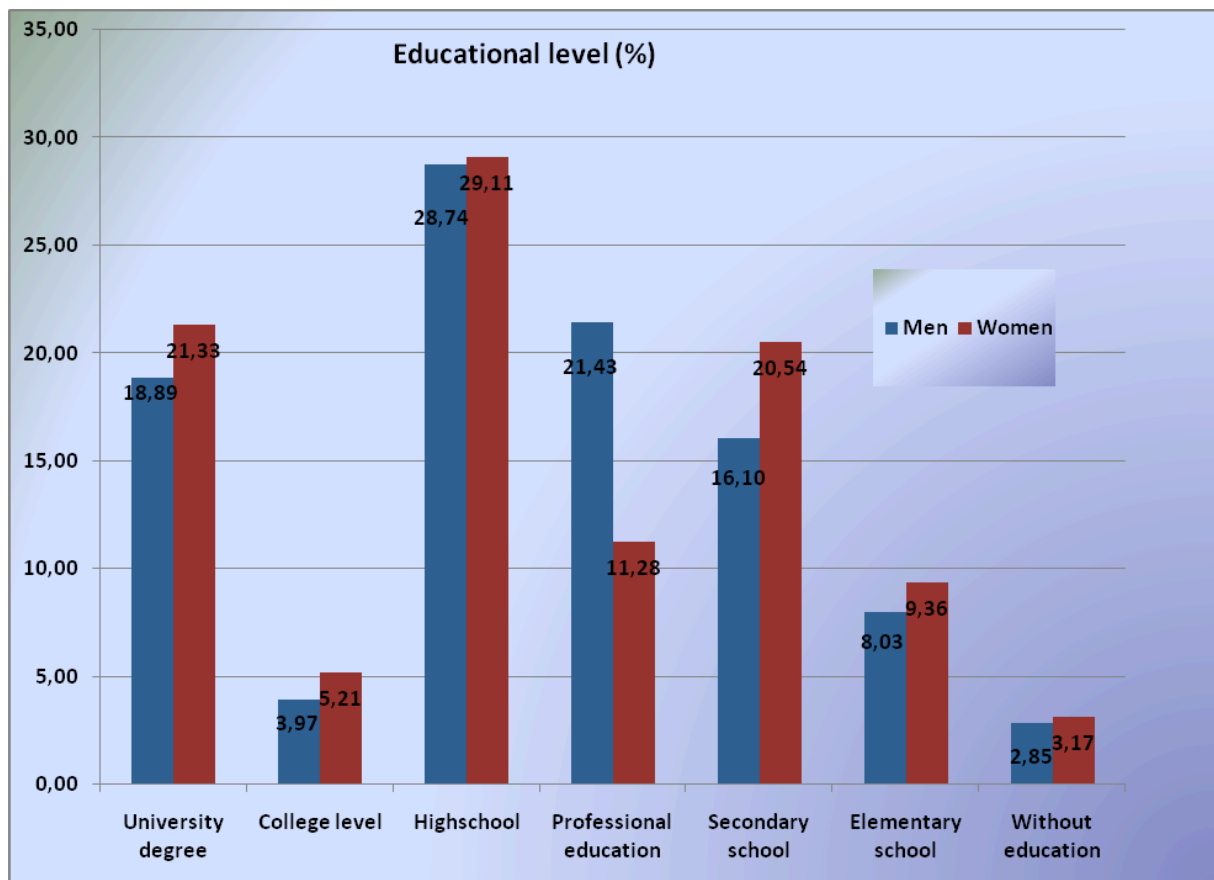
The Roma population of Gurai is an equally heterogeneous one, and its geographical distribution across the town is uneven as well. Generally speaking one can differentiate between 'traditional' Roma, usually hetero-identified on grounds of cultural contrast, the so-called *ursari*, and the so-called 'assimilated' Roma, *tigani vătrași*. These two kinds of populations differ not only in their cultural peculiarities, with the former being Romany speakers of the Vlach dialect and upholders of Romani specific dress, and the latter being Romanian speakers and undistinguishable by their Romanian neighbours on grounds of their outfit, but also in their economic status. The *tigani vătrași* live in deprivation and are clustered in the peripheral borough called Sat (the Village) whose denomination stands as a reminder of the lack of infrastructure in the settlement: the town paved road ends at its entrance, and canalization and gas facilities have not yet reached the place. The *Ursari*, former residents of the Strachina borough, situated at the West- end of the town, live at present scattered through the whole town, and especially on the environs of the town centre, where they built imposing mansions.

Access to healthcare

In Benia- 1 health mediator (*mediator sanitar*) – assisting 920 persons and in Gurai – there are 2 health mediators employed – assisting 1700 persons. They are all employed by the Prefectura Ialomita as part of the Biroul Judetean pentru Romi (The County Roma Office).

Access to education

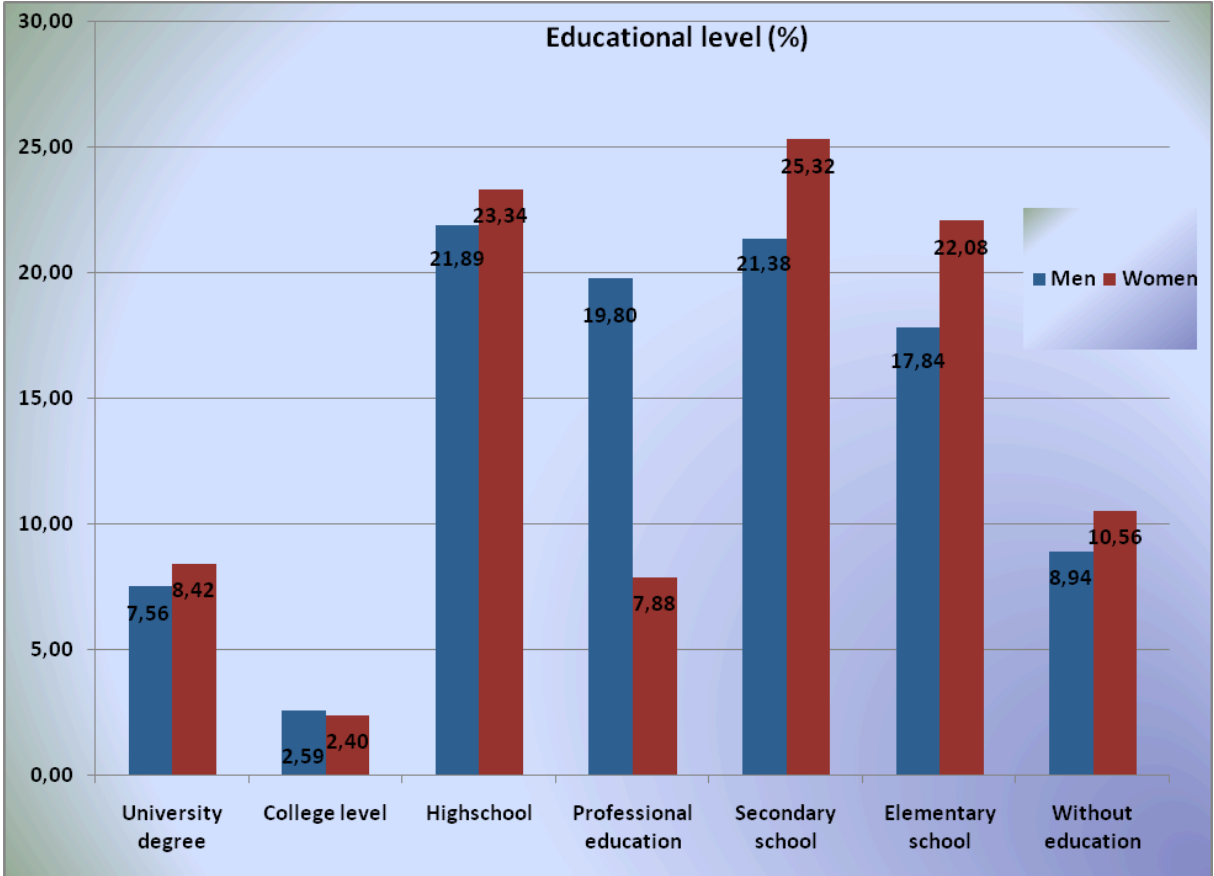
There is a primary school which caters for the Roma and Romanians in the neighborhood, in Bora, Benia. Secondary schools are located in the town, with the closest being within 3km distance from the borough. Most of the Roma attend only primary school.



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 22. Benia – Educational level

There is a 8 grade school and a high school in Gurai. There is low attendance of Roma children. There was a primary school located in what used to be the Roma neighbourhood which was closed 3 years ago because of low attendance. It seems that intense migration of Roma ensued in Romany children dropping out school (there are no records as in relation to school attendance abroad).

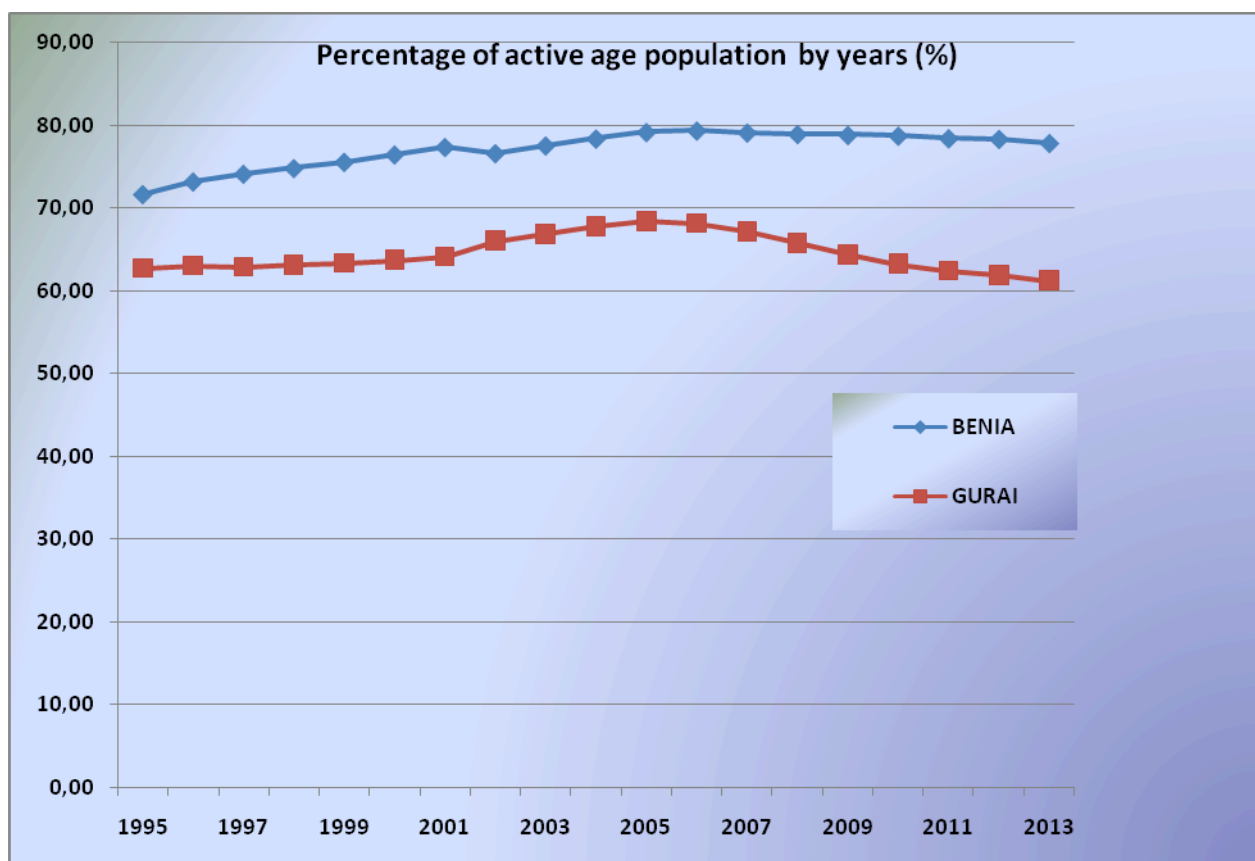


Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 23. Gurai- Educational level

Employment

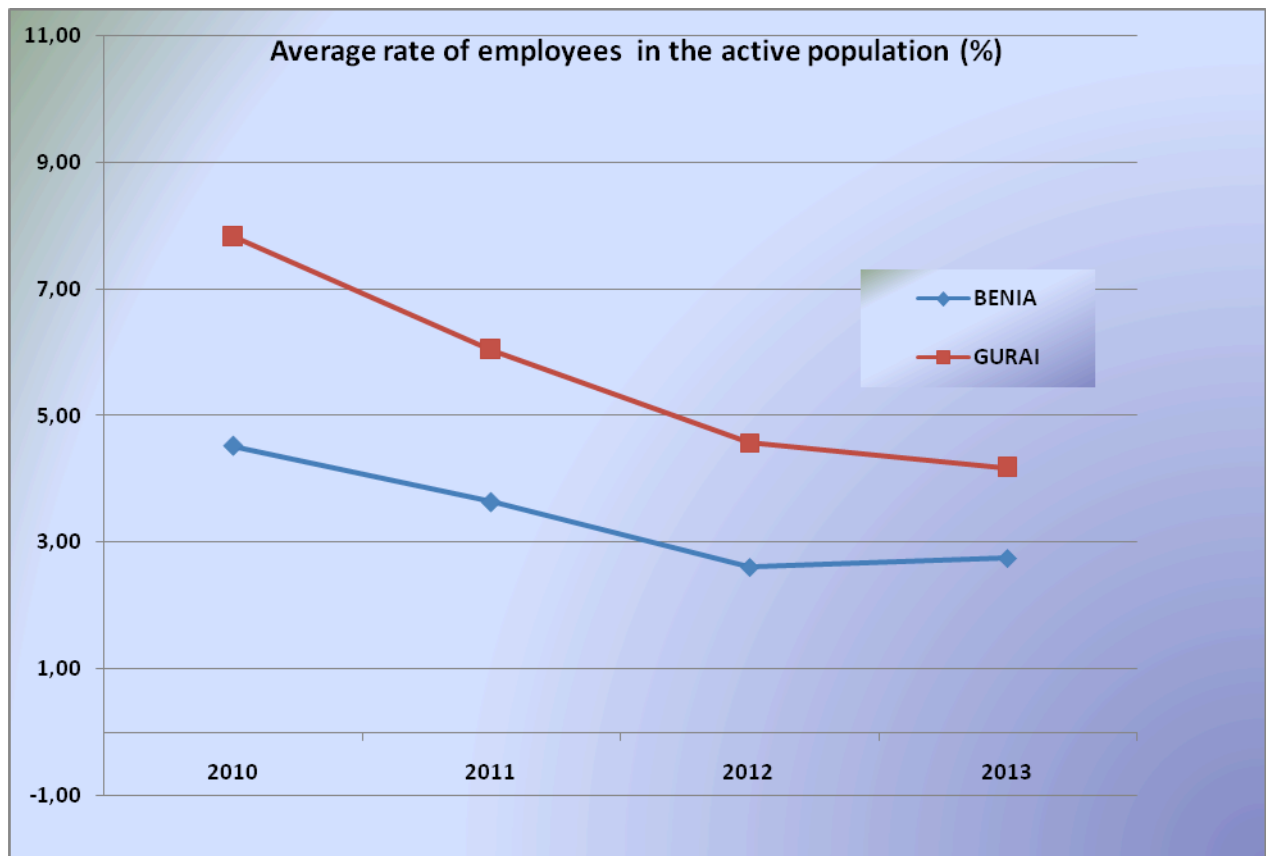
When we take a look on the percentage of the economically active age population, we can see that Benia seems a younger and more active locality, compared to Gurai, but both localities shows a quite dynamic tendency. Benia has a slowly growing active age population (this can be explained by internal migration as well as with natural demographic processes as well), while Gurai, besides being an „older” locality, it loses slowly its active age population (in 6 years almost 10%).



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 24. Percentage of active age population by year

What is really striking is that the average rate of employees in both localities is under 10%, which is very low (even if we not compare to the other localities, where the average rate of employees is between 30-50% of the active population). This might have several explanations, like persons being present mostly in the informal sector, or being engaged in temporary migration, or being self – employed or entrepreneurs. Further field visits probably will reveal more about the characteristics of the local job-market.



Source: National Institute of Statistics. Own calculations.

Figure 25. Average rate of employees in the active population

Among the Roma population self-employment (metal scrap dealing, commercialization of horses by men and of clothes by women) predominate.

Sequential/ Pendular migration

In the area where I am conducting research, in South East Romania, and I would probably not be wrong to expand this idea to the broader country, the migration of Roma is not of a homogenous nature. The form migration takes, namely the length of the stays abroad, the organization of the networks of migration and the activities practiced abroad, can be said, to be shaped, among others, by the degree of the “immersion” or “integration” (Olivera 2012) of the notional group of Roma in the local context. I include in the idiom of “integration” both economic aspects and broader social interactions. I encountered localities characterized by “mass migration”, where from the majority of Romany inhabitants are absent for most of the time, living their lives abroad. Yet, there

are places where migration is transitory and almost invisible, this meaning that only few persons leave the home locality now and then, and their migratory practices and routes are un-concerted. Thus far I have been gathering more data to illustrate the latter form of migration, and I shall use the case study of a family I came to know closer to discuss what I have termed sequential/ pendular migration.

Short description of *Spoitori*

The research was carried in a small post-industrial town with a high rate of employment. The people of my study are known as *spoitori* while they call themselves *Roma*, and are speakers of *spoitori* dialect. In their own language they call the Roma people whom they do not acknowledge belonging among themselves, *lăheri*, a word that they translate in Romanian, as *țigani*. *Spoitori* women wear skirts whose length varies with the age: unmarried girls and those recently married wear knee length jeans skirts, while those more advanced in age, wear ankle length velvet (on special occasions) or ordinary fabrics skirts. The latter also wear their heads covered with scarves, and almost all women, irrespective of age, wear their hair pulled into a tight bun. Unmarried girls sport their hair into a pony tail. *Spoitori* get married at about 14-15 years old., and although their parents negotiate the marital union, in the few cases I encountered, the choice of the spouses belonged to the young. I met young who felt for each other (or, as one woman put it, for each other's parents) and afterwards, they asked their respective parents to get them married.

In the town of my research, the great majority of *spoitori* live in a neighborhood adjacent to the town, alongside *țigani* and very few ethnic Romanians. The borough, an ex- village, was annexed to the town during communism, when some families, as a Romanian one I acquainted recollected for me its own story, were urged to leave the place and move more towards the heart of the town. Back then the borough was meant to undergo a process of town planning, including the development of infrastructure, which was nonetheless stunted by the fall of the communism. At present the borough, which has the appearance of the village, is crossed by a paved road and perpendicular on it, more unpaved back-streets. A primary school and a church cater for the borough. Secondary schools are located in the town, with the closest being within 3 km distance from the borough. Most of the *spoitori* attend only primary school.

Spoitori families live also outside this borough, only few scattered through the town in blocks of flats (of the 3 I have knowledge, two are nuclear families while one is extended), and most of them clustered on a peripheral road with houses, inhabited mainly by ethnic Romanians. In the discussions I had with *spoitori*, I sensed that the location of one's house is an important issue for one's life. This idea was confirmed by the questions I received on a regular basis, if the house I dwell in in the field, which had been uninhabited for couple of years before I moved in, was for sale. The house is located on the peripheral street I mentioned, and also my next neighbors on the right and left side respectively are ethnic Romanians, my more distant neighbors are *spoitori*.

When I have tried to get from *spoitori* explicit statements of what makes them different from other Roma, they mentioned the celebration of Hîdîrlezi, which their Romanian neighbors gloss as "the Gypsies' Easter" (*Paștele țiganilor*). The ritual is held on a day in the coming weeks after the Orthodox Easter, and there is not a consensus over such a day. In 2014 some families organized it on a Sunday the first week after Easter, while some others one week later. On that occasion lambs are killed as sacrifices for the health and well being of the children's of one's family, the cooked meat is primarily given as gift to participants and live *manele* music is played. *Spoitori* claim that they do not eat any lamb before they kill their own, and that they also avoid eating any vegetables that grow from the earth during the spring before the sacrifice of the lamb. The Hîdîrlezi I attended lasted from sunrise to sunset and was held by 5 related families, both through affinal and kinship ties. Members of these families attended the celebration held in each others' household, travelling from one to another, alongside the band of musicians. All the households are located in the adjacent borough to the town, mentioned earlier. One of the participant families lives in a flat in a block, and not a single time have I heard them complaining that one of the shortcomings of the living in a flat is that one cannot organize the ritual under discussion. Moreover, I heard the husband of the family complaining that the year before he could not eat lamb at all, given that he was abroad (in Manchester) at the time of the celebration. However, the current year they hold the ritual at the house of his parents.

The *spoitori* derive their livelihoods from a combination of scrap metal dealing with trading of livestock (both within Romania and across its borders) and dealing in cars, the business of men. Some *spoitori* practice also sporadic migration, which is nonetheless regarded as downgrading, and the people involved in it, as unable/ not

skillful enough to gain their living home. Moreover, it is blameworthy on grounds of scattering families on different places and living children behind (in the care of their grandparents). Women are usually in charge with the domestic chores. The trading in livestock that *spoitori* practice involve the transportation of great quantities of pigs, horses or cows from a place to another, buying here and selling there at a higher price, and such places might be located outside Romania. At present, a much attended destination for buying livestock is Hungary, where meat sells cheaper than in Romania. For the deployment of such a business, *spoitori* own big vans driven either by Romanian drivers or by *spoitori* men themselves. Between the time of buying and the time of selling, it occurs that the livestock needs to be housed in a barn, and for this purpose some of the *spoitori* bought stables in villages in the vicinity of their residential town. However, now and then they might need to keep a few animals on the premises of their own households, and this is always a cause of complain for their Romanian neighbors. My own Romanian neighbor, an old lady who lives a rather peasant oriented life (she tiles the land and grows vegetable for selling), has mixed feelings vis-à-vis *spoitori*: in her own words, although they are clean and keep their houses tidy, they make a mess of the street and, the most annoyingly, the stench of the pigs, when they bring some at home, is unbearable. Moreover, she usually feels disturbed by the loud music they like to play.

A case study

The present case study focuses on a nuclear family of *spoitori* who moved house within the one month between my two visits to the town in 2013 (in November and December respectively). The family comprises wife and husband in their late 30s and their 10 year old son. The man has two daughters from a previous marriage, both of them married away, and both living in separate flats.

Originally from the borough adjacent to the town, they moved out of the neighborhood approx 3 years ago, motivating that 1) demands of sharing their goods laid by their relatives - i.e. the husband's family, especially his mother- were high; 2) their son risked to be spoiled by his cousins who dropped out school; 3) they wanted their son to receive better (formal) education and move up and live according to mainstream/ Romanian standards. At the time of my first visit, they were living in a 3

room flat in town centre, and had Romanian neighbors. By the time of my second visit, they changed the flat for a more spacious one, approx 120 square meters, 4 rooms, in a new residential area of the town. All their neighbors are Romanian. Both flats were equipped with all facilities one needs, current water and gas, internet etc. and I particularly admired the amendments they brought to their dwellings. In the first flat, they re-designed the space by breaking down walls for enlarging the rooms, painted the walls in vivid colors, and applied floor tiles and faience.

Their son had just graduated the first year of the primary school when they exchanged the house they owned in the borough adjacent to the town (which, they told me, had also all the facilities needed) for this flat. On the occasion of changing houses, they also de-registered their son from the school there and registered him with a school in the town centre. At that time, i.e. 3 years ago, the main economic activity on which their livelihoods relied, was the commerce with horses, deployed both inside and outside Romania. For the horse business the man was associated with his present co-in-law/ *xanamik* (his daughter's father-in-law), and hired a Romanian driver. The latter was not working anymore for *spoitori* at the time of my fieldwork, yet he still attended their family's feasts, and spoke to *spoitori* in their own language.

The son had a hard time adjusting to the new life style, which comprised both a new form of dwelling and a new school. He could not manage to befriend his new school mates, all of Romanian ethnic background. For his playing activities, he continued to visit his cousins living in the borough adjacent to the town. Moreover, he started complaining about the joylessness brought by the living in a flat, which he sought more restrictive of movement than a house. The parents decided therefore to build a house in the neighborhood the most affluent of the town, where the local on the raise middle class have erected sturdy mansions. They started working on a two storey house, and in several months they raised it up to the roof. They did it with the money derived from the horse business and latter, when the law enforcements tightened in regard to the smuggling of animals across borders, they thought of migration. The husband went to South Italy, Napoli, in the company of his co-parents-in-law, and worked there several months, with frequent coming back and forth to Romania. In time, he confessed, there was no work available over there, and among the productive activities he carried out he mentioned metal scrap dealing. They thus decided to travel to U.K. in search of work, at a time when the construction work on their house was hindered by the lack of money. In

august 2013, the husband went to Manchester, again in the company of their co-parents-in-law. In September 2013, the wife and the son travelled there as well. They shared a house with their co-parents-in-law, and while the women took up begging activities, the men managed to procure themselves a license for scrap metal dealing, and shared all the money derived from it. Soon they were troubled by the police for gathering discarded metal from un-authorized areas such as the river or other public spaces. They resolved to return to Romania and considered the trip to UK an economic failure. At the end of it, when gains are counted, they were left with no money and only some electronic devices found at the dumping place.

Back home, they started looking for a potential buyer for their un-finished house at a time when estate market was going bad in Romania. They eventually found a client who made them the proposal of exchanging the house for his own spacious and posh flat, which the family was inhabiting at my second visit, in December 2013, offering in addition a small sum of money. With the money difference, they paid some of the fines accumulated on the occasion of the horse business. The flat, which is rather large if compared to mainstream living standards in Romanian provincial towns, was all furnished and had all the improvements needed, and it spared the family the expenditures for renovations. It is located on the ground floor, offering them access to the green space in front of it which, they confessed, spanned over it, the likelihood of a house. The flat arrests through its aesthetics, the walls and carpets in pale oranges and pinks, the lighting system comprising a multitude of small bulbs spread over the ceiling, the fluffy carpets and sofas, the extra large matrimonial bed assorted with a 2 meter wide plasma etc. For the cooking activities, a studio is attached to the flat, with a separate entrance. A cleaning lady of Romanian origin caters for the flat maintenance.

As for their livelihood, the husband resumed his horse business, and kept horses at a stable in a nearby village. The wife was looking forward to the spring to come, when she would start her weekly trips to Bucharest, 'Europa' market, where she buy clothes and fabrics which she sells at higher prices to Romanians and Roma back in their residential town. The son was now registered with a third school, and he had even bigger troubles handling his accommodation in a yet another new milieu. He had a private tutor who helped him doing his homework, yet he found it difficult to make friends in school and feared the school environment. Even if parents were adamant

about his completing a good deal of formal education, he told me that his inner thoughts were about dropping the school.

I find this case study evocative for the paradox of a constant in which these Romany people life projects can be couched: the accommodation of sudden changes in housing and livelihoods, as determined by broader political economic factors. When discussing with the wife the plight of her son who was visibly disturbed by the repeated changes of schools, houses and even countries during a small period of time, and when trying to persuade her to make some room for stability in their life trajectories, she winked: if there was an opportunity for making money somewhere else, they would leave the country with no thought of sorrow and upon return, they would resume the project of building a house. The story of this family speaks of a kind of migration which I shall call for the moment “sequential” which is shaped by structural factors: people’s movement is steered by economic opportunities.

I envisage future research as deriving from the strong friendship ties I already established with this family, and I rely on them introducing me to their relatives (who are also involved in migration). An issue that I became interested in when delving of the life story of this family, is the desire of people to ‘move up’ (as endorsed by the physical movement out of the Gypsy neighborhood to the town centre, by the idea of education for children, and in the end, of renouncing to their Roma identity) which is nonetheless counter balanced by the manners in which personal fulfillment is achieved exclusively by means of relations with fellow Roma (endogamous marriage, children socialization, economic activities carried out with fellows etc).

Summary

To conclude we would like to make a summary comparing certain features of the field sites discussed. Figure 28 illustrates how these counties differ or display some similar features. In Southern Romania (Dolj and Ialomița) there is an overwhelming ethnic Romanian majority and a significant Roma minority. In Cluj and Brasov counties there are significant Roma and Hungarian minorities and Covasna county is an exception as there is a Hungarian majority and Roma minority. During the future phases of the project we will describe the type of interactions between different ethnic groups in these locations (long-term economic activities and relationship with majority population, if there are any conflicts between them).

The risk of poverty in these counties is also relatively high, but the overall migration tendency seems to be moderated. In the western counties close to the border with Hungary (Bihor and Sălaj) live also a significant number of Hungarians. The risk of poverty is somehow more reduced and the migration more intense compared to the Southern counties.

The presence and role of the Neo-Protestant churches is more significant in the Western counties and in Brasov but they also play important role in the Southern counties based on the ethnographic observations. Their role in the migration process need to be further explored.

		Romanian majority	Roma population	Migration	Ethnic conflict	Poverty risk	Implemented programs	Neo-protestant Churches
BIHOR	Generalized opening	+	++	++	-	+	+	++
Hideni		-	+	+	-		+	
BRAȘOV	Institutional criticism	++	+	+++	+	+	+	+
CLUJ	Generalized opening	++	+	++	+	+	+	+
Baniod		+	++	+++	+		+	+
COVASNA	High specificity	-	+	+++		+++	-	+
DOLJ	Institutional conformism	+++	++	++		++		-
IALOMIȚA	Institutional conformism	+++	++	+		++		-
Benia		+++	+	++	nd		nd	-
Gurai		+++	++	+++	nd		nd	++
SĂLAJ	High specificity	+	++	+++	-	+++	+	++
Bighal		-	++	++	-		+	++

Figure 26. A comparative summary of the main features of the field sites

+++ - strong presence
 ++ - medium presence
 + - presence
 - - not characteristic
 Nd - no data

Main topics to explore further for comparisons between different counties, localities

1. Economic description of the locality: before and after state socialism?
2. Distribution of ethnic groups and their interaction
3. Religious diversity
4. Linguistic diversity
5. Conflicts between different ethnic groups (if there are)
6. Smaller conflicts between different ethnic neighbours
7. Intra-groups conflicts
8. Documented cases of ethnic discrimination
9. Long-term economic relationship between the Roma and the majority population
10. History of internal migration
11. Ritual kinship with the majority
12. Geographical segregation or mixed neighbourhoods.
13. Access to formal job-market
14. Local development projects in which Roma were included

15. Modes of starting to migrate

16. Rural vs urban milieus – different causes, different effects of migration?